TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

1992

AUGUST — DECEMBER

# Gluckman files to probe police secrets?

By DESMOND BLOW

PATHOLOGIST Dr Jonathan Gluckman's revelations last weekend about police responsibility for close on 200 deaths in police detention may at last force the government to hold formal judicial inquests of people who die in police custody instead of informal inquests.

Lawyers for Human Rights have long complained about the two systems of court inquests in SA.

One is a formal inquest at which witnesses are called and cross-examined; the other is informal – statements are submitted to the court and no other evidence is heard.

It would appear that all deaths of prisoners in police custody have been treated as informal inquests with usually only the police statements available to the courts, which must then make a finding on these statements.

The post-mortem examinations are usually carried out by the local district surgeon who often works closely with the police and is open to being guided by what the investigation officer says.

The findings of the inquest court are usually that no one was to blame for the prisoner death.

Gluckman revealed that he has 200 files on people who died in police custody over the past few years which should have gone through a formal inquest.

Gluckman's revelations can be added to the protesting voices of LHR, the SA Council of Churches and other organisations.

Will this influential expert's concern, like the protests of the rights organisations, fall on deaf ears?

Six months ago Gluckman took his misgivings to President FW de Klerk and is still waiting for a reply.

Last weekend, out of sheer frustration, he went public on the issue.

The final straw, he said, came when he examined the body of 19-year-old Simon Mthimkulu whose "post mortem" carried out by a district surgeon had consisted, according to medical sources, of merely cutting open the chest and sewing it up again.

Gluckman, who became internationally known as the pathologist who examined the body of Steve Biko, said of Mthimkulu: "He had injuries all over his body. It was the last straw that broke the camel's back. This was a young boy of 19. He could have been my son."

On Friday Brian Currin of LHR told City Press that they would examine all 200 of the Gluckman files.

Currin also objected strongly to the announcement by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on Friday that every death in police custody would in future be probed by an SAP general.

"You will have the police investigating themselves. What we demand is an independant judicial inquiry," he said.

Other organisations this week also came out in support of Gluckman's allegations.

The Human Rights Commission said in a press statement this week that Gluckman's allegations supported their findings.

The commission's files recorded 130 deaths in police cells, of which 50 percent died in the first week inside, half were found at inquests to be "suicides" and most victims died in "mysterious circumstances".

## New legislation on intimidation

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Tough legislation aimed at curbing intimidation, banning private armies and providing harsh sentences for the illegal use of certain weapons came into effect at the weekend.

A notice in the Government Gazette published on Friday brought into effect the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act and a separate schedule defined the classes of weaponry prescribed under the Act.

The schedule effectively includes AK-47s, hand grenades, rocket launchers, mortars and mines. A minimum five-year prison term will be imposed if a person is convicted of committing an offence with a weapon possessed unlawfully.

A magistrate may also authorise the detention of people withholding information from the police about such weapons, subject to certain regulations.

The Act criminalises the training or equipping of military or quasi-military organisations which could usurp the functions of the SAP or SADF.

The Intimidation Act is also extended to criminalise indirect forms of intimidation.

Previously it was an offence if someone had been persuaded, with threats, to do something. Now it is an offence if the intimidator fills someone with fear.

# Numsa workers jump strike gun

DIRK HARTFORD

NUMSA members at several factories in Benoni jumped the gun on the union's national strike — officially due to begin today — and started striking on Friday.

Several Seifsa members have already given notice to the union they intend to lock out workers next week. Numsa is striking in the motor, tyre and rubber, and metal and engineering industries.

It will be impossible to gauge the support for the strike before Wednesday, because of the general strike. Even after that it could be difficult — depending on the extent of the mass action programme.

In the motor manufacturing sector, for example, Samcor has closed for the entire week by arrangement with Numsa shop stewards. So it is not actually clear if the workers are on strike or not.

If all Numsa's 250 000 members in the affected sectors come out, it will be the biggest industrial strike in SA's history.

Meanwhile, Seifsa denied last week that it had "bugged or made use of dishonest means" to get information on Numsa's strike.

Seifsa spokesman Hendrik van der Heever said the suggestion was laughable.

He said Seifsa had learnt of the strike plans through its members, who had received written notice that the strike would start today.

Seifsa also said Numsa was "lying" in alleging that Seifsa had not responded to its inquiries on irregularities in the Seifsa ballot. Seifsa is going ahead with an interdict against Numsa for ballot irregularities.

Sources in the motor manufacturing, and tyre and rubber, industries said they expected to meet Numsa this week to continue negotiation.

Sapa reports from East London that more than 2 000 workers at Mercedes-Benz in East London will strike from today, Numsa said on Friday.

A further 1 300 Numsa members in the region involved in the engineering sector would also go on strike over an industrial dispute concerning wages and working conditions, said Numsa's Border secretary Enoch Godongwana. Godongwana said the strike was separate from the two-day stayaway beginning today and would continue beyond that.

A Mercedes spokesman said the company could not comment on the situation as the dispute had developed in the national bargaining forum representing the seven motor manufacturers.

# Clamp on intimidation

NEW measures for a clampdown on violence, crime and intimidation have come into effect with the implementation of the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, which came into effect at midnight on Saturday.

The Act effectively ends the Government's recently announced indemnity from prosecution for the illegal possession of weaponry, firearms, explosives and ammunition.

The new legislation provides for a minimum five-year and maximum 25-year jail sentence for committing an offence while in illegal possession of certain prescribed weapons. It also enables the detention of people withholding information relating to weaponry. – *Sapa.*



tion committee chairman André yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# ANC marching to Pretoria

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Pretoria's city council yesterday granted the ANC alliance permission to march from the city centre down Church Street to the Union Buildings, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said.

"Tens of thousands" of people would take part in the march tomorrow, the focus of the third day of the mass action campaign, he said.

The city council said negotiations on the march took place in the spirit of the Goldstone commission's recommendations that applicants, police and local authorities co-operate in drawing up orderly plans for public protests. The application, brought by the Action Council's PWV branch, said between 50 000 and 70 000 people were expected.

The march, intended to compel government to comply with 14 ANC demands on government, was to begin at 10am and end at about 3pm. ANC president Nelson Mandela, who would lead the march, would address demonstrators at the Union Buildings.

Sapa reports that the ANC said Spoornet had offered to transport protesters to Pretoria free of charge. However, Spoornet could not be reached for comment.

# 'Strikes more effective than marches'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Urban black people felt strikes and consumer boycotts were more effective than marches and rallies, an opinion poll has found.

However, it showed that men were significantly more in favour of these actions than black women.

It also established that a month ago more than a third of those surveyed were unable to say what "mass action" meant.

The poll, conducted by Research Survey's Omnicheck among 800 black women and 500 black men at the end of June and beginning of July in the major metropolitan areas, found that 72% of men thought consumer boycotts and strikes were effective or very effective, but only 56% of women thought consumer boycotts and 55% felt strikes were effective or very effective

While 64% of men thought marches were also effective, and 53% believed rallies were effective or very effective, 55% of women felt marches, and 49% thought rallies, were effective or very effective.

It found 11% of the men felt consumer boycotts, and 10% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective, 19% of women thought consumer boycotts, and 21% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective.

On the other hand, 25% of men and women thought rallies and 15% of men and 20% of women believed marches to be ineffective or very ineffective.

Among those who replied to a question about what mass action entailed, 32% thought it entailed protest marches, 25% strikes, 22% peaceful demonstrations, 20% consumer boycotts and 18% rallies, Research Surveys said.

# Carrying weapons banned in 20 areas

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

(327) STAR 4/8/92.

A Government notice which came into effect yesterday banned the carrying of a variety of objects and weapons in 20 declared unrest areas on the Witwatersrand.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel announced that in unrest areas, the following objects may no longer be displayed in any way which indicated that they may be used as weapons in public places: any axe, brick, chain, gaff, garden fork, hammer, hoe, knife (except a pocket knife), metal pipe or rod, pick, pick handle, pitchfork, screwdriver, scythe, sharp-pointed stick or staff, sickle, spade, spanner, stick shod with metal, stone, tyre or tube.

The following may not be carried in unrest areas: any assegai, bow and arrow, club, crossbow, dagger, firearm, knobkerrie, panga, petrol bomb, spear and sword.

Unrest areas include Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Katlehong, Tokoza, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Alexandra, Wattville, Sharpeville, Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton, Sebokeng, Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanieville squatter camp, Bekkersdal and Daveyton.

Last night ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ban should be received with scepticism.

"Our past experiences with such proclamations has been that of seizure and covert return of such weapons to the owners," he said.

# Emergency 'declared through the back door'

B1 DAY 4/8/92

BILLY PADDOCK 327

A STATE of emergency has been creeping in through the back door, with about 180 "unrest areas" declared in the PWV, Natal and the western Cape, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

The latest declarations in the PWV area had completed the SA Police's stranglehold on 20 townships in the area in preparation for mass action, the commission alleged.

In a statement, the HRC said human rights monitors had warned that government was planning to introduce the powers of a state of emergency without formally declaring one when the Public Safety Act was amended in 1986.

The amendment made provision to permit the declaration of unrest areas in addition to states of emergency.

The HRC claimed that this prediction was realised in August 1990, when certain townships were declared unrest areas following the lifting of the four-year nationwide state of emergency a few months earlier.

"An effective, partial state of emergency began creeping in through the back door. Most of the familiar powers of repression, including night-time curfews, returned to the affected townships," the statement said.

The HRC said the justification given by the authorities for declaring unrest areas had been inconsistent with the fact that numerous areas in Natal had not been declared unrest areas despite high levels of violence.

"By contrast, the two most recent declarations — Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville and Swanieville on the West Rand and Daveyton and Wattville near Benoni — were made in view of such comparatively low-key circumstances that the declaration can by no stretch of the imagination be justified, even using the standards of the SA Police," the HRC said.

The commission said that a state of emergency, to all intents and purposes, was now effective in the PWV area, with 5 000 police and troops dominating the 20 townships.

"It is a state of emergency by stealth and achieves much the same purpose as an open declaration ... to be condemned and rejected as a violation of basic human rights," the HRC said.

A government spokesman could not be reached last night.

# Govt bans weapons in 20 trouble spots

B/DAY 4/8/92

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Government yesterday tightened the unrest regulations in 20 areas around the country, banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in these areas.

The ban, which partially satisfies one of the 14 ANC demands put to government, outlaws the carrying of everything from assegais and knobkerries to petrol bombs.

The special Government Gazette issued late yesterday also bans the carrying of certain items in unrest areas if the circumstances suggest they are being carried as weapons. This list includes bricks, axes, hammers, screwdrivers, spades, spanners, chains and tyres.

The areas are Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Katlehong, Thokoza, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Alexandra, Wattville, Sharpville, Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton, Sebokeng, Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanieville, Bekkersdal and Daveyton.

The ANC's list of demands includes a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons, including "cultural weapons", on all occasions in all areas. The effect of the regulations is that the former exception pertaining to cultural weapons no longer applies.

The ban does not apply to security force members on duty. Others needing to carry a licensed firearm for self-defence must apply first at a police station.

# Traditional weapons are banned on Reef

Soweten 4/8/92

(~~238~~) 327

**TOUGH STANCE** Twenty townships affected by the new Government action:

THE GOVERNMENT yesterday declared assegais, knobkerries, pangas and even tyres and garden forks "prohibited items".

This is in terms of a Government notice which came into effect in selected unrest areas yesterday.

The Government also prohibited the display of items that could be viewed as weapons at "traditional cultural gatherings" in the selected unrest areas.

Police said in Pretoria that weapons such as assegais, knobkierries, spears, pangas, petrol bombs, crossbows, bows and arrows as well as firearms - including replicas - could not be carried or transported in 20 declared unrest areas.

A secondary list itemised objects such as garden forks, tyres, tyre tubes, picks, knives (excluding pocket knives), screw drivers and metal pipes. These may not, at any time or in any public place, be carried "in a manner indicating that they are being carried as weapons".

The 20 unrest areas affected are Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Katlehong, Tokoza, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Alexandra Township, Wattville, Sharpeville, Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton, Sebokeng, Kagiso, Munsieville, Swaniesville, Plakkersdorp, Bekkersdal and Daveyton.

Police added that exceptions which previously applied to "traditional cultural gatherings" were no longer applicable in the declared unrest areas.

They stressed that objects which in certain circumstances could be viewed as weapons were banned from traditional gatherings.

Anyone carrying them in these circumstances in the declared unrest areas was breaking the ban, they said.- *Sapa.*

# Pretoria goes on the defensive

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Shopkeepers in the city centre yesterday were bristling at the thought of an ANC-alliance march past their premises today.

The march has been routed around Church Square in the heart of the city but this has not allayed the fears of shopkeepers nervous about being swamped by thousands of toyi-toyiing protesters.

They spent yesterday preparing to batten down the hatches ahead of the march to the Union Buildings.

The city council has not allowed a march to proceed along Church Street before, but it agreed with the organisers' argument that the width and straightness of the street would facilitate proper crowd control.

A council spokesman denied the march had been routed around Church Square because "Oom Paul se plek" was holy ground, saying too much disruption would be caused if the square was included. Organisers claim the march will draw between 50 000 and 70 000 people.

Some shopkeepers were encouraged by the fact that the march would be led by ANC president Nelson Mandela. "If the big chief is there, they won't want to embarrass him," one said.

Others have expressed a desire to tell ANC supporters what to do with themselves. "If they come in here, I'll shoot them," said one.

But most are bracing themselves with a mixture of trepidation and resignation and do not intend closing, although many will remove items from their windows and keep their security bars up.

Pamphlets warning motorists along the route to remove their cars by this morning were distributed by police yesterday.

Cars will be towed away if they are still on the route but owners will not have to pay a fine to get them back.

# Jo'burg hotels enjoy mini boom

ADRIAN HADLAND

HOTELS in downtown Johannesburg enjoyed a mini-boom this week as companies booked their employees into rooms to avoid transport difficulties and possible intimidation during the general strike.

Almost every non-luxury hostelry in the inner city had house full signs up yesterday.

Springbok Hotel MD Roy Amoilf said "happy days are here again" after three days of full rooms — together with brisk business at the hotel's bar and restaurant facilities.

Employees from the JSE and the Bank of Lisbon took all five floors at the New Library Hotel in Commissioner Street, hotel manager Louis Valenti said.

The Elizabeth Hotel, Dawson's Hotel, the Johannesburger and the Downtown Inn all confirmed they were either full or busier than usual.

## Seifsa court bid delayed

COURT action to have a threatened strike in the metal industry declared illegal has been delayed until tomorrow, Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa) spokesman Mr Hendrik van der Heever said yesterday.

Seifsa, representing over 3 200 companies, launched the application against the 170 000-member National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) in Pretoria on Monday. Sowetan 5/8/92

"We are in the process of seeking to have the strike declared illegal. There appears to have been major irregularities (in balloting), we were not informed of the ballot outcome and we have good reason to believe that the ballot was unsuccessful."

## Cape motorists warned

MOTORISTS have been warned by Cape Town deputy administrator Mr Alan Dolby to stay out of town today if possible.

Supporters of the ANC alliance are expected to take to the freeways to march from Langa to the Grand Parade in Cape Town.

Dolby said the city council had reluctantly agreed to the march because the alternative would have been a confrontation between police and marchers.

## 'Emergency by stealth'

BY using its powers to declare unrest areas, the Government has effectively achieved a "state of emergency by stealth" in the PWV townships where 5 000 police and soldiers have been deployed, the Human Rights Commission has charged.

"This achieves much the same purpose as an open declaration. It is equally to be condemned and rejected as a violation of basic human rights," the HRC said yesterday. Sowetan 5/8/92.

## Boipatong probe starts

THE Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence and intimidation today begins its investigation into the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The commission will be sitting at the Vereeniging Civic Centre from 10am and will be chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who will be assisted by, among others, Mr Justice PM Bagwati, former chief Justice of India. Sowetan 5/8/92

Forty nine people died in the Boipatong massacre when a large group of armed men attacked the township.

## Squatters stage sit-in

ABOUT 500 ANC members from the Mandela Park squatter settlement at Hout Bay yesterday staged a sit-in in front of the Hout Bay Forest Station, demanding a meeting with a senior Regional Services Council official. Sowetan 5/8/92

This follows the refusal by the chief forester at Hout Bay to accept a memorandum from the squatters demanding more land for Mandela Park. - *Sowetan Reporters, Correspondents and Sapa.*

emption Board that he would have to report for duty in July.

[redacted] 327

# 'State of emergency by stealth'

STAR 5/8/92

**By Jo-Anne Collinge**

By using its powers to declare unrest areas, the Government has effectively achieved a "state of emergency by stealth" in PWV townships where 5 000 police and soldiers have been deployed, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) charges.

"This achieves much the same purpose as an open declaration. It is equally to be condemned and rejected as a violation of basic human rights," an HRC statement reads.

The HRC argues that the authorities are inconsistent in justifying the declaration of unrest areas. It notes that Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville and Swanieville on the West Rand and Daveyton and Wattville on the East Rand were largely conflict-free when they were declared unrest areas in July. But conflict-ridden areas of Natal have not been declared unrest areas.

"The inescapable conclusion is that these latter declarations completed the stranglehold on 20 townships in the PWV area."

The first unrest areas on the PWV were declared in August 1990.

ons • Bakkies • Cars • Microbuses • Microbuses • 8/Wagons • Bakkies

# HRC: decree violates rights

## ■ UNREST AREAS Commission says declared areas are inappropriately chosen:

Sowetan 5/8/92

**Sowetan Correspondent**

BY using its power to declare unrest areas, the Government has effectively achieved a "state of emergency by stealth" in PWV townships where 5 000 police and soldiers have been deployed, the Human RightsCommission (HRC) charges.

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The HRC argues that the authorities are inconsistent in justifying the declaration of unrest areas.

It notes that Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Munsieville and Swanieville on the West Rand and Daveyton and Wattville on the East Rand were largely conflict-free when they were declared unrest areas in the last 10 days of July.

On the other hand, conflict-ridden areas of Natal have not been declared unrest areas.

"These declarations (on the Reef) can by no stretch of the imagination be justified, even using the standards of the South African Police.

The inescapable conclusion is that these latter declarations completed the stranglehold on 20 townships in the PWV area in preparation for the period of mass action."

According to the HRC, about 180 unrest areas have been declared in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape in the last two years.

# Employers suffer stayaway 'hangover'

DIRK HARTFORD

A NUMBER of employers whose production was affected yesterday said they were considering disciplinary action against their workers. All had agreed to "no work, no pay, no discipline" for the two-day general strike.

While hundreds of thousands of workers took part in marches, demonstrations, sit-ins and protests under the banner of the mass action campaign on Tuesday, the majority who supported the two-day general strike returned to work.

Cosatu claims 400 000 people took part in yesterday's actions — which included more than 40 rallies, marches and occupations of buildings.

Most employers surveyed in the sectors not affected by the Numsa strike said there had been a "fairly full turnout". But there were also many examples of workers not arriving, arriving and leaving, or arriving and sitting-in.

Some said workers had broken agreements reached last week to allow shop stewards to attend marches and demonstrations while production continued.

Production on both gold and coal mines was normal, according to Anglo American, but some disruption was experienced in a few of its industrial companies.

JCCI's Stuart Morris said attendance was good, but productivity poor.

# ANC says Koevoet still operating

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC said yesterday the organisation was unconvinced that the inclusion of Koevoet and 31 and 32 Battalions within other SADF units would address the problems surounding their operations.

"We reiterate our demand that these units be disarmed and disbanded," it said.

It asked for the names and ranks of all officers of the battalions. The ANC also requested that details of where they were to be deployed be made public so their actions could be monitored.

Police this week denied media reports that the Investigation Support Service Unit, formerly Koevoet, was still operating. They said they were investigating ANC claims of continued Koevoet police action in the southeastern Transvaal.

The probe was to be headed by Brig Floris Mostert, who was in charge of the specialised SAP units which were supported by former Koevoet members.

Yesterday's statement also denied ANC allegations that residents of Driefontein were intimidated by unit members.

It said on August 1 the president of the local ANC branch and other leaders in the Driefontein area were told of a police crime prevention operation in their area.

Mostert, in his investigation, had found that no incidents of police misconduct were reported during the operation.

The statement said components and sections of the unit had been disbanded and individual members transferred to police stations on a decentralised basis. At police stations they were employed in groups of five or less.

A training syllabus was being compiled and until the course began, the members would receive in-service training, it said.

# Showdown for CP faction today

BILLY PADDOCK

THE showdown in the CP between the five prominent "new right" members and the old guard takes place today when the five meet to decide whether they will resign.

Bethal MP Chris de Jager yesterday said the five would have discussions with the Transvaal executive.

"If the party does not shift its policy closer to where we stand then we must decide whether to abide by the party line or do the honourable thing and resign," he said.

The other four are Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, Rosier de Ville (Standerton) and Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, who brought the imminent split in the party to a head at the weekend by calling for talks to negotiate a smaller Afrikaner homeland.

The old guard, led by CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenburg, is calling for the five to be expelled, and attempts this week by leader Andries Treurnicht to reconcile the two factions are understood to have failed.

According to one of the five, it had become impossible to remain in the CP "which had no policy and is not prepared to shift its position to accommodate changes".

The members had the support of about another 10 MPs but they were unlikely to leave the party as they hoped to reform it from within. However, numerous councillors and officials were behind the five, as was as the Transvaal Youth Congress.

# 'Police alerted before massacre

THE Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre of June 16 yesterday heard that evidence would be presented during the next eight days claiming security forces in the area had facilitated the attack and that police had been negligent in their investigations.

Senior counsel for the ANC and the Vaal Council of Churches, Arthur Chaskelson, told the commission in his opening statement a number of witnesses made reference to the participation of "white men" in the actual attacks on residents.

None of these men were identified as policemen, but there were numerous statements which confirmed the presence of security force vehicles in the area during the massacre, and in some cases, these vehicles were perceived as accompanying and possibly assisting the attackers, he said.

"Despite numerous and persistent complaints and the presence of armoured vehicles in the township and nearby, none of the attackers was apprehended. The obvious suspects were allowed more than 16 hours to cover their tracks before police entered the hostel," he said.

The ANC's first witness, Meshack Theoane, a petrol attendant at a filling station on Frikkie Meyer Boule-

KATHRYN STRACHAN

vard, testified he alerted police when he saw armed men crossing the road toward Boipatong.

Shortly afterwards two policemen arrived, but appeared disinterested in his report and left the area, he said.

With him at the filling station that night was a security guard who radioed his employers. Two white security guards arrived. They said the police had instructed them to take the two men away because it was not safe.

Counsel for the SAP Flip Hattingh denied police had participated in or facilitated the attack, and added any allegation they were informed before the attack of the possibility of it taking place would be denied. He admitted that on the evening of June 16 there had been several police in the area, but at no stage during the attack were they in Boipatong.

Anton Mostert, representing the SADF, said the only SADF members in the township at the time of the attack were members of the Vaal Commando.

He said members had seen large numbers of people moving towards the KwaMadala hostel and had concluded that it was the hostel which wasunder attack. They later tried to locate the group but failed.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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Vol. 326 PRETORIA, 7 AUGUSTUS AUGUST 1992 No. 14195

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

## DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

**No. 2301** **7 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

## DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

**No. 2301** **7 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

**LYS/LIST P92/28**

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/69 ..... | ***The Killing Kind*** ..... | Cole Riley ..... | (a) |

**No. 2302** **7 Augustus 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 publikasies nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasies nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie;

dat die publikasies slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word.

**No. 2302** **7 August 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 publications are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to the conditions—

that the publications may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of 18 years;

that the publications may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors.

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer |
|---|---|---|
| P92/07/63 | ***Toplin*** | Michael McDowell. |
| P92/07/65 | ***Malibu 90265*** | Linda Lane & Nancy Andrews. |

**No. 2303** **7 Augustus 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. 2303** **7 August 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.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap<br>Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/03/46 | ***Whistle*** | James Jones | SK./G.G. 6162, GK./G.N. 1929, ged./dd 1978-09-22. |
| P92/05/13 | ***The 87th Precinct*** | Ed McBain | SK./G.G. 1438, GK./G.N. 668, ged./dd 1966-05-06. |

**No. 2304** **7 Augustus 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. 2304** **7 August 1992**

## PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

## WITHDRAWAL OF SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has withdrew 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.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys<br>Entry refers |
|---|---|---|---|
| P91/04/121 | ***Yugoslav Trade Unions*** No 116, November–December 1978 | Radnicka Stampa, Beograd | GK./G.N. 676, ged./dd 1962-05-14. |
| P91/05/17 | ***Teachers of the World 3/1978*** | World Federation of Teachers' Union (FISE), Berlin | GK./G.N. 1775, ged./dd 1956-09-13. |
| P91/05/93 | ***The Democratic Journalist 11–12 1978*** | International Organization of Journalists Czechoslovakia | GK./G.N. 1531, ged./dd 1957-01-19. |
| P91/06/25 | ***The Africanist*** Vol 18, No 2, November 1978 | Pan Africanist Congress of Azania | SK./G.G. 1214, GK./G.N. 1306, ged./dd 1965-09-03. |
| P91/06/115 | ***News—Monthly Illustrated from the German Democratic Republic 3/1979*** | GDR Africa Friendship Society, Berlin | GK./G.N. 2004, ged./dd 1962-12-07. |
| P91/08/184 | ***Inkululeko Freedom*** November 1979 | The South African Communist Party | SK./G.G. 5255, GK./G.N. 1492, ged./dd 1976-08-20. |
| P91/08/212 | ***Apdusa*** Vol 7, No 2, October 1981 | Apdusa, Lusaka | SK./G.G. 1438, GK./G.N. 670, ged./dd 1966-05-06. |
| P91/12/129 | ***Lumea*** No 51, December 17, 1982 | Lumea, Bucharest | SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1738, ged./dd 1978-08-25. |
| P91/12/311 | ***Ikwezi*** No 21, October 1982 | Ikwezi, England | SK./G.G. 5583, GK./G.N. 1025, ged./dd 1977-06-10. |
| P92/01/71 | ***Journal of African Marxists*** Issue 4, September 1983 | Journal of African Marxists, London | SK./G.G. 8530, GK./G.N. 162, ged./dd 1983-01-28. |
| P92/03/69 | ***Dawn*** Vol 4, No 2, February 1980 | African National Congress | SK./G.G. 7175, GK./G.N. 1675, ged./dd 1980-08-08; SK./G.G. 7175, GK./G.G. 1676, ged./dd 1980-08-08. |
| P92/03/163 | ***New Times*** No 45, November 1985 | Trud, Moscow | SK./G.G. 8304, GK./G.N. 1480, ged./dd 1982-07-16; GK./G.N. 5730, ged./dd 1956-08-17. |

**No. 2305** **7 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

REGSTELLING

In *Staatskoerant* No. 14160, Goewermentskennisgewing No. 2065, gedateer 17 Julie 1992, vervang die volgende inskrywing:

VOORWAARDES

'n Komitee van Publikasies het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie;

dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word.

**No. 2305** **7 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

CORRECTION

In *Government Gazette* No. 14160, Government Notice No. 2065, dated 17 July 1992, substitute the following entry:

CONDITIONS

A Committee of Publications has decided under section 15 (2) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to the conditions—

that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of 18 years;

that the publication may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors.

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap<br>Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/06/57 ..... | ***Naked Lunch*** ..... | William S. Burroughs ..... | SK./G.G. 1460, GK./G.N. 896, ged./dd 1966-06-10. |

**No. 2306** **7 Augustus 1992**

AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENT

'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 rolprent ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2306** **7 August 1992**

REJECTED FILM

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 film is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Voorlegger<br>Submitter | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/8/24 ..... | ***Passport to Paradise*** (Penthouse Video)..... | Tusk Film & Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd ..... | (a) |

**No. 2308** **7 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2308** **7 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

**LYS/LIST P92/28**

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/108 ..... | ***Scope*** Vol 27, No 16, August 7, 1992 ..... | Scope, Mobeni..... | (a) |

# INHOUD


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| 2304 | do.: do.: Opheffing van artikel 9 (1) | 2 | 14195 |
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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 or 269

14195—1

# Vlok linked to Goniwe probe

Sowetan 7/8/92 (327)

**NEW DOCUMENT** Probe reveals that National Security Council discussed future of slain activist:

A potentially explosive document linking the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to a probe of slain Eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe, has been uncovered by the Eastern Cape Attorney-General, Mr Michael Hodgen.

Hodgen was appointed earlier this year by the State President FW de Klerk to re-investigate the killing of Goniwe and three other Cradock actvivists after it was found that a SADF signal, signed by a senior official, ordered the activists' "permanent removal from society".

Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney General Malherbe Marais allegedly told Vlok in a "tapped" telephone call in June this year he (Vlok) was " going to bleed" as a result of the discovery of the document.

**See story page 2**

Pagel offer their hot tips for the racing

uncovered during probe

# in Goniwe case

STAR 7/8/92

(327)

## Vlok named in secret document

## turn

## Shock

By Jacques Pauw

**Eastern Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen has uncovered a secret, potentially explosive document which reveals that the State Security Council (SSC) was taking an active interest in the future of Matthew Goniwe before the activist was mysteriously assassinated.**

According to the document, Adriaan Vlok, then deputy Minister of Defence and Law and Order, chaired a sub-committee of the SSC which discussed Mr Goniwe's future as a state-employed teacher in Cradock.

The new document came to light during Mr Hodgen's investigations into the deaths of Mr Goniwe and three other activists. Mr Hodgen was appointed by President de Klerk in May this year to look into the matter, after the revelation of an alleged "death warrant" signal sent to the SSC by the SADF's Eastern Province Command on June 7 1985 — three weeks before the killings. The signal called for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe.

Mr Goniwe and three close associates were found brutally murdered beside an Eastern Cape roadside.

After the discovery of the new document, Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney-General Malherbe Marais is said to have phoned Mr Vlok and told him: "You are going to bleed." Mr Vlok, contacted last night, declined to comment on any of the allegations "because the Goniwe murders are being investigated by the Attorney-General, and it would be improper to comment at this stage."

### Investigation

The bombshell document could have widespread political repercussions.

Here is the story that a special Star investigation has uncovered.

- In early June, in the course of his investigation, an agenda for a subcommittee meeting of the SSC came into Mr Hodgen's hands.
- With his deputy, Mr Malherbe Marais, Mr Hodgen travelled to London to interview former security police colonel John Horak about the document, and the workings of the SSC. Mr Horak had been employed in the SSC secretariat.
- Also in June, according to top-level sources, Mr Malherbe made the telephone call from the Inn on the Square hotel in Cape Town to Mr Vlok, now Minister of Correctional Services. The sources believe the call was tapped.

The Star understands that the document will be produced as evidence in the reopened inquest into the Goniwe killings.

The journal Africa Confidential reports in its issue of July 31 that Mr Hodgen is understood to have been persuaded in the course of his investigation that the "Goniwe signal" was approved by the SSC. The journal also claims such a meeting would have been attended by at least three Cabinet Ministers, Pik Botha, Kobie Coetsee, and Magnus Malan.

The indication that Mr Marais' telephone call to Mr Vlok was tapped is causing great concern to those close to the Hodgen investigation.

**NEWS**Indian teachers on duty ● New turn in Goniwe probe

# Minister linked to the Goniwe probe



Adriaan Vlok ..."going to bleed"

**■ Attorney-General tells Vlok he's "going to bleed" in light of probe:**

Sowetan 7/8/92,

**Sowetan Correspondent**

EASTERN Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen has discovered a potentially explosive document which shows that before the death of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe, a Government minister chaired a sub-committee meeting of the State Security Council dealing with Goniwe.

An investigation has revealed that as a result of the discovery of the document, Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney General Malherbe Marais allegedly told Minister Adriaan Vlok in a telephone conversation at the beginning of June that he (Vlok) "is going to bleed".

Contacted last night, Vlok refused to comment on any of the allegation "because the Goniwe murders are being investigated by the Attorney General, and it would be improper to comment at this stage".

Hodgen was appointed by President FW de Klerk in May this year to investigate an alleged "death warrant" signal sent to the State Security Council by the SADF's Eastern Province Command on June 7 1985 - three weeks before Goniwe and three other anti-apartheid activists were murdered.

The alleged signal called for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two of his colleagues.

The sub-committee, according to the document, was charged with discussing Goniwe's future as a teacher - in State employ - in Cradock.

Vlok, now Minister of Correctional Services, was at the time Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence.

The document will be produced as evidence in the reopened inquest into the Goniwe killings. No date has been set for the inquest.

After its discovery in early June, Hodgen and Marais flew to London to interview former security police colonel John Horak about the document, and the structures and workings of the State Security Council.

Horak had formerly been employed in the secretariat of the SSC.

Hodgen is scheduled to travel to Pretoria next week to investigate the document further.

Sources close to the investigation believe that the telephone conversation was tapped.

Hodgen has refused to comment on his investigation or the discovery of the document.

The journal *Africa Confidential* reports in its issue of July 31 that Hodgen is understood to have been persuaded in the course of his investigation that the "Goniwe signal" was approved by the State Security Council.

*Africa Confidential* says such a meeting would have been attended by at least three Cabinet ministers who are still serving: Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, and Environment and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan, the former defence supremo.

# 'Lied to protect himself'

By JACQUIE GOLDING 327

THE outcome of the one-man commission of inquiry into a *Weekly Mail* exposé of police covert operations in the Vaal is expected to be released today — and is certain to cause controversy. W|Mail 7|8-13|8|92

The commission has heard evidence from African National Congress members Daniel Kolisang and Solly Ngomezulu that the police had abducted them, held them in a "safe house" in the Vaal and offered them money to carry out attacks on ANC members. 7|8-13|8|92

The inquiry has focused on the two witnesses, one of whom was described at the commission this week as "a liar and fabricator".

*The Weekly Mail's* counsel, Frans Rautenbach, admitted that this witness had lied, but maintained that the claim by police that "safe houses" were a necessity for investigations into crime "provides the ideal cover for various assassinations".

Kolisang had fabricated some aspects of his testimony "for his own protection", Rautenbach said. It was accepted that Kolisang had acted as a police informer, but he could also have been instructed by the police to assassinate ANC activists, he argued.

Commissioner R Wise commented that he found it difficult to "selectively believe versions of untruthful witnesses".

Counsel for the South African Police, Phillip Hattingh SC, argued that there was no proof to justify *The Weekly Mail's* reports about police "plotting violence". He asked the commission to find that a report on secret bases and the planning of violence from them was "untrue and unsubstantiated".

Hattingh requested that *The Weekly Mail* give equal prominence to the commission's findings as it had to the original exposé.

Referring to *The Weekly Mail's* front-page photographs of policemen allegedly involved in operations from the secret base, Hattingh said the manner in which the exposé had been presented was a problem.

Hattingh argued that *The Weekly Mail's* editor, Anton Harber, had not given Minister of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze sufficient time to respond to the allegations.

It had been made clear to *The Weekly Mail* that "police were involved in covert operations", but the newspaper had nonetheless published the allegations that this was linked to violence, he added.

# Witnesses link SAP, whites to Boipatong

By JACQUIE GOLDING

WITNESSES who claimed that the Boipatong attackers had been "dropped off" by armoured vehicles and that whites were among the attackers were brought before the Goldstone Commission by African National Congress senior counsel Arthur Chaskalson SC this week.

Meshack Theoane, a petrol attendant at the Trek petrol station on the corner of Noble and Frikkie Meyer boulevards, in Boipatong, gave evidence to the commission this week after having been in hiding since June 25, in fear of his life.

He claims to have seen security forces on the outskirts of the township on the night of the massacre. "The police were constantly looking for me and I had to leave my relatives behind because of the truth. All I want is protection," he said.

Theoane alerted police when he saw groups of armed men crossing the road towards Boipatong. Counsel for the South African Police, Phillip Hattingh SC, denied that the police had participated in or facilitated the attack. He added that they were not forewarned about the attack.

The only South African Defence Force members present at the time of the attack were those of the Vaal Commando, said Colonel Anton Mostert, who is representing the SADF.

At the second sitting yesterday, a second witness corroborated Theoane's testimony that whites were among the attackers.

Edison Themba Koti, who lives in Slovo Park, said he heard shattering noises and gunshots on the evening of June 17. He witnessed a group of black men dressed in civilian clothes and wearing white headbands, carrying traditional weapons such as spears, shields and steel pipes, interspersed with two white men dressed in "police unforms" armed with "long guns".

He added that he saw two Hippos disgorging a group of about 50 men. The black men were chanting *"usuthu"* (a Zulu war cry) while running in and out of houses smashing windows and attacking people.

Koti was at home at the time of the attack and he decided to investigate where the attackers came from. He went to the veld outside kwaMadala hostel, where he saw the groups of men returning from the township with various items such as television sets, clothes and others. "Two Hippos were slowly moving behind the group but no action was taken," he said. He then went to a friend's house, where he found that Samuel Moloi's pregnant wife had been killed.

A woman who refused to be named testified that she had seen the killing of her mother and brother. She said that among the group of men were three whites. While her mother and brother were being hacked to pieces, she heard one of their attackers say "kill those dogs", she said.

Controversy arose this week when Mostert gave Judge Richard Goldstone a blue file containing "military secrets" but refused the other committee members and counsels for the other parties access to the documents.

Despite a request by Chaskalson that they should be made available, Mostert was adamant that this will not be allowed.

He said the documents — including briefing documents reflecting SADF instructions on or before June 17 and general documents hosting secret standing orders and operational planning — were "secret and irrelevant" to the commission. Judge Goldstone said he was not "prepared to accept documents he could not make available to the rest of the commission".

"Well, that is the only basis I am prepared to give them to you," Mostert said. He said that other documents requested by Chaskalson had "gone missing".

Judge Goldstone said the police would respond to the Waddington report on the Boipatong massacre within the next few days. He added that a decision on whether a public response should flow from the report would be made after the police had released their response.

The four-person committee of the commission — which includes international assessor PN Bhagwati, a former chief justice of India — is to decide when to visit kwaMadala hostel. The hostel has been partially demolished by Iscor since the massacre.

# Goniwe probe: State wants amnesty deal

W/Mail 7/8-13/8/92 (327)



Despite ominous predictions, mass action proved largely peaceful, Here a Soweto basketball game goes on under the intense scrutiny of a group of Casspirs

Full details of the week of strikes: PAGES 4 to 7

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Weekly Mail Reporters

AS investigators uncover the trail of the killers of activist Matthew Goniwe, the government has started pushing hard for a general amnesty for all political offenders.

The idea of a general amnesty — which would let off the hook members of the security forces involved in crimes against the African National Congress — has been discussed in meetings during the past two weeks between the government and the ANC over the release of political prisoners.

According to diplomats, a general amnesty has the backing of the United States and Britain and was promoted by UN special envoy Cyrus Vance during his visit to South Africa which ended last week.

"Mr Vance's idea was that there needs to be a clean break with the past that would enable a gear-change to a future-directed dialogue," said a Western diplomat close to the UN initiative.

The talks about a possible amnesty have been held over the past two weeks in the context of a securing the release of 420 remaining prisoners who the ANC insist fall in the political category.

As a result of Vance's intervention, government and the ANC have held two high-level meetings over the past two weeks to discuss the issue. The government delegations have been headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said both ANC delegations had been headed by ANC international department director Thabo Mbeki, who had been mandated by the ANC's national work-

● Continued on PAGE 2

## Trail leads too close for comfort

W/Mail 7/8-13/8/92 (327)

By EDDIE KOCH

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is under severe pressure to put an amnesty in place as the official investigation into the Goniwe murders accumulates potentially explosive evidence about the identities of those who ordered the assassinations and carried them out.

Michael Hodgen, a senior law officer investigating the Goniwe murders, has received vital evidence about the identity of the men involved in the killings.

*The Weekly Mail* is in possession of the names of the operatives who are alleged to have killed Matthew Goniwe but is withholding these while the Attorney General's investigations continue.

Hodgen visited London in the past two months to interview renegade policemen Dirk Coetzee as well as John Horak, a former security police officer, in connection with indications that current members of De Klerk's cabinet served on a committee of the State Security Council which processed the signal message.

● Continued on PAGE 3

P.T.O.

P.T.O.

# State in push for amnesty

W|Mail 7/8/-13/8/92. 327

●From PAGE 1

-ing committee to "negotiate the release of political prisoners".

Niehaus said it was possible that the question of a general amnesty had been "touched on" at these meetings but that the ANC had no "firm position" on a general amnesty.

However, other ANC sources confirm that the matter had been discussed internally. The ANC's position on the issue is much the same as its hands-off attitude to the government's desire to release rightwing political prisoners: we will have nothing to do with it and anyway we don't have the power to do it.

It is understood that there are differences of opinion within the ANC on the wisdom of a general amnesty. A number of members strongly oppose letting the security forces off the hook at this early stage — at least without finding out what they did and who was involved. And the ANC would have difficulty in getting its general membership to accept, particularly since they have recently been calling for the culprits in the security forces to be punished.

In terms of the amnesty, security force members who had taken part in clandestine operations against anti-apartheid activists and in the covert destabilisation of the ANC would be granted blanket immunity. In return, the ANC would secure the release of the 420 remaining prisoners who they insist are political.

A general amnesty could also resolve the question of the status of several thousand Umkhonto weSizwe cadres who remain outside the country until the ANC formally terminates its armed struggle.

It would also assist President FW de Klerk in dealing with the mounting problems within his security forces, particularly among those elements undermining his political initiatives.

The idea of a general amnesty was also promoted by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen during meetings with government officials earlier this week, according to diplomats.

The Western diplomat was adamant that the government and the ANC were keen on the idea of a general amnesty as a mechanism for making a clean break with the past. The idea of cleaning the slate to make way for progress was pushed by Vance.

The proposed amnesty would create a new cut-off date for immunity against prosecution for agents of the state and the liberation movements who were acting under instructions or in line with the official policy of their organisations. The current agreement allows only for a selective amnesty — excluding security force members — for certain categories of exiles for acts committed before October 8 1990.

Justice Ministry spokesman Nic Grobler said that talks between government and the ANC were "too sensitive" to disclose details. "But I can say that the question of a general amnesty was raised by the ANC earlier in the negotiating process and it remains on the table for discussion," he said.

# Honing in on Goniwe killers

W|Mail 7/8-13/8/92 327

●From PAGE 1

According to Coetzee, Hodgen was interested in finding out which committees Minister of Prisons Adriaan Vlok sat on in the State Security Council at the time of the Goniwe murders.

And information supplied to Hodgen, the acting attorney general for the eastern Cape, suggests that the assassinations were carried out by members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, a South African Defence Force unit known as "The Hammer Forces" and members of the South African Police.

The Hammer Forces was an irregular unit founded by General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, the powerful head of military intelligence, to carry out dirty tricks against anti-apartheid groups in the eastern Cape.

There has been a flurry of activity in military intelligence circles to establish who leaked a secret document implicating Van der Westhuizen in the operation to eliminate Goniwe and his colleagues.

De Klerk is being pressed to take action against the general in the wake of reports that Van der Westhuizen's personal assistant, Lieutenant Pamela du Rand, was deported from England this year on suspicion of plotting Coetzee's murder.

Indications are that De Klerk faces an explosive political situation as his investigators close in on those responsible for the Goniwe killings. He will have to deal with the humiliating prospect of acknowledging that at least one of his current ministers was implicated in the killings and runs the risk of a showdown with his security chiefs if he takes action against Van der Westhuizen.

He could try to defuse the situation by ensuring that junior operatives involved in the actual assassinations are prosecuted but this is likely to generate antagonism and further leaks about the involvement of senior officials.

The safest way for De Klerk to deal with the looming crisis is to set in place a general amnesty, exonerate everyone involved in the murders, and ask the ANC to let bygones be bygones.

# Dramatic new turn in Goniwe inquiry

Weekend Argus Reporter

NEW information is reported to have been uncovered which shows that a sub-committee of the State Security Council had been investigating Cradock teacher and activist Matthew Goniwe just before his death.

The information is said to be contained in a potentially explosive document discovered by Eastern Cape Attorney-General Mr Michael Hodgen. He has been appointed by President F W de Klerk to investigate an alleged "death warrant" signal sent to the State Security Council by the SADF's Eastern Province Command on June 7 1985 — three weeks before Mr Goniwe and three others were murdered.

The alleged signal called for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe and two of his colleagues.

The document will be produced as evidence in the reopened inquest into the Goniwe killings.

According to reports in some of the media, including the SABC—TV News, the sub-committee mentioned in the document was chaired by Mr Adriaan Vlok, now Minister of Correctional Services and at the time Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence.

Mr Vlok has refused to comment on any of the allegations.

It is understood that the new document came to light in the course of the work of Mr Hodgen's investigating team. The sub-committee, according to the document, was charged with discussing Mr Goniwe's future as a teacher — in state employ — in Cradock.

After its discovery in early June, Mr Hodgen flew to London to interview former security police colonel Mr John Horak about the document.

Mr Horak had formerly been employed in the SSC secretariat.

Mr Hodgen is scheduled to travel to Pretoria next week to investigate the document further, among other matters. He refused to comment on his investigation or the discovery of the document.

# Only Goniwe's job discussed — Vlok

327

Cl Pres 9/8/92

By DESMOND BLOW and Sapa

CORRECTIONAL Services Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday admitted he had chaired a State Security Council meeting in 1985 at which activist Matthew Goniwe had been discussed – only days before Goniwe and three other activists were murdered.

He also admitted he had held a telephone conversation with the deputy A-G of the eastern Cape in June this year, which he claimed was illegally tapped.

It was alleged in the media on Friday that the telephone conversation alluded to an explosive document regarding the SSC meeting and that Vlok was told that he (Vlok) "is going to bleed".

The former Law and Order Minister broke his silence yesterday to emphatically deny media insinuations that he had been involved in the murder of Goniwe and three other activists in 1985.

He also stated that he had asked the SAP to urgently investigate the allegations that his phone was illegally tapped while he was speaking confidentially to eastern Cape deputy A-G Malherbe Marais.

Vlok said he viewed the matter in a very serious light and that "legal steps would be considered against those responsible".

Eastern Cape A-G Michael Hodgen last Friday discovered a potentially explosive document concerning Vlok who chaired a sub-committee meeting of the SSC dealing with Goniwe before his murder.

Hodgen was appointed by State President FW de Klerk in May to investigate an alleged "death warrant" signal sent to the SSC by the SADF's Eastern Province Command on June 7 1985 – three weeks before Goniwe and the other three activists were murdered.

The alleged signal called for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two of his colleagues.

The sub-committee was, according to the document, charged with discussing Goniwe's future as a teacher in State employ in Cradock.

Yesterday Vlok said he had chaired the meeting asked to conduct an investigation and make recommendations "on the handling of violence and the serious general unrest situation prevalent in the country at the time".

"In the process the possible reappointment of Goniwe, who at that time had been suspended from his post as a teacher, was also looked at, and it was in fact recommended that Goniwe be reappointed.

"An aspect which emerges from this (media) reporting and which I find extremely disturbing is the deduction that someone apparently listened-in illegally to a telephone discussion which I had with the deputy A-G.

"I view this in a serious light and have already lodged a criminal complaint with the SAP.

"Such a state of affairs is totally unacceptable and all possible legal steps will be considered against those responsible for this," Vlok said.

# ANC blames Koevoet

By THEMBA KHUMALO

DESPITE vehement police denials, Driefontein villagers in south-eastern Transvaal are adamant their raiders last week were members of the notorious Koevoet unit

ANC president Nelson Mandela alleged on television that Koevoet members were involved in house-to-house searches at Driefontein last Saturday.

They harassed the community by locking some families inside their houses to prevent them from attending an ANC rally in the village, Mandela alleged.

State President FW de Klerk announced last month that Koevoet and the controversial 32 and 131 battalions would be disbanded and members of the two battalions would be absorbed into SADF structures as part of rationalisation of the security forces.

The alleged police action on villagers and the involvement of Koevoet has sparked off a row between the ANC and the police.

In response to Mandela's allegations, the police have launched a high-level investigation headed by Brig Floris Mostert.

Mandela said he would bring the matter to the attention of the Goldstone Commission for investigation.

Driefontein ANC chairman Yunus Cajee said about 300 policemen arrived and parked about 300 metres from his shop on Saturday morning.

Cajee, who is also a local general dealer, said he identified clearly some 200 of the policemen as Koevoet members through their language and their uniform.

He said the men wore dark-green overalls and blue coats.

"They were the only ones who wore that uniform and spoke a Namibian dialect.

"They looked like people who came from an isolated place because they were so excited about buying takkies and after one of them bought a pair others followed suit and they were behaving like children," Cajee said.

Another villager, Paul Nkosi, alleged that Koevoet members came to his house and asked to search the car which was parked in his yard.

Cajee said the police barred people from going to work while they were conducting the searches.

Cajee has made a statement to the police about the incident.

# ANC calls for full disclosure of state crimes

B/DAY 10/8/92

BILLY PADDOCK
and PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC would not accept a general amnesty for security force members, government officials and Ministers unless there was full disclosure of the activities for which amnesty was required, the ANC has said.

It was also opposed to government's linking of a general amnesty to the release of remaining political prisoners.

Judge Richard Goldstone at the weekend called for an amnesty to enable him to investigate fully the activities of the SADF, the SAP, the KwaZulu Police and the military wings of the ANC and PAC. This was in response to the UN recommendations on violence.

Speaking on the amnesty issue on Friday before Goldstone's statement was released, ANC legal affairs department official Mathews Phosa said the ANC was proposing that government make use of the Indemnity Act which has been used to grant indemnity to senior ANC officials and thousands of ordinary members.

"The Indemnity Act provides for how one gets indemnity. We complied with the Act and expect that what was good for us will also be good for them," he said.

The Act requires that people seeking indemnity state for what offence they are seeking that indemnity. Offences which the applicant fails to mention are not covered by any indemnity granted.

"They (government) have been getting worried about all the uncontrolled disclosures — such as the Vlok affair," another ANC source said.

In response to allegations that he had been involved in discussions about Craddock UDF leader Matthew Goniwe prior to his death, Vlok has said the only discussions about Goniwe he participated in were regarding the man's appointment as a school teacher.

Another ANC source said Goldstone's call for a general amnesty had "muddied the water" after the matter had been discussed earlier during bilateral talks. However, the basis of the ANC position would apply to Goldstone's call as well — full disclosure at the very least.

Amnesty should not be seen as a cover-up, the source said.

Any amnesty should also have a cut-off date that would have to be negotiated. Any crimes committed after that date should not be subject to amnesty.

He said the prisoner issue had to be separated from the amnesty call, as government had committed itself to this a while ago and the release of the remaining prisoners was creating serious problems in constitutional negotiations.

In the bilateral talks government had linked the release of the remaining 450 prisoners — whom it does not classify as political — to a comprehensive package involving Pakhonto we Sizwe and what Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has described as "one single agreement with multilateral effect" — in effect a general amnesty which would also cover previous activities of government officials.

Draft legislation on these matters could

☐ To Page 2

## State crimes

B/DAY 10/8/92

☐ From Page 1

be ready for the short October Parliamentary sitting if the politicians resumed constitutional negotiations in time.

Phosa denied a recent report that the ANC had compiled a list of government personnel the ANC believed had committed crimes in the service of the State. However, the ANC was aware of the identities of some offenders on government's side, he said.

It appeared that the only way forward to the resumption of constitutional talks would be agreement on a broad package deal which included amnesty.

Meanwhile, an informed source said President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela's telephonic discussion on Friday night related specifically to the Ciskei and allegations that SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani had ordered a Ciskeian chief's death.

Speaking in Ciskei on Saturday, Mandela disclosed that he had telephoned De Klerk on Friday night. He did not disclose details of the conversation, which led to speculation that it was related to negotiations.

It appeared that De Klerk had received a report claiming Hani had ordered the death of a Ciskei chief, and De Klerk wanted Mandela to deal with it.

Mandela had spoken to Hani about the report and was assured that "there was absolutely no truth in the allegation".

Apparently no other matters were discussed, but the fact that the two leaders were speaking to each other informally was fuelling expectations of an imminent resumption of constitutional talks.

# Media Council changes

CAPE TOWN — The SA Media Council would continue to resolve complaints albeit with reduced powers, council conciliator-registrar Bob Steyn said yesterday.

Speaking after the council's 19th meeting, Steyn said this decision had been preceded by "a lot of unhappy debate".

"Emphasis is on the resolution of complaints — the ability to do this is there, but powers in the constitution have come out."

Ways of simplifying procedures for handling complaints — including informal investigations — were accepted. Recognised journalists' unions would also be allowed representation on the council.

Proposed restructuring of the council included reducing its membership from 30 to 11 by not replacing members who retired. The council would also be moved to Johannesburg.

A proposal allowing for outside funding for specific purposes was held over. — Sapa.

By Jacques Pauw

# Ex-officer sought over Goniwe signal

STAR 13/8/92 (327)

The SADF wants to question a former senior Military Intelligence officer about the alleged top secret signal which implicates a general and the State Security Council in the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other eastern Cape activists in June 1985.

The former officer, now on the run and in fear of his life, is Colonel Gert Hugo.

Between 1985 and 1990 leader General Bantu Holomisa in May this year. Military Intelligence officers in the eastern Cape blame Colonel Hugo for the leak of the document and the subsequent investigation by eastern Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen.

Colonel Hugo was attached to the SADF's Eastern Province Command in Port Elizabeth, before becoming chief of Military Intelligence in Ciskei.

A Star investigation has revealed that Colonel Hugo is now suspected of being connected to the leaking of the explosive "Goniwe signal" to Transkei military Intelligence head General C P "Joffel" van der Westhuizen to the assassination of the anti-apartheid activists.

The document has caused consternation in the Government by linking the State Security Council and Military

Colonel Hugo, penniless and in hiding, denies selling or giving the document to General Holomisa. He claims he is being "framed" by the SADF.

However, The Star is in possession of an affidavit from a former police undercover agent, Jennifer du Plessis, who states that on May 22 this year, Colonel Hugo told her that he had sold "Goniwe documents" to General Holomisa. Ms du Plessis has made a similar statement to Military Intelligence.

Earlier this year, Colonel Hugo threatened the South African military attache to Ciskei, Colonel Bill van der Linde, with the exposure of military secrets unless he was left in peace by the Ciskei government. Colonel Hugo was at that time accused of stealing State money from Ciskei. In February he was convicted of stealing R18 000, and received a suspended jail sentence while being ordered to repay the money.

In another twist to the tale of the former military "in-

● To Page 3

# Ex-officer sought over Goniwe signal

STAR 13/8/92 (327)

● From Page 1

sider", Colonel Hugo has made contact with the ANC's intelligence department and until recently assisted senior intelligence officers of the organisation in their investigation into the Goniwe murders. Colonel Hugo has now refused to co-operate with the ANC because he claims there is a leak in the intelligence department.

An SADF spokesman said this week the investigation into the disappearance of the document had been completed and handed to the eastern Cape Attorney-General for his consideration. The SADF would not confirm that Colonel Hugo was being hunted.

A spokesman for Mr Hodgen's office said he had received the results of the SADF investigation, but said it would be unwise to make any decision about possible prosecution before the Goniwe inquest had been conducted.

Denying Ms du Plessis's allegations, Colonel Hugo told the Star he knew of a shortlist of people suspected of leaking the information: Commandant Lourens du Plessis, whose name and signature appear on the signal, and Jaco Rossouw, who was in charge of the signals room at EP Command the night Goniwe and the others were killed.

Some sources suggest Colonel Hugo did not take the document himself, but acted as a "facilitator".

SADF officials have been mystified by the disappearance of the alleged top-secret military signal — dated June 7 1985 — requesting that Goniwe and the other activists be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

The signal refers to a conversation between a General van Rensburg of the State Security Council and the then Brigadier C J van der Westhuizen, who has since been promoted to general and is head of Military Intelligence.

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

In May, President de Klerk ordered a new judicial probe into the allegations that some of his most senior military officers ordered the assassination.

General Holomisa, who earlier claimed that a file detailing involvement of the NP Government and its security apparatus in the killing of activists had "landed on his desk", told The Star he did not buy the documents from Colonel Hugo, and that although he "knew who he was", he had not met Colonel Hugo personally. Colonel Hugo, however, insists that he recently saw General Holomisa.

The SADF regarded the disappearance of the document in an extremely serious light and appointed General Dirk Verbeek to find out who leaked it.

Colonel Hugo claims the document was probably stolen within a few days of the signal being sent from the EP Joint Management Centre to the secretariat of the State Security Council.

He says he believes his life is in danger.

It is known that Mr Hodgen and his team of investigators urgently want to speak to Colonel Hugo, and and have tried to locate him at various addresses.

# Govt slates marches by ANC alliance as illegal

B|DAY 13|8|92

WILSON ZWANE

GOVERNMENT yesterday accused the ANC of violating the law by staging 58 illegal marches earlier this month.

The Justice Department said yesterday the staging of marches by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance on August 3 and 4 contravened laws and was contrary to the national peace accord and the agreement which the alliance reached with police last month.

The matter would be referred to National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys, it said.

The department's statement came a day after QwaQwa's ruling Dikwankwentla Party pulled out of the peace accord, citing the ANC's "attitude and behaviour" as a reason.

Party leader Kenneth Mopeli said the ANC was "making a mockery of the whole spirit of the peace accord".

The Justice Department said the peace accord stipulated that signatories should inform appropriate authorities in good time about the "date, place, duration and route of each march" they organised.

There was also an interim agreement between police, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu on how mass demonstrations should be conducted.

The Goldstone commission's Judge Richard Goldstone said on July 23 that police, the ANC, Cosatu and SACP had agreed that "proper notice and bona fide negotiations are preferrable to applications for permission to ensure that public demonstrations are held and conducted peacefully".

The department stressed that the peace accord and the interim agreement between police and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance did not amend or supersede existing legislation.

The 58 marches staged by the alliance were, therefore, unlawful.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the department's statement showed how unchanged its attitude was regarding control.

Marcus said instead of "crying foul", the department should work on the implementation of the Goldstone commission's recommendations on the handling of demonstrations.

Meanwhile, Gildenhuys told the Bophuthatswana national executive council yesterday the 30 UN observers expected in SA should be able to "inhibit any inclination among ANC supporters to violent actions", Sapa reports.

A Bophuthatswana government statement said he was referring to last week's largely peaceful mass action campaign when 10 UN observers managed to ensure no violence occurred at all the major events and most of the smaller ones.




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## Hospital staff accused of attacking protesters

B|DAY 12/8/92

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

FOUR people were seriously injured yesterday after being attacked while picketing outside Hillbrow Hospital. They have been hospitalised.

Dismissed health workers picketing outside the gates alleged they were attacked by hospital workers.

Johannesburg National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) branch secretary Bongani Tfimo said about 30 people armed with knives, pangas and spears were let out of the gates by a hospital official.

"We lay the blame squarely at the feet of the hospital's chief superintendent Dr Trevor Frankish because he gave the instructions for the workers to be allowed out and looked on as the attack took place," Tfimo said.

Nearby police had not intervened and the attackers returned to the hospital, he said.

Frankish last night "categorically denied" that he was in any way involved. The attack was "spontaneous". He promised an immediate internal investigation.

Sapa reports talks aimed at normalising the situation at Baragwanath Hospital will be held between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Soweto Action Committee in Johannesburg this morning.

The Cape Provincial Administration announced agreement had been reached with the Health Workers Union. Its members would return to work by noon today.

**No. 2349** **14 Augustus 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. 2349** **14 August 1992**

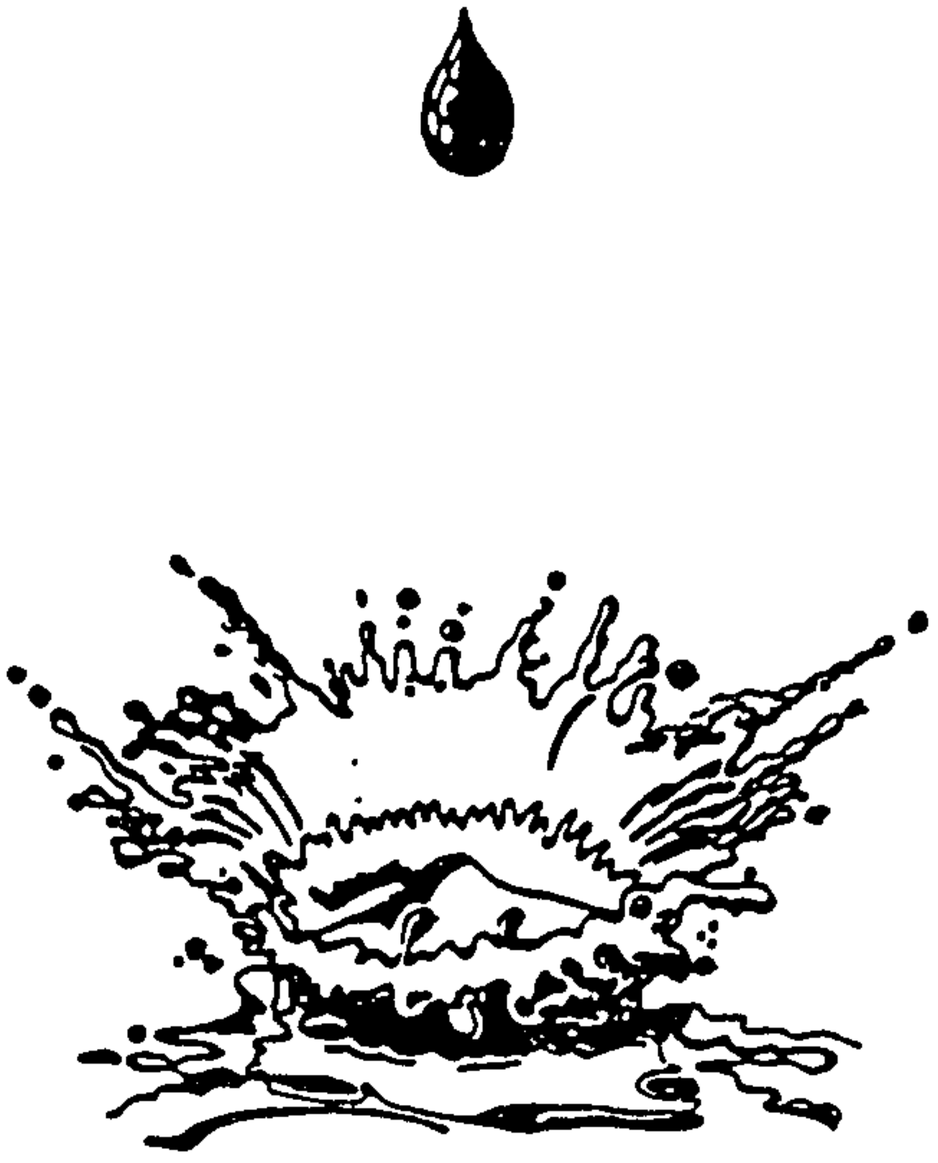
REJECTED FILMS

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:

| Inskrywings No.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Voorlegger<br>Submitter | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/8/10 ..... | ***Affairs of the Heart***..... | Daru Films (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd ..... | (a) |
| R92/8/81 ..... | ***Mad Girls, Bad Girls***..... | Tusk Film & Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd ..... | (a) |


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| 2345 | Wet op Publikasies (42/1974): Publikasies of voorwerpe: Ongewenste publikasies of voorwerpe | 1 | 14216 |
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| 2347 | do.: do.: do | 2 | 14216 |
| 2348 | do.: do.: Opheffing van artikel 9 (1) | 2 | 14216 |
| 2349 | do.: Afgekeurde rolprente | 3 | 14216 |


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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 or 269

**No. 2347** **14 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VOORWAARDE

'n Komitee van Publikasies het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan voorwaarde dat die publikasie nie vir doeleindes van verspreiding in die openbaar uitgestal mag word nie:

**No. 2347** **14 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

CONDITION

A Committee of Publications has decided under section 15 (2) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to condition that the publication may not be displayed in public for purposes of distribution:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap<br>Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/08/04 ..... | ***Battery Operated Vibrator Covered with Small Knobs*** (Vibrator) ..... | Nie vermeld/Not stated..... | SK./G.G. 11760, GK./G.N. 514, ged./dd 1989-03-17. |

**No. 2348** **14 Augustus 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. 2348** **14 August 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.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys<br>Entry refers |
|---|---|---|---|
| P91/09/207 ..... | ***Kommunikee*** January/February 1978 .... | Anti-Apartheids Beweging, Amsterdam | SK./G.G. 5655, GK./G.N. 1339, ged./dd 1977-07-15. |
| P91/09/450 ..... | ***Inprecor*** No 10, July 7/No 11, July 21, 1977 | Inprecor, France ..... | SK./G.G. 5599, GK./G.N. 1093, ged./dd 1977-06-17. |
| P91/10/331 ..... | ***The Zimbabwe People's Voice*** Vol 1, No 75, December 2/No 76, December 9, 1978 | Information and Publicity Department of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, Zambia | SK./G.G. 5681, GK./G.N. 1418, ged./dd 1977-07-22. |
| P91/10/368 ..... | ***Peking Review*** Vol 20, No 35, August 26, 1977 | Peking Review, Peking..... | GK./G.N. 1871, ged./dd 1959-11-13.<br>SK./G.G. 4883, GK./G.N. 2077 ged./dd 1975-10-31. |
| P91/11/54 ..... ... | ***Event*** February/March 1974..... | Division of Life and Mission in the Congregation, Minnesota | SK./G.G. 5720, GK./G.N. 1703, ged./dd 1977-08-26. |
| P91/11/75 ..... | ***International Union of Students—Statement on Recent Racist South Africa's aggression against Angola*** | International Union of Students, Czechoslovakia | SK./G.G. 6057, GK./G.N. 1253, ged./dd 1978-06-16. |
| P91/11/81 ..... | ***Omkeer*** Winter 1981 ..... | Cosawr, London + Amsterdam, Salscom, London | SK./G.G. 6152, GK./G.N. 1849, ged./dd 1978-09-06. |
| P91/11/124 ..... | ***Guidelines*** No 5. May 1977..... | Nie vermeld/Not stated..... | SK./G.G. 5411, GK./G.N. 282, ged./dd 1977-02-25<br>SK./G.G. 5485, GK/G.N. 530 ged./dd 1977-04-01. |
| P91/11/201 ..... | ***Z***—Vol 2, No 5 ..... | SSD University of Cape Town, Rondebosch | SK./G.G. 5772, GK./G.N. 2117, ged./dd 1977-10-12.<br>SK./G.G. 5799, GK./G.N. 2350, ged./dd 1977-11-11. |
| P91/11/220 ..... | ***Soviet Union*** No 6 (327), 1977..... | Eastern News Distributors Inc, New York | SK./G.G. 3635, GK./G.N. 1498, ged./dd 1972-08-25. |
| P91/11/246 ..... | ***International Anti-Apartheid Year*** 21 March 1978–20 March 1979 | Nie vermeld/Not stated..... | SK./G.G. 6138, GK./G.N. 1738, ged./dd 1978-08-25. |
| P91/12/05 ..... | ***The Pyongyang Times*** No 31, Saturday, July 30, 1977 | Pyongyang Times ..... | SK./G.G. 1197, GK./G.N. 1148, ged./dd 1965-08-06. |

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Vol. 326 PRETORIA, 14 AUGUSTUS / AUGUST 1992 No. 14216

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

## DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

**No. 2345** **14 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES EN 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. 2345** **14 August 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 P92/29**

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasies of voorwerpe<br>Publications or objects | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/72..... | ***Longarm and the Arkansas Ambush*** No 156..... | Tabor Evans..... | (a) |
| P92/07/84..... | ***Lone Star and the Hillbound Pilgrims*** No 113 ..... | Wesley Ellis..... | (a) |

**No. 2346** **14 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VOORWAARDE

'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 publikasies nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan 'n voorwaarde dat die publikasie nie vir doeleindes van verspreiding in die openbaar uitgestal mag word nie:

**No. 2346** **14 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

CONDITION

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), in accordance with section 11 of the Act has decided that the undermentioned publications are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to a condition that the publication may not be displayed in public for purposes of distribution:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasies of voorwerpe<br>Publications or objects | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer |
|---|---|---|
| P92/07/94 ..... | ***Nipple Clamps*** (Packaging) ..... | Nie vermeld/not stated. |
| P92/08/05 ..... | ***Interview*** Vol XII No 7 July 1992 ..... | Interview Inc., New York. |

## Goniwe inquiry shifts to Pretoria

(327) PATRICK BULGER

THE focus of the investigation into the murder of Cradock political campaigner Matthew Goniwe has moved to Pretoria.

Eastern Cape attorney-general Michael Hodgen said yesterday he was in Pretoria in connection with the Goniwe investigation. He would not name those he had questioned.

He said only that he was following various leads. BIDAY 14/8/92

Hodgen confirmed that he had received a file from the SADF on the disappearance of a signal document linking the State Security Council to Goniwe.

He said the police had also been given copies of certain documents.

Hodgen said he had yet to come to a decision on whether charges would be pressed in the case of the missing signal document.

He could not comment on the Goniwe investigation itself.

Meanwhile, the SADF said yesterday an investigation report on the disappearance of the document had been given to Hodgen.

SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said the SADF was not looking for former Military Intelligence official Col Gert Hugo.

According to an affidavit from a former police agent Jennifer du Plessis, Transkei's military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa had acquired the documents from Hugo.

Rolt said that as the SADF had completed its investigation, it had no need to question Hugo now.

Holomisa, who was not available for comment yesterday, has said previously that the document arrived at his office in a plain envelope.

# Boipatong policeman 'threatened by captain'

BIDAY 14/8/92

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A POLICEMAN who claimed he saw police in Boipatong during the June 17 massacre in the township told the Goldstone commission yesterday he was intimidated by police who tried to make him change his statement.

Special constable Ntietsa Xaba, who is also a Boipatong resident, said a captain from the Vanderbijlpark police station had tried to make him change some facts on his statement, including the time at which he saw the police Casspirs.

Xaba said the captain became angry when he refused to change the facts, and threatened to assault assault him.

Counsel for the SAP, Flip Hattingh, put it to Xaba that he feared for his safety in the township and made the allegations to gain the approval of the ANC.

A dispute arose in the inquiry yesterday over Hattingh's cross-examination of the witness, which lasted seven hours.

Commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said he was concerned about the length of cross-examination, but added Xaba was one of the inquiry's most critical witnesses, and counsel should be given time to test his credibility.

Counsel for the ANC, Arthur Chaskalson, said the tedious cross-examination was ultimately "bludgeoning the witness into a state of confusion and exhaustion", and asked for a time constraint to be placed on questioning.

The first session of the inquiry, which focuses on allegations of security force involvement in the attack on the night of June 17, was expected to end today. But the inquiry has not been able to hear evidence from all the witnesses put forward, and the session is expected to continue in November.

Commission members visited Boipatong late last night to examine the visibility in the area during full moon. Witnesses have claimed they could see events more clearly on the night of the attack because it was full moon.

## Talks stall on reinstatement of hospital workers

BIDAY 14/8/92

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

NEGOTIATIONS were stalled yesterday between the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) and the Soweto Action Committee, which includes the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu).

The parties failed to agree on the reinstatement of fired Transvaal hospital workers.

Nehawu assistant secretary-general Neal Thobejane said Nehawu had offered to impose a temporary moratorium on strike action even though demands on wages and service conditions had still not been addressed by the Commission for Administration.

TPA MEC for Health Services Fanie Ferreira said last night the dismissed workers "cannot be reinstated since vacancies have already been filled by new employees".

# The merchants of destruction

STAR 14/8/92.

(327)

**Where do the illegal guns come from? The Star's investigation suggests at least some are bought and sold by former security force members. JACQUES PAUW reports.**

FORMER members of the security forces are involved in selling illegal arms in South Africa.

The Star has a sworn affidavit by a former police undercover agent and self-confessed arms dealer which exposes the arms racket in detail. The Star has been able to verify important aspects of the affidavit.

Among those implicated are a former colonel in Military Intelligence, and an ex-member of a clandestine and deadly SADF counter-insurgency force.

Jennifer du Plessis, the former agent who says she wants to get out of the gun-running underworld, has told her extraordinary story to The Star.

She says she has, for at least five years, smuggled arms throughout southern Africa. During this time, she was involved in deals with various members of the security forces.

The Star has confirmed that Ms du Plessis acted as an undercover police agent in Port Elizabeth, informing her police handler from time to time about illegal arms deals.

She says in an affidavit that she was offered arms on at least four occasions this year:

● In May a former colonel in Military Intelligence, Gert Hugo, visited Ms du Plessis at her home in Port Elizabeth, where a former SADF officer and member of the notorious eastern Cape counter-insurgency force "Hammer", John Scott, together with Mr Hugo, tried to sell a large arms cache to her. Mr Hugo allegedly said the arms came from Renamo in Mozambique and the "bantustans" and were buried near Queenstown on the border between SA and Ciskei. Mr Hugo is suspected of being connected to the leak of the "Goniwe signal" earlier this year.

● Shortly afterwards another police informant, Wayne Ludicker, wanted to sell Uzi machine-guns and AK-47 and R-5 assault rifles to Ms du Plessis.

● In January, as part of an attempted police entrapment plan, she bought an illegal Russian-manufactured Makarov pistol and 50 rounds of ammunition from Mr Scott. He promised her further arms, including AK-47, AKM and R-1 rifles. He allegedly said the arms came from EP Command and "Speskop" — Special Forces Headquarters near Pretoria.

● Last week Mr Hugo again approached Ms du Plessis and offered her more weapons, including 50 AK-47 rifles and 70 R-3 rifles. He wanted a R5 000 deposit for the weapons.

The Star is in possession of "shopping lists" detailing the arms — in Mr Hugo's and Mr Ludicker's handwriting — as well as recordings confirming the other weapons deals.

Ms du Plessis has provided The Star with the names of two former Civil Co-operation Bureau members allegedly involved in the smuggling of arms from Mozambique to the eastern Cape and other areas. One of the members, who had close ties with Mr Hugo and the Hammer group, has his own security company in SA. He recently clinched a deal with Mozambique to provide security for the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme, giving him free access to Mozambique.

The Star has established that the second former CCB man recently left South Africa and is now living in Maputo. He is alleged to have left South Africa with R120 000 in cash.

Ms du Plessis says she has, on at least two occasions, bought AK-47s on behalf of the first CCB member from a Portuguese arms dealer in Swaziland. She claims she had to deliver the first consignment of arms to a CCB contact in New Brighton near Port Elizabeth, and the second to KwaMashu near Durban.

Confronted by The Star about the alleged deals, Mr Hugo denied he was trafficking in weapons. He described Ms du Plessis as a well-known arms dealer in the eastern Cape. Mr Scott refused to comment.

Mr Hugo admitted he and Mr Scott visited Ms du Plessis on May 22 and an arms cache was discussed. He said he was "playing along" as Mr Scott was trying to "set up" Ms du Plessis.

However, Mr Hugo said many former SADF officers in his position had access to illegal arms. Mr Hugo said he was penniless, had severe personal problems and would sell arms if it was necessary for his survival.

Mr Hugo, a former officer at the SADF's Eastern Province Command and head of Ciskei Military Intelligence, was convicted of theft in Ciskei earlier this year. He received a suspended sentence. Mr Scott, also a former member of the SADF's Special Forces, was pensioned off two years ago after serving in the SADF for 22 years.

Ms du Plessis says in an affidavit that Mr Scott was in charge of a storeroom filled with foreign and local weaponry at EP Command. These weapons, which included limpet mines, plastic explosives, hand grenades and anti-personnel mines, were used by Hammer during operations.

Mr Scott told The Star he would not comment on the allegations. He admitted he was a Hammer member, and said: "I was just involved in the admin side, like storeroom control."

In a tape-recorded conversation with Ms du Plessis, Mr Scott referred to his military career: "You knew I drove around in a blue van with radios and things. You knew I was a bit involved in the explosives side; bomb disposal side. And you, in fact, also saw me in Pretoria at the (military) school."

Mr Ludicker refused to comment, but said he was not dealing in arms. He said he had met Ms du Plessis twice, but it was "personal". □

# The gun-runners' deadly shopping lists

STAR 14/8/92

(327)

**If you know the right people, buying guns and explosives in South Africa is like buying groceries. JACQUES PAUW reports on deadly "shopping lists" and discounts for weapons.**

FIFTY AK-47 assault rifles, 15 Uzi machine-guns, 70 R-3 rifles, 40 9 mm Beretta pistols, 40 Star pistols, mini-limpet mines, plastic explosives.

This is the chilling "shopping list", worth about R40 000 in current black market prices, offered only two weeks ago by a former Military Intelligence officer to a self-confessed arms dealer who has now decided to extricate herself from the deadly weapons trade.

The "salesman" was former Military Intelligence colonel Gert Hugo, the "buyer" Jennifer du Plessis. The list is in Mr Hugo's own handwriting.

Mr Hugo said in a telephone conversation with Ms du Plessis that he was in partnership with "somebody else", and he had to confirm prices for the goods on offer. He said R450 was the "going rate" for an AK-47 assault rifle, but added he "would push" for a discounted deal — R350 a piece. He also said he had "five or six" RPG rocket launchers for sale.

Earlier this year, in May, Mr Hugo had tried to sell an arms cache to Ms du Plessis. He was then in the presence of John Scott, a former SADF officer and member of the notorious SADF "Hammer" group in the eastern Cape. Ms du Plessis claims Mr Scott also offered her a variety of arms, including AK-47s and plastic explosives.

The Star has further established that another police informant in the eastern Cape, Wayne Ludicker, tried to sell foreign arms to Ms du Plessis in June. According to Ms du Plessis, Mr Ludicker offered four AK-47s, four Uzi submachine-guns, four R-1 assault rifles and a rare Glock assassination pistol.

Mr Ludicker wanted R1 200 for an AK-47, R1 200 for an R-5, R800 for an Uzi, R700 for a Colt 45 revolver and R1 200 for the Glock.

In an affidavit drawn up during The Star's investigation, Ms du Plessis claims that Mr Hugo had told her he had an arms cache containing Renamo weapons and confiscated Ciskei weapons. The cache was in the Queenstown area. She said Mr Hugo offered her AK-47s, plastic explosives and detonators. He said he could not vouch for the reliability of the ammunition because of the dampness of the "digs".

"He said he wanted to get rid of the weapons in quantities of 30, 10 in a box, or everything in one go," Ms du Plessis says in her statement.

Asked by The Star about his arms cache, Mr Hugo said he was just "playing along with Scott". Asked by Ms du Plessis in a recorded conversation about Mr Hugo's arms cache, Mr Scott said: "You've heard he was blustering about it ... but ... he didn't say it was in the corner of Avenue A and Street B ... He has certainly never told me where it is."

Ms du Plessis said she bought a Makarov pistol from Mr Scott in January as part of an operation to entrap him. She said her handler, Major Phillip de Lange of the SAP's Crime Information Service in Port Elizabeth, was in charge of the operation.

Major de Lange refused to comment, but according to Ms du Plessis, she bought the Makarov and 50 rounds of ammunition from Mr Scott and handed the pistol over to the police. Mr Scott has never been arrested or questioned.

In a conversation between Mr Scott and Ms du Plessis last month, he said a former policeman who still has contacts in the force came to warn him to be careful. □

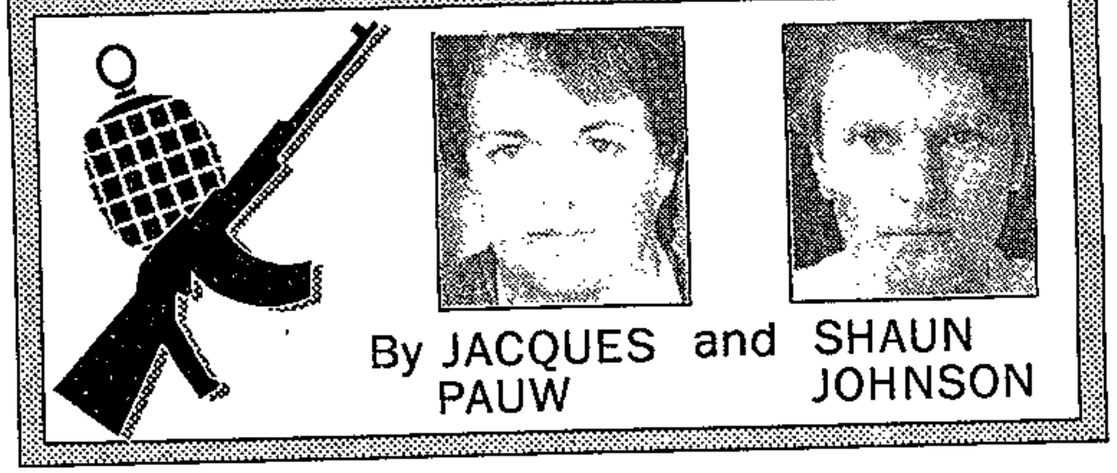
# Rogues who could scuttle a settl

STAR 14/8/92

14/8/92

**The Star is investigating allegations of so-called "third force" activities — any illegal activities which have the effect of stoking violence and instability, and thereby holding peace hostage. On this page are startling revelations of trafficking in guns — the instruments which underpin the horrific levels of violence in South Africa today. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON argues that the negotiations process itself depends on exposing the truth about "third force" activities.**

**A SPECIAL Star INVESTIGATION**



By JACQUES PAUW and SHAUN JOHNSON

THE GREAT unanswered question of South Africa's political future is whether there are "third force" elements in and around the security network, fuelling violence and bedevilling negotiations. The answer is of supreme importance: if rogue elements are out of government control, a negotiated settlement might not be worth the paper it is written on. Such elements would not be bound by any agreement.

This is a terrifying prospect. It could spell years of turmoil. It is almost too horrifying to face up to the possibility that ruthless men, accountable to no one, are in large part dictating our future.

Most black South Africans believe, passionately, that powerful blocs within or formerly related to the security forces are deeply implicated in the ongoing bloodshed. Most whites, with equal passion, reject this.

The international community has, in recent months, begun to lean towards the former view.

In its latest edition the London-based journal Africa Confidential says bluntly that there is now little doubt that a complex network of security force-related individuals are actively destabilising black townships with the object of weakening the ANC and sabotaging a political settlement. It is suggested that President de Klerk faces an acute dilemma: on the one hand he would like to establish political control over the security forces but on the other he needs them as an insurance policy in case negotiations fail.

Africa Confidential describes Mr de Klerk as an "almost immobilised captive of a powerful clique of securocrats". The journal claims Mr de Klerk has commissioned the National Intelligence Service to investigate how these elements are undermining political initiatives, and to make recommendations on how they can be isolated.

The reason that the South African public is schizophrenic on the "third force" issue is that hard evidence of such activity has been piecemeal and often contradictory: besides the conviction of police captain Brian Mitchell in the Trust Feed case, little real clarity has been forthcoming. For example, the inquiry into the Civil Co-operation Bureau was lamentably inconclusive, investigations into train massacres have petered out, probes into the "Goniwe signal" and the Dirk Coetzee plot have yet to produce comprehensive results, and an overworked Judge Goldstone is still trying to reconstruct what happened at Boipatong. Suspicion is rife, proof at a premium.

The Star believes that the public must be told as much of the truth as can be uncovered, as soon as it is uncovered. Exposing "third force" activity is not a party-political matter: it threatens the incumbent Government just as much as it does future administrators of our country. We use the term "third force" in its widest sense — any activities which are intended to, or have the effect of, exacerbating the instability of the transition period. "Third force" activity does not necessarily need to be co-ordinated. Early evidence uncovered by The Star even suggests that financial and political motives can often overlap. There may be many "third forces", acting in many different ways.

This newspaper has for the past month been conducting a countrywide investigation into reports of widespread "third force" misdeeds. We begin today to publish the results of our endeavours, in the belief that by putting pieces of a puzzle into the public domain, other pieces might emerge.

The Star's investigation has centred thus far on activity in the eastern Cape. In the course of our inquiries a welter of mysterious information has emerged. It relates to the running of guns — the final destinations of which have yet to be established — the Goniwe killings, the activities of police and military elements in the "war" against political opponents, rampant corruption, smuggling and illegal trading. It puts in the spotlight individuals who have been involved at various levels in security force structures. □

# news

## in brief

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### Hugo not in SADF's list

THE South African Defence Force had no need to question former Military Intelligence official Colonel Gert Hugo, spokesman Colonel John Rolt said.

Rolt said their investigations into the disappearance of a document implicating a general and the State Security Council in the deaths of four East Cape activists had been completed.

He was reacting to reports which said the SADF wanted to question Hugo about the alleged top secret signal which implicated an army general and the State Security Council in the 1985 murders. Hugo was on the run and in fear of his life, the reports said. - *Sapa.*

Sowetan 14/8/92

# Goniwe inquiries shifted to Pretoria

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The focus of the investigation into the murder of Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe has moved to Pretoria.

Eastern Cape attorney-general Mr Michael Hodgen said yesterday he was in Pretoria as part of the Goniwe investigation. He would not say whom he had questioned but only that he was following various leads.

Mr Hodgen confirmed that he had received a file from the SADF on the disappearance of a signal document linking the State Security Council to Mr Goniwe. He said the police had also been given copies of certain documents.

Meanwhile the SADF said yesterday that an investigation report on the disappearance of the document had been given to Mr Hodgen. SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said the SADF was not looking for former Military Intelligence official Colonel Gert Hugo. According to an affidavit from a former police agent Ms Jennifer du Plessis, Colonel Hugo told her he had sold Goniwe documents to Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Col Rolt said the SADF had no need to question Colonel Hugo. CT 14/8/92

# Leaked document

## SADF probe into Eastern Cape assassinations

EAST LONDON. — The SADF wants to question the former head of the Eastern Province Command, Colonel Gert Hugo, about a secret document that was leaked this year, an army spokesman said.

The incriminating signal document implicated the present head of military intelligence and the State Security Council in the brutal assassinations of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other Eastern Cape activists.

But the Defence Force spokesman, asking not to be named, emphasised that "Mr Hugo is not the only possible source", nor the prime suspect for the leak to Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa in May.

General Holomisa adamantly denied yesterday that he had bought the "Goniwe documents" from Colonel Hugo.

"I have had no connection with him since he was deported back to South Africa," General Holomisa said.

In July last year, Colonel Hugo, then-head of Ciskei military intelligence, defected to Transkei. Suspecting he had not severed links with hostile Ciskei and South African intelligence services, the Transkei handed him over to the South African Embassy in Umtata.

The military attaché to the South African Embassy for Ciskei, Colonel Bill van der Linde, refused to comment yesterday on whether Colonel Hugo had threatened to expose military secrets unless he was left alone. — Ecna.

# General linked to Reef covert unit

w/Mail 14/8 – 20/8/92.

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*The general under investigation for the Goniwe murders has been linked to a Johannesburg unit active at the time of David Webster's murder. By* **EDDIE KOCH**

GENERAL CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, the army intelligence boss at the centre of the row over the Matthew Goniwe murders, set up a covert unit which operated out of army headquarters in Johannesburg at the time academic David Webster was assassinated.

The eastern Cape squad run by Van der Westhuizen before he moved to Johannesburg is being investigated by the attorney general for alleged complicity in the murders of Goniwe and three colleagues.

The Johannesburg squad, the special reaction force or "Hammers", was deployed on the Reef until a year ago. Its members wore plain clothes and were trained in the use of AK47 assault rifles and other eastern bloc weaponry.

The "Hammers" used a white Hi-Ace taxi kitted out with an arsenal of weapons, explosives, false number plates and blacked-out windows to carry out its missions. The vehicle was parked on the second level of the army headquarters building in Johannesburg.

A senior officer in the army's Witwatersrand Command this week told *The Weekly Mail* that Van der Westhuizen masterminded the creation of the Johannesburg hit team when he came to the city in 1987, after being transferred from the Eastern Province Command.

*The Weekly Mail's* source, who was involved in the work of the Johannesburg unit, said the "Hammers" went on regular night missions, during which they made use of Russian-made weapons and teargas.

"They received their weapons, as well as gas masks, from the ops room on the 14th floor of Wits Command and returned them the next day. Bullets had been fired and the filters on the gas masks had been used," he said.

An elite team of about 15 men was chosen from a group of 150 volunteers, he said. "The training of the unit began in 1987. The message went out that the army was looking for volunteers for the special force. It was open to members of the permanent force, commandos, national servicemen and the citizen force."

Those who were chosen were told they would be exempted from citizen force camps as they would be called up to undertake irregular operations.

Training of Johannesburg's "Hammers" was undertaken by Colonel Vic Walker, who accompanied Van der Westhuizen to Johannesburg when the general was transferred from the eastern Cape to Wits Command.

Walker joined the SADF after leaving former Rhodesia, where he fought in the special forces against the guerrilla movement. He is described as Van der Westhuizen's right-hand man.

The final "Hammers" group was put through a shortened version of a course designed for the SADF's special forces, which included shooting, use of explosives, extreme physical duress and psychological tests, said the source.

"All the weapons were of Russian origin: Makarovs, Scorpions, Tokarovs, AK47s and RPG7s. Gas masks and tear smoke were also used. South African R4 and R5 rifles were also used."

One of the training officers was a Captain Klopper, who worked in the security department of the Johannesburg City Council as a bomb disposal expert, he said.

Frik Barnard, head of the now-disbanded Johannesburg security department, told the 1990 Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry into the city's "spy ring" that some of his staff had attended a "Hammers course". Barnard was a citizen force major from military intelligence at Wits Command while he ran the Johannesburg security department.

He later retracted the claim that his personnel worked with the "Hammers" unit. His legal counsel described the training as an "intelligence course" for citizen force intelligence officers.

But a member of the city council's security department, Hannes Gouws, had earlier testified that he and others in the "spy ring" had formed a special unit together with members of MI.

"We burnt down houses, intimidated people and broke arms and legs," Gouws told the commission. He said the group met every Friday at a secret SADF farm near Pretoria and that some training had taken place on the farm.

Gouws said he had been told that a member of the group was responsible for the assassination of Webster.

It is not clear if the covert group that Gouws served in is the same "Hammers" unit described by *The Weekly Mail's* source. It is possible that two or more hit teams operated out of Wits Command while it was under the command of Van der Westhuizen.

The SADF said that "the fact that Van der Westhuizen was the general officer commanding Wits Command at that time is irrelevant".

SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt confirmed that the Wits Command headquarters, "like all South African army command headquarters, has a reaction force available for deployment should any military contingency arise".

But he denied that the unit "was used as a hit squad in Reef or any other townships. In Wits Command specifically, the reaction force had a standby role and was never deployed offensively".

"The SADF rejects the insinuation that there is something sinister about a normal reaction force and the fact that Van der Westhuizen was the commander at the time," Rolt said.




**Deported IFP member Bruce Anderson allegedly brought in guns from Mozambique** **Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK**

# 'Police told me to alter evidence'

W/Mail 14/8-20/8/92

*This week at the Goldstone Commission ... First the police tapes were accidentally erased. Then a witness said police asked him to 'correct mistakes' in his statement.*

*By* **JACQUIE GOLDING**

A SPECIAL constable who told the Goldstone Commission he had seen a Hippo in the township on the night of the Boipatong massacre yesterday testified that a week after the killings he was asked by a police captain to change his statement.

And in other evidence damaging to the police this week, the commission also heard that a letter by a police technician was sent only last week to 10 "priority" police stations, warning operators not to turn over the cassettes used in a four-channel tape recorder.

The message came more than a month too late for the Vereeniging Internal Stability Unit, with police witnesses telling the court that their tapes from the night of June 17 had been "partially erased".

Under cross-examination yesterday Special Constable Ntietsie Xaba said that a week after the massacre a police captain from the Vanderbijlpark police station called him in to "correct mistakes" to a statement he had made.

In his statement he described seeing a Hippo moving towards his house in Boipatong at about 11pm on June 17. "I noticed two men in front of the Hippo. They were clothed in strange apparel and had long firearms. They were dressed in white overalls and red headbands.

"It seems to me that the Hippo was not chasing them." They screamed "this is our day" in Zulu and fired shots in the air, he said.

He also said he noticed another two men in camouflage police uniform behind the Hippo.

A week after he had made this statement, the captain told him to change the time that he saw the Hippo from 11pm to 9pm.

Xaba said he had refused.

The special constable also told the commission that photographs taken after the massacre were inaccurate, not showing the distances he had described.

He told the commission that he had been threatened if he did not change his statement. "The police captain threatened to hit me if I did not change certain important aspects of my statement," he said.

Earlier this week evidence was led that a recording of all radio messages between security force units taped during the night of June 17 — at the height of the massacre in the Vaal township — were "accidentally erased".

Witnesses testified that calls from 2pm on June 17 to 3am on June 18 had been "accidentally wiped out by the person on duty".

A witness told the inquiry that neither police technicians nor operators from the Vereeniging Internal Stability Unit had been aware that tapes had been accidentally erased for the past six months. A new tape recorder was installed in March this year, the commission heard.

Last week Warrant Officer Johan van Vuuren, who installed the recording machine at the Vereeniging Internal Stability Unit, sent a letter warning operators to only use one side of the tape; otherwise the recording would be wiped clean.

Many valuable recordings of other incidents were now of no use, the commission heard.

Sergeant Ilsa O'Reilly, who was in charge of the Vereeniging operation control room on June 17, said she had unknowingly turned the tape around and wiped two days of relevant recording — by mistake.

O'Reilly turned over the tapes before going off duty at 4pm on June 17. The following morning she contacted a Captain Roos to check whether to turn the tape over. She said she "specifically remembers turning the cassette around".

Only O'Reilly and Roos have access to the machine, the commission heard.

Counsel for the African National Congress, Dennis Kuny SC, asked O'Reilly why she had contacted Roos when she normally turned the tapes around, not knowing of the consequences.

O'Reilly testified that she was shown how to use the tape by Van Vuuren, who said she could use both sides of the cassette.

According to Van Vuuren and O'Reilly the operator's handbook did not state only one side of the cassette could be used.

"I realised that I could not tape on both sides after the Boipatong tapes were with the investigation team of the commission."

Two experts from private firms are to make copies of all the tapes and transcripts will then be given to all the parties involved in the hearing.

Counsel for the police, Flip Hattingh SC, expressed concern at media reports of the blank tapes, and asked that the police be given a chance to put their case.

# Hammer unit shot 'Sparrow'

w/mail, 14/8 - 20/8/92.

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By EDDIE KOCH

AN informant has told a senior justice department official that a former eastern Cape "Hammers" member shot dead Matthew Goniwe's friend, Sparrow Mkhonto.

Eastern Cape Attorney General Michael Hodgen confirmed yesterday that he was working with a police informer, Jennie du Plessis, who had provided details of the 1985 murder of Goniwe and three colleagues, including Mkhonto.

Du Plessis alleges that former "Hammers" operative Warrant Officer John Scott personally killed Mkhonto. She says the 1985 operation in which Goniwe and his colleagues were abducted at a roadblock and killed was carried out jointly by the "Hammers" and a group of security policemen.

Another member of the Cape "Hammers" unit has told reporters that the unit, designed as a reaction force to neutralise anti-apartheid activists and disrupt the "enemy" during counter-insurgency operations, was involved in the operation to kill Goniwe.

"We went in (to the townships) in a war wagon. This was a Toyota Hi-Ace with false number plates, equipped with a *trommel* (trunk) containing weapons, ammunition, flak jackets, etc. We were dressed as kaffirs, with our faces and hands blackened," he said.

It is clear that the Johannesburg "Hammers" unit operated in much the same way as the unit pioneered by General CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen in the eastern Cape. The unit almost alway operated in civilian clothing and worked closely with the riot unit of the South African Police.

# IFP man linked to gun running

W/Mail 14/-20/8/92

By EDDIE KOCH

A SELF-CONFESSED arms smuggler has implicated Bruce Anderson, the white Inkatha official deported from South Africa last month, in a racket that involved smuggling AK47 rifles out of Mozambique into South Africa.

The gun-runner says Anderson acquired about 40 AK47 rifles and "a few anti-personnel mines" from contacts in Mozambique and then arranged, through a middleman in Swaziland, for the consignment to be dropped off at a shop in kwaMashu township near Durban.

*The Weekly Mail's* source claims to have personally supervised arrangements for Anderson's cargo of weapons to be transported from Mozambique to Natal.

The Department of Home Affairs has refused to comment on the reasons for Anderson's sudden deportation to England last month. Inkatha declines to say why their official was booted out of the country. And British officials remain tight-lipped about Anderson's expulsion.

Asked if the Inkatha official's expulsion was linked to gun-running, Home Affairs' Chris Pretorius said: "We do not give reasons, as you know, for people being deported."

But sources close to Mozambican intelligence this week confirmed that Anderson had close ties with Renamo rebels in Mozambique and has long been suspected of involvement in the movement of weapons from that country into South Africa.

Anderson also visited Washington last year where he made contact with a number of rightwing movements and inquired about the possibility of purchasing weapons.

Mozambican intelligence sources added that President Joaquim Chissano discussed the issue of arms smuggling between the two countries with President FW de Klerk when the two leaders met at the opening of the new Polana Hotel in Maputo last month.

"De Klerk said he would take action against anyone who was supporting Renamo from South African soil if concrete details were supplied to him," a leading Frelimo member told *The Weekly Mail*.

British diplomats, who ask not to be named, say they are also certain that the expulsion was related to the Inkatha official's involvement in gun-running.

Anderson was the chairman of Inkatha's Sandton branch and a delegate for the Zulu movement at Codesa. He also served on an interim dispute resolution committee in Alexandra township.

He came to South Africa in 1981 after being convicted of fraud in Zimbabwe where he lived for a number of years. Anderson became a confidante of Renamo leader Alfonso Dhlakama as well as Ndabaningi Sithole, Zimbabwe's rebel nationalist leader.

He was also a member of Britain's neo-fascist National Front before he emigrated to Rhodesia in the late 1970s.

Anderson was declared a persona non grata on July 17 this year and was given a one-way ticket to England on that day. It is believed he will be attending a reunion meeting for members of the Rhodesian special forces in London this weekend.

The first eyewitness ac co

# Expelled Inkatha official linked to arms running

W/Mail 14/8-20/8/92

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INKATHA official Bruce Anderson was suddenly deported from South Africa last month. Neither South African nor British officials will explain the expulsion.

This week *The Weekly Mail* learned that Anderson was long involved in smuggling AK-47 rifles out of Mozambique into South Africa.

His deportation followed a meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, where De Klerk is believed to have agreed to prevent covert Renamo operations in this country.

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# Exile confessed he was a police spy, says ANC

w/Mail 14/8-20/8/92 (380) (327)

*The returned exile who recently threatened to assassinate African National Congress leaders told the ANC, during interrogation, that he had worked for the police for seven years. By* **LINDA RULASHE**

THE African National Congress claims it has detailed information proving controversial returnee Patrick Hlongwane was a police operative.

Hlongwane denied the charge in a television interview this week. Police have denied he is or was one of their agents.

But, says the ANC Intelligence Department, according to a 1987 confession he made while being interrogated by the movement in Lusaka, Hlongwane collaborated with the South African Police security branch for about seven years.

The ANC has supplied *The Weekly Mail* with a copy of the confession. Hlongwane has not denied that he made the confession, but says it was made under duress and that he gave information his questioners were likely to believe.

"The subject, Harvery Maringa alias Patrick Mncedisi Dlongwana," the confession begins, "is a trained and experienced enemy agent." The document notes that "being detected and later confirmed by comrades who knew his ... background, it was thus easy for him to confess" and that "since we started our investigation, the subject was ... willing to co-operate and furnish us with whatever details we needed".

The document includes extensive information on Hlongwane's tasks as a police informer, such as the surveillance and infiltration of progressive organisations in Port Elizabeth, the training he was given in the use of certain firearms and surveillance equipment , and payments he received for various missions.

According to the document, Hlongwane, known to the ANC as Dlongwana, first collaborated with the police in 1977 when he was arrested in Port Elizabeth with other students for holding demonstrations and boycotting classes. He was released, the document notes, after revealing identities of students actively behind the boycott.

In 1980 Hlongwane, whose police code number is given as 446/8 (it was later altered to OPJ 446/8), agreed to testify against Mzamo Madolwane and Mzwabantu Bedesho after the three were charged with the illegal possession of explosives. He was paid R5 by police and given a pair of canvas shoes, according to the ANC.

The document states that Hlongwane was formally recruited to the police force in July 1980 by a Constable Buzana of the special branch headquarters in Port Elizabeth. His handlers included a Colonel Van Rooyen of the Brighton police station, who instructed him to form a pseudo-revolutionary organisation, Roots, and special branch policemen Sergeant Swarte, Warrant Officer Momberg, a Lieutenant Smuts and a Captain Roelofse.

During this time, the confession continues, he reported student plans to petrol-bomb government property, assisted in arresting eight students and subsequently turned state witness. Some of the students were jailed for three years.

The document mentions a number of violent police operations in which Hlongwane said he took part. In September 1980, he was charged with shooting a girl, known only as "Nompumelelo", in the thigh after accompanying police on a search-arrest operation of two youths in Port Elizabeth townships.

Three years later, the confession continues, Hlongwane used a bayonet to stab to death a teenager, Mzulisi Gxuma, in a Port Elizabeth shebeen after Gxuma called him a sellout.

Meanwhile, in 1981, he and a Pan Africanist Congress member, Mzwandile Maqhina, had been instructed to form Roots, whose task was to oppose progressive and mass democratic organisations; sow confusion; mount a disinformation and malicious propaganda campaign against prominent leaders; and force boycotting students back to classes. Roots was also told to disrupt and disperse Port Elizabeth Black Congress (Pebco) meetings by force while wearing balaclavas and enforce order at bus queues, cinemas and soccer matches.

The ANC says Hlongwane's infiltration of mass democratic movements was immense. According to the organisation, he spied on such groups as Pebco, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).



**Chris Hani 'admits camp atrocities'**

He successfully infiltrated Peyco where he was made a cultural officer, frequently reporting to a Sergeant Swarts about what transpired during meetings.

The confession says he also planned the kidnapping and assassination of prominent leaders of the mass democratic movement such as then-Cosas president Lulu Johnson, journalist Mono Badela and president of the eastern Cape branch of the United Democratic Front, Edgar Ngoyi.

Hlongwane said he also underwent training in the use of firearms and surveillance. During July and August of 1980, he was trained by a Constable Van Vuuren at the Queenstown police shooting range in the use of a 9mm pistol and "how to take on positions". Hlongwane also underwent a three-week course on night photography at Port Elizabeth's special branch headquarters in September 1982. The course was taught by Momberg.

According to the document, Hlongwane was trained in using walkie talkies and bugging devices in 1983 during a two-day course in Port Elizabeth run by Lieutenant Dion Niewoudt and Sergeant Freddy van Dyk, while a year later he was trained at Port Elizabeth's Warmer police shooting range by a Major Linda to use an R1 rifle.

It was after his photography course, according to the ANC document, that Hlongwane "was infiltrated inside Maseru, Lesotho, to photograph ANC targets, ie residential areas". In December 1982 he participated in a South African Defence Force raid, pinpointing targets for the raiding party.

From February 16 1983 to some time in April, he then infiltrated the ranks of the ANC in Lesotho to assesss the extent of the raid. Registering himself as an ANC member, he gave daily 9am reports to Momberg at the special branch headquarters about ANC members, their cars, houses and their general activities.

Hlongwane was sent to Lusaka in December 1986, according to the confession, by three policemen from the Germiston special branch — a Warrant Officer Van Dyk, a Sergeant Mogoai and a Captain Smith — with instructions to study the ANC, then return to South Africa and report to the nearest police station.

It was here that he was arrested.

According to the document, for his external missions Hlongwane was offered R3 000. He intially received a monthly salary of R100 in 1980 for spying, but this was increased to R120 in 1981 and then R150.

For vigilante activities, he received a monthly salary of R300 and was promised a car and house in Bophuthatswana for his last assignment.

Reacting, police denied Hlongwane had ever been an SAP agent, saying he was a "well-trained terrorist who somehow angered his superiors". Police rejected the allegations of his training at the hands of the SAP "with the contempt they deserve", adding that other ANC allegations were "totally false".

# Flushing the guilty out from society's sewers

ARG 15/8/92

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■ The net seems to be drawing tighter around whoever it was who butchered Matthew Goniwe and his three colleagues on that fateful night in the Eastern Cape in 1985, writes political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON.**

IN a country known for its inability to solve political murders — who killed Robert Smit, Rick Turner, and so many others? — it would be naive to expect that, just because extraordinary evidence has been turned up, the Goniwe case, indeed, will be solved.

However, there is reason to be hopeful, not least because more and more people who inhabited the dark security force-linked underworld in and around Port Elizabeth are getting scared, and are starting to talk.

They certainly believe the investigation will not fizzle out like so many others before it, and have a shrewd suspicion that if a culprit is to be named, it is likely to be someone from their grubby ranks rather than the elevated echelons.

The Goniwe investigation has come to mean something beyond the painful, desperate desire of the activists' relatives and friends to know the truth. It is a symbolic case against which current proposals for a general amnesty should be tested.

I have argued before that the purpose of identifying those responsible for these — and all other — unconscionable acts of barbarity is not retribution. Putting the murderers in jail will not bring Goniwe back to life, and will not contribute to the spirit of reconciliation without which the new South Africa cannot be born.

The purpose is disclosure and the laying to rest of the screeching ghosts that nightly wake South Africa from its fitful sleep. Without exorcism, the wailing will never stop.

There is, it seems to me, a workable and, on balance, a just way to apply an amnesty and at least wipe the bloody slate cleaner. It could be agreed by all sides that an amnesty for political crimes will come into effect on, say, September 1.

Between now and then, anyone who has been involved in such crimes would have to come forward (to a specially-appointed commission, perhaps) and fully disclose their deeds. This information would be made public, but the individuals would be indemnified from prosecution for any acts committed before the cut-off date.

The only condition would be that if it subsequently emerged that the disclosure was incomplete or incorrect in any way, the indemnity would be revoked.

To use the Goniwe case as an example, if the culprits came forward they would be identified and the sordid mystery unravelled immediately and without further cost — but, they would not be charged.

If they did not come forward within the specified period, the investigation would run its course and the full weight of the law would be brought to bear.

In passing eventual sentence, it would be considered an aggravating factor that the killers had spurned the chance to come clean.

The choice facing the guilty would be stark — confess, repent and start life anew, or be hunted down. All the political criminals hiding in the darker reaches of our country would have to decide, once and for all.

The practical political benefits of such a scheme are obvious. We have scattered across South Africa today a terrifying number of people who have taken part in murders and never been caught.

Obviously, having once killed, the chances are that they will kill again, whether for political or financial gain, or plain habit. They have broken society's taboos, they live under the shadow of discovery, and they are lost to the new South Africa.

Such an amnesty would offer them a chance, perhaps the only chance, of finding a way back into civil society.

Once having been indemnified, their future behaviour would be severely constrained. The glare of public knowledge would, hopefully, immobilise their baser instincts.

If they chose the option of rehabilitation, they would spend the rest of their lives trying to prove themselves worthy citizens.

How much better a prospect that is for all of us than having them in society's sewers, wreaking havoc. Among others, participants in "third force" activities would be shown an escape route from the corners they have chosen to inhabit.

I would not dare to presume to speak for Matthew Goniwe's wife. I do not know whether she would accept that her husband's murderers should escape physical punishment. It is certainly her right to demand revenge.

However, our history is so bloodstained and so labyrinthine that I cannot imagine another way of washing our hands and cleansing our hearts, so that we might start again.

I hope that this plan, or any plan which achieves similar aims, is taken up.

But, unless and until that happens, it is the moral duty of the politicians, officials, media and everyone else to pursue the killers in each and every case, and not to stop until they are found.

# Dreading township's 'young men with guns'

STAR 15/8/92

PATRICK LAURENCE

**JUSTICE Prafullachandra Bhagwati, former Chief Justice of India and an assessor in the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the Boipatong massacre of June 17, nodded in agreement.**

Justice Richard Goldstone had just told counsel for the ANC, Arthur Chaskalson, that he was reluctant to cut short a prolonged cross-examination of a young black policeman on "collateral" issues by Flip Hattingh, for the police. His evidence was very important, Judge Goldstone said, evoking Judge Bhagwati's nodded endorsement.

## Graduate

Ntietsa Xaba, a special constable who lives in Boipatong, had earlier told the commission that on the night of the killings he had seen two white men in camouflage uniforms walking behind a slow-moving Casspir.

Two black men, with "automatic firearms" and wearing red bandannas walked in front, fired shots into the air and shouted in Zulu "It is our day", he said.

The testimony of Xaba, a 21-year-old Std 8 "graduate", was more than central to the critical issue of whether or not the police were implicated in the massacre; it gave a detailed account of what it is like to live as a black policeman in a township in South Africa today.

One of the points to come across strongly during his evidence was his constant fear of "young men with guns" from the neighbouring townships of Sebokeng and Sharpeville. Xaba insisted in the face of rigorous cross-examination that these armed men did not live in Boipatong.

Thus, on the morning of June 18, when he went out after the massacre to join a crowd which had gathered around a neighbour's house, he heard people say: "Something has got to be done about the police. They kill people."

Xaba ran back to hide in the shack he lived in at the back of his parents' house. While there he was visited by another special constable, Joseph Sello.

They decided to convene a meeting of young policemen to discuss the situation in which they found themselves and to inspect the damage inflicted by the marauders the night before.

While doing so they were intercepted by a minibus "full of boys", some of whom carried guns. The "boys" — who were presumably "comrades" — objected to the continued presence of policemen in Boipatong.

The special constables, who did not carry firearms, fled. Xaba locked himself in his shack. While there, he heard a commotion, which he interpreted as the presence of many people. His sister later told him that the uninvited visitors had come to fetch him or his gun.

She advised him to flee to his elder brother's house in Sebokeng. He did so, collecting Sello — who had been accused by the young men of killing seven people in Sharpeville — on the way.

Xaba's fear of the "young men with guns" — he told the court he did not know who or what "comrades" were — was matched, or even superseded, by his fear of the "riot police".

## Testify

"I feared the riot police most," he recalled telling Sello's brother, who, like his own elder brother, was a policemen.

Chaskalson asked Xaba whether it had been easy to testify against the police. He replied: "No, it was not because I was afraid ... I have seen bad treatment from the police."

He told the commission that he had been abused for "talking shit" by a white police officer after making a statement about what he saw on the night of the massacre and that he had been pressed by an SAP captain to alter details of the statement.

Apart from fear of retribution, whether from "comrades" or fellow policemen, two additional interrelated themes ran through Xaba's evidence: resentment at the perceived privileged treatment of white policemen and a strong desire for him to be issued with a firearm.

Relating what had happened at a meeting of black policemen at Houtkop, near Boipatong, where they had discussed their grievances, Xaba described the resentment of black policeman at the preferential treatment received by their white counterparts.

"We aren't even issued with guns. Yet white policemen have guns, even up to three guns, which they take home. When a black policeman dies you don't even know (about it) but when a white policeman dies you even see helicopters."

Later in his testimony Xaba quoted a black police sergeant as complaining that black policemen were given Hippos without a covered top — and thus vulnerable to a lobbed hand-grenade — when on patrol in the townships.

Running in tandem with resentment was, judging from Xaba's evidence, a drive by black policemen — or, perhaps more accurately, by special constables — to obtain weapons for themselves.

Later, describing his motivation in reporting an attack on a house in Boipatong, he said: "My endeavour was to be furnished with a firearm."

Only after being pressed by Hattingh did he mention a secondary motivation: to report an unlawful action.

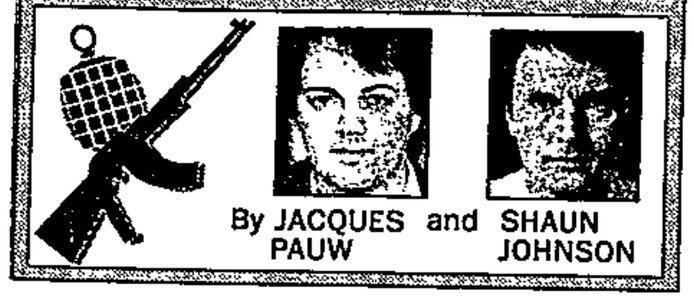


Zelda GRAM

# Ex-officers, agents flock to help ANC on Goniwe

STAR 15/8/92 (327)

A SPECIAL Star INVESTIGATION



By JACQUES PAUW and SHAUN JOHNSON

SINCE the publication of the "Goniwe signal", former Military Intelligence officers and operatives in the eastern Cape have rushed to the ANC for protection or payment.

In the past three months former security force members have approached the ANC's intelligence department — some promising, in return for cash, more information on the 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and three colleagues.

Large amounts of money have allegedly been mentioned in the course of the ANC's attempts to pursue leads on the murders, under investigation by eastern Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen.

A former SADF officer and member of the security force "Hammer" group in the eastern Cape was one of those who crossed over — but now he has threatened to "take out" ANC officials who had "stuffed him around" for two months.

## Attempts

The operative asked the Saturday Star not to reveal his identity as there had already been three attempts on his life. He said a few weeks ago the entire magazine of a 9 mm pistol had been emptied at him. He accused his former colleagues in Hammer of trying to eliminate him.

He said a group of men had subsequently threatened to attack him: "I pulled out my Bowie knife and said to them I would take at least two or three with me. They backed off."

He offered to investigate the Goniwe murders for the ANC, in return for R5 000. "They agreed to finance my investigations, but I have not heard anything of them again. The ANC has breached a situation of confidence. The bastards owe me money."

The willingness of former eastern Cape security forces members to deal with the ANC seems to stem from fears that the exposure of the alleged military signal — in which it was recommended that Goniwe and others be "permanently removed from society" — may lead to prosecutions.

A former officer in Military Intelligence, Colonel Gert Hugo, confirmed recently that he had been co-operating for some time with the ANC and human rights organisations on the Goniwe murders, and on military operations in Ciskei and the eastern Cape. He said his involvement with the ANC arose from desperation and a shortage of money, but added that he had not been paid much by the ANC.

Hugo said the last time he had seen the ANC was a month ago. He had initially been debriefed by the organisation in a house on the East Rand. He said he now suspected there was a leak in the ANC's intelligence department.

ANC sources said Hugo promised to recruit a Special Forces officer for the organisation, but he had not been heard from again.

While co-operating with the ANC, the Hammer operative said he knew an eastern Cape policeman who claimed to have witnessed the killings. Now he has cut off contact with the ANC and is assisting Hodgen's investigation. Saturday Star understands he has offered his services to a human rights organisation.

The operative and Hugo have been accused by former military colleagues in the eastern Cape of "betrayal". A former member of Hammer, John Scott, said in telephone conversation: "He's the oke who's dropping all sorts of people in the shit." The former officer threatened to "tramp" and "f... up" the operative if he got hold of him.

Scott added that Hugo was causing trouble and looking "for favour with the ANC".

## Protection

Saturday Star also understands that Commandant Lourens du Plessis, a Military Intelligence officer whose name and signature appear on the Goniwe message, has been approached by the ANC, which apparently offered protection in return for information. Du Plessis has not been available for comment. His wife said he was not at home and she had not seen him for some time.

In addition, Jennifer du Plessis, a former police undercover agent, has over the past months been in contact with the ANC. She claims ANC intelligence officials offered her R40 000 to get former Hammer member John Scott to confess involvement in the Goniwe killings.

In June, Du Plessis had meetings with an ANC official known as Morris. She said he tried to recruit her.

Three days later, she met two officials who, she claims, offered her R10 000 for information about the Goniwe killings.

ANC sources said they had been in contact with Du Plessis.

# Squatter camp carnage

# 'Dirty tricks' could derail Goniwe probe

**■ The crucial inquiry into the brutal killings of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists is beset with difficulties and might never succeed in solving the murders. A special Weekend Argus report by JACQUES PAUW**

THREE months into the Goniwe probe, there are serious doubts about whether any substantive progress has been made and about the effectiveness of the investigation.

The probe started after the sensational revelation earlier this year of an alleged "death warrant" signal sent from the SADF's Eastern Province Command to the State Security Council on June 7 1985 — calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe and others.

President De Klerk appointed a judicial probe under Eastern Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen and a high-powered team, who were told to prepare for a re-opened inquest under Eastern Cape Judge President N W Zietsman.

However, concern is mounting on several fronts, including:

■ Military Intelligence chief of staff Lieutenant General C P "Joffel" van der Westhuizen and others whose names appear on the "signal" have not been interviewed; nor have many former members of the security force "Hammer" unit, which has been mentioned to investigators as being possibly linked to the Goniwe murders.

■ Former security force members associated with Eastern Province Command and the Hammer group in 1985 are actively trying to obstruct the investigation. One former Hammer member has claimed that the group's then-commanding officer was "looking after him". He said he was being "covered by Military Intelligence".

■ The investigators' telephones are being tapped by unknown people. A conversation between Mr Hodgen's deputy, Malherbe Marais, and Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok was allegedly tapped in early June. In addition, members of the investigating team have been "followed around".

■ When investigators went to EP Command to search for relevant documents, several days after Mr De Klerk announced the probe, they found that a team from Military Intelligence in Pretoria had already been through them. The MI team said it was investigating the leak of the signal.

■ A former police informant, Jennifer du Plessis, who claimed she had vital information, was questioned by Mr Hodgen and then asked to make a statement to Military Intelligence. Ms Du Plessis says she felt compromised.

■ A former Hammer member, now a private detective, who volunteered his services to help the investigators, pulled out after a week claiming the probe was going nowhere.

Mr Hodgen declined to comment on the progress of his investigation or on allegations that it had been impeded by "dirty tricks".

Meanwhile, some former Military Intelligence officers and operatives in the Eastern Cape have rushed to the African National Congress for protection or payment.

In the past three months, former security force members have approached the ANC's intelligence department, some of them promising more information on the Goniwe killing in exchange for cash.

Large sums of money have allegedly been mentioned in the course of the ANC's attempts to pursue leads on the murder.

A former SADF officer and Hammer member was one of those who crossed over but now he has threatened to "take out" ANC officials who, he claims, have "stuffed him around" for two months.

The operative has asked that his identity be kept secret as there had already been "three attempts" on his life. He accused his former Hammer colleagues of trying to kill him.

The operative had offered to investigate the Goniwe murders for the ANC in return for R5 000. "They agreed to finance my investigations, but I have not heard from them again. The ANC has breached a situation of confidence."

A former senior officer in Military Intelligence, Colonel Gert Hugo, confirmed recently that he had been cooperating for some time with the ANC and human rights organisations on the Goniwe murder and military operations in the Ciskei and the Eastern Cape. He said his involvement with the ANC arose out of desperation and a shortage of money. However, he said, he had not been paid much by the ANC.

Colonel Hugo said the last time he had seen the ANC was a month ago. He now suspected there was a leak in the ANC's intelligence department.

ANC sources said Colonel Hugo promised to recruit an officer in Special Forces for them, but he had not been heard from again.

It is also understood that Commandant Lourens du Plessis, a senior Military Intelligence officer whose name and signature appear on the Goniwe message, has been approached by the ANC which apparently offered protection in return for information. Commandant Du Plessis has not been available for comment.

# Hlongwane a security stooge, says ANC

By S'BU MNGADI C/Pres 16/8/92 (327)

RETURNED Exiles Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane (also known as Dlongwana) took part in a security police plot to kidnap three Eastern Cape UDF and civic leaders who disappeared in 1985, according to a confession he made to the ANC's intelligence department while being interrogated in Lusaka in 1987.

However, this week he renounced the confession as made under duress, while selectively corroborating its contents.

Following the disclosure of Hlongwane's confession by the ANC on Friday, he suddenly retracted the REC's threats to assassinate ANC leaders and cadres.

He told City Press he hoped the organisation would reciprocate and stop circulating the "incriminating" confession.

Last weekend Hlongwane revealed that the REC, in conjunction with Askaris, intended assassinating high-ranking ANC leaders and cadres implicated in ANC detention camps abroad.

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said on Friday that Hlongwane's group did not have the capacity to carry out its threats. He said the REC leader was a smokescreen for the security forces of which he was an integral part.

"The security forces needed somebody to publicly claim that he is planning assassinations so that when the security services carry out these assassinations the public attention will focus on that person," Makhaye stated.

Police have repeatedly denied any past or present links with Hlongwane.

## Inkatha protection

However, in the confession, Hlongwane identified security policemen under the command of a Maj Du Plessis, who planned and captured Port Elizabeth black civic organisation and UDF leaders Sipho Hashe, Champion Galela and Qaqawuli Gondolozi.

The three, he said, were kidnapped by Du Plessis, a Capt Roelofse, a Tungata and other security policemen at PE's Ben Schoeman Airport on May 8 1985.

The dissident leader – who told the ANC his collaboration with the police began in 1977 – and other REC members now live under the protection of Inkatha strongman Thomas Mandla Tshabalala in Lindelani squatter camp north of Durban.

This week he admitted becoming a Pebco organiser in 1979. Although the position brought him closer to Hashe, Galela and Gondolozi, his strenuously denied any role in the kidnap plot.

In the confession Hlongwane claimed he, together with his security police handlers, also plotted to kidnap and assassinate then Cosas president Lulu Johnson, journalist Mono Badela, Eastern Cape UDF president Edgar Ngoyi, activist Ivy Mgcina, Cosas executive member Vuyani Vena and Macwusa organiser Themba Duze. The plot was not carried out.

Hlongwane had initially denied his real name was Dlongwana, but later acknowledged it this week.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

# Former SADF men face weapons charges

S/Times [C/metro] 16/8/92

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By EVE VOSLOO

**FOUR men — three of them former members of the crack SADF Reconnaisance Unit (Recces) — are to appear in the Cape Town Supreme Court tomorrow on charges of illegally possessing and dealing in weapons, including AK47 assault rifles, ammunition and an RPG-75 rocket launcher.**

The three former Recces all served in what was then South West Africa in the war against Swapo.

They are Mr Willem Hendrik Snyders, a retired colonel who served with distinction, Mr Andre Klopper, a former sergeant, Mr Coenraad Frederick van der Westhuizen, a former captain and Mr Ian Neville Bosman of George.

## Search

According to the charge sheet, between 1988 and 1990 Mr Snyders and Mr Klopper allegedly stole AK47 rifles from the defence force and stored them at Mr Van der Westhuizen's house in Vredenburg.

At the request of Mr Snyders, Mr Van der Westhuizen is alleged to made contact with Mr Bosman and sold nine of the rifles to him.

On 14 July last year Mr Snyders was stopped by police near Joostenbergvlakte and a search of the vehicle revealed a crate — addressed to him — containing two assault rifles and a large quantity of AK-47 rounds. The sender was allegedly Mr Klopper.

In a subsequent raid on Mr Klopper's farm near Durbanville police seized a large quantity of arms, including an RPG-75 rocket launcher found in an outhouse, radios and other military equipment.

## Arsenal

At the home of Mr Bosman in George, police also took possession of "an arsenal" of weapons, parts and ammunition.

The charge sheet contains a long list of equipment allegedly found in possession of the men including radios, a megaphone, antennas, batteries, cables, a smoke grenade, a steel helmet and an SADF security card.

Other parts of the charge sheet list weapons including ,22 and ,303 rifles; Martini Henry, Musgrave and Bruno rifles; air guns, Comet, Champion, Savage and Pietro-Baretta 12-bore shotguns; a revolver; pistols; various rifle barrels and a vast amount of ammunition.

The Sunday Times has learnt that some of the nine assault rifles sold to Mr Bosman had been resold to other people in George.

## Middlemen

Three of these people were subsequently arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment of which three years were conditionally suspended for five years.

The men alleged to be the "middlemen", Mr Bosman's son Anton and four others, will appear in the Parow Regional Court later this year on charges of possessing or selling the AK-47 rifles.

The prosecution will be led by Mr Mike Stowe, a senior advocate in the attorney-general's office, who has wide experience in terrorism and related prosecutions.

# Goniwe – the plot thickens

## Mystery over who leaked document

CONFLICTING reports about an SADF search for Col Gert Hugo in connection with a leaked top-secret document allegedly implicating top SA officials in the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and three other Eastern Cape activists could be an attempt to flush out the real source of the leak, says Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

A liaison officer for the Eastern Province Command of the SADF said earlier this week they would like to question Hugo, a former Military Intelligence officer, about the top-secret document publicised earlier this year.

But senior SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said later there was "no need" to question Hugo as investigations into the leaking of the document had been completed and the SADF investigation report had already been referred to East Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen.

### Implicated

The signal document implicated the present head of MI, Lt-Gen CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, and the State Security Council in the 1985 assassinations.

Holomisa has adamantly denied that he bought the "Goniwe documents" from Col Hugo.

He said it was possible that the reports about Hugo were just a tactic by MI to flush out the real source of the sensitive leaked document.

In July Hugo, the then head of Ciskei MI, defected to the Transkei.

However, suspecting he had not severed links with hostile Ciskei and SA intelligence services, Transkei handed him over to the SA embassy in Umtata.

The military attache to the SA Embassy in Ciskei, Col Bill van der Linde, refused to comment on whether Col Hugo threatened to expose military secrets unless he was left alone.

But Hugo was reportedly heard last year threatening to reveal damaging secrets unless he was protected against prosecution in Ciskei.

In February he stood trial in Ciskei and was convicted of stealing money. He received a suspended jail sentence.

Hugo insisted the SADF was framing him by attributing the leak to him.

It was also reported this week that until recently Hugo was assisting the ANC's intelligence department with its investigation into the death of the Cradock Four.

Hugo's former King William's Town lawyer reportedly said the former intelligence officer might be tracked down at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

But a spokesman for the ANC's security department denied that the ANC was in contact with Hugo.

– Elnews-Sapa



**GETTING TO THE TRUTH . . . Matthew Goniwe and family. The top-secret document leaked this year implicates the State in the Cradock Fours' deaths.**

# SAP's new eye in the sky monitors hotspots

STAR 17/8/92

By Andrew Whitlock
Crime Staff

Police action in unrest and other areas can now be monitored from afar with sophisticated electronic equipment recently acquired by the police.

Generals or commanding officers can control events in the field through the Locus Command and Control Integrator.

The system had been used in Soweto for the past three weeks and has proved highly effective, according to SAP spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn.

"The system is compatible with all existing police and emergency services systems, he said.

"It's a pity we didn't have this new system before Boipatong, because we would have had a record of everything that happened," said Colonel Halgryn.

The technology of Locus was more advanced than that currently used in Europe and would catapult the SAP into the league of American-style policing.

The system used a geographical information system to pinpoint locations, incorporated infra-red photography, and fully integrated police and emergency services.

Colonel Halgryn could not disclose the cost of the system, but said the SAP would approach the Government to subsidise the project.

Andrew Phillips, marketing manager of Irene Commercial Enterprises, the company supplying the camera equipment, which is fitted to police helicopters, said the camera was effective over a radius of 60 km.

But it could zoom in at closer range to photograph licence plates, as well as people and policemen at a particular crime scene.

The images were relayed at three-second intervals and could be monitored by generals who wanted to keep an eye on the action and give commands to their officers.

Mr Phillips said any reservations he had about SAP members not being able to handle the new equipment were soon dispelled. "The motivation and enthusiasm of the SAP members involved in flying the helicopter and operating the camera equipment increased dramatically," he said.

STAR 18/8/92 (327)

# Mandela: FW linked to killing

BELLVILLE — ANC president Nelson Mandela repeated his charge yesterday that President F W de Klerk was involved in violence.

Addressing Peninsula Technikon students and staff, Mr Mandela said there was ample evidence of this.

"If I am wrong, you must tell me. It is serious to accuse the head of state of being involved in killings."

He then recounted the history of killings since 1984, saying that by August 1990, 6 000 people had died in killings that involved axes, assegais, pangas and kerries.

In the Transvaal the carrying of these weapons in public was illegal and one could be instantly arrested for it, but in August 1990 the law had been changed to make it legal to carry them. Mr Mandela said he went to Mr de Klerk's office to ask him why this had been done.

"He had no answer to that question. The only conclusion I can reach is that F W de Klerk wanted to give the capacity to killers to kill."

Similarly, in dealing with the hostels, Mr de Klerk had agreed to upgrade them to family unitsand fence them.

"Now it is August and he hasn't moved. If he had done so, many lives would have been saved. I ask, why would the head of state make an undertaking to leaders and fail to carry it out? He would know it would lead to more people being killed." — Sapa.

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# 'Screen' over Goniwe killers, claims Hugo

(251) (327) CT 18/8/92

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's former military intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, alleged yesterday the South African security forces were throwing up a smokescreen to prevent the exposure of the Goniwe killers.

In an interview here he denied claims by former police agent Mrs Jennifer du Plessis that he had sold an SADF Goniwe signal order to Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The signal order — which purports to direct the "permanent removal" of Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and others — was released by General Holomisa earlier this year.

The storm surrounding its exposure led to President F W de Klerk ordering a re-opening of the investigation of the 1985 deaths.

General Holomisa has suggested that Mrs Du Plessis' allegations are part of an SADF operation to flush out the real person responsible for leaking him the so-called "death order".

Colonel Hugo also rejected reports that he had defected to the ANC. "I have never helped the ANC or any organisation in investigating the Goniwe killings," he said.

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pledged against me".

He denied sexually assaulting a petty officer in December by fondling her breasts it had taken her three months to report it.

The petty officer "had a problem with discipline", was "extremely arrogant" and

He denied kissing her and admitted giv-

To page 3

# Goniwe informant murdered

## Wife suspects politics as farmer shot dead

**PORT ELIZABETH. — A man in the process of disclosing information about the "Hammer Unit", which was allegedly involved in the killing of activist Mr Matthew Goniwe, was killed on his farm near Addo on Monday night.**

Mr André Maasdorp de Villiers, 42, was gunned down at his farm Athelstone as he parked his vehicle at 8.20pm.

The ANC, which is inquiring into Mr Goniwe's death, said yesterday that Mr De Villiers had given them information about the Hammer Unit, allegedly made up of security force members, and was to provide more.

Mr De Villiers's son Louis, 18, was watching television on Monday night with his mother, Elizabeth, 37, when they heard three shots outside.

Louis rushed to the window and saw five men next to his father's vehicle. The men saw him and shot at him, but missed. Louis ran outside with the family's dogs and the men fled.

Mr Francois de Villiers, the dead man's brother, said Louis had jumped into the bakkie and driven his father into town, but could not find the doctor.

Mr De Villiers was certified dead by a doctor at the police station.

Mrs De Villiers said her husband had been gunned down by five "well-dressed men".

She said that as he waited for a farm labourer to open the doors of the large shed adjoining the house, three shots rang out. He fell foward on to the car hooter.

"They had just come to kill André, but they could have walked in and shot all of us."

Mrs De Villiers said her husband was wounded in a kidney and died about 20 minutes later.

She had no doubts: "The killing is politically motivated".

Mr Francois de Villiers said that as his brother died he whispered the name of ANC member Mr Valense Watson and said: "Tell him, he will work on this."

Mr Watson said Mr De Villiers had uncovered corruption in a Port Elizabeth township which had funded the Hammer Unit and "lived in fear of his life".

Mr Watson said the Hammer Unit were "only the foot soldiers".

At a press conference at the ANC regional offices in Port Elizabeth yesterday, regional chairman Mr Linda Mti said Mr De Villiers had died after he voluntarily approached the ANC's Matthew Goniwe Task Force with information.

Mr Mti said: "Mr De Villiers was one of those brave compatriots who came forward and volunteered to speak to the ANC about what he had suspected.

"He was very concerned. Our links with him started three months ago. But he had not given us much except to tell us about the use of a panelbeating business — in which he had shares — by some individuals to change car registration number plates and to respray those cars.

"He told us the men who brought the cars always wore balaclava caps and he recognised some of them as members of the Hammer Unit and this made him suspicious.

"Mr De Villiers had mentioned some names." — Staff Reporter and Sapa



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calling a psychologist to testify in mitigation.

Harding stood clutching the hand of her daughter Amanda as she was told that she would be released on her recognisances on condition she reported to the Somerset West police daily and was not to obtain a passport.

Petrus Marais of the Office for Serious Economic Offences appeared for the State.

# Police 'failed to intervene when ANC man was killed'

RAY HARTLEY

POLICE had not intervened when former ANC guerrilla Lot Phalwane was shot dead in Alexandra on Monday, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

"During the shooting a police Casspir was seen driving past the house but, despite the gunshots, it did not stop," Mamoepa said in a statement.

Police spokesman Lt Wikus Weber yesterday denied the police were involved in any way in the killing.

"A murder docket will be opened and the case will be fully investigated," he said.

The ANC PWV region and the Alexandra branch of the organisation plan to investigate the killing which Mamoepa said was "not criminally motivated".

In a separate statement Mamoepa said the ANC welcomed a ceasefire between rival taxi organisations in the Ivory Park area. The ceasefire was brokered by the North East Rand dispute resolution committee on Monday after a weekend taxi war claimed at least eight lives.

The committee's vice-chairman Pieter Geldenhuys said yesterday a formal agreement was to be signed between the Ivory Park, Alexandra and Tembisa taxi associations by Sunday, Sapa reports.

Police said yesterday the house of a community councillor was petrol-bombed in KwaThema, and a woman was stabbed to death in Alexandra.

**burg where a 74% drop in company profits for the six months to end-June was announced.**

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Cosatu plans 'tax rebellion'

WILSON ZWANE

COSATU is making plans for a "tax rebellion" campaign in which pressure will be put on employers to withhold from government PAYE payments by employees who do not have the vote.

The trade union federation is to put the idea to its alliance partners, the ANC and the SACP, at a meeting on Sunday.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said yesterday the tax monies collected should be redirected to a special trust fund for safekeeping until a "democratic" government had been installed.

The money could then be used to provide basic services to impoverished communities, Coleman said.

The proposed campaign formed part of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action, which began on June 16 and which was aimed at the speedy establishment of a new government and an "end to the mismanagement of taxpayers' money".

Coleman said the modalities of the trust fund had yet to be discussed with all interested parties, but basic socio-economic services, such as education and housing, were likely to be priorities.

"We don't intend making this a Cosatu campaign ... we would like to involve many forces, including churches, consumer and human rights organisations, business and political parties," he said.

Coleman said the seeds for the tax rebellion were sown among Cosatu members by last year's disclosures of government's funding of Inkatha.

The constitutional structures of the Cosatu-ANC-SACP alliance would meet in Johannesburg on Sunday to discuss the proposed campaign and other mass action-related activities.

He said if the alliance endorsed the campaign, the union federation would approach employers to "discuss workers' demands for their taxes to be redirected".

Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha said yesterday the employer body would have to discuss the issue with Cosatu and look into the legal ramifications.

# Commonwealth to appoint own observers

LONDON — The Commonwealth said yesterday it was organising about a dozen observers to help monitor the violence in SA.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku was asking governments of the 50-nation organisation to suggest candidates for the observer group, which would arrive in SA at the end of September, the Commonwealth Secretariat said in a statement.

Anyaoku and UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had agreed the groups would work closely with each other and the national peace accord, it said.

Meanwhile, SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said in Pretoria yesterday the government found the UN resolution passed on Monday was "acceptable in its main components". — Sapa-Reuter.

Vital clue to assassins in farmer's dying words to his wife

# Slain informer 'knew killers'

Staff Reporters and
The Argus Correspondents

A DYING man's last words to his wife and a glimpse of four faces through a window are the vital clues in the murder of an Eastern Cape farmer who had key information about the slaying of activist Mr Matthew Goniwe.

Mr André Maasdorp de Villiers, 42, who had been providing information to the Press and the ANC about the notorious SADF Hammer unit — alleged to have been involved in the murders of Mr Goniwe and three colleagues in 1985 — was gunned down in an ambush on his farm Athelstone on Monday night.

Eastern Cape police are offering a R10 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

ANC regional chairman in Port Elizabeth Mr Linda Mti said Mr De Villiers died 45 minutes after he was shot but only after he had mentioned the name of a person to his wife. He said to his wife that this was the work of so-and-so.

Mr De Villiers's 18-year-old son Louis, who narrowly escaped death when the killers fired at him saw four men standing next to his father's bakkie seconds after the shooting.

Mr De Villiers's brother, Mr François de Villiers, said Louis and his mother Elizabeth were watching television when they heard two shots.

Louis rushed to the window and saw the men at the window and shot at him, but missed. Louis ran outside with the family dogs and the men fled. Mr De Villiers said.

Another vital clue may be provided by a farm labourer who heard someone shout "stand still" as he was about to open the garage door for Mr De Villiers.

Eastern Cape police liaison officer Captain Henry Chalmers said police had determined that a "full-scale force" of police was working on the case.

Police had determined that 9mm calibre guns were used to kill Mr De Villiers.

Captain Chalmers said police were investigating all possible avenues, including allegations that the Hammer Unit was involved.

"But the initial investigation at the scene indicated the motive was robbery and that the slaying was not politically motivated."

Captain Chalmers said: "Bags were found at the scene and this would appear to indicate that the killers intended carrying things away."

The pattern of the attack was similar to other robberies.

"We are suspicious about this being a political killing because, firstly, there were five men at the scene which is unusual for a political murder and, they gunned down Mr De Villiers outside his home where his family were and where there were several lights, running the risk of being identified."

An investigation into "third force" activities by The Argus's sister newspaper the Star last week revealed dramatic new allegations of Hammer involvement in the slaying of Mr Goniwe and his colleagues.

The ANC said it had a telephone call from Mr de Villiers about 4.30pm on Monday. He said he had released some documents to Weekend Argus and the Sunday Tribune.

Weekend Argus on Sunday reported details of Hammer unit members making use of a panel-beating business in which Mr de Villiers had shares.

The investigation quoted Mr John Scott, a former Hammer member. Yesterday Mr Scott was named by the ANC as one of those mentioned by Mr de Villiers in his testimony to the organisation.

The ANC's Eastern Cape region, which is inquiring independently into Mr Goniwe's death, said Mr de Villiers had provided information and promised more on the Hammer unit — an elite special forces group.

# Goniwe murder witness is slain

Sowetan 19/8/92

## ■ Dead man knew about security force's alleged Hammer unit:

(327)

A MAN who was due to disclose information about the Hammer unit, which was allegedly involved in the killing of Matthew Goniwe, was slain on his farm near Addo on Monday night.

Mr Andre Maasdorp de Villiers (42) was gunned down at his farm Athelstone as he parked his vehicle at 8.20pm.

The ANC, which is inquiring into Goniwe's death, said yesterday De Villiers had given them information about the Hammer unit, allegedly made up of security force members, and was due to provide more.

His son, Louis, was watching television with his mother, Elizabeth (37), when they heard two shots fired outside. Louis rushed to the window and saw four men next to his father's vehicle. The men saw him at the window and shot at him, but missed. Louis ran outside with the dogs and the men ran away.

Police are investigating.

ANC regional chairman Mr Linda Mti said in Port Elizabeth yesterday that De Villiers had died after voluntarily approaching the Matthew Goniwe Task Force with information.

Mti said: "Our links with him started three months ago. But he had not given us much except telling us about the use of their panel beating premises by some individuals to change registration number plates of cars and to respray those cars."- Sapa.

# MK member's death sparks ANC probe

STAR 19892

BLACK 327

The ANC yesterday expressed shock that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member Lot Phalwane was shot dead in Alexandra on Monday, only three days after his return from exile in Nigeria.

PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said Mr Phalwane, also known as Modise, left South Africa in January 1979 and returned on Friday. He was an auto-electrical student in Nigeria.

He had returned to Alexandra from Johannesburg on Monday evening and had gone to an outside toilet when shots were heard. He was found dead with R700 and some letters missing.

Mr Mamoepa claimed a passing Casspir did not stop when the shots were fired.

The ANC PWV region, in conjunction with the Alexandra ANC branch, would institute an investigation into the killing of Mr Phalwane, he said.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said Mr Phalwane had been shot in the head and stomach. At this stage no motive other than robbery had been established, he said.

# Deep throat silenced

By Shaun Johnson and Jacques Pauw

STAR 19/8/92

**An informant on the notorious SADF "Hammer" unit — which is suspected of involvement in the 1985 murders of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists — has been shot dead in the eastern Cape.**

Andre Maasdorp de Villiers (42) was killed as he tried to park his bakkie on his Addo farm, Athelstone, at 8.20 pm on Monday. He had been giving information to the ANC and the press about Hammer, and was in the process of revealing more.

A Star investigation into "third force" activities last week revealed dramatic new allegations of Hammer involvement in the brutal slaying of Goniwe and his colleagues. The investigation quoted John Scott, a former Hammer member. Yesterday Mr Scott was named by the ANC as one of those mentioned by Mr de Villiers.

The ANC's eastern Cape region, which is inquiring independently into Mr Goniwe's death, said Mr de Villiers had provided information about the Hammer unit — an elite special forces group founded by the present Chief of Military Intelligence, General CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen to combat black resistance — and had promised more.

The ANC said it received a telephone call from Mr de Villiers at about 4.30 pm on Monday, in which he said he had released some documents to the Sunday Tribune. A report in the newspaper gave details of Hammer unit members making use of a panel-beating business in which Mr de Villiers had shares.

According to Francois de Villiers, the dead man's brother, Mr de Villiers's son Louis was watching television on Monday night with his mother Elizabeth, when they heard two shots fired outside. Louis rushed to the window and saw four men next to his father's vehicle.

The men saw him at the window and shot at him, but missed. Louis ran outside with dogs, and the men ran away. Louis drove his father into town but could not find a doctor. Mr de Villiers was certified dead at the police station.

No arrests have been made and police have referred inquiries to police headquarters in Pretoria.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday: "Our links with him (Mr de Villiers) started three months ago. But he had not given us much except telling us about the use of their panel-beating premises by some individuals to change number plates of cars and to respray the cars.

"Mr de Villiers had mentioned some names, one of them that of John Scott, who is linked to the Hammer unit," he said.

In the course of The Star's investigation, another former Hammer member who was volunteering information said there had been three attempts on his life in recent weeks.

The investigation also revealed that there were serious problems with eastern Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen's probe into the Goniwe murders, ordered by President de Klerk in May after the revelation of an alleged military "death signal". A witness, who provided Mr Hodgen with a list of names of people allegedly involved in the murders, complained that she had not been given protection.

# Watson 'is next on Hammer death list'

ARG 20/8/92

STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Staff Reporter

PORT ELIZABETH. — Valence Watson, friend and confidant of murdered Addo farmer Mr Louis de Villiers, believes he is "next on the list".

Mr Watson, who works for the ANC's human resources department, is the person Mr De Villiers confided in about the SADF's clandestine Hammer unit in the months before his death.

Mr Watson said a source had alleged that "laughing" Hammer members had said he was next.

He said Mr De Villiers approached him with allegations about a huge fraud involving the Ibhayi Town Council and the Hammer unit after going to the police, his Member of Parliament, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Tertius Delport, and Democratic Party MP Mr Eddie Trent, without success.

"Andre, who was apolitical, went to the police. He trusted them. He went to his Member of Parliament. He trusted him. He went to Trent. He trusted him. Then eventually he came to me in desperation."

Mr Delport has denied being approached by Mr De Villiers, but Mr Trent has confirmed that he was approached.

Mr Watson said Mr De Villiers had stumbled on the alleged Ibhayi fraud and Hammer activities when he was partner in a Port Elizabeth panelbeating business.

An example of the alleged fraud was to "get a vehicle from the Ibhayi Town Council to fix up a dent that would cost R100, but they would charge R10 000," Mr Watson said.

A cell of Hammer operatives also used the panel shop as a meeting place.

"They would come and have their meetings there. They would arrive and change their number plates."

# 'Hotelier involved in elite unit'

STAR 20/8/92 (327)

By Jacques Pauw

While assisting the ANC with its investigation into the Goniwe murders, Andre de Villiers named a Port Elizabeth hotelier, Graham Lombard, as having been involved in "Hammer" — the elite SADF special unit implicated in the 1985 killings.

A Star investigation into "third force" activities reveals that Mr Lombard is a former major in Military Intelligence, and that he was once second in command of Hammer at Eastern Province Command.

According to The Star's information Mr Lombard was some time ago suspended from the SADF, after allegedly threatening to blow up military policemen with a hand grenade.

ANC member Valence Watson confirmed that Mr Lombard's name had been mentioned by Mr de Villiers.

The Star understands that Mr Lombard is closely linked to former Hammer operative John Scott, who has been named in connection with the Goniwe case.

According to the ANC's eastern Cape region, in the course of his three month-long contact with the organisation Mr de Villiers claimed Mr Lombard was one of those who regularly attended meetings between "security policemen" and former Hammer members" at his panel-beating shop.

Contacted by The Star yesterday, Mr Lombard said from Port Elizabeth that he would not comment on any of the allegations.

# 'Killer was hit

**STEFAANS BRÜMMER**
**Staff Reporter**

PORT ELIZABETH. — Family and friends have attacked police statements that Mr André de Villiers, gunned down at his Addo farm on Monday after disclosing alleged hit-squad activities, seems a victim of common crime.

They point to evidence which seems to contradict police statements yesterday that robbery was the possible motive.

The evidence includes Mr De Villiers' dying words that "this is a political set-up" and signs that the killer was a professional marksman.

Eastern Province police commissioner, Major General Koos Calitz, said yesterday preliminary investigations indicated the motive was "a normal criminal act".

Police said their evidence was:

● Empty bags found at the scene, probably intended to remove loot.

● Five people would not be used to assassinate someone.

● The pattern of the attack was the same as at "countless" farm robberies in the Eastern Cape.

● The attack took place in a well-lit area next to the house.

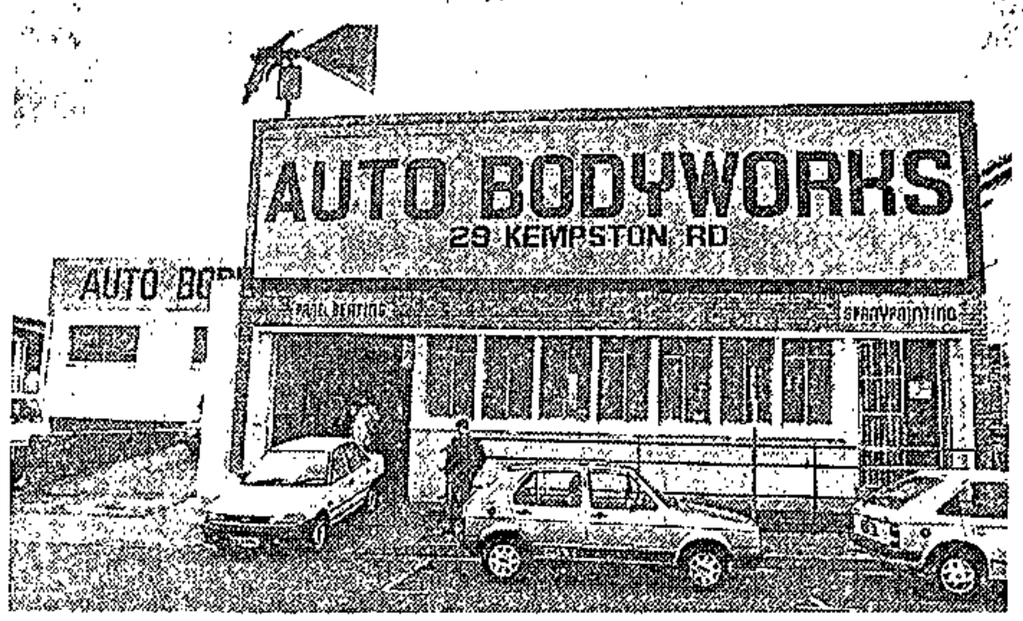
● A political assassin would rather have ambushed the car outside in the street, where he could not have been identified.

But Mr De Villiers' son, Louis, 18, who rushed his father to an attempt on his life.

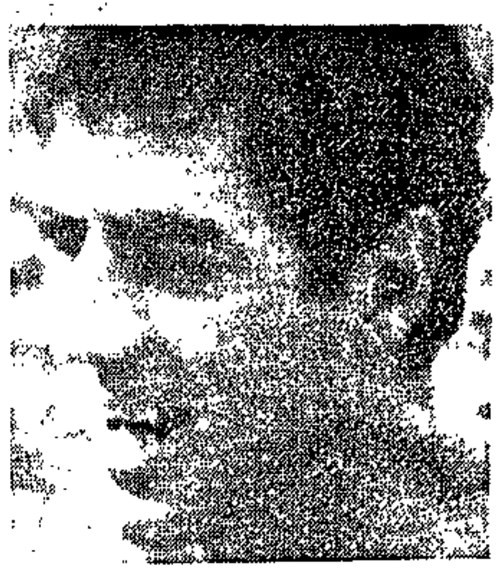
André's brother, attorney Mr Francois de Villiers, said yesterday that the night before the murder doors had been banged at the farm and the geese had become agitated. About a month ago his brother had glimpsed a man with a rifle at his nearby brickworks.

The timing of the attack, a mere four hours after Mr De Villiers had offered, over an allegedly tapped telephone, to give Mr Watson more information, has also raised suspicion that the motive had been political.

Mr Watson believes the new information could have provided "a break" in the Goniwe investigations.




**HAMMER BASE?** Auto Bodyworks, a panelbeating firm in Port Elizabeth, where Hammer activities allegedly took place. Mr De Villiers was co-owner with Mr Dave Mandel until about seven years ago.



**Mr André de Villiers**

a doctor and the police station after the attack, yesterday reacted with indignation.

He said he believed his father's dying words: "Listen, (name given) is behind this. It's a political set-up and a cover-up. Ask Valence Watson about it."

Mr De Villiers, 42, had earlier given information on hit squad activities to the ANC's task force investigating the Matthew Goniwe murders and to Mr Watson, an ANC member and friend from their rugby-playing days. Both played for Eastern Province in the '70s

Louis de Villiers yesterday also disputed the police argument about the yard being well-lit, saying two of the three outside lights were the movement-sensitive type and would only have switched on after the arrival of his father's bakkie.

He added: "The house was open all day and night. All the doors were open. If they had wanted to rob they could have simply come in and shot us all."

Mr Watson commented on the police statement yesterday: "Of course they will say that. But, his dying words to his son was that it was political and a cover-up." A dying man had no need to lie, he said.

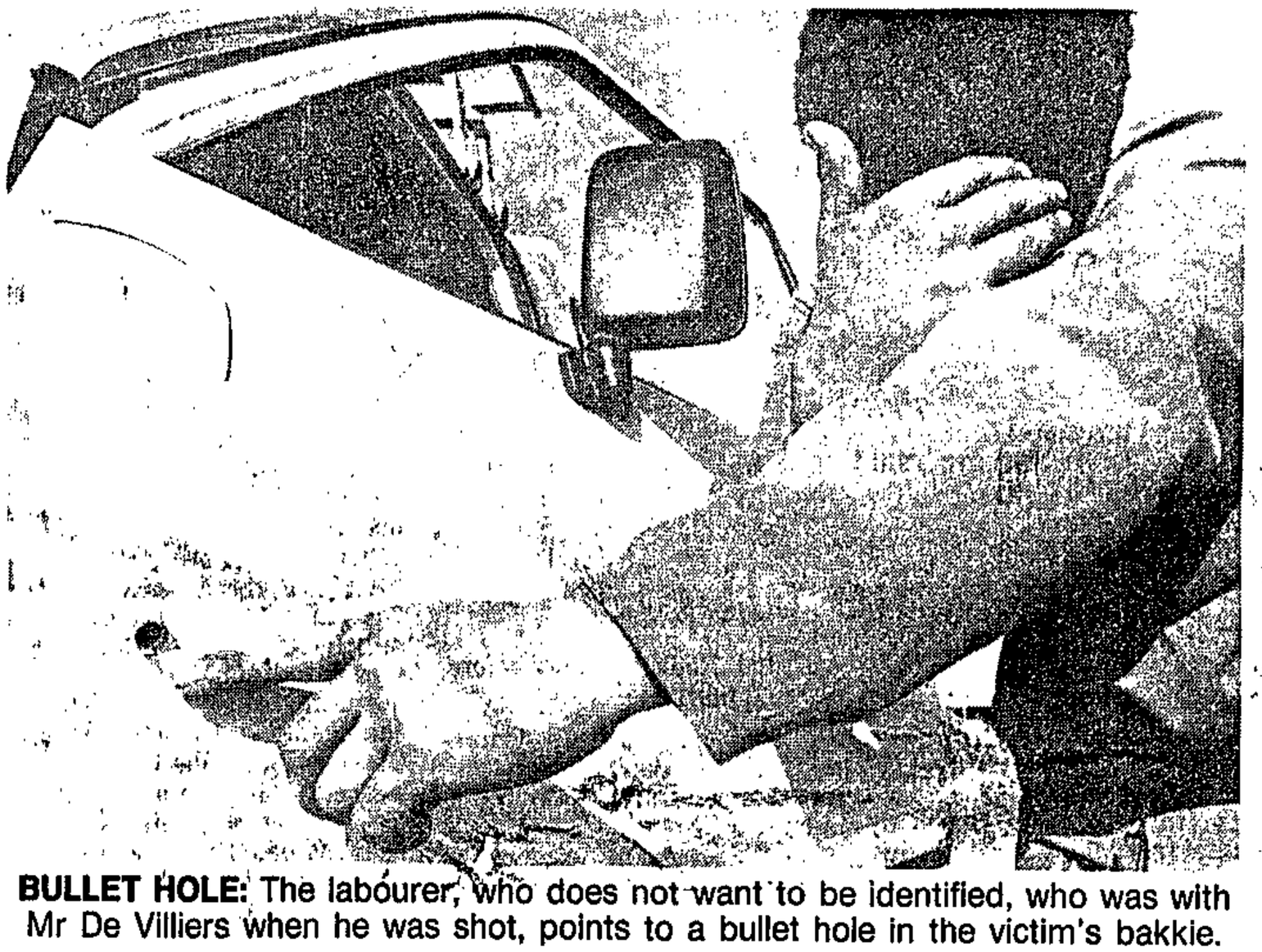
An Argus team at the De Villiers farm saw yesterday that three shots fired by the assailant — only one apparently did the shooting while three or four looked on — at Louis and his stepmother, Elizabeth, as they looked from a window meters away after Mr De Villiers had been shot, were well-directed, but too low.

There were bullet holes in the wall below the window sill, but the window itself was undamaged.

Mr Watson's brother, Roddie, who was at the farm during a police inspection after the murder, said if the gunman had wanted to kill Louis and his stepmother, he would have been able to.

"That marksman was paid to hit André and no-one else ... that's why the other shots missed."

The Watsons and the De Villiers family also point out Mr De Villiers had been in fear of



**BULLET HOLE:** The labourer, who does not want to be identified, who was with Mr De Villiers when he was shot, points to a bullet hole in the victim's bakkie.

man, Argus 20/8/92 (327)

# Slain farmer 'knew his life was in danger'

PORT ELIZABETH — Murdered eastern Cape farmer Andre de Villiers was convinced his life was in danger and made MP Eddie Trent promise he would not divulge his name when inquiring about the alleged SADF Hammer Unit, Trent said yesterday.

The DP MP for Port Elizabeth Central said when he met De Villiers, the farmer had been extremely nervous.

The ANC has alleged that De Villiers — who was shot on his Addo farm on Monday — was killed for political reasons because he had information that could shed more light on the murder of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe in 1985.

Trent said when the Goniwe inquest was reopened, he had contacted De Villiers and asked him to give further information or speak to the Attorney-General. "He refused to do so and again stressed that his life was in danger."

Trent gave him the name of a journalist to whom De Villiers is believed to have spoken.

De Villiers told Trent he had shared information on the Hammer unit with eastern Cape ANC member Valance Watson.

"During my discussion with Mr de Villiers, I was always under the impression he was withholding information, but was unable to persuade him to give me further details," Trent said.

The shooting of De Villiers "provided strong circumstantial evidence that his fears were not unfounded", Trent said.

He said he would submit a memorandum to the State President's office containing the information he had received from De Villiers.

Meanwhile, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport has denied receiving any information from De Villiers concerning the Hammer unit, as alleged by Watson earlier this week.

Delport said De Villiers had been a personal acquaintance and a member of his Sunday's River constituency but he had never supplied him with details of the alleged hit squad.

Eastern Cape police say the chances are slim that the murder was politically inspired. They said bags had been found at the scene of the murder, indicating that robbery had been the motive. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 8

# Draft AIDS and HIV charter released

CAPE TOWN — A draft AIDS charter setting out rights and duties of people affected by the disease, and also by the HIV virus, was made public in Cape Town yesterday, Sapa reports.

It is signed by more than 40 organisations and was released with the first issue of the Medical Research Council's AIDS Bulletin.

In a Bulletin article, one of the Charter's compilers, Prof Edwin Cameron of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the document did not demand more for people living with HIV or AIDS than their "basic human rights entitlement.

"But it demands they should not get less," he said.

A significant aspect of the charter is the clause stipulating that people with HIV or AIDS have the duty to respect the physical integrity of others and to take appropriate steps to ensure this where necessary.

"This clause may forestall the conventional reactionary response that such documents speak only of rights and not of duties."

It was hoped to launch the final version of the charter this year on or about World Aids Day on December 1.

Meanwhile, LINDA ENSOR reports that Medical Research Council (MRC) president-elect Prof Walter Prozesky said at the launch the magnitude of the AIDS threat had not been met with an equal magnitude by government..

He said there was a need to raise awareness among decision-makers about the AIDS threat, and appealed for private sector financial support for the Bulletin.

Prozesky said the MRC had estimated that by 2000 there would be about 4-million HIV positive people in SA, 250 000 AIDS cases and about 200 000 AIDS deaths.

# Hammer probe: Cops 'have info'

**Own Correspondent**

PORT ELIZABETH. — The brother of Addo businessman Mr André de Villiers, who was murdered this week after disclosing information about the Goniwe murders, alleges the police have information about "the destruction of people".

Mr Francois de Villiers, an attorney, said the police were reluctant to follow up information about the Hammer unit which allegedly carried out political murders.

"My brother started investigating fraud at the Ibhayi city council some years ago. He told the police everything he knew. The matter was squashed. André gave details to the police and co-operated with them. He told them about the fraud. Later on he gave them information concerning the destruction of people. He saw certain things," Mr De Villiers said.

"The strange thing is that the people involved in the frauds were also the people involved in the elimination of people."

"Just before André's death he phoned me in Pretoria to say he had more information. I said, 'keep that information for when I come down (to the Eastern Cape)'."

● Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport yesterday denied Mr André de Villiers discussed the Hammer unit with him.

Dr Delport was asked to comment on a claim by Mr Valence Watson that Mr De Villiers had given Dr Delport information on the unit and people linked to it.

(227) CT 20/8/92

# ANC man killed (327)

AN African National Congress member was killed and three people were arrested during a police raid on a home at Murchison near Port Shepstone yesterday, according to the SAP.

Internal Stability Unit liaison officer Lt-Col Ray Harrald said the police raided a home in Murchison after receiving a tip-off that arms and explosives were stored there.

Mr Sifiso Ngcobo (22) was killed in the operation after he had pointed an AK-47 rifle at policemen, Harrald said. Sowetan 20/8/92

# 'Traditional' arms seized at hostel

Sowetan 20/8/92 (327) (328)

By Tsale Makam

**PRE-DAWN RAID** Three men held in connection with the shooting :

POLICE CONFISCATED HUNDREDS of "traditional weapons" and firearms during a pre-dawn raid at Selby Hostel in Johannesburg early yesterday.

The raid followed a shootout which left three people dead and 13 injured on Tuesday night.

An assortment of weapons, including assegais, handguns and AK-47 rifles, was seized during the raid at 5.30am.

The shooting incident was allegedly sparked when a gang travelling in a minibus shot and killed three people about 6pm on Tuesday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said: "There is a misconception that the police shot at the hostel dwellers but that cannot be determined at this stage. The report I have is that hostel inmates opened fire."

The hostel dwellers, however, denied having opened fire on the police.

Two private vehicles were set alight during the incident.

Weber said three men were arrested in connection with the shooting.

SABC reported last night that inmates at the hostel said they would not go to work until their colleagues had been released.

The ANC yesterday slammed "police harassment of hostel inmates".

# Goniwe: De Klerk predicts prosecutions

By Shaun Johnson
and Peter Fabricius

STAR 2/18/92

President de Klerk believes a breakthrough leading to prosecutions in the Goniwe case is now possible.

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Mr de Klerk faced renewed questions about progress in the probe following the death on Monday of informant Andre de Villiers, which refocused attention sharply on the Goniwe case.

Asked whether he would meet Democratic Party calls to personally take charge of the Goniwe inquiry, Mr de Klerk said he was already involved.

His latest information was that a lot of people had been coming forward to give evidence and "a breakthrough is possible ... there could be prosecutions".

However, he added, if the reopened investigation he had ordered under eastern Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen in May did not make prosecutions possible, the next option would be a judicial commission of inquiry — or to refer the matter to an existing commission.

Asked whether he still had full confidence in Military Intelligence chief General C P "Joffel" van der Westhuizen — whose name appeared on the alleged Gonwe "death warrant" signal — Mr de Klerk said every South African was entitled to be judged in terms of the law "of which we are proud. We have a good system. We need evidence to arraign someone. We can't take steps to do so on the basis of rumours."

Pressed again on whether he retained confidence in General van der Westhuizen, the president answered: "I have full confidence in the procedures we have applied in this regard."

He said he believed anyone who was guilty would be found, and added that the incident was being dealt with in terms of the established custom for dealing with employees who were accused of wrongdoing.

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys Entry refers |
|---|---|---|---|
| P91/06/117 | ***SANA (Southern Africa News Agency) Bulletin*** 11, February 1979 | SANA, London | SK./G.G. 6028, GK./G.N. 1092, ged./dd 1978-05-26. |
| P91/09/133 | ***Konkret*** Januar 1/78 | Kontret-Verlag GmbH & Co., Hamburg | SK./G.G. 5292, GK./G.N. 1740, ged./dd 1976-09-24. |
| P91/09/149 | ***Heks*** Nr 136, November/ Dezember 1977 | Geschäftsstelle des Hilfswerkes Stampfenbachstrasse, Zürich | SK./G.G. 5887, GK./G.N. 344, ged./dd 1978-02-24. |
| P91/10/15 | ***The Gar*** No 32, April 1978 | Gar Pub Co., Austin | SK./G.G. 6024, GK./G.N. 1013, ged./dd 1978-05-19. |
| P91/09/354 | ***Black Liberation Month News*** February 1978 | Organizing Con.mittee for a New African Liberation Support Committee, Chicago | SK./G.G. 6024, GK./G.N. 1013, ged./dd 1978-05-19. |
| P91/10/54 | ***People's Voice*** June 1978 | Nie vermeld/Not stated | SK./G.G. 1650, GK./G.N. 150, ged./dd 1967-02-10. |
| P91/10/75 | ***World Trade Union Movement*** No 4, April 1978 | The World Federation of Trade Unions Publications Ltd, London | GK. / G.N. 818, ged. / dd 1961-05-26. |
| P91/10/229 | ***Southern Africa: The Way Forwarded*** No 3 | Nie vermeld/Not stated | SK./G.G. 5882, GK./G.N. 288, ged./dd 1978-02-17. |
| P92/06/35 | ***Azania Combat*** Issue No 5, Quarterly 1987 | PAC Military Wing, Tanzania | SK./G.G. 5323, GK./G.N. 2013, ged./dd 1976-10-29. |

**No. 2427** **21 Augustus 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 dat die rolprent nie aan persone in die ouderdomsgroep 2–18 jaar vertoon mag word nie:

**No. 2427** **21 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

FILM

The Committee of Publications under section 25 (3) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, has decided that the undermentioned film is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act by stipulating that the film may not be exhibited to persons in the age group 2–18 years:

| Inskrywings No. Entry No. | Rolprent Film | Vertoëmaker Representer |
|---|---|---|
| R92/8/19 | ***Mob War*** | Nu Metro Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd. |

**No. 2428** **21 Augustus 1992**

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 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 2–18 jaar vertoon mag word nie; en

(b) dat snitte aangebring word.

**No. 2428** **21 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, has 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 2–18 years; and

(b) that excisions be made.

| Inskrywings No. Entry No. | Rolprent Film | Vertoëmaker Representer |
|---|---|---|
| R92/5/19 | ***Sunset Strip*** | Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd. |

**No. 2429** **21 Augustus 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. 2429** **21 August 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:

| Inskrywings No. Entry No. | Rolprent Film | Voorlegger Submitter | Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/8/119 | ***Angel Eyes*** | Tusk Film & Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd | (a) |
| R92/8/83 | ***Bikini Summer 2*** | Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd | (a) |

**No. 2442** **21 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2442** **21 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

**LYS/LIST P92/31**

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/08/15 ..... | ***Scope*** Vol 27, No 17, August 21, 1992 .... | Scope, Mobeni ..... | (a) |

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| 2426 | do.: Publikasies of voorwerpe: Opheffing van artikel 9 (1) ..... | 2 | 14232 |
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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 or 269

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**No. 2424** **21 Augustus 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:

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/05/07 | ***Cockatrice*** | Wolf Mankowitz | GK./G.N. 887, ged./dd 1963-06-21. |
| P92/05/09 | ***Concrete Island*** | J. G. Ballard | SK./G.G. 5236, GK./G.N. 1324, ged./dd 1976-06-30. |
| P92/05/11 | ***Buddwing*** | Evan Hunter | SK./G.G. 1115, GK./G.N. 731, ged./dd 1965-05-21. |
| P92/05/18 | ***The Big Laugh*** | John O'Hara | SK./G.G. 1080, GK./G.N. 512, ged./dd 1965-04-09. |

**No. 2424** **21 August 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:

**No. 2425** **21 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIE OF VOORWERP

VOORWAARDES

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) (c) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie, onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie; en

dat die publikasie slegs in 'n geseëlde plastiekomhulsel vir die doeleindes van verspreiding uitgestal en versprei mag word.

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie Publication | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/01 | ***Guns 'n Roses — Use Your Illusion*** Vol 1 & Vol 2 (Gramophone Record, Compact Disk, Cassette) | Published by Artemis | SK./G.G. 14172, GK./G.N. 2141, ged./dd 1992-07-24. |

**No. 2425** **21 August 1992**

PUBLICATION OR OBJECT

CONDITIONS

The Publications Appeal Board has decided under section 13 (5) (c) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, subject to the conditions—

that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out to persons under the age of 18 years; and

that the publication for purposes of distribution may only be displayed and distributed in a sealed plastic wrapping.

**No. 2426** **21 Augustus 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:

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys Entry refers |
|---|---|---|---|
| P89/06/91 | ***Torch*** 15th May – 14 June 1989 | Revolutionary Socialist League | SK./G.G. 5911, GK./G.N. 471, ged./dd 1978-03-10. |
| P91/06/78 | ***Sana (Southern African News Agency) Document*** No 2, June 1979 | SANA, Gaborone (Botswana) | SK./G.G. 6714, GK./G.N. 2450, ged./dd 1979-10-26. |

**No. 2426** **21 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

WITHDRAWAL OF SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publication 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:

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Vol. 326 PRETORIA, 21 AUGUSTUS AUGUST 1992 No. 14232

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

## DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

**No. 2422** **21 Augustus 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. 2422** **21 August 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 P92/30**

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasies of voorwerpe<br>Publications or objects | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/82 | ***The Way it Came*** | William Cook-Bey | (a) |
| P92/07/102 | ***Memoirs of a Black Casanova*** | Odie Hawkins | (a) |

**No. 2423** **21 Augustus 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 die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie; en

dat die publikasie slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekverspreiders versprei mag word.

**No. 2423** **21 August 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 the conditions—

that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of 18 years; and

that the publication may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors.

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer |
|---|---|---|
| P92/06/102 | ***Lies*** | Iris Bancroft. |

# Minister raises murder case reward to R50 000

(327)

B DAY 21/8/92.

BILLY PADDOCK

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel announced last night that, because of serious allegations of government involvement in the murder of Addo farmer Andre de Villiers, he was raising the reward from R10 000 to R50 000 for information leading to the conviction of the killers.

De Villiers' body was found on his farm on Monday. It is alleged he had information on an SADF hit squad called the "Hammer unit" which allegedly could have been involved in the murder of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and three others.

Kriel said all avenues of investigation were to be pursued "with the greatest vigour in order to establish the truth as rapidly as possible".

He promised that a senior and experienced investigative team under the direction of Eastern Cape Regional Commissioner Maj-Gen Koos Calitz would be formed immediately to probe the case.

"I wish to give the assurance that everything possible will be done to apprehend those responsible for this murder and to establish the truth and motive behind his killing," Kriel said.

Meanwhile, at a news conference in Pretoria yesterday, President F W de Klerk raised the possibility of appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into Goniwe's death.

He said the latest information indicated a breakthrough in the investigation, but should prosecutions not follow the option of an inquiry could be exercised.

He said the De Villiers case was getting the best possible attention and, on his instructions, "no effort will be spared" to find the murderer.

Asked if he had confidence in his Military Intelligence chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen and whether it was not time to dispose of him, De Klerk said he had full confidence in the legal system and only once evidence was forthcoming and could be proved would he take action.

DP MP (PE Central) Eddie Trent said he and DP defence spokesman Gen Bob Rogers had sent a memorandum to De Klerk stating that De Villiers had information on the Hammer unit and its links with the killing of Goniwe and also with other serious fraud cases.

Trent said he had often spoken to De Villiers, who had made it clear he feared for his life. He said he and Rogers were collecting information.

The ANC called yesterday for the immediate introduction of a witness protection programme to be put under the direct control of the Goldstone commission.

"Such a witness protection programme should be widely publicised in order to counter the reign of fear and terror that any potential witness is faced with," it said in a statement.

It said such steps were essential to ensure the murderers of Goniwe "and the many other SA compatriots do not go free.

"The events of the past days only strengthen our belief that there are highly placed people in government and security structures who are desperate to prevent their involvement in murder and political terror being revealed. Is this the reason government is now so eager to declare a blanket amnesty?" it asked.

# Police success rate greatly improved, says Kriel

B DAY 21/8/92.

GERALD REILLY

INNOVATIVE crime-fighting methods, improved equipment and an expanded personnel base had greatly strengthened the efficiency and success of the police, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told a media briefing yesterday.

He said a decision on getting the SADF to assist police was imminent.

Kriel said more than 2 400 police assistants had been posted countrywide this year and more than 3 400 assistants were in training. In September a further 3 020 assistants would start training. More than 2 155 permanent force members were undergoing training.

The commercial branch had been split into three units — commercial, syndicate fraud and general fraud — with 57 officers operating in 13 regions.

Kriel said a matter of extreme concern was the number of police being attacked. To date, 145 had been killed. Drastic protective measures had to be taken, which included providing bulletproof jackets.

On CBD crime, Kriel said more than 73 business watches had been established countrywide with more than 450 policemen involved. More than 25 000 businesses were visited every week.

He said an efficient informer system was in place. The reward system had also been upgraded. Since March, an additional 2 555 informers had been registered.

Kriel said the crime prevention exercises held countrywide recently would be held regularly.

The police air wing had also been invaluable in the crime fight and, when used, led to a reduction of up to 80% in crime in a region.

There was a need for more aircraft, and as soon as funds were available this would be met.

Kriel said of the 80 satellite police stations envisaged, 55 were operating and an additional 80 stations were being planned.

A further 32 contact police points had also been established since March as well as 10 mobile stations.

**Reserve approves plan**

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## Businessman was in secret unit

# 'Hammer' man speaks

(327)
CT 21/8/92

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH. — The former business partner of murdered Eastern Cape farmer Mr Andre de Villiers has admitted to having been a member of the secret Defence Force "Hammer" unit.**

The admission by Mr Dave Mandel, who owns a panel-beating shop in Port Elizabeth, came yesterday as the mystery of Mr De Villiers's murder deepened.

Before his death Mr De Villiers had allegedly given information on the Hammer unit to the ANC and the police.

The Hammer unit has been linked to the murders of Mr Matthew Goniwe and other UDF activists in 1985.



**EX-MEMBER OF HAMMER UNIT ...** Mr Dave Mandel, of Port Elizabeth

Mr Mandel said in a statement yesterday that he had joined the Hammer unit in March 1986, on the suggestion of the SADF, in order to curtail his compulsory Defence Force camp commitments, which were interfering with his business.

He denied that he had been involved in any unlawful activities, which have been linked to the unit by Mr De Villiers and reports in the press. He also said he had not been aware of any unlawful activities allegedly carried out by any member of the special force or the police.

Mr De Villiers allegedly gave information to the ANC which linked the Hammer unit to the panel-beating shop. According to a friend of Mr De Villiers', Mr Valence Watson, who has links with the ANC, Mr De Villiers had told him the Hammer unit met at the panel shop after hours and had discussed assassinations.

"At times he (Mr De Villiers) saw them coming back and burning overalls, gloves and balaclavas they had been wearing," Mr Watson said.

Yesterday Mr Mandel said Mr De Villiers had been his partner between 1984 and 1986.

He said that after undergoing a course with the Hammer unit he started active service with the special forces "either in late 1986 or early 1987 — the time at my disposal being too short to check on dates with greater accuracy".

He said that his service in the unit — "which was actually infrequent" — amounted to helping the police riot unit. He said he was only involved in the cordoning off of areas specified by the police or as a backup to the police during political gatherings and marches.

"At no stage was I a party to any of the covert activities that are alleged to have occurred at the premises of my panel-beating business, nor did I observe such activities or was I ever aware thereof," he said.

Mr Mandel denied allegations that Hammer unit members had visited the panel shop and used (allegedly mainly at night) the facilities there to change number plates and respray police vehicles and vehicles belonging to the defunct Ibhayi city council police force.

# No effort to be spared on Addo case — FW

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH. — President F W de Klerk announced yesterday that on his instructions "no effort would be spared" to find those responsible for the murder of Addo farmer Mr Andre de Villiers.**

**Mr De Klerk said the investigation was receiving the "best possible attention", adding that he wished to appeal to anyone with evidence or information relating to the murder of Mr Matthew Goniwe, his fellow activists or Mr De Villiers, to contact the Eastern Province attorney-general or himself.**

**Mr De Klerk told a press conference yesterday that if a clear breakthrough was not possible in the Goniwe murders the option remained to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the matter.**

**He said a breakthrough in the case that could result in prosecution was still possible.**

**Mr De Klerk's statement at an international press conference yesterday is a clear indication that the government is determined to bring those responsible to book and that he has become personally involved.**

**The government yesterday also announced a fivefold increase in the R10 000 reward being offered for information leading to a conviction in the De Villiers murder. The farmer was shot dead hours after contacting the ANC about the activities of the secret SADF unit Hammer, which has been linked to political murders such as that of Cradock activist Mr Goniwe.**

**The ANC expressed "deep concern" last night about the death of Mr De Villiers and called for the immediate introduction of a witness protection programme to be put under the direct control of the Goldstone Commission — rather than the police.**

**"Such a witness protection programme should be widely publicised**

To page 2

From page 1

## Goniwe (327)

**to counter the reign of terror any potential witness many face," the ANC said.**

**Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said in Pretoria yesterday that the murder investigation would be placed under the personal direction of regional police commisssioner Major-General Koos Calitz.**

**A senior investigative team would be formed immediately to probe the case as a matter of urgency.**

**"I wish to give the assurance that everything possible will be done to apprehend those responsible for this murder and to establish the truth and motive behind his killing," the minister said.**

**Mr Kriel appealed to anyone with "any information whatsoever" to contact the police as soon as possible.**

**Meanwhile, the Democratic Party made representations to the government at a "high level" yesterday following the De Villiers murder, said DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.**

**In a brief statement, Dr de Beer said the DP would also provide certain information for the government to consider. He did not elaborate.**

**DP MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Eddie Trent, confirmed to Sapa that Dr De Beer met Mr De Klerk yesterday morning and had been requested to raise the issue with him.**

**Mr Trent said he and his colleague General Bob Rogers (DP Walmer) had also sent a memorandum to the State President concerning the De Villiers murder.** CT 21/8/92

# No absolution without truth

STAR 2/18/92.

FOR seven years Nyameka Goniwe has lain awake at night trying to imagine her husband Matthew's last moments as the assassins dragged him and three companions from his car after stopping them at a roadblock that dark night outside Port Elizabeth.

The killers took them away, stabbed and hacked them to pieces, dumped the bodies behind some bushes at the roadside, poured petrol over them and set them ablaze. One is said to have cut off a hand and kept it, like a trophy, in a bottle of formalin.

Did Matthew cry out for mercy? Was he tortured, as some reports say? Did they laugh as they did it? Who were these monsters anyway? Where are they now, and what positions do they hold?

Time heals, but it does not obliterate — and for Nyameka, now aged 41, the emotional turmoil was revived three months ago when New Nation published its report disclosing a 1985 military signal from the Commanding Officer of Eastern Cape Command, Brigadier Christoffel van der Westhuizen, to the State Security Council requesting permission for the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe and two other black activists.

Half the pain has been in not knowing what happened, in having to tell her children, Nobuswa, who was 10 at the time, and little Nyaniso, who was three, and whose name so paradoxically means "truth", that their father had been killed but not being able to tell them how or why.

Then suddenly the newspaper report held out the tantalising, terrifying hope that after all this time the truth might emerge.

But now, as more facts and names have come spilling out of the can of worms that the newspaper report opened, the Government is pushing for a general amnesty for all political offenders. In the interests of national reconciliation, it says, we must "wipe the slate clean and bury the past".

This has plunged Nyameka into turmoil yet again. She is all for racial reconciliation. That, after all, is what Matthew campaigned and died for as one of the leading anti-apartheid activists of the 1980s. But not at the expense of knowing the truth.



**Allister Sparks**

She wants justice, but not revenge — and she is not quite sure how to separate the two.

"It's all so difficult," she told me in a long conversation the other evening. "Revenge is not for me. Maybe it was three or four years ago when everything was so intense. Now reconciliation is important. But it musn't come before they account for what they did."

How must they account for it? Can you have a Nuremburg trial after a negotiated settlement?

"All I want is that they should be known," Nyameka replied. "I don't want them to be executed. It is enough that they should be known and that they should say sorry for what they did. That for me would be so liberating, and thereafter I could try to forgive. But I must know the truth."

Truth and confession as precursors to reconciliation is a recurring theme in all the great religions. Confession and repentance in order to be forgiven. It is fundamental to the Christian faith which our Government professes to uphold yet, with the exception of two junior Ministers, the Government as a whole is not prepared to comply. It refuses to confess its own complicity in apartheid's crimes.

When the Government agreed to let political exiles return it demanded that they specify the crimes for which they sought indemnity. But now that the dirt is coming out on its own top people it wants a general amnesty with no acts specified, one that will "bury the past". It wants absolution without confession.

For Nyameka Goniwe that is unacceptable. You can't have reconciliation that way. "Take the case of Gert Coetzee," she said, referring to the death squad captain who confessed to assassinating civil rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge in Durban in 1981 and taking part in a number of other political killings.

"I'm sure when Griffiths was murdered, and it was a particularly horrible murder, people wanted to see his killer brought to justice and executed.

"But now that Coetzee has confessed, now that he has shown real feelings of remorse, people like me feel differently about him."

At another level, Nyameka feels you can't build a new democracy on the basis of buried truth. "You can't talk about morality and expect people to value life and respect democracy, to be caretakers of these things, if you sweep the truth under the carpet," she says.

At the personal level, knowing the truth is for Nyameka, a former nurse, as essential to the healing process as is the lancing of a boil.

"So much gets bottled up," she says. "You feel grief and you feel like you want revenge and you try to picture what happened that night. Then you look at the police and you feel they are rejoicing, they are saying 'We have done it'. It makes you angry.

"You go through an inquest which is like a circus. There is no justice to be expected, and you become more angry and frustrated. Then you go through the same kind of situation again and again. More Matthew Goniwes die.

"It would be so liberating to know what happened. I must know who they are. I must see them. I think that would heal them as well. I don't believe these can be happy people. You can't kill someone and feel that is normal."

Must she also meet them, talk to them? Is that part of the healing, too?

Yes, um, well ... Nyameka searched through her emotions to find the right words and admitted to uncertainty.

"It would be important to meet them," she said. "But at this point I don't know. It would still come as a great shock to me.

"The thing that troubles me is what made these people so unfeeling. It doesn't have anything to do with colour. It was so cold-blooded. Not even to allow a person to defend himself, maybe to hear him crying for mercy but still just to go ahead and do it.

"I don't know how I would feel on meeting them. I don't know what impact it would have on me.

"Perhaps at first I could look at the man from far away, and then, who knows ..." □

● *Allister Sparks's column will be back in its regular Wednesday slot next week.*

**NEWS** SADF unit may be implicated in slaying ● Murder of activist may soon be solved

# FW asked to look into murder

Sowetan 21/8/92

(327)

**■ SHOT DEAD** De Beer offers 'certain information' for consideration:

STATE President FW de Klerk has been asked to intervene following the murder of East Cape farmer Mr Andre de Villiers.

Democratic Party (DP) leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday he had asked the Government to look into the murder and said the DP would also provide certain information for Government to consider. He did not elaborate.

De Villiers, who was reportedly providing the African National Congress with information on the so-called "Hammer" unit of the SA Defence Force, was shot dead on his Addo farm on Monday.

The Hammer unit has been linked in newspaper reports to the murder of Eastern Cape anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe and others.

Democratic Party MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Eddie Trent, confirmed to *Sapa* that De Beer met De Klerk yesterday morning and had requested to raise the issue with him.

Trent said he and his colleague, General Bob Rogers (DP Walmer), had also sent a memorandum to De Klerk concerning the murder of De Villiers.

"It is widely known that De Villiers had at his disposal information concerning the activities of Operation Hammer which has been linked to the Goniwe murders and to serious fraud cases."

On Wednesday night Trent revealed that De Villiers had been convinced his life was in danger and had asked the MP not to divulge his name when inquiring about the Hammer unit.

When the Goniwe inquest was reopened, Trent contacted de Villiers and asked him to either give further information or to speak to the Attorney-General.

"He refused to do so and again stressed that his life was in danger.

"During my discussion with De Villiers I was always under the impression he was withholding information but was unable to persuade him to give me further details," Trent said. - *Sapa*

# Breakthrough in the Goniwe case 'imminent'

Sowetan 21/8/92

**Sowetan Correspondent**

**■ FW personally involved in probe into activist's death:**

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk believes a "breakthrough" leading to prosecutions in the Goniwe case is imminent.

At a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, where he faced renewed questions about the progress of the probe following the death of informant Mr Andre de Villiers, De Klerk said he was already personally involved in the Goniwe inquiry.

His latest information was that a lot of people had been coming forward to give evidence.

"A breakthrough is possible ... there could be prosecutions," he said.

De Klerk added, however, that if the investigation he ordered in May did not end in prosecutions, the next option would be a judicial commission of inquiry, or to refer the matter to a commission of inquiry.

Asked whether he still had full confidence in Military Intelligence chief General CP van der Westhuizen, whose name appeared on the alleged Goniwe "death warrant" signal, De Klerk said every South African was entitled to be judged in terms of the law.

"We have a good system. We need evidence to arraign someone. We can't take steps to do so on the basis of rumours," he said.

Pressed again, De Klerk answered: "I have full confidence in the procedures we have applied in this regard."

# ANC checks cadre death

THE ANC is to launch its own investigation into the murder of Umkonto we Sizwe cadre Lot Phalwane, who was shot dead outside his home in Alexandra on Monday night.

Phalwane returned to the country from exile last Friday. ANC PWV region spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday: "We believe Phalwane's death was not criminally motivated. We will investigate and we demand the police bring the killers to book." - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

**NEWS** General denies ...iing 200 KwaZulu men in the Caprivi ● News in brief

# SADF did use 'front companies'

Sowetan 21/8/92

**Sowetan Correspondent**

**■ Creek consultants were not involved in instigating violence, says SADF chief Liebenberg:** (327)

THE chief of the South African Defence Force yesterday admitted that the SADF had used "front companies" to train its members.

General "Kat" Liebenberg, however, denied knowledge of the training of 200 men from KwaZulu in the Caprivi.

Giving evidence before a committee of the Goldstone Commission, Liebenberg said the first time he heard the men had undergone training in the Caprivi was when he read about it in the newspapers.

Liebenberg said he was serving as chief of the army at the time and had been aware of a "protection problem" for leaders in KwaZulu.

He denied authorising the training of the men in the Caprivi.

After he saw the newspaper reports, he instructed some of his officers to conduct an investigation into the matter. This resulted in the compilation of memorandum which was handed to the commission on Tuesday.

The general admitted that a company, Creek Consultants, had acted as a front for the SADF.

The company, he said, gave courses for SADF members about "the reality of the new South Africa". He cited, as an example, the retraining of members of the 32 Batallion.

He denied that the company was involved in instigating violence as it was composed of academics and other educationists who were trained communicators.

Liebenberg denied there was any link between the company and the training of the 200 men.



Mr Justice Richard Goldstone

# 'Kat' lets nothing out the bag

WM cut 21/8 - 27/8/92 (327)

By PAUL STOBER

THE South African Defence Force is continuing to stonewall the Goldstone Commission's investigation into the activities of 200 Inkatha members alleged to have been an Inkatha "hit-squad" trained by Military Intelligence (MI).

Hopes that the commission would be able to uncover the full story of the 200 trained at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip received a setback, yesterday, when the "star" witness produced by the military, Commander in Chief General Andries "Kat" Liebenberg, admitted he was ignorant of details of the operation.

Lawyers representing *The Weekly Mail*, the African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have struggled for months to bring SADF witnesses to the inquiry to explain the purpose of the Caprivi training. Before finally producing Liebenberg, the military tabled a 28-page memorandum claiming that Inkatha members had been trained as VIP bodyguards because of threats to the safety of Inkatha Freedom Party and kwaZulu leaders.

"I do not know of any approval, I was at no stage aware of their training. When I took over the army I was not even informed of this project. When I took over the project was completed and was a closed book. When I read about it in the newspapers, it was the first time I received confirmation. It might sound strange, but in the army we work on a need-to-know basis."

Counsel for the ANC protested angrily as SADF lawyers blocked attempts to establish who had responsibility for the training camp, so that he could be called before the commission to answer questions about the project.

Liebenberg disclosed that the training project — the name of which he personally did not even know — was run by SADF Intelligence staff, the highest level of MI.

He refused to reveal publicly the name of the officer in charge and wrote it on a piece of paper which was then solemnly carried to the chairman of the commission, Neil Rossouw.

The Chief of Staff Intelligence at the time is believed to have been General Witkop Badenhorst. The present incumbent is General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen who has been implicated in the Goniwe murder.

Liebenberg also claimed limited knowledge of the MI front, Adult Education Consultants and its Durban-based offshoot, Creed Consultants, which provided political training at the Caprivi camp and channelled money into the project.

He said the front companies and the training of the 200 were entirely separate matters, adding that they were now "privatised". According to Liebenberg, the SADF employed the companies as "quasi-consultants" to provide its members with "reality training".

This involved providing the citizen and permanent forces with information and training to allow them to understand the reform process.

While admitting the SADF provided personnel and premises for the training, he insisted the SADF did not provide the companies with equipment which could be used to commit violence.



General 'Kat' Liebenberg ... Denied knowledge of Caprivi training

# APARTHEID BAROMETER

## DEATHS AND INJURIES

SEVENTY-SIX people died and 72 were injured in the past week — all in the PWV and Natal regions. This represents a 50 percent increase in the number of deaths and injuries reported last week, according to the Human Rights Commission.

Vigilante-related actions accounted for 57 of the deaths and 38 injuries.

For the second week running, Natal's death toll (36) exceeded that of the PWV (21)

A notable feature of reported incidents in both regions is that attacks occurred during or after Inkatha Freedom Party gatherings.

## SECURITY FORCES

ONE person died in Natal while three people were injured — one in the eastern Cape and two in Ciskei — in security force actions this week, according to the HRC.

Twenty-two people were arrested during the week: 10 people were arrested during a security force raid on the Mandela squatter camp in Tembisa on August 16, 11 people were arrested in Sebokeng, and one person was arrested in Umlazi, Natal.

For the first time in six weeks, security force action in the PWV resulted in no deaths or injuries.

## HIT-SQUAD ACTION

ANDRE MAASDORP DE VILLIERS, who had reportedly disclosed information about the police's "Hammer" unit, was gunned down on his eastern Cape farm on Tuesday. This brings the total number of people killed by hit squads this year to 56.

# Hammer unit funded by defrauding panelbeater

W|W ed 21|8-27|8|92 (32)

By BEVERLEY GARSON: Port Elizabeth

THE panelbeating business of murdered eastern Cape businessman Andre de Villiers was used to defraud a black local authority of money. The money was then used to help fund the "Hammer" unit.

This was alleged yesterday by African National Congress member Valence Watson. He said De Villiers had told him this before his death.

De Villiers was gunned down outside his farmhouse in Addo on Monday, four hours after telling the ANC he had new information on the Goniwe murders. "Hammer" is the name given to a citizen force unit that has been linked to the Goniwe murders.

According to Watson, top officials in the Ibhayi Community Council (ICC) sent council vehicles to the panelbeating workshop, Auto Body Works, for minor repairs. He said the ICC was invoiced for inflated amounts.

This money was then used to fund part of the operations of the Hammer unit, according to Watson.

He also said De Villiers had gone to the police with the information and given all the amounts involved, but that a Brigadier Eric Strydom, of the South African Defence Force, had stopped the investigations conducted by a policeman, a Major Steenkamp.

Watson said De Villiers told him that the investigation was stopped by top cabinet ministers.

Meanwhile, Democratic Party MP Eddie Trent said he also had information about the frauds at Ibhayi, but did not want to reveal the information because he might be called as a witness in the future.—Pen

# Police tortured 15 — forensic expert

w/mail 21/8 - 27/8/92

*A second independent forensic expert has come forward with further evidence that detainees were tortured by police and the judicial system has been woefully inadequate in dealing with this.*

*By* **MARK GEVISSER** *and* **ROSALEE TELELA**

HARD on the heels of pathologist Jonathan Gluckman's revelations about deaths in police custody, another forensic expert has made startling charges about police torture and the current inability of South Africa's courts to deal with such allegations.

Internationally renowned forensic psychiatrist Professor Michael Simpson has been called as an expert witness in 15 human rights cases since 1985. In many of these cases, he says, there was overwhelming evidence corroborating torture claims.

And in a related development, African National Congress national executive committee member Ibrahim Ibrahim has confirmed to *The Weekly Mail* that he is to sue the government for torture and unlawful abduction, following his alleged kidnapping from Swaziland by security forces in 1986. The case starts in late October.

In what is expected to be a watershed case which may open the floodgates for scores of similar damages claims, Ibrahim will tell the supreme court that he was subjected by police to uninterrupted noise for four consecutive days and nights.

Simpson's accusations raise serious questions about the government's current call for a general amnesty. Such an amnesty, he feels, will not only allow torturers to go free, but will also make it almost impossible for survivors of torture and their families to sue the police for alleged torture crimes.

From the cases in which he has been involved, Simpson supplies many examples of irregularity.

In the infamous Donald Madisha case, brought to court by the family of a Potgietersrus activist who died in detention in June 1990, Simpson was called to give evidence, and found it "astonishing, given the irregularities, that neither the police nor medical officials were found culpable".

Among these irregularities were the following:

●The district surgeon diagnosed Madisha as being "schizophrenic" on the night before his death, after a supposed full examination that was conducted in a dimly lit cell with Madisha standing upright and fully dressed. "No competent medical doctor," comments Simpson, "would give such an examination."

●The district surgeon then prescribed valium, the wrong treatment for schizophrenia, and claimed to give Madisha a 10mg intravenous injection of the drug, even though an autopsy found no valium in Madisha's body. "It is flatly and utterly impossible for there to have been no valium in the bloodstream if indeed it was administered the previous day," Simpson comments.

●The district surgeon testified that upon examining Madisha's hanged body, he estimated that that the body had been dead for 15 minutes. "There is absolutely no way of arriving at so precise a time," says Simpson, "unless you have watched the death and are counting the minutes."

●Another district surgeon, who regularly examined Madisha, recorded conflicting diagnoses at the prison and in his private notes. According to the prison notes, Madisha had no ailments; according to the doctor's private notes, Madisha was suffering from chronic appendicitis and severe abdominal pain.

Other cases investigated by Simpson showed astonishingly large quantities of a muscular enzyme called creatine kinase, which could only have been caused by muscular damage and, under the conditions of detention, only electric shock could have been responsible. In these cases, the police denied using electro-shock torture, even once claiming that the high quantity of an unclotted red substance in a victim's urine was the result of a "beetroot meal".

While Simpson praises Gluckman for his disclosures that he had recorded almost 200 deaths in custody, he says that "inquests are not the answer. There's a difference between a paper inquest which can take five minutes over a cup of tea, and a public inquiry in which survivors' families and independent experts can give evidence.

"The police themselves need such inquiries," Simpson continues. "Our country needs a police force and that police force needs to be above suspicion. That is why so many countries, even where police misconduct is very rare, have elaborate procedures to prevent it and a proper system of investigation to check and balance it."

The problem, he feels, is not only that the state botches and/or conceals its own medical evidence, but that it is almost impossible to prove allegations of torture in court: "If you have been detained under Section 29," he says, "you are in solitary confinement and are not even allowed a pen and paper to keep notes. You are in a situation in which it is very difficult to keep track of time and of events, and there is no one independent to check up on your bruises.

"If indeed you are assaulted, only the very people who assault you have the hard evidence, and they're hardly going to testify against themselves."

Unless victims have actually lost eyes or suffered permanent physical damage, it is their unprovable testimony versus that of policemen who can refer to lengthy docket-books.

Furthermore, the victims are often poor black people who do not have the resources to fight the state, which has access to as much expert legal and medical advice as it needs. Attorney Shirley Walsh, who represents many torture victims, says "the majority of these cases are settled out of court, for minimal sums. If the points are to discipline the police and compensate the victims, these out-of-court settlements fail on both counts".

# Goniwe's ghost haunts cabinet ministers

w/Mail 21/8-27/8/92 (327)

*Five cabinet ministers have now been named in connection with Matthew Goniwe's assassination, and President FW de Klerk has been forced to announce a possible independent inquiry.*

*By* **EDDIE KOCH**

THE ghost of assassinated activist Matthew Goniwe has risen to give President FW de Klerk his worst political nightmare in recent times, with five cabinet ministers now linked to the debacle.

Yesterday, the president responded to the growing tension surrounding the 1985 assassination of Goniwe and three colleagues by telling reporters that he may appoint an independent inquiry into the murders.

The announcement came hours after Democratic Party (DP) leader Zach de Beer met De Klerk to discuss the murder this week of an informant who had provided evidence to the media about the army's "Hammer" units and their links to political assassinations.

And another three witnesses have gone into hiding in fear of their lives.

De Klerk said he was confident an inquiry led by Michael Hodgen, acting attorney general for the eastern Cape, would lead to the prosecution of the people responsible for the murders, especially as new informants were "coming forward with information".

"This possible breakthrough could result in prosecutions. If it does not, then another option is to appoint a judicial inquiry or refer the matter to an existing commission," De Klerk said.

The president evaded questions about the fate of General CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen — the army's intelligence chief who masterminded the creation of Hammer units and has been linked to a top-secret message ordering the elimination of Goniwe — by saying "no one is guilty before being proven guilty".

De Klerk was forced to respond publicly to the Goniwe scandal in the wake of news that Andre de Villiers, an informant who gave important information linking the eastern Cape Hammer unit to the 1985 killings, was shot dead this week.

The DP mounted intense pressure for an inquiry into the operations of the Hammer unit after reports that government minister Tertius Delport had received information from De Villiers about the unit's activities before the informant was shot.

Delport, the deputy minister of constitutional development, has denied speaking to De Villiers about Hammer activities. But ANC activist Vallance Watson, who insists that De Villiers shared his information with Delport, has called the deputy minister a "liar".

Democratic MP Eddie Trent and a colleague, General Bob Rogers, have submitted a memorandum to the president concerning De Villiers' murder.

"During the beginning of the past parliamentary session, De Villiers visited me. He gave me information concerning the connection between a panelbeating business ... and the South African Defence Force. He identified an SADF unit called Hammer," Trent said in a statement released yesterday.

"Throughout our conversation, he was extremely nervous and told me that he was convinced his life was in danger, and made me promise that I would not divulge his name or use the information in any way that would lead to his identity being revealed."

Delport's involvement brings to five the members of De Klerk's current cabinet who have been linked to the Goniwe debacle since a top-secret signal message to officers in the now-disbanded State Security Council ordering Goniwe's "permanent removal from society" was leaked to the media.

Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok has been questioned by officials from the attorney general's office in the eastern Cape. The AG's office has a document showing that Vlok headed a committee of the State Security Council which discussed Goniwe's work as a teacher.

Vlok has denied any knowledge of the murders and says that his committee had recommended Goniwe's reinstatement as a school principal.

The journal *Africa Confidential*, which receives information from Western intelligence sources, reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan all served on the State Security Council at the time the signal message was transmitted to its operatives.

Three witnesses who also provided information about Hammer operations to the media or the AG have gone into hiding in the wake of the De Villiers murder. Information supplied by these sources to *The Weekly Mail* include claims that:

- Hammer member John Scott personally killed one of Goniwe's colleagues, "Sparrow" Mkhonto.
- Scott fears growing publicity about the Goniwe killings could open investigations into other murders carried out by Hammer members.
- Another officer in the eastern Cape Hammer unit, Major Graham Lombard, knows about the Goniwe operation.
- Hodgen has received a grisly report that one of the four assassinated men had his hand severed before the bodies were mutilated and dumped. The hand was allegedly kept in a bottle in Lombard's office — along with a baboon's hand used to terrorise black detainees under interrogation — before it was destroyed.
- A Hammer unit similar to the one that operated in the eastern Cape was set up at SADF headquarters in Johannesburg after Van der Westhuizen left Port Elizabeth to become the commanding officer of Wits Command.

# De Villiers death probe intensifies

STAR 22/8/92 (327)

**JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter**

PORT ELIZABETH — As friends and family of slain Eastern Cape farmer Andre de Villiers prepared to bury him on the family's farm in Addo today, police said the search for his killers had reached an "extremely sensitive stage" and "very valuable leads" were being followed up. The Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Major-General Koos Calitz, said an important breakthrough could be expected.

In another development Valence Watson, an old friend of De Villiers and his confidant since last year, yesterday travelled to Grahamstown to hand over all the information he has about the case to the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape.

● See Page 3 and Editorial on Page 10

Watson says De Villiers had given him information about a special-forces unit called Hammer, and its alleged involvement in fraud and hit-squad activity — including the 1985 murder of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe — and had "plenty more to tell". Watson has refused to make a statement to police, charging that an attempt to cover up De Villiers's murder was already under way.

Watson said Calitz — who is heading the investigation — had already said that the motive for the murder appeared to be robbery. Calitz on Wednesday said that a number of factors indicated this, including the fact that bags (presumably to carry away goods) had been found near the scene, that an assassination team would not consist of so many gunmen and that it made no sense for assassins to attack De Villiers in front of a well-lit house.



The Saturday Star has learnt that forensic and other experts from Pretoria have been less inclined to pronounce with such certainty on the reasons for the killing.

Yesterday PE police spokesman Captain Henry Chalmers said "at no stage did we rule out" other motives. "We said indications were there that it was an ordinary robbery attempt. If you really think about it that is what seems to be the logical thing, but we are

● TO PAGE 2.

# 'Valuable leads' in Addo case

(327)

CT 22/8/92

**Own Correspondent**

PORT ELIZABETH. — A major breakthrough in the investigation of the murder of Addo farmer Mr Andre de Villiers can be expected soon, Eastern Cape Police Commissioner Major-General Koos Calitz said yesterday.

He said it was not possible to give further information.

The police investigation was at a sensitive stage and valuable leads were being followed up, General Calitz said.

Police spokesman Captain Henry Chalmers said the attackers were five black men.

Speaking from Addo, widow Mrs Liz de Villiers said: "I know they were black men because I saw one of them firing at me in the house. I'm not entirely sure, but I think there were about five of them.

"I have a vivid picture of the man who fired at me. The bullets hit the wall. But we knew that Andre had been hit. Our concern was for Andre at that moment, not ourselves.

"Andre had fallen forward on the hooter and the hooter was going all the time."

Asked if there was light enough for her to see clearly the face of the man who shot at her, she said: "The main lights were off, but the lights that go on and off (security lights activated by activity) were on and I have a vivid recollection of his face."

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has announced that the reward for information leading to conviction of the murderers has been increased from R10 000 to R50 000.

● Democratic Party MP for PE Central Mr Eddie Trent and MP for Walmer Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers yesterday said in a joint statement they were pleased that the Goldstone Commission had a representative in the investigation.

He is Lieutenant-Colonel Henk Heslinga, who this week inspected the scene of the murder and has returned to Pretoria to report to Mr Justice Goldstone.

## MPs ask for full probe of Hammer

**Political Staff**

**THE prompt action taken by President F W de Klerk over the murder of Mr Andre de Villiers was welcome, but his announcement was disappointing, the Democratic Party said yesterday.**

**The MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr Eddie Trent, and the MP for Walmer, Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, said in a joint statement that they had requested that the whole field of covert operations in PE, particularly those of the SADF's Hammer unit, should be investigated.**

**There appeared to be a link between the murder of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three others, the arrest of Ms Pamela du Randt, allegedly an ex-member of Hammer, in London recently, corruption in Ibhayi, the tapping of Mr Adriaan Vlok's telephone and the murder of Mr De Villiers.**

# Former Springbok denies part in covert activities

Weekend Argus Reporter

BUSINESSMAN and former Springbok hang-glider Mr Dave Mandel of Port Elizabeth has again denied being party to covert activities alleged to have taken place at his panel-beating shop.

In two statements, one issued through attorneys, he also states that he did not observe any activities, allegedly involving the "Hammer" unit, taking place at the shop.

He was responding to various reports published this week following the shooting of Eastern Cape farmer Mr Andre de Villiers. It has been alleged that Mr De Villiers was providing information to assist in investigations into the death of Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe in 1985.

In his statement, Mr Mandel confirms that Mr De Villiers was a director of the panel-beating company during 1984-85, at which stage Mr Mandel was also a director. Mr De Villiers did not take part in the day-to-day running of the business, Mr Mandel says, and he left in 1986.

Mr Mandel confirms that he joined the Hammer unit as part of his national service but denies being involved in or observing any unlawful activities. Nor did any covert activities take place at the premises of the panel-beating business, as referred to by Mr De Villiers and published in various reports. He also strenuously denies that he was involved in any fraud with the Ibhayi Town Council. The allegations are "false and malicious" and are "based on unfounded and unproven hearsay statements".

"Although the true facts may eventually show that frauds had been committed in dealings between the Ibhayi Town Council and private firms and/or individuals and that the Hammer units carried on unlawful activities, I have strenuously denied, and continue to do so, that I have ever been involved in such activities. Since 1989, the police have investigated charges involving a total of R3 080 against my company and eventually brought charges against my brother and I. Despite lengthy investigation by the police, the charges were withdrawn as long ago as July 25 1991."

Mr Mandel says that quoting information given by Mr Valence Watson to The Argus is "absurd and untrue"; he appeals for the matter not to be prejudged "on the basis of reckless allegations".

# Murder leads followed up

**PORT ELIZABETH. — The Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Major-General Koos Calitz, expects an important breakthrough in investigations into the murder of Addo farmer Mr Andre de Villiers.**

**He said yesterday it was not possible, however, to disclose more. Investigations were "at an extremely sensitive stage" and valuable leads were being followed up. — Sapa.**

# 'Third force' still active (327) former colonel

STAR 24/8/92.

● From Page 1

necessary, but in the transition period they are more concerned with staving off fundamental change.

"In preparation for 'total war' under the state of emergency from mid-1986," Colonel Hugo claims, "these units were cut off from their sources of intelligence and were told they must identify and act against political targets. There was less and less accountability and now it is out of control."

Colonel Hugo alleges that President de Klerk and his Ministers "don't know even half of what is still going on today," and says the Government faces an acute dilemma: in moving to reassert control over rogue elements, Pretoria could risk losing the crucial support of the security forces, as well as the exposure of involvement in their activities by senior serving political figures.

The former officer's startling claims are published today in major interviews in the British newspaper The Independent, and the Christian Science Monitor in the United States, with whom The Star has been investigating "third force" activities.

In Star reports earlier this month, Colonel Hugo was named by a former police informant as allegedly being connected to the leak of the SADF "Goniwe signal", and to the weapons trade.

In the Christian Science Monitor he says the best route open to Mr de Klerk is to grant officials, soldiers, agents and policemen amnesty in exchange for full disclosure about "third force" activities.

● The Monitor reports that a separate source "within the security establishment" has claimed that the dismissal or early retirement of Military Intelligence chief General C P "Joffel" van der Westhuizen is "imminent". General van der Westhuizen's name appeared on the "Goniwe signal" and, according to sources, he established "Hammer" in the eastern Cape.

# 'Third force' is active (321) – colonel

STAR 24/8/92

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

A former senior officer in SADF Military Intelligence, named in The Star's ongoing investigations into "third force" activities, has broken cover to support claims about a currently operating network made up of serving and former members of the State's security apparatus.

He has told American and British newspapers that this "third force" is today actively fomenting black-on-black violence, sabotaging the negotiations process, and planning to retain an independent power base irrespective of any negotiated settlement.

Colonel Gert Hugo is the most senior source from within security circles to have gone public on the "third force".

He says he knows from direct experience that such a network is now operating, with the support of top figures within the security forces. The "third force" is beyond the control of the Government, Colonel Hugo claims, and has become a "headless monster".

Colonel Hugo says the "third force" was born in the early 1980s under the protection of former President P W Botha's powerful State Security Council, and operated on the basis of minimal political accountability. "Now it is out of control," he says, and the "disbandment" of controversial units like the Civil Co-operation Bureau and "Hammer" had no effect because their original design allowed them to operate independently. "Hammer", according to Colonel Hugo, is a clear example of a unit "out of control".

He says the units emerged a decade ago in response to the perceived political need to counter internal black resistance, via illegal means if

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# Shock arrests in Addo murder

## Police hold 'MK' men

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH. — Two men, claimed by police to be trained uMkhonto weSizwe soldiers of the ANC's military wing, and another black man have been arrested in connection with the murder last week of Addo farmer Mr Andre de Villiers.**

In their announcement yesterday, police said they were still looking for a fourth man.

Mr De Villiers was gunned down on his farm shortly after 8pm last Monday.

Police regional commissioner Major-General Koos Calitz said police had also confiscated a 9mm Makarov pistol of Russian origin. All three people and the firearm had been "positively linked" to the murder.

The ANC, however, said last night the statement by the police was an attack on the organisation.

General Calitz said: "The arrests followed one of the most intensive investigations ever launched by police in the Eastern Cape. An intensive search for a fourth suspect is continuing unabated. An arrest is expected soon."

"It is now obvious to the SAP why the ANC held a press conference within hours of the murder of Mr De Villiers and maliciously created the perception it was a 'political' murder.

"The ANC must now explain to the broad community how it is possible that a so-called ANC informer, who had supplied such vital information, and evidently still had such vital information, should be murdered by members of the ANC's military wing.

Mr De Villiers's brother Francois last night said the family was reasonably satisfied with the information at their disposal that the man who had pulled the trigger had been apprehended.

"But we are not satisfied yet as to why it had occurred. This had not yet been cleared up.

"We had a meeting with General Calitz again this afternoon and he assured us that the investigations into the other two aspects of the matter (the Ibhayi fraud and Hammer unit) would be continued.

"I again brought it to his attention that my brother was not an ANC informer, but in fact a concerned

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### Arrests

citizen who had given certain information to Mr Valence Watson as a friend. He had unsuccessfully tried to pass the information on to police and the government before that.

"I don't want to get involved in mudslinging between the ANC and the police. My brother just got caught up in a web of political intricacies."

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General Calitz also said that organisations and individuals such as Mr Watson should be more careful regarding statements without proof.

But last night, Mr Watson said: "First of all I'm repeating what Andre de Villiers said to me and the last words he said to his son Louis — does that not say it all?

"Another thing which is important is that the so-called perpetrators are in custody. Why then have members of my family, including my aged mother, received death threats?"

Mr Watson also queried the fact that Port Elizabeth Central MP Mr Eddie Trent had not been "attacked" in the police statement.

"Is it because I am an ANC member that I was attacked — I'm just repeating what I was told.

"Andre was not an informer, he was helping to uncover this murderous cancer in our society. He was a man of courage and a patriot."

### 'Propoganda'

Democratic Party MP Mr Trent, who was also given certain information by Mr De Villiers recently, said last night that he was delighted the alleged murderers had been arrested.

A spokesman for the ANC last night said the announcement by General Calitz confirmed its worst fears about the "propagandistic role" played by police, as well as its party political affiliations and antagonisms.

"Without releasing any names police have announced not only that two trained MK soldiers were arrested in connection with the murder of Mr De Villiers, but have also pronounced on their guilt. They chose to ignore any due process of law or court procedures.

"The entire statement is an attack on the ANC. This is not the province of comment for any police force."

"This is not the first time that the police make wild statements about the ANC, only to find the accusations simply fizzle out, having served their propaganda and disinformation purpose."

Mr De Villiers, 42, was shot by gunmen outside his home, while his wife and children sat inside watching television.

Mr De Villiers died 45 minutes later of a bullet wound in the back, as his son Louis, 15, was driving around the small town with his father in the bakkie, trying to reach a doctor.

His widow, Mrs Liz de Villiers, said at the weekend that she was convinced the motive for the killing was not robbery, as nobody else had been harmed.

# Murder row grows after arrests

**The Argus Correspondents**

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police have arrested two "trained soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe" and a third man in connection with the murder last week of Addo farmer and "Hammer unit" informant Andre de Villiers.

The sensational turn of events — the ANC insisted last week that Mr De Villiers had been assassinated to stop him from talking about security force misdeeds — has led to immediate claims of a "cover-up" from Valence Watson, an ANC member and close friend of the dead man.

Separately, the ANC accused police of "propaganda" and of ignoring the due process of law in pronouncing on the suspects' guilt.

In a statement last night East Cape regional police commissioner Major General Koos Calitz said the three suspects had been "positively linked to the murder". A Russian-made 9mm Makarov pistol had also been seized.

The arrests followed "one of the most intensive investigations ever launched by the SA Police in the Eastern Cape," according to General Calitz. "An intensive search for a fourth suspect is continuing and an arrest is expected to follow shortly."

The arrests and investigations "confirmed the initial presumption that the motive for the murder was in fact robbery," General Calitz said.

The murder of Mr De Villiers at 8.20 pm last Monday was raised at the highest level, with the Democratic Party urging President De Klerk to establish a special commission of inquiry.

The shooting also fuelled fears about the safety of witnesses to political crimes, as Mr De Villiers had been giving information about the activities of the Eastern Cape "Hammer" unit — which is allegedly implicated in the 1985 Goniwe killings and other illegal acts.

But General Calitz attacked those who "in an arrogant manner and without proof spread wild rumours and statements about a political murder".

"The SAP have also been accused of 'cover-ups', and the government, the State President and the SAP (were discredited). It is now obvious to the SAP why the ANC held a press conference within hours of the murder and maliciously created the perception that it was political."

He challenged the ANC to "explain how it is possible that a so-called 'ANC informer' ... should be murdered by members of the military wing of the ANC ... The ANC should also explain to the community why they do not exercise proper control over their MK members."

The SAP statement said organisations and individuals "like Mr Valence Watson of the ANC should be more careful regarding statements made without proof. Criminal investigations should be left in the hands of the SAP which is the only lawful body which possesses the necessary competence and resources to bring criminals to justice".

"The SAP gives the assurance that they will strive to maintain order at all times and persist in their task regardless. The police wish to thank the community for the hundreds of telephone calls received and for the moral support which has been evident to us."

In spite of the developments, however, Mr Watson is unrepentant. He told The Argus last night he did not believe it was possible that Mr De Villiers's killers were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was certain there had been a cover-up.

"Something extremely fishy is going on," he said. "The words of a dying man were that the murder was political and that there would be a cover-up. I have every reason to believe him."

He claimed Mr De Villiers's murder was "no robbery".

"As for the police's competence and capacity to bring criminals to justice ... the police have an extremely bad track record on that score," he said.

Mr Watson said there was absolutely no indication that the police had made a thorough investigation into Mr De Villiers's death.

"They never even came to take statements from (Mr De Villiers's son) Louis or myself," he said. Mr Watson had spoken to Mr De Villiers on the telephone hours before he was gunned down.

Mr De Villiers's brother, Francois, who was reluctant to comment fully on the police statement, said the family was satisfied the "the person who possibly pulled the trigger" had been arrested.

"But we are not satisfied about the reasons why," he said.

Advocate Mr Nick Maritz, representing the De Villiers family, said the family was also not satisfied that the investigation into the murder was over. He said General Calitz had confirmed that investigations into the motive for the killing were "not over".

The ANC said last night that the SAP statement "confirms our worst fears about the propagandistic role played by the police force in this country, as well as its party political affiliations and antagonisms".

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# Cops detain 'MK cadres'

Sowetan 24/8/92 (327)

**■ Sequel to death of police informant:**

THREE men, two allegedly members of the African National Congress' armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, were arrested yesterday in connection with the death of Mr Andre de Villiers on his farm at Addo last Monday, police said.

Regional police commissioner Major-General Koos Calitz, who is heading the investigation, said in a statement yesterday police had also seized a 9mm Makarov pistol and another arrest was expected soon.

De Villiers was shot dead in his car outside his house, hours after he had told a friend, Mr Valence Watson, that he would reveal high-level names, including those of Cabinet Ministers, behind the SADF's alleged covert Hammer unit which is claimed to be behind the assassination of Cradock civic leader Matthew Goniwe and three others.

Last week President FW de Klerk said police would not rest until De Villiers' killers were found. - *Sapa*.

# Exposed – 'coup plot' in event of ANC takeover

STAR 25/8/92 (327)

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The Star today reports on further startling allegations by former senior Military Intelligence officer Colonel Gert Hugo about "third force" activity — including the claim that elements of the military have a "worst case scenario" amounting to a coup.

Colonel Hugo, the most senior security force-linked source yet to have spoken out, has broken cover to support widespread allegations about "third force" elements stoking violence. He claims in an in-depth interview, published today in The Star and internationally, that:

● He and his commanding officer received a top-secret message from Pretoria in 1990, amounting to a plan for a "silent coup" in the event of the ANC reaching the threshold of power. The "contingency plan" is still "under lock and key" at various military headquarters.

● Senior officers have become politically "untouchable" because of what they know about "dirty tricks".

● "Third force" practitioners are promoting "black on black" violence because it is a political "dream come true" for them — they see it as weakening the ANC's bargaining position in negotiations and buying time.

● In the "total onslaught" era, MI officers exaggerated the security threat posed by the ANC by as much as "2 000 percent" to convince the politicians to give MI a free hand, in terms of both resources and independence. This has allowed for the current situation whereby groups are "out of control" and not easily reined in.

● "Political" officers manipulated naive young members of the security forces into committing illegal acts against the anti-apartheid opposition.

Mr Hugo was named a fortnight ago in an investigation into "third force" activities by The Star, the Independent and the Christian Science Monitor. A former police informant alleged he was connected to the leak of the "Goniwe signal" and the weapons trade. Mr Hugo subsequently decided to tell his story, which is receiving prominent attention in Britain and the United States.

The former officer was in the SADF for 12 years. He resigned his commission in 1990 and went on to become head the Ciskei's intelligence services, from which position he was subsequently fired.

For the past year, Mr Hugo has been co-operating with human rights workers, but he has never before gone public with his claims.

During a series of interviews since then, Mr Hugo has said he now feels it is right to expose the illegal activities he is aware of. He is still in South Africa, but is in hiding.

● Full interview and profile — Page 23

# Lawyers criticise cell death inquests

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE objectivity of certain inquest magistrates in dealing with deaths in detention was questioned by a Johannesburg lawyer yesterday.

Speaking at a Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) news conference, attorney Lawley Shein, who regularly represents the families of deceased prisoners, called for all inquests into deaths in detention to be heard by "at least a Supreme Court judge".

Shein pointed out that magistrates started their careers in the Justice Department as prosecutors, and some retained a "civil servant attitude".

However, LHR attorney David Dison said the current failure of the inquest system could be blamed on an extreme case overload, rather than subjectivity of presiding officers.

The reason cell deaths continued on a regular basis — 80 this year — was because the inquest system simply did not work, Dison said.

He called for a special unit to investigate alleged deaths of detainees at the hands of police.

The LHR called yesterday's news conference after Shein failed in his bid to have the inquest of Bethuel Maphumulo conducted by a judge rather than a magistrate.

Maphumulo, 31, handed himself over to the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit on December 11 1990, in connection with theft, on the understanding that bail would be granted at his first court appearance.

Three days later he was dead. The police explanation was that Maphumulo had drowned in a swimming pool while attempting to escape.

But two post mortem reports — one by the state pathologist and one by independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman — indicated the cause of death was "multiple injuries" and the fracture of the hyoid bone in the neck.

At the time, Gluckman said such a fracture was highly suggestive of manual strangulation.

"Despite Shein having pointed out the contradiction between the police version and the post mortem report, the Attorney-General has left the matter in the hands of a magistrate when there is a prima facie case of murder," said LHR Witwatersrand regional director Ahmed Motala.

LHR claimed that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee earlier gave an undertaking that a judge would conduct the inquest into every death in detention in respect of which Gluckman had prepared a report, and sufficient evidence existed to warrant it.

However, Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres SC said yesterday he had no knowledge of such an undertaking.

Coetsee's undertaking only extended to four specific files handed to him by Gluckman earlier this year, said Von Lieres.

# FW urged to admit to hit squads

RAY HARTLEY

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk had to admit publicly to the continued existence of hit squads or continue to face embarrassing revelations about their operations, leading human rights figures said yesterday.

And the ANC called on the Goldstone commission to advertise a witness protection programme.

Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) director Brian Currin has called former Military Intelligence colonel Gert Hugo — who has claimed first-hand knowledge that hit squads are still operating — a reliable and accurate source.

Hugo told several overseas publications a "third force" was actively fomenting black-on-black violence, sabotaging negotiations and planning an independent power base.

Currin said government was not investigating the third force because it claimed it did not exist.

Human Rights Commission spokesman Max Coleman said more than 100 activists and their family members had been killed in two years, confirming the existence of "highly professional hit squads".

He said it was a well-established fact the CCB was still operating.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said past activities of the security forces had to be made public for the political process to go forward.

The Law and Order Ministry was in meetings yesterday and no spokesmen could be reached for comment.

# Nest egg plan by MPs 'is off'

Political Staff

A MOVE by government MPs to feather their nests before the current Parliament is replaced by an interim government was off, said NP chief whip Keppies Niemann.

Details of a wide range of proposals to change pensions, gratuities, tax and medical aid schemes were in a letter sent by Niemann to other parliamentary parties' chief whips.

But an angry Niemann yesterday said the matter had simply been raised as a matter of routine following representations from MPs.

# Third Force exists - officer

A FORMER senior officer in the SADF Military Intelligence has broken cover to support claims about a current Third Force network made up of serving and former members of the State's security apparatus. Sowetan 25/8/92

He has told American and British newspapers that this Third Force is today actively fomenting black-on-black violence, sabotaging the negotiations process, and planning to retain an independent power base irrespective of any negotiated settlement. 327

Colonel Gert Hugo is the second most senior source from within security circles to have gone public on the Third Force.

He says he knows from direct experience that such a network is now operating, with the support of top figures in the security forces.

Sowetan 25/8/92

# Murder accused appears in court

Sowetan 25/8/92 327

**■ POSITIVE IDENTITY** Police say they have positively identified three men in accused of murder:

ONE OF THREE MEN ARRESTED on Sunday night in connection with the murder of Addo farmer Mr Andre de Villiers appeared in the Kirkwood Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The case, which the court ordered be held in camera, was postponed to September 22.

Police spokesman Captain Henry Chalmers said the other two men would appear in court today, also in camera.

Chalmers said this was to protect the identity of the suspects and because they had to be part of an identification parade later in the week.

De Villiers was gunned down outside his Addo home shortly after releasing information to a Sunday newspaper on the shadowy "Hammer Unit" - which has been linked to the assassinations of Cradock activist Mr MatthewGoniwe and three of his colleagues.

Four hours before he was killed he had contacted the regional office of the ANC to say he had more information on the unit.

Announcing the arrests on Sunday night, police said two of the men were members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Major-General Koos Calitz said the three men had been positively linked to the murders and challenged the ANC to "explain how it is possible that a so-called ANC informer should be murdered by the military with the help of the ANC".

He said the police had confiscated a Russian Makarov pistol and were still looking for a fourth man.

After the arrests the ANC said that the SAP remarks "confirmed our worst fears about the propagandistic role played by the police force as well as its party political affiliations and antagonisms".

"Without releasing any names, the police have announced not only that two trained MK soldiers were arrested but have also pronounced on their guilt, ignoring any due process of law," the ANC said. - *Ecna.*

# R50 000 reward for Addo informant

**PORT ELIZABETH. — A R50 000 police reward will be paid out after conviction to the person who supplied information which led to the weekend arrest of three men in connection with the murder of Addo farmer Mr Andre de Villiers last Monday.**

**One of the three men appeared briefly yesterday. The others are expected to appear today.**

**The names of the accused — two of them apparently "self-confessed" trained soldiers of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe military wing — are being withheld until identification parades have been held. For this reason, early court appearances will be in camera.**

**Police liaison officer Captain Henry Chalmers said: "Because of the sensitivity of the case, we want to hold an identification parade even though the men have been positively linked to the murder.**

**"However, the parades will be held later in the week and the men have to appear within 48 hours of having been arrested. The ID parades will be attended by Mr De Villiers' wife and the employee who was with Mr De Villiers when he was shot," Captain Chalmers said.**

**He would not give details on the recipient of the R50 000 reward. He said if certain information had not been supplied to the police, the arrests would not have been made so soon after the murder.**

**Mr Glenn Goosen, who is representing the ANC, said although the ANC was aware of who the suspects were, they had not been told officially because of the pending identification parades.** CT 25/8/92 (3&7)

**Mr De Villiers was shot hours before he was to have disclosed information to the ANC about the activties of the SA Defence Force Hammer unit, which has been mentioned in connection with the death of ANC activist Mr Matthew Goniwe.**

# Attorney-general plans special team to probe Addo farmer's murder

EASTERN Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen said yesterday he would appoint a special team to investigate the killing of Addo farmer Andre de Villiers — despite police saying they had already arrested three men in connection with the murder, and were seeking another.

And Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said he had sent a full-time member of his commission, Col H Heslinga, to Port Elizabeth to observe the police investigation of the murder.

Goldstone asked to be kept informed of developments in the investigation, because of "recent developments and the obvious relevance thereof to the commission's terms of reference". He asked the SAP, the ANC and Hodgen to keep the commission informed of developments.

Police said at the weekend they had arrested three men — two of them "trained soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe" — in connection with the De Villiers slaying.

Our Port Elizabeth correspondent reports that one of the three appeared briefly in court in Kirkwood yesterday. The others are expected to appear today.

Their names are being withheld until identification parades have been held, so early court appearances will be in camera.

A R50 000 reward would be paid out soon to the person who supplied information.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

Arrests would not have been made so soon without this information, police said.

Before his death, De Villiers was reportedly disclosing information about the activities of the "Hammer" unit mentioned in connection with the killing of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe in 1985.

Hodgen said that at this stage he was looking separately at the deaths of Goniwe and De Villiers, but that he would look into anything in the De Villiers case which might assist in other cases.

The police statement on the arrest of the three came amid allegations by the ANC that De Villiers had been assassinated to prevent him from making disclosures about security force actions.

On Sunday night, eastern Cape regional police commissioner Maj-Gen Koos Calitz said the three suspects had been positively linked to the murder and that a Makarov pistol had been seized.

Calitz said the arrests confirmed initial police suspicions that the motive for the killing was robbery.

The ANC condemned Calitz's statement, saying he had made presumptions about the guilt of the arrested men before they had faced trial.

The DP yesterday criticised both the SAP and the ANC.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said: "The SAP is not assisting its role as the neutral enforcer of law and order by alleging that MK is responsible for the murder.

"However, if the police are to be criticised for passing judgment on the ANC in this matter and for convicting the arrestees for murder before the trial process is even set in motion, then the ANC must bear a portion of the blame for rushing to judgment before the first facts of recent incidents of violence, killings and massacres had even been established."

# Addo killing: Suspects named

CT 26/8/92

(321) (384)

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police last night released the names of the three men who have appeared in court in connection with the murder of Mr Andre de Villiers, the Addo farmer who was shot outside his home last Monday.

The men are Mr Xolani Mcinane, 23, Mr Tamsanqa Mali, 22, and Mr Lindile Stemela, 23.

One of the men appeared in the Kirkwood Magistrate's Court on Monday. The other two appeared in the same court yesterday.

Their appearances were brief, they were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The case was postponed to September 1, when the men will appear in the court at Addo.

Mr De Villiers was shot hours after he spoke to ANC member Mr Valence Watson about information he intended to disclose about the Hammer unit, which has been mentioned in connection with the killing of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists.

The names of the suspects were withheld and their court appearances held in camera so as not to prejudice identification parades held on Monday and last night, police duty officer Captain Johan Victor said last night.

The police took one of the suspects to Mr De Villiers's farm, Atherstone, yesterday as part of the investigation.

Police are still searching for the fourth suspect.

# De Villiers: Hearing in camera?

PORT ELIZABETH. — The State wants the initial hearings of the trial of three men for the murder of farmer Andre de Villiers to be held in camera.

And Mr Valence Watson, an ANC member and friend of the murdered man, has been receiving death threats.

A police spokesman, Captain Henry Chalmers, said today one of the three men would appear in court in Kirkwood today, while the other two would appear tomorrow.

Police announced last night the arrest of the three, two of whom they said were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The murder had earlier been linked to the Goniwe investigation.

Captain Chalmers said an application would be made for the identities of the suspects to be protected, and the initial hearings to be held in camera, since an identification parade was still to be held.

Mr Watson said he had received death threats over the weekend. He said it was peculiar that while the suspects were supposedly in custody, he and his family were receiving death threats. — Ecna.

● See Page 5

ARG 26/8/92

# De Villiers murder suspects are named

PORT ELIZABETH. — Three men who have appeared briefly in court charged with murdering Addo farmer Mr Andre de Villiers, who was shot dead outside his home last Monday, have been named by the police.

They are Mr Xolani Ngcinane, 23, Mr Tamsanqa Oliver Mali, 22, and Mr Lindile Sitemela, 23. They appeared in the Kirkwood Magistrate's Court but were not asked to plead.

The hearing was postponed to September 1, when the men will appear in court at Addo. Police are still searching for a fourth suspect.

The men's names had earlier been withheld pending identification parades, which were held on Monday and last night.

Mr De Villiers's widow Liz, 37, attended the identification parades, as did his employee Mr Greg Higgins.

Police took one of the suspects to Atherstone farm yesterday as part of the investigation.

Mr De Villiers was shot hours after he spoke to ANC member Mr Valence Watson about information he would disclose concerning the activities of an undercover SADF unit known as "Hammer".

The unit was allegedly responsible for the killings seven years ago of United Democratic Front activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other UDF activists.

ANC regional president Linda Mti said she had been given the names of the accused and would comment after meeting lawyers today.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus declined to say if two of the men were members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as police allege, and said she would issue a statement only after the ANC had completed its own investigation into the matter.

Mr Watson claimed he had received a death threat on the telephone last night from a man who spoke English with an Afrikaans accent.

The caller apparently said: "Is that Valence Watson? I have a bullet with your name on it," then put the phone down. — Sapa.

# Trapped in the web of military power State President FW de Klerk is powerless to act against the hard men of South Africa's army, a former intelligence officer tells

**John Carlin** in Johannesburg.

## Former Colonel Gert Hugo now says a plan exists for a military takeover should the old order be threatened:

Sowetan 26/8/92

A DISAFFECTED former senior South African intelligence officer says that contingency plans exist for a military takeover if the old white-dominated order is ever genuinely threatened.

Colonel Gert Hugo, who resigned his commission in July 1991 after a 12- year career in military intelligence, says that he and his commanding officer received a top-secret message from Pretoria in early 1990, shortly after Nelson Mandela's release.

The message amounted, he said, to a plan for "a silent coup" in the event of the African National Congress reaching the threshold of power.

Whether State President FW de Klerk is aware of the scheming or not, he is powerless to act against the hard men in the military, Hugo says.

The South African Military Intelligence have so much dirt on the cabinet - so much evidence of complicity in past crimes - that the generals have become untouchable.

"In early 1990, shortly after Mandela's release, all SADF groups in South Africa received a top-secret signal from Pretoria. I was the senior intelligence officer in Group Eight, East London, at the time. The signal, which was addressed only to the top intelligence officer and the commanding officer, warned of a threat of uprising, anarchy and revolutionary overthrow spearheaded by the ANC.

"The hidden message, but it was absolutely clear, was that we had to make contingency plans for a total military take-over when this happened. My officer commanding, for example, envisaged imposing martial law - judge, jury and executioner."

And Hugo, who retains close links with the military, said the plan still exists today.

"Under lock and key at every group headquarters is an operational contingency plan with a copy at army headquarters. It's a contingency plan for a coup."

Those in the know, he said, are sworn to keep the plan hidden, even from their fellow officers.

Senior officers of "MI", secretly empowered in the 1980s by then State President PW Botha to control their country's political destiny, show no inclination to bow to the apparent drift to democracy in the 1990s. The openness which goes hand in hand with unfettered democracy is the biggest threat to the generals' power.

After a number of conversations over a six-week period, Hugo agreed to give an on-the-record interview. Engaged in dirty tricks operations as recently as last year, he has worked closely with the most contentious, and least known, figure on the South African political scene today, General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, the head of MI.

Van der Westhuizen is the man whose name



**FW de Klerk**

appeared in an earlier signal document authorising "the permanent removal from society" of four black political activists assassinated in 1985.

He is the man who must ultimately take the blame for the MI plot revealed in the *Independent* last month to kill the London-based police defector, Dirk Coetzee. Such has been De Klerk's powerlessness that, three months after the initial exposure, the general has not even been suspended from his duties, leaving him free to deploy MI's vast resources to the task of covering up his tracks.

Hugo takes it as read that MI has been turning the wheel of political violence which has claimed 7 000 lives in the past two years.

"Some of the attacks, some of the train massacres for example, bear the unmistakable hallmarks of the Special Forces reconnaissance regiments. Others are pure Koevoet (the fearsome 'Crowbar' police unit used in the Namibian war)."

The phenomenon generally of "black-on-black" killings - the township wars between Inkatha and ANC supporters - "has been a dream come true". But now, after countless allegations of orchestrated mass murder, De Klerk is under growing domestic and international pressure to axe some heads. Why doesn't he?

"The most powerful reason why he can't act is that he and his ministers don't know even the half of what is still going on today, but they're still implicated because many of them were part of the system under Botha.

The perceived threat represented by "the enemy", the ANC, was magnified "2 000 percent" by a military intelligence apparatus eager to secure high budgets from the politicians and by individual officers eager to enhance their own importance and that of their operational regions.

An example of this hyperbole is provided in a secret military document obtained by the *Independent* and dated as recently as 17 January 1991, which shows that the ANC is still classified as "the enemy" and is perceived to have intensified its "revolutionary momentum".

"Aim of enemy", the document says, is "to take over the Government of the RSA through negotiations, while retaining the ability to violently overthrow the Government".

The secret military document reveals detailed contingencies involving political manipulation - including the media - and counter-insurgency urban operations.

As chief of Ciskei intelligence, Hugo watched the unfolding of what he called a classic "total strategy" scheme to develop, through the creation of a political party known as the African Democratic Movement, ADM, a perfect replica of the Inkatha project.

The difference being that whereas the branch of the Zulu nation represented by Inkatha was recruited to the "total strategy" cause in the mid-Eighties, the ADM and the leader of the Ciskei, Oupa Gqozo were enlisted in 1990, well into De Klerk's rule and after negotiations with the ANC had begun.

"There's the perception that negotiations will be helped along in De Klerk's favour - that is, in favour of the whites - if the machine keeps turning over. There are simpler motives. Like the fear that, 'God! I'm going to lose my job!' There's the motivation of being guilty as hell. And very, very important to understand these people, there's the buzz of the game, the addiction to power." - *The Independent, London.*

# Students lash teacher union

B|DAY 26/8/92.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Azapo-aligned Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) yesterday attacked the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) for bringing greater havoc to a weak education system.

In response to Sadtu's threat of a nationwide strike less than two months before exams, Azasm spokesman Kgomotso Modiselle told journalists yesterday that black pupils had suffered greatly as a result of the disruptions organised by the Congress of SA Students and Sadtu since the beginning of the year.

Rather than hurting the Department of Education and Training the protests and chalk-downs had only played into its hands, he said.

Meanwhile, the Independent Development Trust's Prof Merlyn Mehl has blamed the educational authorities' lack of accountability for the chaos in education.

In his keynote address to Vista University's national conference on quality education, he said any system which, after 12 years, could pass only 40% of pupils needed re-examination.

A unified education system would not necessarily solve the problem, but schools should be community based, accountable and have equal access to shared resources, he said.

Modiselle, meanwhile, said pupils should use the "inferior facilities and second-rate education" to their own advantage — it was a more effective weapon in the pupils' struggle than taking to the streets in protest.

Azasm's campaign of organising extra lessons on Saturdays had been underscored by unwilling teachers and continuing disruptions.

Teachers had legitimate complaints, but Modiselle said they needed to recognise that teachers, pupils and parents needed to approach the DET as a united group.

Modiselle also accused the ANC of failing to provide direction during the recent upheavals.

A high-ranking Sadtu delegation will meet DET deputy director-general Bernard Louw in Pretoria today to discuss the issue of union recognition.

# AWB agrees to SAP monitoring

327

B|DAY 26/8/92

TIM COHEN

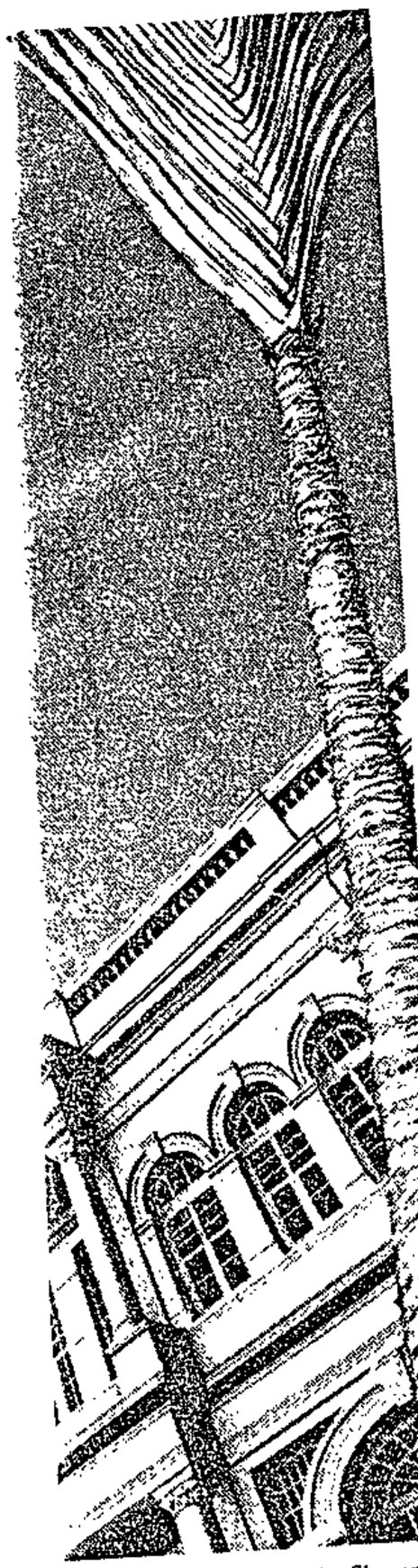
PRETORIA — AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche agreed to throw AWB training camps open to SAP inspection at a meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday.

Kriel said government had not objected to the training of people for individual self-defence. But the training of groups to perform tasks that were the duty of the SAP or SADF would contravene the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act..

The Act, which came into effect on July 31, prohibits organisations from organising, training, equipping or arming supporters with the aim of usurping police or defence force functions.

Terre'Blanche agreed to Kriel's suggestion that the SAP be kept informed of AWB activities and extended an invitation to the SAP to monitor the AWB training camps and activities. SAP commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe accepted the invitation.

A further meeting will be held to coordinate the monitoring.



y at 1.45pm, arriving in Singapore
ll key cities in Asia, Australia
SINGAPORE AIRLINES

366/8.

36R92

# DP demands third force probe

B|DAY 26/8/92

BILLY PADDOCK

THE DP called yesterday for an urgent judicial inquiry into all covert activities, because allegations of a third force were becoming increasingly believable.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said in a statement there were so many inexplicable incidents of politically inspired violence and ample evidence of abuse of power in the security forces that former military intelligence officer Col Gert Hugo's revelations this week made the need for a probe urgent.

Andrew said Hugo's claim that covert units operated independently of the rest of the intelligence community confirmed what the DP's research department had already deduced.

President F W de Klerk needed to grasp the nettle and order a "full investigation and a full disclosure".

# 'Assassins must face trial'

B|DAY 26/8/92

PATRICK BULGER

STATE-backed killers would have to stand trial when a new government was in place, but that government could pardon them, the ANC's official journal Mayibuye says.

"The ANC has said that it is not opposed to a general amnesty in principle. A negotiated resolution of any conflict entails a measure of reconciliation. But this cannot be a pious forgive-and-forget operation.

"What is being forgiven and forgotten has to be fully disclosed. Trials and pardons can (then) follow.

"The criminals cannot forgive themselves. Only a representative government can consider this ...

"The decision to have such an amnesty cannot be taken by an elite. It affects those who have lost their loved ones and society as a whole ... There are those out in hell already — and they want to pull the rest of the country with them," Mayibuye says.

Mayibuye also says the ANC and its allies will hold a week of mass action in October.

It quotes ANC campaigns head Ronnie Kasrils as saying: "We are now in phase four of the campaign for peace and democracy. We must keep the tap open for mass action to continue rolling."

Mayibuye says the next phase of mass action will unfold around the issues of interim government and a constituent assembly, the SABC, hospital workers homeland repression, food prices and the drought, and political prisoners.

It says a conference of forces which support the demands will be held in October and that a week of mass action will be organised.

# Sage interdict: appeal judgment reserved

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court has reserved judgment in the appeal against a court order which prevented the Financial Mail (FM) from publishing, disclosing or disseminating information illegally and/or unlawfully obtained by means of tapping telephones, owned or used by Sage Holdings Ltd, and from a specific confidential document.

The case was brought by Sage and its chairman, Louis Shill, after recordings of telephone conversations and confidential documents came into the FM's possession while speculation was rife regarding the situation in the Allied Group.

The case was heard in camera in the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court in 1990.

The FM was also interdicted from publishing, printing or disseminating an article in the FM or any other newspaper.

The article formed part of the founding affidavit. The judge found the proposed article was defamatory of Sage Holdings and Shill.

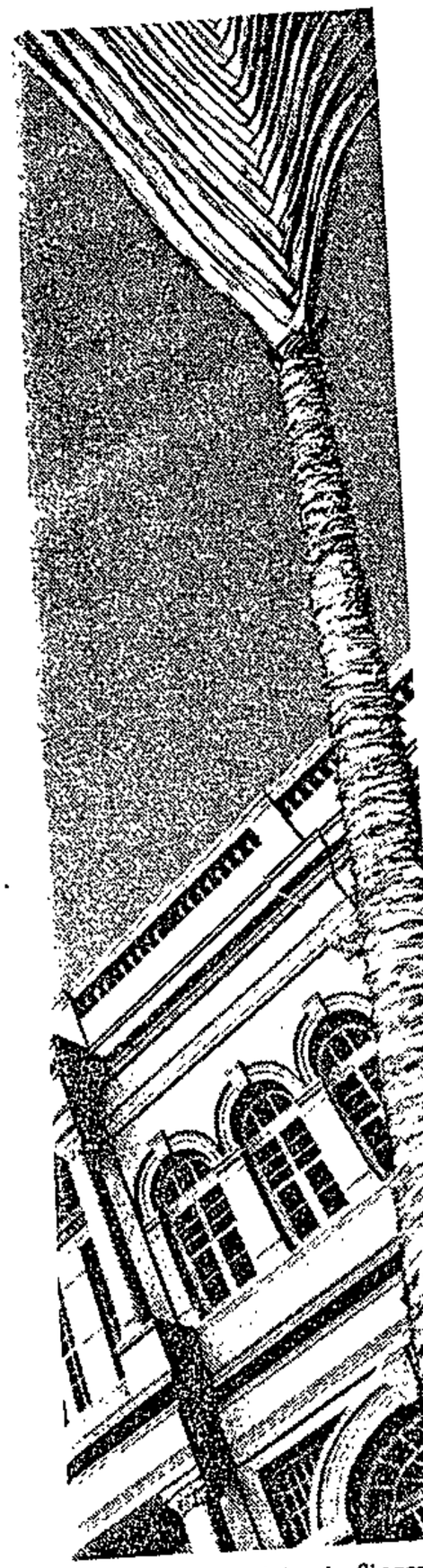
In the Appeal Court counsel for the FM submitted that the lower court had erred in granting the interdict.

He said about half the article was not based on the tape-recordings or the confidential document, yet nothing was allowed to be published in terms of the court order.

He submitted that a court should be extremely slow to grant an interdict to restrain the publication of an article that clearly had a dimension of public interest.

Counsel for Sage and Shill said the appellants' analysis of the article did not grapple with its sting. It did not justify the article or its contents; did not answer the complaints about breach of confidentiality and privacy and the unlawful interference with Sage business, nor did it detract from the presence of injurious falsehoods.

It was submitted that the lower court had correctly applied the principles of unlawful competition to the appellants' unlawful interference in the lawful business of Sage; and that there had been no attempt by the appellants to establish the veracity of the information in the document and that the document was inaccurate. — Sapa.



ıy at 1.45pm, arriving in Singapore
ıll key cities in Asia, Australia
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566/8.

36R92

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# Three killed, 7 hurt in new train attack

Sowetan 27/8/92

**■ Eighteen commuters injured in two days:**

**By Mokgadi Pela and Sapa**

GUNMEN struck again on Reef trains yesterday, killing three people and injuring seven others on a Springs-Johannesburg train.

This brings to 18 the number of people injured in renewed train attacks in the past two days.

Police spokeswoman Captain Ida van Zweel said: "A group of young men who had been singing ANC freedom songs burst into a coach, attacked people and caused panic-stricken passengers to jump from the moving train."

The injured were admitted to Boksburg-Benoni Hospital. Two were reported to be in a serious condition.

BBH superintendent Dr Freda Pretorius identified them as Mr Samuel Musetso (44), Mr Makhosi Zimba (26), Mr Elphas Molefe (42), Mr Izak Dlangamandla (27), Mr Samuel Pako (23), Mr Mpho Pako and Mr William Mahashe.

The names of the dead have not yet been released.

On Tuesday, three commuters were injured when gunmen attacked passengers on a Springs-Johannesburg train.

On the same night eight commuters were injured at Johannesburg Station when three gunmen fired on a train and people on the platform.

# Hammer not a 'hit squad'

Sowetan 27/8/92

**■ NOT ASSASSINS** Unit member upset over allegations of assassinations:

THE "Hammer" unit was not a hit squad, a former member said yesterday.

In an anonymous letter in yesterday morning's *EP Herald*, the man said he had been a member of the EP Command Special Reaction Force, known as Hammer, between September 1986 and June 1987.

The unit has been linked to the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists, currently under investigation by the East Cape Attorney General.

The man signed himself "Concerned Ex-Member", and said he was a major in the SADF civilian reserve. Having read the reports on the unit, he felt "compelled to rectify the misconceptions that we were Nazi-styled assassins".

"I was at no time recruited for, trained for, informed of or witness to any illegal activity, let alone so-called 'hit-squad' activities."

Members of the unit had occasionally worn balaclavas. This was because many members were employers of local residents. "No one relished being recognised as the person searching his trade union representative's backyard, or his delivery driver's home," he said.

The unit had been formed to assist the commanding officer of EP Command as "a specially trained reaction force, to be available at very short notice for short periods".

Most members had been self-employed businessmen in the Eastern Cape "who were motivated by the arrangement that they were to be used for one- or two-day periods on an infrequent basis, instead of the normal 30-60-day requirements".

The unit had achieved good success in stolen weapons recovery, he said.

"I acknowledge that there are bad apples in any basket," he added. If any members had been involved in killings, "I trust that we all wish justice to be done, as soon as possible." - *Ecna.*

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# news in brief

## Reporter's home raided

POLICEMEN in plain clothes on Tuesday night raided the home of SA Press Association (Sapa) reporter Nhlanhla Mbatha, saying they had been tipped off about a weapons cache at his home in Soweto.

The incident could not be immediately confirmed by the police.

Mbatha said about 10 policemen arrived at his home in Mofolo, Soweto, about 11.45pm.

"The policemen, all of them whites, banged on the door and ordered me to get up.

"They then demanded to search it, which I allowed them to do." - *Sapa.*

## Unisa's Aids data base

THE University of South Africa is to establish a national data base on Aids.

Spokesman Professor DR Griesel said the aim was to provide a reference index which could be used in assisting Aids sufferers, medical practitioners, paramedics, support services and the health authorities.

Anyone interested is asked to contact the Institute for Behavioural Sciences at (012) 429-6409 or Box 392, Pretoria, 0001.

nce ● Gunmen attack commuters on Reef train

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Sowetan 27/8/92

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(327)

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# Hou Suid-Afrika skoon!



# Keep South Africa clean!

327

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys<br>Entry refers |
|---|---|---|---|
| P91/08/106 ..... | ***Kalahari,*** Vol 8, Nos 7 & 8, July/August 1975 | South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia | SK./G.G. 4951, GK./G.N. 64, ged./dd 1976-01-09. |
| P91/09/60 ..... | ***Vukani-Awake,*** November 1977 ..... | National Liberation Movement ..... | SK./G.G. 5966, GK./G.N. 694, ged./dd 1978-04-07; SK./G.G. 5254, GK./G.N. 1475, ged./dd 1976-08-13. |
| P92/02/107 ..... | ***SASO Newsletter,*** Vol 6, No 1, March/April 1976 | South African Students Organisation.. | SK./G.G. 5235, GK./G.N. 1309, ged./dd 1976-07-23. |
| P92/02/152 ..... | ***Namibia Revolution,*** Vol 8, No 19 & 20, May-June 1976 | The SWAPO Representations for West Africa Dakar-Senegal | SK./G.G. 5262, GK./G.N. 1524, ged./dd 1976-08-27. |
| P92/02/166 ..... | ***Mkhonto,*** 5.6.1976 ..... | African National Congress, Dakar ..... | SK./G.G. 5262, GK./G.N. 1524, ged./dd 1976-08-27. |
| P92/02/176 ..... | ***Bulletin of the UBJ*** ..... | Union of Black Journalists ..... | SK./G.G. 5274, GK./G.N. 1618, ged./dd 1976-08-26. |
| P92/02/220 ..... | ***Kämpfendes Afrika,*** Nr 30 Juli 1976 ..... | Herausgeber: Medic Angola, Zürich ... | SK./G.G. 5767, GK./G.N. 2112, ged./dd 1977-10-14. |
| P92/02/311 ..... | ***Socialismo; Teoria E Practica,*** N 2, Junho 1976 | Impresa Novosti, Moscow ..... | SK./G.G. 5393, GK./G.N. 146, ged./dd 1977-02-04. |
| P92/02/289 ..... | ***Flashlight, First Edition*** ..... | Flashlight, Tshandama ..... | SK./G.G. 9791, GK./G.N. 1344, ged./dd 1985-06-21. |
| P92/03/119 ..... | ***Swapo Oshifo Shomatseyitho,*** Juli 1984 | Swapo, Luanda, Angola ..... | SK./G.G. 9791, GK./G.N. 1344, ged./dd 1985-06-21. |
| P92/04/71 ..... | ***Swapo Information Bulletin,*** August 1984 | Swapo Department of Information and Publicity, Luanda | SK./G.G. 2145, GK./G.N. 1423, ged./dd 1968-08-16; GK./G.N. 2149, ged./DD 1968-08-23. |
| P92/02/358 ..... | ***Namibia News,*** Vol 6, Nos 3 & 4, March/April 1973 | South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO) | SK./G.G. 4038, GK./G.N. 1856, ged./dd 1973-10-05. |

**No. 2477** **28 Augustus 1992**

AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENT

'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 rolprent ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2477** **28 August 1992**

REJECTED FILM

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 film is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Voorlegger<br>Submitter | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/8/177 ..... | ***Better Sexual Techniques*** Vol 1 ..... | MJD Distributors ..... | (a) |

**No. 2487** **28 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2487** **28 August 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

**LYS/LIST P92/34**

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/08/32 ..... | ***Scope*** Vol 27, No 18, September 4, 1992 | Scope, Mobeni ..... | (a) |

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Vol. 326 PRETORIA, 28 AUGUSTUS AUGUST 1992 No. 14244

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

## DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

**No. 2475** **28 Augustus 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES EN 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. 2475** **28 August 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 P92/33**

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/62 | ***Coal*** | J. Jason Grant | (a) |
| P92/07/80 | ***Jake Logan No 154—Slocum's Standoff*** | Jake Logan | (a) |
| P92/07/104 | ***Your Average Australian Yobbo*** (Kasset/Cassette) | Kevin Bloody Wilson | (a) |
| P92/07/106 | ***Born Again Piss Tank*** (Kasset/Cassette) | Kevin Bloody Wilson | (a) |
| P92/08/08 | ***Passion House Catalogue—Fatal Attraction*** (Katalogus/Catalogue) | Passion House, Cape Town | (a) |
| P92/07/103 | ***Kev's Book (The Return of the Yobbo)*** | Kevin Bloody Wilson | (a) |
| P92/07/105 | ***My Australian Roots*** (Kasset/Cassette) | Kevin Bloody Wilson | (a) |
| P92/07/107 | ***Let's Call Him Kev*** (Kasset/Cassette) | Kevin Bloody Wilson | (a) |

**No. 2476** **28 Augustus 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. 2476** **28 August 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:

# INHOUD


| No. | | Bladsy No. | Koerant No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS** | | |
| **Binnelandse Sake, Departement van** | | | |
| *Goewermentskennisgewings* | | | |
| 2475 | Wet op Publikasies (42/1974): Publikasies of voorwerpe: Ongewenste publikasies en voorwerpe: Lys P92/33 | 1 | 14244 |
| 2476 | do.: do.: Opheffing van artikel 9 (1) | 1 | 14244 |
| 2477 | do.: Afgekeurde rolprent | 2 | 14244 |
| 2487 | Wet op Publikasies (42/1974): Publikasies of voorwerpe: Ongewenste publikasie: Lys P92/34 | 2 | 14244 |


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| *Government Notices* | | | |
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| 2476 | do.: do.: Withdrawal of section 9 (1) | 1 | 14244 |
| 2477 | do.: Rejected film | 2 | 14244 |
| 2487 | Publications Act (42/1974): Publications or objects: Undesirable publication: List P92/34 | 2 | 14244 |


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14244—1

# SA frees Soviet spy

**IN FROM COLD** Former SA Navy commodore flies to Switzerland after unexpected release:

(327)

Sowetan 29/8/92

FORMER Soviet spy and South African naval officer Dieter Gerhardt was unexpectedly released from Pretoria's Central Prison yesterday.

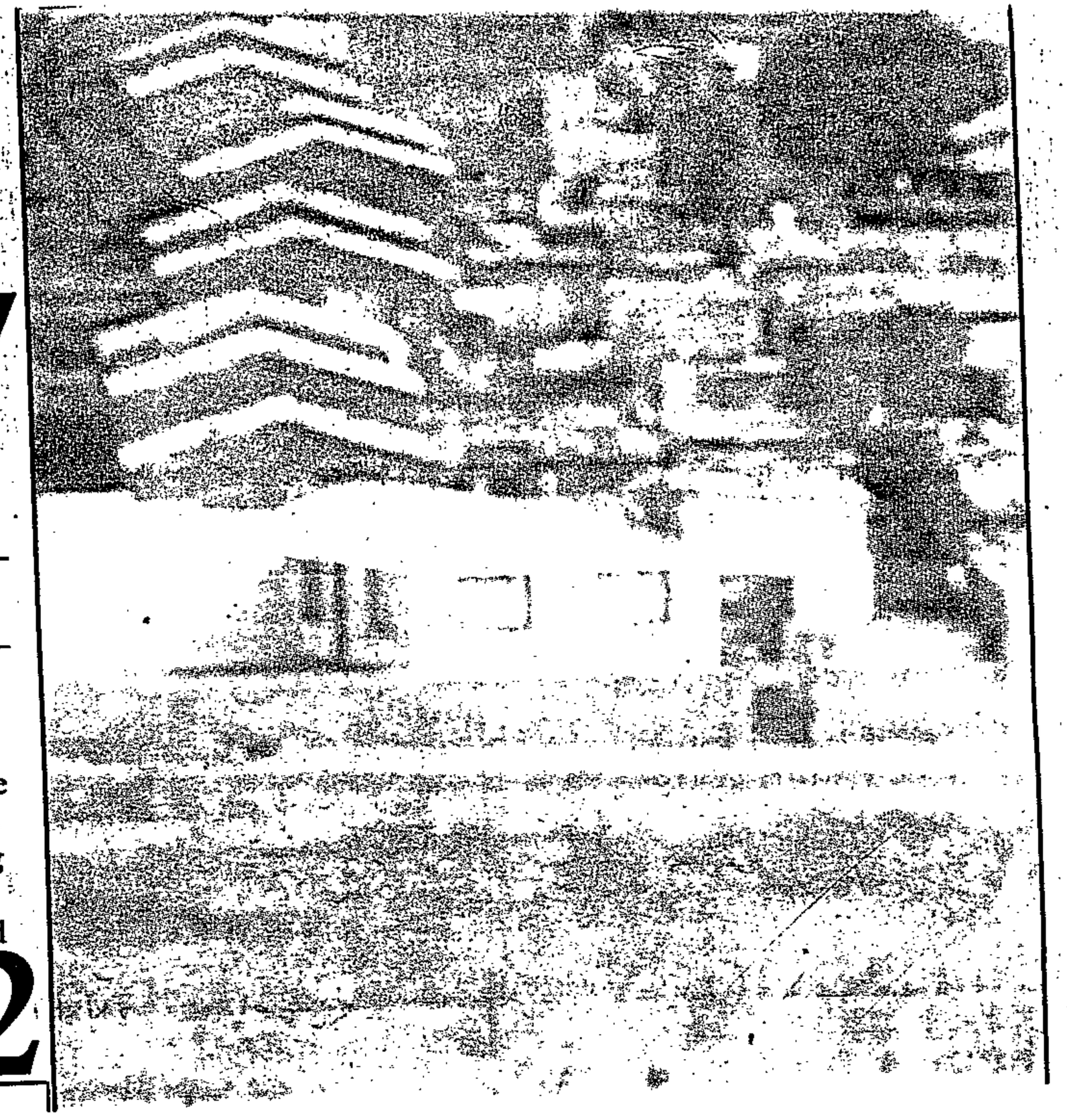
Gerhardt, a commodore at the Simon's Town naval base when he and his Swiss-born wife were arrested for spying for the Soviet Union, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1983.

According to President FW de Klerk, Gerhardt was released at the request of Russia's President Boris Yeltsin who raised the issue during his recent visit to Moscow.

Gerhardt was flown to Switzerland last night to join his wife Ruth, and their son.

28/8/92

**Story page 2**



# Gerhardt: a Le Carre epic retold

327

STAR 28/8/92

By Helen Grange

Dieter Gerhardt's tale is as epic as a novel by John le Carre, whose spy dramas he read to fill many long lonely hours in the prison he left yesterday.

The infamous former commanding officer of the Simon's Town naval base began an extraordinary life of espionage when, as a young South African Navy officer in the early 1960s, he walked into the Soviet embassy in London to offer his services.

He had been sent to England for further training after graduating from the Saldanha Naval Academy in 1954, a year after he joined the navy as a trainee midshipman.

At first, the Soviets were suspicious but, after a series of meetings, he was given his first task — and money to buy the necessary equipment.

## Successful

Thus began a 19-year spy career which dealt one of the most painful blows to the West since the start of the Cold War, and got him dubbed as the most successful Soviet agent in southern Africa.

He was also the Soviet Union's longest serving spy after Guy Burgess and Kim Philby.

Mr Gerhardt's extraordinary spy partnership with his Swiss-born wife Ruth, whom he married in 1969 in Wynberg, has also been a constant source of intrigue.

The couple sold military and strategic secrets from South Africa, Britain and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to their Kremlin bosses with astounding efficiency over 14 years, while maintaining an impeccable social standing in Simon's Town.

It all ended in 1983 when the then Prime Minister P W Botha announced that following a tip-off from a foreign counter-espionage agency, Commodore Gerhardt and his wife had been arrested in terms of the Internal Security Act and were suspected of being Soviet spies.

The limited details which emerged from the in-camera hearing in Cape Town's Supreme Court shocked the nation. The KGB's "eyes and ears in the South Atlantic", as he was dubbed by French newspapers, was sentenced to life in jail.

His wife was sentenced to 10 years in jail, but served only seven before being released in 1990 when she flew back to Switzerland.

After their sentencing there were rumours of an international swop scheme to secure the release of top Jewish dissidents from the USSR, but the deal fell through.

Mr Gerhardt has languished in Pretoria Central Prison since, but he has been the focus of much attention from the Government and ANC. He has received a visit in prison from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who has long been campaigning for his release on the basis that he is a political prisoner. The Government has maintained, until yesterday, that as a criminal, he would serve a full life sentence.

It was not known last night if any conditions had been attached to his release.

Mr Gerhardt, who grew up in Pretoria, had a German-born father who was interned as a Nazi sympathiser during World War 2. When he joined the Navy in 1953, he made an impact as a "shy, but highly talented boy" on his officers.

As his brilliant navy career progressed, he became known to his friends as "The Brain" and "Jumbo".

Mr Gerhardt's nine years in jail have taken their toll. At 56, he is bald, with a slight paunch. But he has continued to pursue his interests in classical music, books and botany and has spent many hours reading and tending his prison rose garden.

He has not seen his son Gregory since he was a little boy and in one of the last interviews he granted, he said: "Gregory can visit me at the end of the year, but please God, I want to be out by then."

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# Trespass: 7 in court

Star 28/8/92 (327) (352)

Pretoria Correspondent

Seven ANC members, including cultural secretary Wally Serote, yesterday pleaded not guilty to charges of trespassing and contempt in the Pretoria District Court.

Mr Serote, Anna Varney, Carol Steinberg, Alex Sadike, Tsepo Bantho, Mathilda Gasela and Sam Mokaanstang exercised their right to silence.

They have been charged with entering the State Theatre on August 7 and then failing to adhere to a court order which demanded they leave the building.

The seven were warned to ensure they were properly dressed for the next hearing on September 18.

Author Nadine Gordimer and pop star Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse attended the hearing in support of the accused.

Earlier, a charge of taking part in an illegal gathering outside the theatre was withdrawn against 112 people.

# Gerhardt the spy set free

Sowetan 28/8/92

(327)

## ■ REUNION Ex-Navy man off to Switzerland:

SOVIET SPY MR DIETER Gerhardt has been released, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha announced yesterday.

Botha said Gerhardt was flown to Switzerland last night following his release from Pretoria Central Prison earlier in the day.

The Swiss had initially refused to accept Gerhardt. But it later relented and agreed to allow Gerhardt entry after Botha had intervened.

Gerhardt was arrested in 1983, tried and found guilty of high treason.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment on December 29 1983.

Botha said the former spy was travelling to Switzerland to be reunited with his wife Ruth and their son.

De Klerk said Russia's President Boris Yeltsin had requested that Gerhardt be given a reprieve during De Klerk's visit to Russia earlier this year.

"A series of discussions between representatives of both countries followed and led to a mutually acceptable understanding," De Klerk said.

He said Gerhardt had spied for the Soviet Union for 18 years "as a paid agent" while he was an officer in the South African Navy.

Gerhardt, former commanding officer of the South African Navy dockyard at Simon's Town, was arrested with his wife on January 20 1983.

They appeared in court on September 3 1983 on charges of treason. Both were found guilty and sentenced to life and 10 years' jail respectively.

The State's case held that Gerhardt had been spying for the USSR since 1962 until his arrest.

He had used microfilm and radio transmissions to get his information through and received substantial payments in return.

His wife used her foreign connections to assist him to take film out of the country.

During the 45-day trial, Gerhardt admitted to spying. He said in his defence that he did it for a country he refused to name, but which was not hostile to South Africa.- *Sapa*

SOWETAN Friday August 28 1992

NEWS

# Doubts over 'third force'

(327) (284) (305) Sowetan

28/8/92

**■ Violence theory discounted:**

THE theory of Third Force involvement in the ongoing political violence was discounted yesterday by the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman.

Speaking at a national security conference at the Nasrec complex outside Johannesburg, Kane-Berman said research at the SAIRR suggested a worldwide disinformation campaign on the violence in South Africa.

One of the features of this campaign was the Third Force theory, yet no hard evidence had been produced to prove the existence of a third force.

## Suppressed facts

He charged that organisations such as the International Commission of Jurists and the Human Rights Commission suppressed facts about the violence which did not support their theories.

Kane-Berman claimed the objective of the campaign was to give United Nations status to one-sided reports.

These reports tended to point the finger at the hostels and security forces as the causes of violence.

By discrediting and demoralising the security forces, he claimed, these would be put under joint Government and African National Congress control, leaving Umkhonto we Sizwe with a free hand.

He concluded by saying the disinformation campaign was beginning to falter. - *Sapa.*

# De Klerk sets super spy Gerhardt free

TIM COHEN

THE SA government yesterday released communist spy Dieter Gerhardt, following an appeal to President F W de Klerk by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Gerhardt, the former Simon's Town naval base commander, was convicted of treason for spying for the former Soviet Union. He was jailed for life in 1983.

Last night, SA's Foreign Affairs Department was still making efforts to negotiate his passage to Switzerland to allow him to join his wife Ruth and his child.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said while Gerhardt was on a flight to Switzerland via Frankfurt, Swiss authorities had indicated that he would not be permitted to land in their country. Botha said De Klerk had contacted him last night to try to resolve the situation.

In a statement, De Klerk said when he and Yeltsin met in Russia earlier this year, the Russian president had asked him to reprieve Gerhardt. "A series of discussions between representatives of both countries followed and led to a mutually acceptable understanding.

"After having spied for approximately 18 years as a paid agent of the then Soviet Union while he was an officer in the SA Navy, Dieter Felix Gerhardt was arrested in 1983, tried and found guilty of treason," De Klerk said. "On December 29 1983 he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

"In the light of this, as well as the totally new situation in Russia and the resultant improvement in the relations between our two countries, I have decided to accede to President Yeltsin's request. Consequently, I herewith announce that Gerhardt was released from prison earlier today."

In December 1991, De Klerk and then Prisons Minister Adriaan Vlok opposed a Supreme Court application for Gerhardt's release brought by Lawyers for Human Rights on the grounds that Gerhardt qualified as a political prisoner.

Ruth Gerhardt, jailed at the same time as her husband, was released in May 1990. Speaking from her office in Basle, Switzerland, last night, she said: "I am just so very happy."

# Freed spy in Swiss hideout

## Gerhardt can't do any more damage, says retired general

STAR 29/8/92.

**ALAN ROBINSON and SAPA**

(327)

LONDON — Freed Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt arrived in Switzerland from South Africa yesterday and left immediately, with his wife Ruth, for a secret destination. She was released three years ago.

The couple, both jailed for high treason against South Africa after years of spying for the KGB, are said to be in a secret hideaway with their 16-year-old son, Gregory.

Gerhardt, former commander of the Simon's Town naval dockyard, was freed at the request of Russian leader Boris Yeltsin and was said to have flown from Jan Smuts Airport to Frankfurt on Thursday.

But passenger lists of all flights arriving from South Africa yesterday failed to turn up the name Gerhardt. Airport sources said he must have travelled under an assumed name, or that the destination was a decoy.

Gerhardt's release raised hardly a ripple in either the German or Swiss media. Even in Basle, home town of Gerhardt's wife, the local newspaper published not a word.

Telephone calls to her home went unanswered. Neighbours said they had last seen her on Thursday "looking happier than usual".

She is understood to have left Basle on Thursday evening, together with Gregory. He was only six when his parents were jailed.

At the office where Ruth Gerhardt has worked since being freed, a secretary said: "She asked for time off and we can only assume she went to meet her husband. We do not expect her back until next week."

Intelligence sources in Britain declined to comment on the release of a man said to have played a major role in passing Western naval secrets to the Soviet Union. The news was ignored by most of the country's newspapers and given only one paragraph in The Times and the Daily Telegraph.

Gerhardt's spy tools, which he used to gather military secrets for his KGB masters, will remain on display at the South African Police Museum in Pretoria, according to a police spokesman.

The exhibits include the former SA Navy commodore's short-wave radio, on which he received instructions from Soviet military intelligence.

Government officials would not be drawn yesterday on whether more political releases were imminent.

One of the investigating officers of the 1983 spy case, and retired head of the SAP intelligence unit, General Herman Stadler, said he was not disturbed by Gerhardt's release.

"He has learnt his lesson. He sat for almost 10 years and can't cause any more damage."

He said the museum exhibits covered only a fraction of the court exhibits. Documentary evidence had filled 14 trunks.

Stadler said Gerhardt's spying career began in 1962 after he had repeatedly asked the Soviet Embassy in Kensington Gardens, London, for a job as an agent. At the time he was a junior officer doing a training course with the Royal Navy.

"Kensington Gardens" later became part of the decoding sequence he used when receiving radio instructions at his home in Simon's Town.

Stadler said Gerhardt's paraphernalia on show, such as microdots and photographic equipment — although apparently antiquated — were classic Cold War spy tools.

Among the items are mini-cameras, one disguised as a whisky flask, and a bag with a false bottom in which the couple smuggled their pay-off money home.

Another exhibit is a roll of extra-thin 35 mm film that can take up to 200 exposures.

Stadler said the highly intelligent Gerhardt had earned more than R1 million during his 20-year employment by the Soviets, but spent the money carefully so that it did not attract attention.

Annemarie, one of Gerhardt's three children from his first marriage to an Irishwoman, Jeanette, committed suicide by jumping in front of a train at Simon's Town station.

Gerhardt and Ruth's son was named Gregory after his Soviet handler, whose code name was "Sea Breeze", said Stadler.

# Hugo offered to play double role – SADF

STAR 29/8/92.

(327)

**PETER FABRICIUS**
**Political Correspondent**

FORMER Military Intelligence officer Gert Hugo this month offered to act as a double agent for Military Intelligence among journalists and the ANC, the SA Defence Force claimed yesterday. Hugo made allegations to The Star this week about a "third force".

SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg also claimed Hugo was guilty of stealing R18 000 of Ciskei state funds and was wanted in Ciskei for desertion and other transgressions.

He said he had information that Hugo had now left SA or was about to do so "in association with, among others, a British journalist. Therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that he will be making even more wild claims in the near future".

Hugo told The Star this week that a third force of past and present security force officers was actively working to stoke violence and thereby sabotage negotiations. He also alleged that the SADF had drawn up a contingency plan in 1990 to launch a "silent coup". Both claims were denied by the SADF.

Liebenberg said yesterday that Hugo was being regarded in certain quarters as the main and most credible source on military affairs in South Africa.

"Nothing could be further from the truth and for this reason I am now divulging some details of his military career."

He said Hugo, after serving in the SADF and rising to the rank of commandant in Eastern Province Command, resigned in July 1990 and moved to the Ciskei Defence Force as chief of Military Intelligence in August 1990.

"In July 1991 the chief of the Ciskei Defence Force ordered a financial audit into Colonel Hugo's section and an amount of R56 000 could not be accounted for.

"Colonel Hugo then deserted from the Ciskei Defence Force, and sought political asylum in Transkei. He was extradited to Ciskei from Transkei and was convicted of the theft of state funds amounting to R18 000.

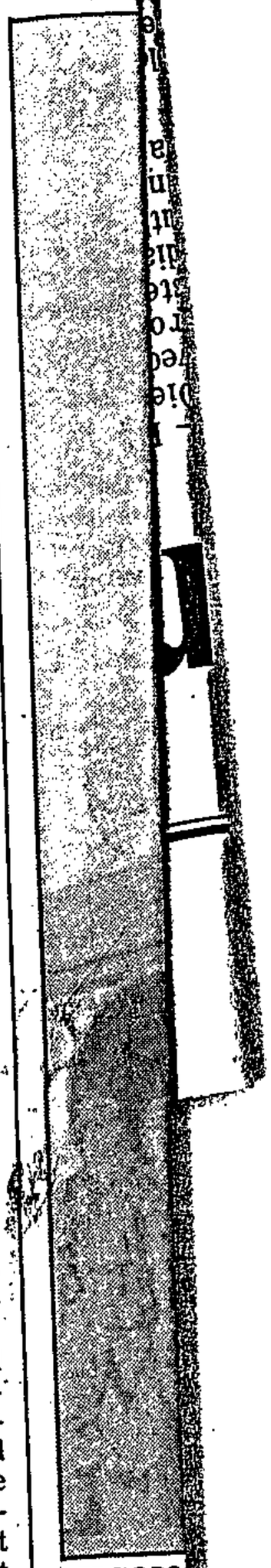
"He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment suspended for five years and ordered to pay back the R18 000 in annual instalments payable in December of each year to be completed by February 1 1997.

"In July 1992 Colonel Hugo, through his acquaintances in the defence force, contacted the Military Intelligence Division (MID) and offered his services to act as a double agent against the ANC.

"On August 18 this year, when he realised that he was in disfavour with the ANC and could get no further reaction from the MID, he finally offered his services as a double agent in press circles and implied that this would enable the defence force to leak disinformation to the press and in this way manipulate the press."

Hugo culd not be contacted to respond to Liebenberg's statement.

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# Why we will not go away until the 'third force' does

STAR 29/8/92 327

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

**SHAUN** *Johnson*



**IF THERE is in our country today a shadowy network of security force-linked individuals acting according to their own agenda we, as a nation, are being held hostage.**

A CRITIC of The Star remarked this week: "You've got the third force on the brain. Why don't you go on to something else?" Many people seem to feel this way, and so the question is worth answering.

In recent weeks all three newspapers in The Star's stable — Saturday, Sunday and daily — have been digging like mad, trying to get nearer to the truth on "third force" activities in South Africa. This has been done in the strong belief that if we do not achieve clarity on the issue, the much-prized negotiations process will be bedevilled, indefinitely.

The reasoning is simple: if, as the avalanche of allegations suggests, there is today in our country a shadowy network of security force-linked individuals stoking violence and intervening in the political process according to its own uncontrolled agenda, we as a nation are being held hostage. "Dirty tricks" — that curiously benign phrase which encompasses acts of murder — can shatter the stability of entire communities. Without stability there is no trust; without trust there is no negotiated settlement. Trust Feed is a case in point: it will take years, perhaps decades, to remove the poison that one night of police-inspired carnage pumped into the veins of the community. Killings lead to killings lead to killings.

Star readers have now heard detailed allegations of gun-running, of cynical manipulation in volatile communities, of hit squads. We would like powers greater than ourselves to establish whether these allegations are true, and the authorities to act accordingly and urgently.

If we can be convinced that the issue has been probed to the full, and the allegations shown to be unfounded, well and good. But this has not yet happened, and that is why we will not leave the issue alone. The "third force" is not one story among many others of equal weight; it is not a royal scandal which titillates but means little. It is eating away at the already-frayed fabric of our society.

White South Africans, in particular, have been conditioned by decades of mutant democracy. We have developed a remarkable capacity for credulity, not really wanting to know discomfiting things and therefore banishing them from our minds.

The authorities have not helped themselves in the matter of "third force" allegations. If the mountain of circumstantial evidence is just that — circumstantial — it would have been easy enough to cast doubt on its meaning, at the very least. One example among many: Military Intelligence chief General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen's name appears on an alleged "death warrant" signal. If the signal is a fake, one would expect the implicated man to say so — a plain and simple "It's not true". But he has chosen to maintain an inaccessible silence. Further, one would expect the State President — the general's commander-in-chief — to ask him. The general surely cannot decline to take De Klerk's calls, as he has done so contemptuously with our journalists.

Instead, we have had silence, and the general's name continues to pop up in suspicious circumstances. He remains head of MI, wielding the vast power that goes with the position, and when two of his agents are caught in London up to no good, his department is asked to investigate itself. It does so and finds one of its members guilty. Of what? Of "acting according to his own agenda".

Forgive me for sounding conspiratorial, but "acting according to its own agenda" is precisely what the "third force" is accused of. We, the public, are not allowed to know what that agenda was — and, sadly, many in this country seem not to be too interested in knowing.

No wonder some foreigners think of white South Africans as the Serbs of Africa. To want to get to the bottom of the "third force" is not to exonerate the State's opponents: their misdeeds — in camps in Africa, in horrific political violence — must be exposed with vigour. But we are hearing a cacophony of claims about an evil force operating right here and now, disempowering the politicians and ruining our prospects of peace. Surely we must make its investigation a priority, and surely we should not stop until the job is done.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel has done something big with the police, even if it is belated, unilateral and limited. He has had the guts to call a problem by its name, and he has made a start. Now for the "third force"; now for similar courage from President de Klerk on the matter of the military. De Klerk says he is concerned about allegations of security force misdeeds. The time has come for us to ask the president (as the Bishop of Bradford did of King Edward VIII, who had expressed an "awareness" of social problems) that he "give more positive signs of that awareness".

# Arrest of 3 MK men does not solve Addo mystery

SOWTH 29/8-2/9/92

By Beverley Garson

POLICE this week arrested three men for the murder of an Addo businessman, Mr Andre De Villiers — but the mystery is far from solved.

Police named the men as Mr Xolani Mcinane, Mr Tamsanqa Mali and Mr Lindile Stemela. Police said two were members of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe.

But ANC spokesperson Mr Phila Nkayi said all three were MK members. He would not comment further and said the ANC wanted to consult lawyers and the men's families.

The three appeared in the Kirkwood magistrate's court this week. They were not asked to plead and no evidence was led, and the case was postponed to September 22.

But mystery still surrounds the motive for the killing. Police maintain it was robbery, but family and friends of the men have doubts.

De Villiers was murdered outside his farmhouse last week after he had told a friend, and ANC member, Mr Valence Watson, that he had information on an undercover hit squad of the SADF, known as the "Hammer Unit".

At the time Watson said his friend was murdered by the state in order to silence him.

According to Watson, De Villiers had named the man who killed him just before dying in his son's arms.

In the wake of the arrests, De Villiers' widow, Mrs Liz de Villiers, has vehemently denied that robbery could have been the motive.

She said a statement by the regional police commissioner, Major-General Koos Calitz, was "utter rubbish".

"I believe they came out to kill him. If they just wanted to rob us, why did they wait for my husband to return from work before attacking?"

On Monday, De Villiers attended an identification parade and said it had been a "shocking" experience.

"A gun was being pointed at me and shots were fired (on the night of the murder), but I had to try and remember the faces of the murderers.

"I had to stand in front of men (at the parade) and try and point out suspects. It wasn't easy. It was so traumatic after everything we've been through," De Villiers said.

The DP and other groups have criticised the police's handling of the case. — **Pen**

# 'Police paid me to spy on the ANC'

By Yunus Mohamed SOUTH 29/8-2/9/92 (327)

A POLICE attempt to gather information about "MK people" and ANC marshalls was foiled this week when a Mfuleni resident who claims he was approached to spy on marshalls during their training sessions "confessed" to the organisation.

Mr Mthetho Sithole, a resident at the Mfuleni hostel, says he now fears for his safety.

Sithole said three white men driving a white Kombi approached him in the township on Sunday and offered him a job.

"I have been unemployed for some time and I was desperate for work," Sithole said.

"They told me they were opening a factory in Blackheath and were looking for people to work for them."

Sithole said the men returned on Monday, said they were taking him for a driving test but then parked outside Mfuleni and began chatting about his "job".

"They said if I did not work for them, terrible things would happen to me

"I was told to meet them on Tuesday and bring them names and addresses of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) people in the area."

Sithole said he went immediately to people he knew were ANC members and reported what had happened.



**Mthetho Sithole**

He was introduced to the chairperson of the ANC branch on Monday night and they met to decide how to deal with the issue.

They decided to take an ANC member with Sithole to the next appointment and that the man would pretend to be his brother who was also looking for a job.

Sithole said one man arrived for Tuesday's appointment. He said that he needed more time to collect the names and addresses.

The man then told him to find out:

- How marshalls from Guguletu, Khayelitsha, Langa and Nyanga travelled to Mfuleni on Sundays for training.
- Names and addresses of MK people.
- The vehicle registration numbers of MK people and the routes they travelled.

"The man told me to join the marshalls and find out everything I could about what they were doing," Sithole said.

"He gave me a code name, 'N Gomba', and said if I had any information I should phone the police station and use that name — the police would know who I was.

"He gave me R60 and told me not to buy liquor but to buy food and groceries with the money."

Sithole said the man told him to meet him the following Monday again.

On their way home Sithole and his companion saw the Kombi parked outside the police station.

Sithole said on Tuesday afternoon police came to his house looking for him, but he was frightened and ran away.

"I am still frightened because these men are ruthless. They said terrible things were going to happen to me.

"I am living in fear; I don't want my wife and child to be harmed.

"But I will never sell out the comrades. I could never do that, no matter how desperate I am for work."

Western Cape ANC secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said the organisation vehemently protested against the spy attempt and demanded an explanation from the police as to why they were "intimidating and harassing" ANC members.

"It is very unfortunate that while the government has committed itself to negotiations with us, the police are continuing to collect information about our movements and where we live," Yengeni said.

"This incident is very unsettling because we know that hit squads are still operating and there is proof that the police are implicated in these squads."

Yengeni said both the marshall programme and MK were legal structures. The marshalls were trained to control crowds at rallies and marches and anyone who wanted information about them could contact their nearest ANC office.

Police spokesperson Captain Attie Laubscher confirmed that the men who approached Sithole were police officers and that the Kombi was a police vehicle.

"All the policemen did was to hold discussions with Sithole concerning the fact that he was a possible eye-witness to a crime committed in Mfuleni a few years ago," Laubscher said.

# Private matters and public issues

**The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein this week heard argument in a case which could have profound implications for press freedom in South Africa. At the heart of the matter were two simple questions: When should the press be gagged and does a company have a right to privacy? CATHY STAGG reports**





AT LOGGERHEADS ... Allied's Kevin de Villiers and Sage chairman Louis Shill, who became embroiled in a row in June 1990

THE background to Monday's appeal was an unusual public row between the managing directors of two major financial companies. Kevin de Villiers, MD of the Allied, and Louis Shill, chairman and MD of Sage, had crossed swords in June 1990.

Newspapers and financial journals were carrying reports and comment on the row.

The Johannesburg-based Financial Mail had already printed one article. A second one was planned, based on information gathered from two sources which had been leaked to the magazine: a confidential document and tapes obtained by tapping Mr Shill's telephone.

The FM showed the companies concerned a draft of the proposed article. The gist of the article was that Sage's interim dividend cut indicated that the group was under financial strain because of its ailing US subsidiary.

Mr Shill wanted to know how the journalist, Jim Jones (now editor of Business Day), had obtained information which had not been available though normal channels.

This led to a series of meetings between FM and Sage staff, negotiations between lawyers for either side and an interview between the FM and Allied chairman Norman Allenborough and Mr Shill.

It was agreed that Sage would vet the article to ensure its views were fairly represented. But, when the amended article was presented to Sage directors, they said it did not comply with the agreement. Sage went to court to get an interdict to stop publication. The FM opposed the urgent application — but lost.

On Monday, counsel for the FM, Mr Bobby Levin, SC, told the Appeal Court that events had long since overtaken the two-year-old article. However, the case was brought on appeal because important matters of public policy needed to be determined.

Citing English and US precedents, Mr Levin submitted that our courts ought to be reluctant to grant a "gagging" order. Freedom of the press was part of freedom of speech itself, he said.

"Freedom of expression is recognised and enforced by our law as an integral component of democracy," Mr Levin said.

He reminded the court that Sage was listed on the JSE, and said the investing public had shown widespread interest in the public debate around the Sage/Allied dispute over whether Sage was taking unfair advantage of a co-operation agreement.

There was also speculation that Mr Shill had hijacked control of Allied because men who supported his views had been voted on to the Allied board's executive committee, said Mr Levin.

The document, which was not marked confidential, set out Allied's view of the situation.

And, on the tapes, Mr Shill could be heard negotiating the sale of Sage's troubled US subsidiary.

The proposed FM article alleged that Sage was trying to persuade the Reserve Bank to give it a favourable rate of exchange to do its deal, citing anti-South African sentiment as the reason for the US company's problems when that might not have been the only reason.

This was the kind of situation which affected not only Sage but the whole country's foreign reserves, Mr Levin said.

During the initial court hearing, the FM had told the judge that it would in due course be able to show that the article was not defamatory, alternatively that what it contained was true and in the public interest. In English law, that would have been enough to defeat the request to gag the press.

Yet the FM was completely blocked from publishing the article.

Mr Levin submitted that the English approach, which recognised the potential dangers of restraining the press where issues of undoubted public interest were at stake, was the one that our courts should follow.

"Obviously, the press then publishes at its peril," he said, referring to a case where aggravated damages had been awarded because the publication had not been able to prove the defence it had used to prevent the granting of an injunction.

It was also argued that Sage had breached an agreement which blocked it from relying on defamation or confidential information to stop publication. Sage had, it was submitted, abandonded its rights in signing the agreement.

But Sage disputed the FM version of what the agreement meant. It could not have taken away the rights which the law gave, it argued.

Mr Michael Kuper, SC, who appeared for Sage, told the Appeal Court that, just as a person had the right to privacy, so a company had the right to be left alone.

If a company — which is an "artificial person" instead of a "natural person" — has a personality which can be defamed, there was no logical reason why a company should not also have the right to privacy, Mr Kuper said.

Although a company could not perform certain human functions, it would be illogical to distinguish between natural and non-natural persons when enforcing the rights of privacy, he said.

He added that the judge who heard the urgent application in the Witwatersrand Local Division, Mr Justice Joffe, had correctly found that the recordings had been unlawfully obtained — and that the FM had wanted to use the fruits of another person's illegal conduct.

Mr Kuper also submitted that the article written by Jones could not have stood on its own without its wholesale reliance on the Allied document and the tape recordings. In any event, it was not for the court to cut and paste the innocent parts of the article; the whole thing had to be scrapped, he said.

CONTRASTING the interests of the press and Sage's right to protection, Mr Kuper said the judge was correct to find in Sage's favour because a company was entitled to have its boardroom deliberations kept secret and not to have eavesdropping on its communications. Those expectations were part of ordinary business ethics and morals of the market place, he said.

Freedom of expression was not an absolute right, it had to be qualified or we would have anarchy, Mr Kuper said.

Judgment was reseved.

The importance of the case is indicated by the fact that Chief Justice MM Corbett presided with a full bench of four other Apeal Court judges. They were: Mr Justice van Heerden, Mr Justice Kumleben, Mr Justice Goldstone and Mr Justice Howie.

Other members of the judiciary have expressed keen interest in the outcome.

The press has taken a few blows at the hands of our courts — for example, political parties were recently given the right to sue for defamation.

If this decision goes against the FM, the implications are serious. Companies which determine documents to be confidential would be able to apply for the courts to stop newspapers publishing details of them. Since much news comes to the media through confidential documents, this would cut off a primary source of information.

'De Villiers spoke of dangerous info'

# Talk of dirty tricks in high places

Cipres 30/8/92

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MURDERED Addo farmer Andre de Villiers had talked of a "Cabinet-level cover-up" before his death, says ANC member Valence Watson.

Watson this week made a statement to the acting Attorney-General of the eastern Cape, Mike Hodgen.

Watson earlier refused to give a statement to the police on the grounds that they were trying to cover up the murder by saying the motive was robbery.

He said this week he had changed his mind after Hodgen telephoned him to ask for a statement. The statement has also been given to the police. Watson said the outcome of the investigation would prove what they had done with his information.

Hodgen is investigating the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists.

The ANC has linked the death of De Villiers to the Goniwe investigation. De Villiers had been passing on information on the Hammer Unit linked to the Goniwe killing.

In the statement, Watson said he had been a close friend of De Villiers for over 20 years. Watson said he met with De Villiers on numerous occasions to speak about "dangerous information" he (De Villiers) had.

According to the statement, discussions between Watson and De Villiers included allegations about Hammer activity, fraud, the Goniwe murders and drug smuggling.

"Andre said the cover-up begins at Cabinet level and in the highest echelons in the state security machinery. Andre stressed that Hammer was only the tip of the iceberg.

"Andre stressed these operations could do what they liked as they were protected at the highest level, even up to Cabinet level. They were beyond prosecution.

"He said that the covert security establishment had unbelievable control over the government," said Watson.

He said De Villiers later told him about "Hammer" activities. Allegations of drug smuggling to fund the "covert operations" of the Hammer unit were also made.

## 'Andre was afraid'

"He stressed that Hammer was only one of the issues, and that 'this was much bigger'. Andre stressed that Hammer was not purely an SADF operation but elements within Hammer were involved with 'much bigger fish'.

"Andre was extremely afraid that the information he had could lead to him being killed by the people about whom he had information," said Watson.

According to the statement De Villiers also said the security police were connected to Hammer.

Watson said his friend also told him about killings in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage and about the assassinations of "those trade-unionists or politicians" in Bluewater Bay area.

"I asked him if he knew the names and he said the name Goniwe was one of them and the names of Calata, Mhlauli and Mkonto were also among the murder victims.

"He stressed that the Goniwe killings were not the only ones and that there were other killings," said the statement.

Watson said the police, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Tertius Delport, and Democratic Party MP Eddie Trent were approached by De Villiers.

De Villiers apparently started telling them about the Ibhayi City Council fraud "knowing that if correctly investigated the rest of the information would surface".

Watson said he also took the ANC's Goniwe Task Force to see De Villiers.

"There we met Willie. Willie told about people in minibus vehicles arriving after business hours at Auto Body Works. Willie's job was to change the number plates," said the statement.

Watson also named five people identified by his friend as having been involved in killings and operations at Auto Body Works.

"During the meeting at the Body Works, people – among them the ones named – wore balaclavas, gloves, overalls, carried guns and rifles with at times telescopic sights," said Watson. – Pen

# Hope for releases dashed by Govt

STAR 31/8/92

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By Rochelle Gosling-Hughes

Following the release of Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt the Government yesterday dashed the ANC's hopes that the release of all political prisoners was imminent.

Justice Ministry spokesman Nick Grobler said no inference could be drawn from the release of Mr Gerhardt as there was no relationship between Mr Gerhardt's circumstances and those of the political prisoners in question.

"According to the Government all political prisoners have been released but we are having discussions with the ANC about those people claiming political status to effect their release," he said.

Human Rights Commissioner Max Coleman said he believed Mr Gerhardt's release "was the first sign that all of the 350 to 450 political prisoners would be released". He said it was "anybody's guess" when it would happen but it should have happened a year ago.

## Bad faith

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that while he could not reveal the contents of the past two meetings between chief Government negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, he hoped that Mr Gerhardt's release indicated some movement in terms of other political prisoners.

"Gerhardt's release is an indicator that the Government has been acting in bad faith for the two years since the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes".

Mr Niehaus said it was logical that the issue of political prisoners would be on the agenda at the ANC's National Executive Committee's three-day meeting which starts today.

"We (the ANC) do not intend to get back to redefining who the political prisoners are but want to see the implementation of our agreement with the Government," he said.

# Weapons confiscated

STAR 1/9/92

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Members of Eastern Transvaal Command yesterday confiscated a large consignment of weapons allegedly being smuggled into the country from Swaziland.

A military spokesman said a group of four people were intercepted on the Swaziland-South African border near Mozambique.

Three men escaped and returned to Swaziland but a woman was detained and is being questioned.

Weapons confiscated include 11 AKM assault rifles, 13 AK—47 assault rifles, 30 rifle magazines, two Tokarev pistols, three Makarov pistols, four pistol magazines and 4 399 rounds of ammunition.

The spokesman said weapons such as these had in the past been used to arm self-defence units in KaNgwane townships and elsewhere.

It is believed the weapons had been earmarked for criminal activities, agitation and intimidation during mass action, he said.

# Judgment benefits Bop non-residents

STAR 1/9/92

(327)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A Bophuthatswana Supreme Court judge has struck down parts of the Internal Security Amendment Act which prevent non-citizens of the territory from engaging in a wide range of political activities.

Mr Justice M W Friedman found that the prohibition affecting aliens and the Act's definition of "acts of public protest" were in conflict with the declaration of fundamental rights contained in the territory's constitution.

And, he said in a judgment handed down last week, fundamental constitutional rights had to be regarded "as a legal and moral norm, determining the relationship between the people of this country and the Government".

The judgment is seen as crucial in areas where large numbers of South African citizens were incorporated into Bophuthatswana, partic-

● To Page 3

# Judgment relaxes restrictions on Bop non-residents

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● From Page 1

ularly in the vast Winterveld/Garankuwa area north of Pretoria.

It frees non-citizens to participate in civic and social programmes and removes a major obstacle to their active engagement in the debate on Bophuthatswana's possible reincorporation into South Africa.

The application to declare these discriminatory provisions null and void was brought in July by Winterveld Civic Association chairman Kehla Ezekial Nyamakazi, represented by Cedric Puckrin SC and the Legal Resources Centre in Pretoria.

The civic association faced the dilemma that, while it had been given permission to hold a public meeting, it was warned by the Deputy Minister of Police that if Mr Nyamakazi or any other non-citizen so much as opened his mouth at the meeting, that would render the meeting unlawful.

Mr Justice Friedman found that freedom of expression and assembly were not absolute rights; restrictions for reasons of public safety and the security of the State were justified. But, he added, any such restrictions had to be justified and should apply equally to all.

The prohibitions on non-citizens engaging in what the Act termed "public protest" were so wide as to impinge on "almost every aspect of life (and) ... to constitute a clear violation of non-citizens' fundamental rights", the judge said.

"This could never have been the intention of the framers of the constitution, and clearly does not accord with it," he said.

Furthermore, the prohibitions were contrary to international law and human rights relating to aliens. The judge declared section 31(b) and the definition of "public protest" to be null and void and awarded the applicant the costs of the action.

# They suffered bitter blows but don't bear grudges

Amnesty for political crimes — yes or no? PETER WELLMAN talks to two people whose lives have been shattered by violence.

## 'Amnesty for racists of Right and Left'

STAR 1/9/92

IT'S HARD to sympathise with people who refuse to feel sorry for themselves.

Gordon Eddey is one of those, so the thing to do is enjoy the jokes, the smile that is really warm, and let him do the talking about losing his left leg in the 1988 Ellis Park bomb blast.

The smile is almost always there, and the lack of bitterness comes from a personality given only to nature's luckiest ones.

Which is not to say Gordon is simply a solid-state Cheshire cat.

If he is telling the truth about having no self-pity — and I think he is — he is also hiding the iron he must have used to bash it out of himself, or else he is not normal.

There is iron, too, in the way he got himself together again after the bomb wrecked his life at the age of 31. Watching a handicapped woman haul herself out of the pool in which he was doing physiotherapy, he tried the same thing too early and fell on his stump. It split, delaying the fitting of his artificial leg for three weeks.

It's a snazzy leg, with a "sportsman's knee" giving greater flexibility.

No more hockey for Old Johnnies, no more soccer for Zoo Lake, no more marathons.



Forgiveness for all . . . Gordon Eddey with wife Tracy and son Creaghan (10 months).

But lots of cycling in the gym, some swimming, and limited circuit workouts.

Old Johnnies did not forget him, or clubmate Roger Hagerty, who was with Gordon at Ellis Park in 1988, and also lost a leg. Members raised enough money to buy each of them an automatic car.

And slowly Gordon got as close to normal as possible with one leg. A former journalist, he developed a public relations and marketing business.

And he knows that those who look after only themselves are not worth much.

In 1989 he and Tracy Cotter were married, bought a Kensington house two years ago and are stripping the paint off lovely Oregon pine. They have a 10-month-old son, Creaghan.

Gordon is a white South African who did military service unwillingly, and is grateful that when his group was shot at in Namibia no one on either side was hit.

Two weeks ago when he was at the Ellis Park test against New Zealand with friends, they all sang "Die Stem", and he sees nothing wrong in that.

But he thinks the ANC missed out: "Here was an opportunity to market our dreams instead of our fears.

"Imagine a mass choir in the middle of the park, singing 'Die Stem', and then introducing white South Africans to the magnificence, and the meaning, of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. It could have been translated in the official programme.

"Our group agreed that we would all be bellowing it out before the end of the decade, just as we did with 'Die Stem'.

"Unfortunately, we always seem to need to approach a bridge several times before we agree to cross it."

He believes amnesty is one of those bridges, as an incentive to stop the killing.

"It must be exactly the same for the racists of the extreme Right and the racists of the extreme Left.

"It must be applied to those who have killed for our present Government and those who have killed for our future government.

"And to those who gave the orders."

Gordon believes it is time to forget the arguments over who is right or wrong, more guilty or less so.

"It is time to make a new beginning, to say all that has gone before is forgiven.

"We will not have a new South Africa while we keep looking for bruises and scrapes on the corpse of the old South Africa." □

## Loss of her son hasn't shattered her spirit

STAR 11/9/92

THERE ARE scars on Phyllis Naidoo's body from a letter bomb, and in her eyes from the assassination of her son by a South African agent.

But if you sit and talk to her, as I have over the years, you also see compassion, and a very simple love of people and justice that has defied apartheid for generations.

At her home you will certainly get fed — my favourite of hers is sour herbs, a peasant curry made with garden weeds and arum-lily leaves.

Every ANC member in exile who visited Harare went to Phyllis for food, coffee by the gallon, anecdotes, and debate until after midnight.

Diplomats and other journalists did that, too, and in the years I lived there I hardly ever found her alone. I never caught her putting her feet up.

She did her garden and kept a massive political library; if anyone published anything, even a tiny protest group in Salt River, Cape Town, Phyllis would have it. And she campaigned ceaselessly against the death sentence.

When her son Sadhan was assassinated in Zambia in April 1989, on the ANC farm he managed, she asked President Kenneth Kaunda to spare the life of a man called Tex who shot him.



Remorse, not vengeance . . . Phyllis Naidoo was scarred by a letter bomb, and her son was assassinated.

She showed me that letter before she posted it. I encouraged her, wondering at how she could rise above a mother's grief that came closer to breaking her than anything else they had done to her.

She is a lawyer but she did not write it that way. She spoke of the value of human life, while making arrangements to go to her son's funeral.

She has hardly ever practised law, or lectured, and she has never had any money because she has given all her time to the ANC.

This is a freedom struggle on behalf of you and me, she says, and, love or hate her, she will continue doing it, caring nothing for herself. Many top-line ANC officials, complacent in their authority, have been jolted ferociously because what they did was not honourable enough in the book of Phyllis Naidoo . . .

on behalf of you and me.

She believes there must be confession and remorse before an amnesty. "Confession is a healing process, that is more important than vengeance.

"Everything we stand for has been scrutinised for generations: in public before we were banned in 1960, and in all the subsequent trials of our members.

"Who is scrutinising those who gave the orders to kill in Pretoria, and those who carried them out? I want to know who gave the order to kill my son, to take away the most beautiful part of me.

"He may well want to talk about the political climate at the time, but how can I try to forgive him unless I know who he is, and that he feels real remorse for what he did?

"And I want to know whether Tex really died of Aids, or was poisoned to prevent the full story coming out at his trial.

"But I am not looking for vengeance, there has been too much of that already."

On Friday morning she could not stretch her feet in her Durban flat because of pain from the shrapnel left in her back by the letter bomb posted to her, in exile in Lesotho, in 1979.

Yet when she mentioned it on the phone, she spoke first about Father John Osmers, who opened it for her and lost a hand.

The anniversary of Sadhan's death is April 15. South Africans who want a nonracial society with justice and compassion should make a note in their 1993 diaries, and spare a thought for Phyllis Naidoo on that day.

She has given more than most to make it possible. □

## Clash averted by committee

BIDAY 2/9/92

MOOI RIVER — A Goldstone commission committee investigating violence at Mooi River adjourned yesterday morning to intervene in renewed political clashes in nearby Bruntville.

The clash began when angry Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers tried to take revenge on township residents after two handgrenade explosions at their quarters.

The Bruntville hostel committee announced later it had suspended all "voluntary" co-operation with the commission because of the handgrenade attacks.

One person was slightly injured in the explosions which Inkatha blamed on the ANC. Bruntville residents and ANC members denied involvement in the attacks.

Goldstone committee chairman Prof Dirk van Zyl Smit said his committee had spoken to the inmates and had urged restraint.

He said he had also addressed Bruntville residents, explaining the commission's function, and had told them the committee was "open to their problems".

"We're thankful to both sides for their restraint," he said. "They listened to us and showed reason. We congratulated them on the way they responded to the difficult and tense situation. This can greatly assist our work." — Sapa.

# Volunteers to monitor protests and police raids

BIDAY 2/9/92

RAY HARTLEY

OPERATIONAL details of 150 business and professional volunteers who will monitor political gatherings, protests and police raids were released by national peace secretariat official Jan Hiemstra yesterday.

He said the volunteers would begin operations from the peace secretariat's 11 regional bases by the end of the month and would work closely with UN, EC and Commonwealth monitors.

Details of how the groups would co-ordinate their activities with international monitors were still being finalised, but it was likely the international observers would be spread among the regions.

They would report directly to national peace accord structures, but could take serious incidents to attorneys-general, Hiemstra said. The group would be trained in police procedures and monitoring skills. Flags and a special uniform were being developed to clearly identify the monitors.

Hiemstra said a meeting of regional chairmen of peace structures last week gave the monitors the go-ahead. All individual volunteers would be vetted.

The monitors are the latest in a series of measures designed to bolster the peace process.

TIM COHEN reports from Pretoria that a high-level EC delegation arrives in SA today for a two-day visit focusing on ways to assist in the resumption of the negotiations and curbing violence.

The delegation consists of British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellamann-Jensen, Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Jose-Manuel Barroso, and EC Commission vice-president Franz Andriessen. The team represents the past, current and future heads of the EC.

The delegation will be meeting a wide range of political figures, including President F W de Klerk and senior government officials, who will be returning early from the NP congress in Bloemfontein.

It is also expected to meet senior ANC members, who are engaged in a national executive committee meeting on the nature of mass action and negotiations.

A meeting with the Goldstone commission and the national peace accord is also expected.

The trip was mooted at the beginning of the year, specifically to examine the question of violence, but was given additional focus after the breakdown in negotiations, diplomatic sources said.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda has agreed to mediate between the ANC and Inkatha — and he may be joined by former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere. Kaunda and Nyerere were proposed by Inkatha and accepted by the ANC.

Kaunda's political aide Bright Chunga said national peace committee chairman John Hall had faxed a letter to Kaunda inviting him to be part of a team of adjudicators in an alleged breach of the national peace accord by the ANC.

Nyerere has not indicated whether he will accept the invitation.

# No 'organised' third force exists, says govt

BLOEMFONTEIN — Government yesterday categorically denied the existence of a third force "on an organised basis".

And Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told delegates at the NP Free State congress all that stood in the way of a violent takeover by the ANC and the communists were the SAP and the SADF.

However, he said police urgently needed better training.

He said many of them were dying because they did not know how to deal with crisis situations properly.

Kriel dismissed allegations that the security forces were fomenting violence, saying it did not make sense for police to participate in violence as this would make them more vulnerable to death or injury.

"Only the SAP stands between law and order and anarchy in this country," he said during his spirited defence of the SAP.

He accused the ANC and the SACP of trying to destroy the credibility of the security forces by calling for joint control of the SAP and SADF.

Once they had achieved this objective they would be in a position to take over control of the country.

He said government would not allow this because this would lead to anarchy and chaos.

BILLY PADDOCK

Kriel said as a result of new police initiatives since March to combat crime, serious crime had declined by 3,7% in May and 9% in June.

He made an appeal for more people to join the police reservists, noting that the law had been changed to allow members of the police to belong to political parties.

Young and older males were needed to help secure the safety of neighbourhoods and serve as farm guards.

After his speech he said the police were conducting discussions with the Red Cross to assist in monitoring the treatment of prisoners at police cells.

Kriel said the police had already stated that they were prepared to assist the Red Cross.

He also said the six magistrates that would act as inspectors of cells had been identified.

The police hierarchy were talking to them to see if they would agree to take the job.

Kriel would not release names or give further details saying he would do this once he released the findings of the investigation into the allegations of independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman.

The Minister said he had received the report and was busy discussing it with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and the attorneys-general.

# Ex-SA spy has pick of jobs

(327)
Sowetan
3/9/92

## ■ Remorseless Dieter Gerhardt says 'I was right':

**Sowetan Foreign Service**

MUNICH - Former South African navy commander Dieter Gerhardt said yesterday he had had "several" offers of employment since his release last week from Pretoria Prison, where he had been serving a life sentence for spying for the Soviet Union.

"I'll be lucky if I get two weeks holiday," he said from his home in Basle, Switzerland.

Gerhardt did not say where the job offers had come from, nor would he say whether he planned to remain in Switzerland. "I have an honours degree in business economics and engineering qualifications. That should be enough."

He was still adjusting to life after so many years in jail. "I've just got out, remember. I'm trying to orientate myself."

He denied he was a wealthy man because of his espionage activities.

# The disinformation scanda

STAR 4/9/92.

(327)

VIOLENCE does not occur in a vacuum. It draws oxygen from public opinion which supports it or condones it. Apartheid and the methods used to enforce it, some of them violent, were for many years endorsed or condoned by the Afrikaans churches, by many intellectuals, and by the Afrikaans press and the SABC.

There are many reasons why the National Party abandoned these policies. One of them is the withdrawal of intellectual, press and church endorsement. These considerations also apply at the other end of the spectrum. Just as it will take years to change the culture of a police force or indeed of a civil service, one of whose main purposes for 40 years was to enforce racial laws, so it will also take time to eradicate the culture of coercion which has become so deeply entrenched in resistance politics, not least because the use of violence was given ecclesiastical blessing.

What some people regard as a just war against people stigmatised as collaborators has its parallels in what others no doubt regarded as a just war against people stigmatised as communists. Part of this culture is the process of stigmatisation, which I suspect has played a major role in the violence. It not only sets people up for attack, but also scares off any would-be defenders.

This helps to explain why so many ordinary, decent, white South Africans kept quiet for so long about bannings and house arrests and deaths in detention. When Ruth Hayman, a Johannesburg attorney, was banned, the organised legal profession refused to take up her case. Mr Vorster had so stigmatised the liberals that most whites regarded them as communists and, when confronted with the injustice of banning without trial, retorted: "Well, she must have done something, otherwise Mr Vorster wouldn't have banned her." This acquiescence paved the way for the next step — detention without trial.

As the Radio Freedom broadcasts made clear, stigmatisation of their opponents was a major — if not the major — strategy of South African revolutionaries in the 1980s. The spray of stigmatisation was spread very wide. The targets included long-standing opponents of the Government who also opposed revolution, among them the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The growth of the culture in which some black people were mobilised to use violence against other black people occurred at a time when many liberals abandoned their traditional watchdog role and swallowed the revolutionary agenda — that politics was of only two kinds, liberatory and collaborationist, and those, like the institute, advocating non-violent change were naive.

Township residents have reaped the whirlwind sown by these simplistic notions. It is both tragic and ironic that black people, the victims of the apartheid system, should also be the main victims of the violence engendered by some of the liberatory strategies.

Members of the liberal community who slid away from their old values — of non-violence and tolerance, of standing up for the underdog — in fact failed South Africa in its hour of need. In the 1960s they spoke up bravely for the rights of communists against the arbitrary powers of Mr Vorster. In the 1980s they failed to speak up for ordinary people against the strategies of revolutionaries.

What can be done about the violence? An obvious first step is to remove weapons from the hands of political organisations. It is therefore to be hoped that the recent regulations banning the carrying of all weapons in public places, along with the increased prison sentences for possession of unlicensed firearms, will be strictly enforced. Even though our figures show that so-called traditional weapons are not the major problem, I do not think that carrying these weapons to political meetings is compatible with democratic practice.

The National Peace Accord still has certain weaknesses. One of these is its failure expressly to prohibit the violent strategies of ungovernability. If these are not explicitly renounced, the violent backlashes will not stop.

Reports of agencies such as Amnesty International, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, the International Commission of Jurists, the Human Rights Commission and the Independent Board into Informal Repression are not helpful because, while they rightly castigate the IFP and the police for their involvement in violence, they turn a blind eye to the whole question of ungovernability.

One of the consequences of the disinformation campaign has been to hinder peace talks and constitutional negotiations. It makes it impossible to stop conflict which is quite obviously emanating from both sides.

The current campaign to blame violence on the Reef almost exclusively on hostel residents, while ignoring their own fear of attack, will heighten their already considerable insecurity and cause them to stockpile weapons — automatic weapons, not traditional weapons — in other places. The more they feel under siege, the less they will hesitate to use these weapons, which will intensify the ANC-IFP conflict to the point where it may not end until a new constitution is in place, and perhaps not even then.

As we know from the bitter experience of the tricameral era, once you take a wrong turning constitutionally it is very difficult to get back on to the right road. South Africa, of course, has choices. We've always had them. We even have a name for them — high roads and low roads. In 1910 we took the low road of a unitary state when we could have taken the high road to federalism, which would have enabled the Cape to preserve and extend its liberal racial policies instead of giving Transvaal nationalists control over them. In 1983 we again had a choice. We took the low road of the tricameral Parliament and the homelands policy instead of calling a Codesa there and then to bring blacks into Parliament, which would have been the high road. The low road now is the road of bilateral deals that so many people seem to favour.

The high road is to go back to Codesa, broaden it, and build steadily on the Declaration of Intent and the sound agreements already reached in the various working groups. Given our tortured history, I believe the compromises already agreed upon in the groups are remarkable. They are prudent, fair and pragmatic, and they reflect well on all involved, major and minor players alike. If the opinion polls across the political and racial spectrum are to be believed, they are the foundations of the free and democratic system most of us want.

Such a system cannot be built while the flames of the physical war in the townships are fanned by a propaganda war in the media. □

*● This is an extract from an address delivered last night by the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman.*

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys<br>Entry refers |
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**No. 2571** **4 September 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. 2571** **4 September 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.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Voorlegger<br>Submitter | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/8/168 ..... | ***Blood Diner***..... | First Independent Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd | (a) |
| R92/8/151 ..... | ***Talkin' Dirty After Dark***..... | Nu Metro Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd ..... | (a) |

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Use it.

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water is for everybody

# INHOUD


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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 or 269

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15 SEP 1992

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Vol. 327 PRETORIA, 4 SEPTEMBER 1992 No. 14257

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

### DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

**No. 2566** **4 September 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:

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

### DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

**No. 2566** **4 September 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.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap<br>Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/02/93 ..... | ***Violence in Southern Africa — A Christian Assessment*** | SCM Press Ltd, London..... | SK./G.G. 12557, GK./G.N. 1542, ged./dd 1990-06-29. |
| P92/05/79 ..... | ***African Images***..... | Harold Scheub..... | SK./G.G. 3617, GK./G.N. 1262, ged./dd 1972-07-21. |
| P92/07/100 ..... | ***Music Upstairs***..... | Shena Mackay..... | SK./G.G. 2071, GK./G.N. 803, ged./dd 1968-05-10. |

**No. 2567** **4 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VOORWAARDES

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) (c) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie, onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasies nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar nie; en

**No. 2567** **4 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

CONDITIONS

The Publications Appeal Board has decided under section 13 (5) (c) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), that the undermentioned publications are not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, subject to the conditions—

that the publications may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out to persons under the age of 18 years; and

dat die publikasies slegs in 'n geseëlde plastiekomhulsel vir die doeleindes van verspreiding uitgestal en versprei mag word; en

dat die publikasies slegs in boekwinkels en uitleenbiblioteke en deur groothandel-boekversprei-ders versprei mag word.

that the publications for purposes of distribution may only be displayed and distributed in a sealed plastic wrapping; and

that the publications may only be distributed in bookshops and lending libraries and by wholesale book distributors.

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie Publication | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/01/189 ..... | ***Love and Rockets*** No. 36 ..... | Fantagraphics Books Inc. ..... | SK./G.G. 13855, GK./G.N. 939, ged./dd 1992-03-20. |
| P92/03/343 ..... | ***Love and Rockets Sketchbook*** ..... | Los Bros Hernandez ..... | SK./G.G. 13984, GK./G.N. 1385, ged./dd 1992-05-15. |
| P92/03/345 ..... | ***Flies on the ceiling*** Vol 9 of the Complete Love and Rockets | Los Bros Hernandez ..... | SK./G.G. 13948, GK./G.N. 1263, ged./dd 1992-04-30. |
| P92/03/349 ..... | ***The Death of Speedy*** Vol 7 of the Complete Love and Rockets | Jaime Hernandez ..... | SK./G.G. 13948, GK./G.N. 1263, ged./dd 1992-04-30. |
| P92/03/357 ..... | ***Las Mujeres Perdidas*** Vol 3 of the Complete Love and Rockets | Los Bros Hernandez ..... | SK./G.G. 13948, GK./G.N. 1263, ged./dd 1992-04-30. |

**No. 2568** **4 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2568** **4 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 11 (2) of the Act that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2), of the Act:

**LYS/LIST P92/35**

| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Artikel 47(2) Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/60 ..... | ***Escapes*** ..... | E. Levine ..... | (a) |

**No. 2569** **4 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

TERSYDESTELLING VAN VOORWAARDE OP PUBLIKASIE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van die Wet op hersiening beslis dat die voorwaarde op die ondergenoemde publikasie opgehef word. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

**No. 2569** **4 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

SETTING ASIDE OF CONDITION ON PUBLICATION

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided under section 15 (2) of the Act on review that the condition on the undermentioned publication is set aside. The undermentioned entry in respect of this publication is hereby deleted:

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| Inskrywing No. Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/03/152 ..... | ***African Socialism or Socialist Africa?*** | A.M. Babu ..... | SK./G.G. 12047, GK/G.N. 1786, ged./dd/1989-08-11 |

**No. 2570** **4 September 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. 2570** **4 September 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:

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Vol. 327 PRETORIA, 5 SEPTEMBER 1992 No. 14274

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

**No. R. 2575** **5 September 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 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, op 7 Maart 1992 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 812, en op 6 Junie 1992 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1631 verleng is, vir 'n verdere tydperk van drie maande.

**H. J. KRIEL,**
Minister van Wet en Orde.

**No. R. 2576** **5 September 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, op 7 Maart 1992 by Goewermentskennisgewing No.



## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

**No. R. 2575** **5 September 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, on 7 March 1992 by Government Notice No. R. 812, and on 6 June 1992 by Government Notice No. R. 1631, for a further period of three months.

**H. J. KRIEL,**
Minister of Law and Order.

**No. R. 2576** **5 September 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,

R. 813 en op 6 Junie 1992 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1630 verleng is, vir 'n verdere tydperk van drie maande.

## BYLAE

Die 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.

on 7 March 1992 by Government Notice No. R. 813 and on 6 June 1992 by Government Notice No. R. 1630, 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.

## INHOUD


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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

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ANC activist's death is sinister, says family

# WAS THIS A POLICE EXECUTION?

By FRED KHUMALO

WAS Sylvester "Baba" Mabaso brutally assassinated and his eyes gouged out by the police or was he killed when he became wild and started shooting while being searched?

The gruesome death of the Lamontville ANC activist who returned from exile two years ago has outraged residents.

Three other prominent ANC activists have died recently.

A report by a doctor instructed by the Mabaso family lawyer to be present during Mabaso's post-mortem examination raises suspicions about the sinister circumstances under which Mabaso died.

The report says that the holes on the top shirt which Mabaso was wearing at the time do not match the holes on the bottom shirt and the holes on the body.

The report further explains that the bullet completely destroyed the left eye, went on to hit his left arm and then damaged soft tissues, including the liver.

"This could suggest that he was shot at with the left upper limb held in an elevated position. It is also possible that this wound was caused by the same missile that caused facial injury," the report says.

Citing this report, which shows that Mabaso was trying to ward off the impact of the bullet with his bare arm when he was shot, the ANC says this shows he was killed in cold blood.

The organisation says his killing is part of an offensive that has come to be known as "the hit squad from CR Swart Square" police headquarters, which they allege aims to systematically eliminate its activists.

"They start by spreading rumours that our members have been linked to crimes ranging from armed robbery to murder so as to justify the brutal way in which they deal with them," said southern Natal ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye.

The same police squad was responsible for the recent death of ANC activist S'bu Mkhize and his four comrades who died in a hail of bullets after a two-hour shootout involving 200 police.

In trying to piece together the last hours of Mabaso's life, the ANC found that he had visited his grandparents in Ezingolweni on the South Coast last Thursday.

No sooner had he arrived there than he got a phone call from people – whom the ANC claims were policemen – who claimed to be his friends and advised him to take the next taxi to Lamontville.

## 'Painted black'

Makhaye explained: "It is clear that the police wanted to kidnap him. But Mabaso ignored that message. At around 3.30 pm the police again phoned Mabaso. By that time some of the police unit was closing in (on) the homestead. As he saw a large contigent of police, Mabaso raised his hands and surrendered."

Mabaso was told to lie on the floor and was handcuffed from behind. He was then taken to a red police combi to be identified by a balaclava-clad person.

Some of the white police officers had their faces painted black, Makhaye said.

Mabaso was taken back to the room and other members of the homestead were taken to a separate room and forced to lie down. The police then switched on a generator and played the music system full blast in the room where members of the homestead were trapped.

"For about two hours the police tortured Mabaso. In the process they gouged out his left eye," said Makhaye.

At about 6 pm – two-and-a-half hours after they took him into the room – they shot him twice in the stomach, he said.

Police tell a different story.

SA Police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said Mabaso was cornered at his grandparents' house in Ezingolweni by members of the Durban Murder and Robbery Squad who were seeking him in connection with an armed robbery and murder.

Said Capt Naidoo: "When they (the police) arrived, the suspect was pointed out. While busy speaking to the suspect, he pulled out a revolver and fired shots at a policeman.

"Another policeman shouted a warning and fired shots at the suspect."

Capt Naidoo said the shots struck the suspect on the chest and left eye.

A .357 Magnum revolver and six rounds of ammunition were found in the house, he said.

Members of the family have instructed a lawyer with the view to taking legal action against police.

The other ANC activists killed this week are S'gubudu Chiya, chairman of the organisation's Wema hostel branch. He was gunned down on Monday at around 9 pm at the hostel.

ANC Zuma Branch chairman Morris Gumede, his son Bongani and an unidentified neighbour were gunned down on Tuesday around 1 am.

Meanwhile, Lamontville ANC branch chairman Sibusiso Mathebula is living in fear of his life following a SAP raid on his house.

# Desperate bid to cover up Gerhardt affair



Sunday Times Reporters

THE National Intelligence Service is engaged in a desperate rearguard operation to stop embarrassing information leaking out about released Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt's career and arrest.

A former NIS agent, believed by the service to have stolen important documents, has been questioned by police acting on the instructions of the NIS. His home was also searched.

Top Sunday Times investigative journalist De Wet Potgieter was also warned this week that he may be charged under the Protection of Information Act for allegedly receiving secret documents.

The Sunday Times does not have such documents.

Sources in the intelligence community confirmed that the release of Gerhardt could yet cause red faces in the country's counter-espionage services. What the NIS appears to be afraid of is that SA's handling of the case will be exposed as a bungle from beginning to end.

(327)

Gerhardt, a former top naval officer, was able to spy for the Soviet Union for an uninterrupted 21 years without South African counter-espionage services detecting him.

At one point, Central Intelligence Agency officers from the US were in SA keeping tabs on Gerhardt — under the unsuspecting noses of our own operatives. ST Times 6/9/92.

It was the CIA, through the FBI, which eventually arrested Gerhardt during a visit to the US in 1981. His wife, Ruth, was arrested soon afterwards in SA as an accomplice.

The incompetence of the security services was highlighted by the disclosure this week by former Minister of Defence Magnus Malan that he had as early as 1973 warned of his suspicions about Gerhardt's loyalty.

Despite fresh security checks, however, Gerhardt was able to continue spying for another eight years.

Intelligence sources said fear of further disclosures was behind this week's NIS activity.

Gerhardt told the Sunday Times a week ago his release had been bitterly opposed by the NIS. It appears, however, that Gerhardt has struck a deal with the South African authorities not to talk about his activities or arrest.

The full extent of the NIS sensitivity about the Gerhardt case became clear last Saturday.

Only hours before the Sunday Times's first edition appeared containing an interview with Gerhardt in Switzerland, two police counter-espionage officers and an NIS agent visited Mr Potgieter at his Verwoerdburg home.

They demanded he hand over any documents in his possession which related to the Gerhardt case.

One of them, SAP Colonel Andre Roos, confirmed the investigation centred on an allegation that a former NIS agent had retained crucial documents regarding the Gerhardt case.

He wanted to know if the former agent had handed over the documents to Mr Potgieter. The Sunday Times informed Colonel Roos that the newspaper did not have any such documents in its possession.

On Thursday, Mr Potgieter was told officially by Colonel Roos that a charge under the Protection of Information Act was being investigated against him and the docket would be referred to the Attorney-General for a decision whether or not to prosecute.

● DE WET POTGIETER writes: According to sources, Dieter Gerhardt was never betrayed by the Soviets, as reported in certain publications.

About 10 years before his arrest, a KGB agent defected to Canada and provided details that a Western spy was feeding the Soviet Union's military intelligence, GRU, with sensitive intelligence about Nato.

But the agent couldn't identify the spy, other than by a codename.

Western intelligence agencies assumed he operated in the northern hemisphere, and it wasn't until another Soviet spy defected five years later that the CIA was told otherwise.

The hunt turned south, assisted b coded radio signals picked up fro four or five Soviet agents operating i the southern hemisphere. The CIA sys tematically eliminated each suspec until Gerhardt was finally identified

When he was arrested by the CIA FBI and British Intelligence in the US Gerhardt had five rolls of film on hin containing details of SA's secre project with the West Germans to buy submarines.

As a result of this, the US authorities knew that West Germany was co-operating with SA in the acquisition of submarines for the SA Navy.

Sources believed SA intelligence's bungling over Gerhardt was due to former State President PW Botha's policy of "divide and rule". The result was that SA was never in a position to establish a powerful and proper counter-espionage section.

[redacted]

# *focus on* press freedom

*Sowetan* editor **Aggrey Klaaste** looks at democracy, how liberation movements interpret it and how it affects the Press, particularly the *Sowetan*



Sowetan 7/9/92

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DEMOCRACY is more than a buzz word in South Africa.

It is the common cry of every liberation movement and most of the political parties. Even the Nationalist Party, an arch- enemy of democracy for all those years, has taken it to heart.

It seems that to a man - and a woman - democracy is on our national lips. In spite of killings, necklacing, imprisonment and castigation, all manner of evil is done in its name.

But how does democracy work?

Consider this example: A group of students decides to be democratic in the way it runs the classes for which the students are enrolled. One student says he cannot, for domestic reasons, attend one particular class. The class says: "Let us decide this democratically. Should our group allow him to miss a class?" The answer from the group is "No!"

Democracy? My foot! I could not help wondering what would have happened if the group had decided to shoot the poor student - or maybe flog him to death. If that is democracy, then anarchy is much better.

This is the saddest thing about the word today. It means what any person wants it to mean. The dictionary talks of "government by all the people, direct or representative: a form of society ignoring hereditary class distinctions and tolerating minority views".

This means, it seems, that every citizen has the right to hold an opinion, on any subject, at any time. He or she also has the right to change that opinion. And he or she also has the right to have that right respected by all his fellow citizens.

And that is where the press comes in, *Sowetan* in particular. It is a sad fact, but true, that *Sowetan* is the only daily newspaper in South Africa which strives to serve the interests of the black community. We make no bones about that. In fact, we are proud of it.

This makes us a doubly important player in the democratic stakes. Our readers - because of the ravages of apartheid over many years - have never lived in a democratic state.

They have spent all their lives being told what to do and how to behave. Their opinions have been ignored. their rights have been flouted.

Now a new democratic age dawns, an age in which the opinions of the people will be heard and respected. *Sowetan* will have a very important role to play in publishing a wide variety of opinions, on every possible issue.

And that is why *Sowetan* is an independent newspaper. We are not aligned to any political party or any leader. We have a mind of our own. We support sensible and democratic policies and we reject those that are not in the interests of the people. We do not support any trade union, any language group, any creed. any religion.




**A journalist in a demonstration for Press freedom.**

But we give every opinion, every point of view, a chance to be heard. At least we try, in all ways humanly possible, to do so.

In this way we know we can be a powerful force for democracy in South Africa.

We can be and have been the forum for points of view to be expressed, debated, argued and assessed.

Conversely, if we were to support any party or any group we would be tied to their apron strings. We would be tied to their mistakes. And, most importantly, we would be denying all the other people their right to express their point of view.

Of course we make mistakes and people criticise us for that. But the amazing thing is that almost everyone criticises us. And we like that, because it means that at least we are being fair to most of the people most of the time. And it means that we are advancing the cause of democracy.

So remember, an attack on the Press or on your newspaper is no more than an attack on your right to know and your democratic right to express your opinion.

*Sowetan* stands by your democratic right of free expression. We hope you stand for the right of a free Press. Because you cannot have one without the other.

# Cosatu plans to charge MI general

STAR 8/9/92

By Thabo Leshilo
Labour Reporter

General Christoffel "Joffel" van der Westhuizen and security force members allegedly implicated in death squad activities could soon find themselves faced with charges — if the Congress of SA Trade Unions has its way.

Cosatu's executive committee said yesterday it was investigating bringing private charges against the Military Intelligence (MI) chief and other security force personnel. The decision to consider legal action was taken at the committee's three-day meeting which ended on Friday.

General van der Westhuizen has been named in allegations concerning the deaths of Matthew Goniwe and three other UDF activists. President F W de Klerk has ordered an inquiry into the deaths.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said a situation where people allegedly implicated "in murders of Government opponents and other hit-squad activities continue to be paid salaries by taxpayers" could not be tolerated.

The meeting rejected as unconvincing "recent attempts by the Government to windowdress the SAP — shuffling SAP generals at the top, while leaving the paramilitary and hit-squad structures intact".

It also demanded the expulsion or confinement to barracks and disarming of the controversial former Namibian counter-insurgency police unit, Koevoet.

President de Klerk recently announced the disbandment of the unit and its reintegration into the normal security forces.

Cosatu also resolved to intensify its mass action campaign.

A major national campaigns conference would be held from September 11 to 13 to finalise what action to take in relation to the strike at hospitals, labour legislation in Bophuthatswana and other homelands, as well as the drought, food prices and the rights of farmworkers.

The executive committee also decided to continue taking part in the structures of the National Peace Accord despite concern about problems preventing its effective implementation.

On the National Economic Forum (NEF), Cosatu reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations between the major players on the "burning economic issues affecting the majority".

Cosatu is still awaiting confirmation from the Government of a final date for the first plenary session of the NEF.

The committee also expressed its concern that while negotiations on the NEF were taking place, the Government and business were engaged in "unilateral economic restructuring leading, inter alia, to massive job losses".

A decision was taken to seek a meeting with Manpower Minister Leon Wessels to resolve these problems, before a final decision was taken on whether to take part in the restructured National Manpower Commission.

# Undertaking on march was broken, says ANC

327 B/Day 9/9/92

RAY HARTLEY

**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk gave ANC president Nelson Mandela an undertaking no live ammunition would be used by Ciskei forces at Monday's demonstration in Bisho, ANC official Patrick "Terror" Lekota told protesters yesterday.**

Speaking at a protest outside the Ciskei consulate in Johannesburg yesterday, Lekota said the undertaking had been made during a bilateral meeting last week aimed at defusing possible violence at the Bisho march.

Fellow ANC leader Essop Pahad said 50 of the 190 wounded during Monday's shooting, which claimed 29 lives according to the ANC, were in a critical condition. He said the ANC would be happy to go before a national peace committee adjudication to determine who was responsible for the massacre.

Sapa reports that in Cape Town, 13 ANC members started an indefinite sit-in at the Ciskei's consulate yesterday, refusing to leave until the offices were closed permanently.

The occupation followed a day-long series of protests demanding that Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo resign.

The sit-in was led by ANC national executive member Reggie September, and included Independent MP and ANC member Jan van Eck.

Earlier, an ANC delegation allowed inside by police found the Ciskei diplomatic offices to be locked and apparently deserted. No senior Ciskei representatives could be reached to accept the ANC demands.

Police guarded the entrance to the building from the morning, when about 250 ANC supporters marched through the city to highlight demands for Gqozo's resignation and Ciskei's reincorporation.

Several scuffles erupted between police and protesters who tried to force their way to the groundfloor entrance.

The Johannesburg march, from the central city to the consulate in Braamfontein, was prevented from entering the building by SAP internal stability division officers.

At one point a scuffle broke out between a police cameraman and the crowd and an SA flag was destroyed by the protesters, but no one was injured or arrested. Slogans calling for the ousting of Gqozo were sprayed on the doors and windows of the consulate and several police vehicles.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba called on the crowd to "hit out" at Ciskei institutions in SA.

"We must go and push and push until Gqozo is down, never to rise again. We are going forward to remove Oupa even if we are killed."

Meanwhile, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA called yesterday for an indaba on violence as it was losing confidence in Codesa and the national peace committee.

While the SA Council of Churches said it was outraged that Ciskei security forces had fired on marchers, Presbyterian and Methodist church statements did not apportion blame.

Lawyers for Human Rights condemned the massacre and De Klerk's statement which "made a mockery of his government's commitment to the right to peaceful protest".

The Human Rights Commission said government had to accept responsiblity for the killings. "The guns and ammunition which killed at least 24 South Africans yesterday and wounded another 200, were paid for out of a grant of R1,114bn to Ciskei from the national budget," it said.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane kneel to lead church leaders in prayer at the site of Monday's massacre in Bisho. In Cape Town, Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley told a lunchtime service in St George's Cathedral that God had died at Bisho and the only road to life and freedom was "through struggle and sacrifice". Picture: AP

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Video | Vertoëmaker<br>Representer |
|---|---|---|
| R91/11/39..... | ***Intimacy and Sexual Ecstasy***..... | Daru Films (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd. |

**No. 2633** **11 September 1992**

AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENT

'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 rolprent ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2633** **11 September 1992**

REJECTED FILM

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in terms of section 21 (1) of the Act that the undermentioned film is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Voorlegger<br>Submitter | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/9/57 ..... | ***A Woman's Guide to Loving Sex***..... | Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd..... | (a) |


## PHYTOPHYLACTICA

Hierdie publikasie bevat artikels oor plantpatologie, mikologie, mikrobiologie, entomologie, nematologie en ander dierkundige plantplae. Vier dele van die tydskrif word per jaar gepubliseer.

Verdienstelike landboukundige bydraes van oorspronklike wetenskaplike navorsing word vir plasing in hierdie tydskrif verwelkom. Voorskrifte vir die opstel van sulke bydraes is verkrygbaar van die Direkteur, Landbou-inligting, Privaatsak X144, Pretoria, aan wie ook alle navrae in verband met die tydskrif gerig moet word.

Die tydskrif is verkrygbaar van bogenoemde adres teen R12,50 (BTW ingesluit) per eksemplaar of R50 per jaar, posvry (Buitelands R15 per eksemplaar of R60 per jaar).

## PHYTOPHYLACTICA

This publication deals with plant pathology, mycology, microbiology, entomology, nematology, and other zoological plant pests. Four parts of the journal are published annually.

Contributions of scientific merit on agricultural research are invited for publication in this journal. Directions for the preparation of such contributions are obtainable from the Director, Agricultural Information, Private Bag X144, Pretoria, to whom all communications in connection with the journal should be addressed.

The journal is obtainable from the above-mentioned address at R12,50 (VAT included) per copy or R50 per annum, post free (Other countries R15 per copy or R60 per annum).

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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 or 269

14270—1

**No. 2630** **11 September 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. 2630** **11 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

WITHDRAWAL OF SECTION 9 (1)

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has withdrew 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.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys<br>Entry refers |
|---|---|---|---|
| P91/07/154 ..... | ***Voice of African Workers*** — Special Issue No 3, February–March | Organisation of African Trade Union Unity Ghana | SK./G.G. 5515, GK./G.N. 657, ged./dd 1977-04-22. |
| P91/08/135 ..... | ***Women of the Whole World*** No 2, 1979. | Women of the Whole World, Berlin ..... | GK./G.N. 125, ged./dd 1955-01-13. |
| P91/10/127 ..... | ***Apartheid*** Vol 2, No 1, June 1978 ..... | IUEF, Geneva..... | SK./G.G. 6127, GK./G.N. 1637, ged./dd 1978-08-11. |
| P91/10/285 ..... | ***Socialist Standard*** Vol 76, No 911, July 1980 | Socialist Party of Great Britian, London | SK./G.G. 2133, GK./G.N. 1269, ged./dd 1968-07-26.<br>SK./G.G. 7317, GK./G.N. 2499, ged./dd 1980-12-05. |
| P91/10/335 ..... | ***Revolutionary Communist Youth*** May 1978 | The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, Chicago | SK./G.G. 6119, GK./G.N. 1558, ged./dd 1978-07-28. |
| P91/12/07 ..... | ***WFDY News*** No 1–2, 1982..... | WFDY, Budapest ..... | SK./G.G. 6024, GK./G.N. 1013, ged./dd 1978-05-19. |
| P92/02/61 ..... | ***Hsinhua Weekly*** No 31, August 4, 1975 . | Printed by Hsinhua News Agency, Hong Kong | SK./G.G. 4860, GK./G.N. 1894, ged./dd 1975-10-03.<br>SK./G.G. 7195, GK./G.N. 1796, ged./dd 1980-08-22. |
| P92/05/102 ..... | ***Revolutionary Worker*** No 442, Vol 9, No 40, February 8, 1988 | RCP Publications, Chicago ..... | SK./G.G. 8616, GK./G.N. 632, ged./dd 1983-03-25. |
| P92/05/295 ..... | ***Workers Press*** Nr 126, Saturday, 6 August 1988 | Workers Revolutionary Party, London | SK./G.G. 10774, GK./G.N. 1381, ged./dd 1987-06-19. |

**No. 2631** **11 September 1992**

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 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 onder die ouderdom van 18 jaar vertoon mag word nie; en

(b) dat snitte aangebring word.

**No. 2631** **11 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, has 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 under 18 years of age; and

(b) that excisions be made.

| Inskrywings No.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Vertoëmaker<br>Representer |
|---|---|---|
| R92/5/76..... | ***Eternal Fist*** (Soft Cable Version) ..... | Zenith Film Distributors. |

**No. 2632** **11 September 1992**

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

VIDEO

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 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 dit slegs deur middel van posbestelling, aan persone ouer as 21 jaar, verkoop mag word.

**No. 2632** **11 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

VIDEO

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, has decided that the undermentioned film is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2), of the Act by stipulating—

(a) that it may only be sold by means of mail order to persons over the age of 21 years.

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Video | Vertoëmaker<br>Representer |
|---|---|---|
| R91/11/39..... | ***Intimacy and Sexual Ecstasy***..... | Daru Films (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd. |

**No. 2633** **11 September 1992**

AFGEKEURDE ROLPRENT

'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 rolprent ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

**No. 2633** **11 September 1992**

REJECTED FILM

A Committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in terms of section 21 (1) of the Act that the undermentioned film is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Voorlegger<br>Submitter | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/9/57 ..... | ***A Woman's Guide to Loving Sex***..... | Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd..... | (a) |


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Verdienstelike landboukundige bydraes van oorspronklike wetenskaplike navorsing word vir plasing in hierdie tydskrif verwelkom. Voorskrifte vir die opstel van sulke bydraes is verkrygbaar van die Direkteur, Landbou-inligting, Privaatsak X144, Pretoria, aan wie ook alle navrae in verband met die tydskrif gerig moet word.

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Vol. 327 PRETORIA, 11 SEPTEMBER 1992 No. 14270

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

## DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

**No. 2628** **11 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

## DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

**No. 2628** **11 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS

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 are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

**LYS/LIST P92/36**

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/08/01 ..... | ***Frisk*** ..... | Dennis Cooper ..... | (a) |
| P92/08/02 ..... | ***High Risk—An Anthology of Forbidden Writings*** | Amy Scholder & Ira Silverberg..... | (a) |

**No. 2629** **11 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIE OF VOORWERP

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is tersyde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing word hierby geskrap:

**No. 2629** **11 September 1992**

PUBLICATION OR OBJECT

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap<br>Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/108 ..... | ***Scope*** Vol 26, No 16, August 7, 1992 ..... | Scope, Mobeni ..... | SK./G.G. 14195, GK./G.N. 2308, ged./dd 1992-08-07. |

**SOWETAN** Monday September 14 1992

onitor violence

# Elite force to combat violence

## ■ Five special units appointed in key areas countrywide:

Sowetan 14/9/92

THE Goldstone Commission this weekend announced its elite strike force to combat political crime and violence in the country.

The elite strike force, comprising 26 advocates, attorneys, South African Police and South African Defence Force officers, will head five special investigation units and will report directly to the Golstone Commission.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said at the weekend: "Information obtained by the units which is or may be relevant to any criminal investigation, if appropriate, will be furbished by the Commission to the SA Police, or the relevant police force of a self-governing territory.

"The information obtained by the units will be relevant as far as the commission is concerned or in so far as it may enable it to carry out its main terms of reference which are to ascertain the causes of public violence and to recommend ways of curbing it."

The units will be based in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, East London/Port Elizabeth and Maritzburg.



**Five-year-old Mahlatse, dressed in her Sunday best, searches for her friends as she walks through the rubble where shacks once stood in Alexandra. The war between the ANC and Inkatha has devastated the township.** Picture: AP

# Residents reject govt conditions

**WILSON ZWANE**

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has agreed to declare the violence-ravaged section of Alexandra township known as "Beirut" a disaster area, but residents have rejected conditions for the declaration.

A source close to the Alexandra branch of the ANC said yesterday a letter was received from De Klerk last week in which he agreed to declare "Beirut" a disaster area. BTDAY 15/9/92

"But the President has set conditions, which we reject," the source said.

The source said one of the conditions was that residents in the area should apply individually to his office for relief aid.

"We reject this condition as it makes the receipt of aid very difficult.

"What De Klerk must do is to make funds available to the council — under whose jurisdiction 'Beirut' falls — which will, in turn, be in charge of how they will be channelled," he said.

Alexandra community leaders met Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel in April to discuss violence in the township.

Kriel was then asked to refer the community leaders' request that "Beirut" be declared a disaster area to De Klerk.

Kriel agreed and indicated he would visit Alexandra "soon" to examine the situation. But sources said yesterday he had not yet visited the township.

ANC official Paul Mashatile recently said thousands of residents had been displaced by violence and their homes had been looted.

De Klerk's office could not confirm or deny that he had declared "Beirut" a disaster area.

# CP slams Verwoerd monument decision

PRETORIA — The CP said yesterday it noted with regret the decision by the Hendrik Verwoerd monument committee not to go ahead with the erection of a monument to the former prime minister on the planned Verwoerd Square in Pretoria.

Brits MP Andrew Gerber, CP representative on the committee, said the decision had been taken because, among other reasons, the executive committee believed the current political climate was not favourable for the erection of such a monument.

Gerber said the committee had discredited the principles for which it stood.

"The ANC/SACP alliance is now dictating to Afrikaners which of their heroes they may honour and which not."

Gerber said the honouring of national heroes, such as Verwoerd, who had worked diligently for the freedom of the Afrikaner, should in future be left in the hands of those who would not allow themselves to be intimidated or dictated to about their symbols, their festive days, monuments and national heroes.

"Obviously supporters of the government no longer qualify."

Verwoerd's perspicacity regarding the freedom of various nations in their own areas would eventually triumph, he said on behalf of the CP. BTDAY 15/9/92

"He deserves recognition for the monumental work which he performed in this regard." — Sapa.

King William's Town last night before today's funeral.

# Tension grows on eve of funeral

Star 18/9/92

**Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent**

A heavy security force presence raised tensions in King William's Town last night on the eve of the funeral for 28 victims shot by Ciskei security forces on Monday last week.

An announcment earlier by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel declaring several unrest areas in the eastern Cape was condemned by the ANC as an attack on civil liberties and an attempt to prevent people from attending last night's memorial service.

Security forces last night blockaded roads leading into town and searched vehicles. Helicopters circled overhead as between 4 000 and 5 000 mourners attended the service at the Victoria Park sports grounds.

The road across the border into Ciskei and Bisho was heavily guarded by SA police in camouflage gear.

At the service, SACP general-secretary Chris Hani said the Bisho killings "were brought about by one stroke by those criminals in Pretoria", reports Sapa.

"There's nothing accidental about Bisho. It was cold-blooded calculation. It was a strategic operation to teach the ANC and its alliance a lesson."

The mass funeral of the victims will be held at the same venue today.

A spokesman for the National Peace Committee said yesterday the funeral would be attended by UN observers, peace monitors and Commonwealth fact-finders.

In Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela told a memorial service that the ANC would continue to mobilise people "to declare war against apartheid and all its vestiges ... because we still do not have the vote".

The trouble in South Africa was that there were men and women who were more concerned about power than peace, he said.

Last night, after the declaration of unrest areas, the ANC said any blood spilt in King William's Town would be on the hands of the Government.

The magisterial districts declared unrest areas are Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Two weeks ago King William's Town, Queenstown, Cathcart, Stutterheim and East London were declared unrest areas.

**No. 2682** **18 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIE OF VOORWERP

VOORWAARDES

'n Komitee van Publikasies bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie onderhewig aan die voorwaardes—

dat die publikasie nie wetens verkoop, verhuur of deur uitleenbiblioteke geleen mag word aan persone onder die ouderdom van agtien jaar nie; en

dat die publikasie slegs in 'n geseëlde plastiekomhulsel vir die doeleindes van verspreiding uitgestal en versprei mag word.

**No. 2682** **18 September 1992**

PUBLICATION OR OBJECT

CONDITIONS

A Committee of Publications referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has in accordance with section 11 of the Act decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, subject to the conditions—

that the publication may not knowingly be sold, hired or lent out by lending libraries to persons under the age of eighteen years; and

that the publication for purposes of distribution may only be displayed and distributed in a sealed plastic wrapping.

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer |
|---|---|---|
| P92/09/20 | ***River Rafters*** | Alternative Books, Windhoek. |

**No. 2683** **18 September 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. 2683** **18 September 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:

| Inskrywings No.<br>Entry No. | Rolprent<br>Film | Voorlegger<br>Submitter | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| R92/9/18 | ***Bikini Carwash Company, the*** | Ster-Kinekor Video (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd | (a) |
| R92/9/63 | ***Sensual Pleasuring*** | Daru Films | (a) |


## PHYTOPHYLACTICA

Hierdie publikasie bevat artikels oor plantpatologie, mikologie, mikrobiologie, entomologie, nematologie en ander dierkundige plantplae. Vier dele van die tydskrif word per jaar gepubliseer.

Verdienstelike landboukundige bydraes van oorspronklike wetenskaplike navorsing word vir plasing in hierdie tydskrif verwelkom. Voorskrifte vir die opstel van sulke bydraes is verkrygbaar van die Direkteur, Landbou-inligting, Privaatsak X144, Pretoria, aan wie ook alle navrae in verband met die tydskrif gerig moet word.

Die tydskrif is verkrygbaar van bogenoemde adres teen R12,50 (BTW ingesluit) per eksemplaar of R50 per jaar, posvry (Buitelands R15 per eksemplaar of R60 per jaar).

## PHYTOPHYLACTICA

This publication deals with plant pathology, mycology, microbiology, entomology, nematology, and other zoological plant pests. Four parts of the journal are published annually.

Contributions of scientific merit on agricultural research are invited for publication in this journal. Directions for the preparation of such contributions are obtainable from the Director, Agricultural Information, Private Bag X144, Pretoria, to whom all communications in connection with the journal should be addressed.

The journal is obtainable from the above-mentioned address at R12,50 (VAT included) per copy or R50 per annum, post free (Other countries R15 per copy or R60 per annum).

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap<br>Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/05/17 ..... | ***The Dark Arena*** ..... | Mario Puzo ..... | GK./G.N. 2195, ged./dd 1956-11-12. |
| P92/05/84 ..... | ***Why I am not a Christian***..... | Bertrand Russell..... | GK./G.N. 518, ged./dd 1959-03-25. |
| P92/07/101 ..... | ***My Friend Judas***..... | Andrew Sinclair ..... | GK./G.N. 1659, ged./dd 1963-10-25. |
| P92/08/31 ..... | ***Legs*** ..... | William Kennedy ..... | SK./G.G. 5170, GK./G.N. 1090, ged./dd 1976-06-25. |

**No. 2680** **18 September 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. 2680** **18 September 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.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing verwys<br>Entry refers |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/09/17 ..... | ***Cosmopolitan*** March 1992 (American Edition) | Hearst Corporation, New York..... | SK./G.G. 12545, GK./G.N. 1431, ged./dd 1990-06-22. |
| P91/04/92 ..... | ***Zimbabwe News*** Vol 10, No 2, May-June 1978 | Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu) Republic of Mozambique | SK./G.G. 2133, GK./G.N. 1269, ged./dd 1968-07-26. |
| P91/05/08 ..... | ***United*** Vol 5, No 16, September 15, 1979 | Communist Party USA/ML, Chicago... | SK./G.G. 6714, GK./G.N. 2450, ged./dd 1979-10-26. |
| P91/06/81 ..... | ***Africa South in Exile*** Vol 4, No 4, Vol 5, No 3 | Africa South Publications, London..... | GK./G.N. 566, ged./dd 1961-08-22. |
| P91/09/313 ..... | ***Isandlwana*** Special Issue, No 3, March 1981 | Isandlwana Revolutionary Effort of Azania | SK./G.G. 7662, GK./G.N. 1511, ged./dd 1981-07-17. |
| P91/09/426 ..... | ***Sechaba*** N. 15, Gennaio-Marzo 1981 ..... | l'Assessorato ai Rapporti Internazionali del Comune di Reggio Emilia | SK./G.G. 7801, GK./G.N. 1980, ged./dd 1981-09-18.<br>SK./G.G. 7824, GK./G.N. 2140, ged./dd 1981-10-09. |
| P91/12/34 ..... | ***Azania: I Temba Letu,*** Vol 2, No 3 ..... | I Temba Group, Mainz ..... | SK./G.G. 6217, GK./G.N. 2296, ged./dd 1978-11-17. |
| P92/01/98 ..... | ***World Marxist Review*** Vol 27, No 3, March 1984 | S. C. Easton, London ..... | GK./G.N. 818, ged./dd 1961-05-26. |
| P92/02/54 ..... | ***News*** No 2/84 ..... | German Democratic Republic, Berlin . | GK./G.N. 2004, ged./dd 1962-12-07. |
| P92/06/117 ..... | ***Information Bulletin*** Vol 27, 4/1989 ..... | Peace and Socialism, Czechoslovakia | GK./G.N. 925, ged./dd 1963-06-28. |
| P92/09/30 ..... | ***Foreign Affairs Bulletin*** Vol 23, No 29, 28 October 1983 | Press Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin | GK./G.N. 636, ged./dd 1972-04-21. |

**No. 2681** **18 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIE OF VOORWERP

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasie het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is tersyde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing word hierby geskrap:

**No. 2681** **18 September 1992**

PUBLICATION OR OBJECT

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974 (the Act), has decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a Committee referred to in section 4 of the Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Inskrywing geskrap<br>Entry deleted |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/08/11 ..... | ***Men only*** Vol 1, No 6, Aug/Sept 1992..... | Viclen Promotions, Turffontein ..... | SK./G.G. 14248, GK./G.N. 2452, ged./dd 1992-08-24. |

# INHOUD


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| **Binnelandse Sake, Departement van** | | | |
| *Goewermentskennisgewings* | | | |
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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat-Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

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Vol. 327 PRETORIA, 18 SEPTEMBER 1992 No. 14283

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

## DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

**No. 2678** **18 September 1992**

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (die Wet), het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van die Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet:

## GOVERNMENT NOTICES

## DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

**No. 2678** **18 September 1992**

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS

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 are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act:

**LYS/LIST P92/37**

| Inskrywing No.<br>Entry No. | Publikasie of voorwerp<br>Publication or object | Skrywer of voortbringer<br>Author or producer | Artikel 47 (2)<br>Section 47 (2) |
|---|---|---|---|
| P92/07/64 | ***Spur: Denver Darlin'*** | Dirk Fletcher | (a) |
| P92/08/16 | ***A Darker Shade of Love*** | Anne Dunhill | (a) |
| P92/08/27 | ***Tribe—An American Gay Journal*** Vol 1, No 1, Winter 1989 | Columbia Publishing Company, Maryland | (a) + (b) |
| P92/09/01 | ***The Nazz***—Book 3 of 4 | Tom Veitch & Bryan Talbot | (a) |
| P92/09/07 | ***Human Diastrophism—A Heartbreak Soup*** Vol 3 | Gilbert Hernandez | (a) |

**No. 2679** **18 September 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. 2679** **18 September 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:

# Gun runners getting US arms into SA

W/Mail 18/9-24/9/92

By PAUL STOBER

DOCUMENTS in *The Weekly Mail's* possession have revealed a huge illegal trade in weapons from the United States to South Africa — and there are fears that many of these arms may have found their way to war-torn Natal.

The Africa Fund, a US anti-apartheid pressure group, has started a civil action in New York against the US Department of Commerce. It wants the courts to force the department to release more than 1 000 pages of documents detailing illegal arms transactions.

The documents, outlining some of these transactions, reveal that hundreds of semi-automatic pistols, revolvers, rifles, magazines and hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition, worth millions of dollars, left the US but never arrived at their stated destination of Harare, Zimbabwe. The weapons were to have been shipped via Cape Town.

The US Justice Department, along with the Department of Commerce, is investigating the possibility that companies in the US and southern Africa forged documents and gave incorrect information about the final destination of the arsenal.

US law and the 1977 United Nations arms embargo still forbid the export of military arms to South Africa. In the US, the export of weapons with civilian uses is governed by federal controls.

US district attorney Peter Sobol, who is investigating possible charges against US companies, says some munitions did not arrive at the destination stated on their export licences or were transferred to South Africa after their arrival at their destination. The Commerce Department's investigation covers the period from 1972 to the present, and is being conducted both in the US and southern Africa.

The department has refused public access to the documents saying it needs more time to complete its investigation.

"The documents we're investigating are cumbersome. It takes weeks and months to verify. The investigation is national and international. It just takes time," Sobol said.

Accusing the Department of Commerce of not taking the arms embargo seriously and of trying to cover up lax licensing procedures allowing the munitions through in the first place, The Africa Fund has demanded that it be allowed to examine the documents.

Africa Fund members are incensed that the arms may have reached South Africa, especially since shotguns, made by US companies, are reported to be used in violence in the South Africa's townships.

On May 14, this year, a sergeant in the kwaZulu Police, Siphiwe Mvuyane, was arrested by members of the South African Police in connection with an arms cache which included a shotgun made by the US gun manufacturer Mossberg and Sons of Connecticut.

Although the importing of over 50 tons of munitions was spread over four years, it is the large quantity of weapons involved which has served to harden suspicions that the weapons have been used to fuel the violence in the South Africa.

According to the manager of A Rosenthal, a gun dealership whose export licence was revoked by the US Commerce Department, small private concerns could not be responsible for arms trading on any large scale. "There is just no way they could finance it," he explained.

According to *The Weekly Mail's* documents, most of the munition orders were placed by a Harare-based firm, Tatos Brothers.

A director of the company, Dhiru Desai, has denied placing at least two of the orders and said that his company has not received a foreign currency allocation, from the Zimbabwean government, to import munitions for several years.

The US State Department, which is responsible for the investigation in southern Africa, is looking into a possible link between a former owner of the company, Fred Tatos, and the false orders.

Tatos, now based in Cape Town, works at a gunshop, Suburban Guns. Earlier this year, Suburban Guns was named in documents revealing how private concerns purchased arms, ammunition and chemicals for Armscor.

# Goniwe probe

(327)

Cpress 20/9/92

From Page 1

The people who have been absolved of any implication in the murders include members of the SADF whose names were mentioned in the notorious SADF communique from the eastern Cape to the State Security Council, as well as members of the Cabinet who served in the Security Council at the time.

The investigation has also not revealed any link to the killings by the so-called Hammer unit of the SADF in the eastern Cape.

In the United Kingdom yesterday, former SAP agent Col John Horak, who fled SA when he allegedly fell foul of his former colleagues, said he had been inverviewed for several hours over two days by members of the A-G's investigating team.

The secret SADF communique was revealed several weeks ago by Transkei leader Gen Bantu Holomisa.

The communique, which mentioned the name of Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen, chief of SADF Intelligence, recommended that Goniwe and the three other activists be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

According to the *Beeld* report the communique is now considered much less damning when read with other documents and information obtained by the investigators.

The report said it was expected the acting A-G of the eastern Cape, Michael Hodgen SC, would announce by the middle of next month in what manner the evidence which he has collected would be submitted to the courts.

# Goniwe: No heads to roll

(327)

closed 20/9/92

By DESMOND BLOW

INTENSE investigations by the eastern Cape Attorney-General into the murder of activist Matthew Goniwe have produced no evidence to warrant the prosecution of any of the eminent people mentioned in recent press reports in connection with the killing.

This is despite the fact that less than a month ago State President FW de Klerk said a breakthrough was "imminent" in investigations into the 1985 murders of Goniwe and three activist comrades.

Yesterday the Johannesburg newspaper *Beeld* said that according to "reliable" sources there would be no prosecutions, despite the comprehensive extent of the investigations.

To Page 2

9 771016 396005

Sowetan 21/9/92

# Hospital strike may end soon

THE National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union and Transvaal Provincial Administration are today expected to announce details of a settlement of the four-month-old hospital strike which has led to clashes between strikers and non-strikers.

Talks between the TPA and Nehawu were held on Friday in another bid to reach a compromise and end the strike. Violence has mounted and lives have been lost since the strike began. About 7 000 hospital workers have been dismissed since the strike began.
- *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

# Cops probe ANC members

A SPOKESMAN for the Department of Law and Order yesterday denied allegations that, by investigating members of the ANC, police were trying to obtain a blanket amnesty for members of the security forces.

Police spokesman Captain BSJ van Rooyen confirmed, however, that 17 senior ANC members were being investigated for various crimes.

Among those police are probing are South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani, SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo, ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, SACP member Mr Ronnie Kasrils and commander of the ANC's military wing, Mr Joe Modise.

Sowetan 21/9/92

327

# Govt and ANC reach deadlock over key demand

# SUMMIT threatened

By Peter Fabricius and Helen Grange

A police investigation of 17 ANC members for past crimes is threatening negotiations between the ANC and the Government aimed at setting up a violence summit.

The ANC has slammed the investigations as an attempt to pressure it into accepting a general amnesty.

The ANC's staunch opposition to a general amnesty at this stage, and the Government's view that political prisoners across the spectrum should be released at the same time, is bogging down the pre-summit talks.

The police, confirming the investigations yesterday, staunchly denied that their agenda was to push through a blanket amnesty, saying the probes were routine and applied to everyone who had committed a crime.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was "totally unacceptable and contradictory" to talk about negotiations while investigating past political acts.

Among those who police are probing are SA Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani, SACP chairman Joe Slovo, ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, SACP member Ronnie Kasrils and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

Others are Harry Gwala, Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Mac Maharaj, Jacob Zuma, Zola Skweyiya, Alfred Nzo, Mmabatho Nhlanhla, Siphiwe Nyanda. Gertrude

**Spanner in the works — Page 11**

Shope of the ANC Women's League is also being investigated, along with Ismael Aboobaker, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander.

Meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa continued throughout last week to try to find a solution to the political prisoners issue.

The Government view is that all those who qualify under guidelines agreed to by the Government and the ANC have already been released, and that those remaining are guilty of very serious common crimes, such as the murder of civilians. It would be unjust to release them without also freeing similar offenders of other organisations — including people such as the policeman sentenced to death in the Trust Feed massacre.

Meanwhile, both Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Mr Meyer have denied a Sunday Times report saying Mr Coetsee had wrecked a provisional agreement on political prisoners and general amnesty struck by Mr Meyer with the ANC on Friday. They said the information was apparently propaganda, which was damaging the summit prospects.

In a joint statement they said there had been no conflict within the Government over its position.

"It is the ANC which is intransigent ... The ANC wants only its own people in custody to benefit," they said.

The summit on violence — which President de Klerk called for two weeks ago and the ANC accepted in principle — is the key to a return to multiparty constitutional negotiations.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela last week told The Star the ANC would attend the summit if the Government dealt satisfactorily with the release of political prisoners, curbing of dangerous weapons and securing of hostels.

The Ministers' statement said no agreement had been reached on weapons and hostels.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party has warned that any agreement between the Government and the ANC prohibiting the carrying of cultural weapons was a "sure way to court defiance and civil disobedience".

# Newspaper reports focus of MK cadre's inquest

By Musa Mapisa and Brian Sokutu

A lawyer yesterday produced press reports in the Johannesburg Inquest Court to challenge the police version of the shooting of an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldier and his wife in Soweto a year ago.

MK cadre Itumeleng Samuel Padi (24) and his wife Nokuzola Faith Ncalo (22) were shot dead during a police predawn raid in Phiri on May 19 last year.

Giving evidence yesterday, Lieutenant Herman Havenga of the Soweto Crime Prevention Unit, who led the raid, said police had received information from a person called Flint that Mr Padi was hiding in a flat outside a house in Soweto.

Accompanied by six armed policemen, Flint pointed out the room. People in the house switched on outside lights but they were asked to switch them off.

Lieutenant Havenga knocked at the door and identified himself as a policeman.

He heard whispers and the door being unlocked and he pushed it open.

As he rushed in with an R-5 rifle in his hand he saw Mr Padi trying to remove a pin from a hand grenade. He shouted "Grenade!" and shot in the direction of Mr Padi, who was sitting on the bed about 2,5 m away.

He said it was dark in the room but he could see Mr Padi, whom he knew well as a dangerous MK cadre.

Advocate G Rautenbach, representing the family, quoted from a report of the shooting published in The Star in which police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn gave a different account of the raid.

According to Colonel Halgryn's statement, when the police entered the house they shone a torch at Mr Padi, who then grabbed a hand grenade. The police shot him dead before the grenade could explode.

Mr Rautenbach also challenged Lieutenant Havenga's earlier statement that the police realised only after the shooting that the second person who died was a woman, Nokuzola Ncalo.

He produced a report from the Citizen which quoted Colonel Halgryn as having said police shot and killed a woman who had stormed them and threatened to hurl another grenade at them.

Replying, Lieutenant Havenga said the woman did not attempt to throw a grenade at the police. He denied that police had shone a torch at the suspect and said the press may have misinterpreted Colonel Halgryn's statement.

The hearing continues today.

VILLAGE TRUSTEES
WEST RAND
Explosive

# R400 000 paid in rewards for arms

THE SAP have paid rewards of almost R400 000 to members of the public for information which led to the recovery of 1 229 illegal firearms since January. B1 0AM 23/9/92

In addition, police have seized 3 996 firearms during the normal course of investigation during the same period, SAP public relations said in a statement yesterday.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

Of the recovered firearms, 683 were AK-47 rifles.

A total of R184 300 was paid to informers for the recovery of 279 AK-47s — with a reward of up to R6 000 offered for information leading to the seizure of an AK-47.

Despite the fact that the SAP were doing everything possible to trace and remove illegal weapons, there were still large numbers in circulation, the police said.

Of the weapons seized, 134 were home-made rifles, 2 972 were pistols (including 99 Makarovs) and revolvers. 321

Nineteen arms caches were also traced during the period.

# Police 'had to open fire'

By Brian Sokutu STAR

23/9/92

Even if it would have led to the killing of innocent children, police had to open fire when they raided the Soweto home of an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadre last year, a policeman told the Johannesburg Inquest Court yesterday.

Under cross-examination by advocate G Rautenbach, representing the families of slain MK cadre Itumeleng Samuel Padi (24) and his girlfriend Nokuzola Faith Ncalo (22), Lieutenant Herman Havenga of the Soweto Crime Prevention Unit alleged Mr Padi was armed with a hand grenade at the time, and that their lives were in danger.

The two died in a hail of bullets after being shot by police during a pre-dawn raid at their Phiri backyard home on May 19 last year.

"My life and those of my colleagues was in danger ... I had to open fire. So even if there were children it would have made no difference," Lieutenant Havenga said.

The hearing continues today.

# Dead man MK cadre

327

■ **Cops admit they knew ANC man had applied for indemnity:**

Soweta 24/9/92.

UMKHONTO we Sizwe cadre Mr Itumeleng Padi (24) was shot dead by police in Soweto a month after applying to the Government for indemnity from prosecution, the Johannesburg inquest court heard yesterday.

Padi and girlfriend Miss Nokuzola Ncalo (22) died in a hail of bullets during a pre-dawn police raid at their Phiri backyard home on May 19 last year.

Under cross-examination by Mr G Rautenbach, representing the families, Warrant-Officer Johannes Schoeman, one of the six policemen who conducted the raid, said he was aware that Padi had applied to the Government for indemnity.

"Before we went to raid the house in Phiri we were aware that Itumeleng had made an application for indemnity. When an application is made we get a copy," he said.

The hearing was postponed to December 8.

# Cadre's death inquest

(327)
Star 24/9/92

By Brian Sokutu

Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre Itumeleng Samuel Padi (24) was shot dead by police in Soweto a month after applying to the Government for indemnity from prosecution, the Johannesburg Inquest Court heard yesterday.

Mr Padi and his girlfriend, Nokuzola Faith Ncalo (22), died in a hail of bullets during a predawn police raid at their Phiri home on May 19 last year.

Under cross-examination by advocate G Rautenbach, Warrant-Officer Marthinus Johannes Schoeman said he was aware tht indemnity had been sought.

"When an application is made, we get a copy," he said.

Asked by Mr Rautenbach why police sought to arrest Mr Padi, Warrant-Officer Schoeman said there was information that Mr Padi was in possession of weapons.

"He had escaped from custody in 1989. Making an application for indemnity does not guarantee freedom from prosecution," he said.

Mr Rautenbach quoted an affidavit by Mr Padi's neighbour, Vincent Skosana, alleging police intended to shoot the MK cadre.

The hearing was postponed to December 8.

# Activists 'fled into dunes'

**Own Correspondent**

UPINGTON — Two right-wing extremists drove their car through two barbed-wire fences before disappearing on foot over the sand dunes of the Kalahari Desert, a policeman has told an inquest hearing.

Detective Sergeant Marius Pieterse of the Vehicle Theft Unit in Upington was giving evidence in the inquest into the deaths of Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar (19) of Krugersdorp and Jurgen Matthews White (22) of Louis Trichardt.

The two self-confessed right-wing activists were killed after an encounter with police in the Kalahari near Noenieput on November 7 1991.

Police found a large arsenal of terrorist weapons, ammunition and political literature in their possession.

The inquest court hopes to solve the riddle of whether the two men committed suicide as alleged by the police, or whether they were killed by police fire.

Sergeant Pieterse said he had stopped the two men in a red Golf while on a routine patrol between Rietfontein and Noenieput.

The driver identified himself as Alex Burger of River Street, Hercules, Pretoria. He said he and his passenger were both students on their way to the Kalahari Gemsbok Park.

Their car registration number did not tally with that on the windscreen, Sergeant Pieterse said.

Later, when he pulled up alongside the Golf, a smoke grenade was hurled out of the vehicle. It then sped off and a car chase through the semi-desert ensued.

After finding the Golf abandoned, Sergeant Pieterse called for reinforcements and, accompanied by police trackers, followed the men's tracks.

"About 500 m from the dunes, I heard the sound of gunfire. Shortly after that I discovered the two suspects, fatally wounded. I found two R-4 rifles, one R-1 and an AK-47."

Two police trackers had been shot and one, Daantjie Berendse (23), died of his wounds.

Earlier, ballistics expert Major Gerhardus de Waal, of the Forensic Science Laboratory in Pretoria, said forensic tests could not show with certainty whether the bullets that killed Mr Grobbelaar were fired from police weapons, or whether the fatal wound was self-inflicted.

The inquest continues.

# R370 000 paid for arms info

More than R372 000 was paid in the past nine months as rewards for information leading to the seizure of illegal firearms and arms caches, police said yesterday.

A total of 1 211 illegal firearms — including homemade weapons, AK-47 rifles, shotguns and Makarov pistols — and two arms caches were confiscated with the help of the public.

About 2 000 illegal firearms were confiscated during normal police investigations in the same period. — Crime Reporter.

# Groups to discuss freedom of Press

## ■ Seminar will keep alive the memory of intolerance:

**By Joe Mdhlela**

A PRESS seminar to mark the dark and cloudy day when the Government closed several newspapers takes place at the Vista University, Soweto campus, on October 19.

On this day the late Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, closed *The World, Weekend World* and a host of other publications because they dared say things he and his Government did not want to hear.

### Broken structures

Lest this day be forgoten, *Sowetan* has decided to slot it into its annual National Building campaign to remind all and sundry of the importance of Press Freedom.

The Editor of *Sowetan*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, insists that such days are part of the programme to put in place the broken structures of our society.

On this day, liberation movements and political parties will say their piece and give an analysis of their perception of Press Freedom and its indivisibility.

Trade unions and their federations will also be on the platform.

### Red-letter day

Political organisations earmarked for this red-letter day include the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, African National Congress, Pan Africanists Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

Some of the union federations expected to grace this day include the Congress of South African Trade Unions and National Council of Trade Unions.

The theme, Press Freedom From Your Political Party's Viewpoint and the Vision of the Future South Africa, will surely point out as many divergent views as there are political organisations.

● Convenor Mr Sydney Matlhaku invites those keen to attend to contact him at (011) 474-0128.

# Arms seized in border operations

STAR 25/9/92

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Eastern Transvaal police have seized hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition in border operations since the beginning of the year.

The haul was yesterday displayed for the media and included 336 AK-47 assault rifles, 44 submachine-guns, 63 pistols, 30 hand grenades, two RPG7 rocket launchers, 84 ordinary rifles, 78 handguns and 12 homemade firearms. Most of the weapons were of Eastern bloc origin, police said.

Crime Combating and Investigating Services regional commander Colonel Jack Roux said most of the weapons had been recovered as a result of intensified anti-smuggling operations in recent months.

The weapons, which came from Mozambique and Swaziland, were found in the Piet Retief, Pongola, Komatipoort, Hazyview Trust, KaNgwane, Gazankulu and Lebowa border areas. They had been smuggled into the country by air, rail, road and even on foot.

He said smugglers used many ingenious methods, including hiding weapons in specially adapted fuel tarks.

Colonel Roux said firearms smuggled into South Africa were being used mainly against security force members, in armed robberies, faction fighting, taxi wars, general crime and for individual financial gain.

"Many arrests have been made in recent weeks and we are confident of more successes, in all criminal fields, as a result of follow-up operations," he said.

Colonel Roux stressed that much of the success achieved had been as a result of help from the public and he appealed to anyone knowing of persons in possession of unlicensed firearms, ammunition and explosives to report to the police.

Substantial rewards are payable for information leading to the recovery of firearms and subsequent convictions, he said.

# APARTHEID BAROMETER

**DEATHS AND INJURIES** (1284) WJ May 25/9 - 1/10/92

A TOTAL of 71 people were killed and 68 injured mainly in the PWV and Natal. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) the figures are slightly higher than the previous week's total of 47 deaths and 63 injuries.

**REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION** WJ May 25/9 - 1/10/92 (327)

ON September 17, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel declared several eastern Cape districts as unrest areas. They are: Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Twenty-two townships in the PWV and 10 other districts in the eastern Cape also remain unrest areas.

**DETENTIONS**

ACCORDING to a police report, 55 people are being held under the Public Safety Act including a hunger striker at the Leeuhof Prison, Lolus Pardee. In Bophuthatswana, seven students arrested on September 18 are being detained under Section 25 of the the homeland's Internal Security Act.

**SECURITY FORCE ACTIONS** WJ May 25/9 - 1/10/92

A TOTAL of 767 people were arrested and one injured in Ciskei, Border and eastern Cape.

**VIGILANTE ACTIONS** (1284) WJ May 25/9 - 1/10/92

FORTY-FIVE people were killed and 56 injured in the PWV and Natal. The week's flashpoint is the East Rand where 18 people died and 20 injured.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Vol. 327 PRETORIA, 25 SEPTEMBER 1992 No. 14311

## GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

**No. R. 2764** **25 September 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 die verklaring van die landdrosdistrik van Krugersdorp, insluitende die gebiede bekend as Kagiso, Munsieville en Swaniesville Plakkersdorp, wat by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 2121 van 21 Julie 1992, tot onrusgebied verklaar is, met ingang van 25 September 1992 in.

**H. J. KRIEL,**
Minister van Wet en Orde.

60627—**A**

## GOVERNMENT NOTICE

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

**No. R. 2764** **25 September 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 25 September 1992, the declaration of the Magisterial District of Krugersdorp, including the areas known as Kagiso, Munsieville and Swaniesville Squatters' Settlement, which was declared to be an unrest area by Government Notice No. R. 2121 of 21 July 1992.

**H. J. KRIEL,**
Minister of Law and Order.

14311—**1**

# INHOUD


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Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaat Sak X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 of 269

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria, 0001. Tel. 323-9731 × 263, 267 or 269

# Goniwe evidence revealed

Apress 27/9/92 (327)

## Number plates will show who is responsible, says Coetzee

By DESMOND BLOW

FORMER hitsquad police captain Dirk Coetzee this week said that a car registration plate found near the body of political activist Matthew Goniwe in 1985 could lead to the identity of the killers.

He said he believed a police hitsquad was responsible for the murder of Goniwe and his three companions, and not military intelligence "because the killings bear the label of a security police operation".

Coetzee said he was questioned by the eastern Cape acting Attorney-General in London recently about the modus operandi of hitsquads and especially their use of false number plates.

Coetzee also called on State President FW de Klerk to grant him indemnity from prosecution so that he could return from London and help the State bring a prosecution against those responsible for the Goniwe assassination.

"It takes a thief to catch a thief," he said.

Coetzee was commenting on a report last week that acting A-G Michael Hodgen and his investigation team had found no evidence to link any well-known names, including those of cabinet ministers and senior security personnel, with the killings.

Coetzee said he was shocked at hearing that there might not be a prosecution.

"One of the number plates belonged to their burnt-out car, but the other was a PE number plate which was apparently traced to a yellow Datsun which had been scrapped the same year," said Coetzee.

"Investigations revealed that the car had been given traffic tickets the previous year while parked in the centre of PE.

"Some of them had been withdrawn by the PE senior public prosecutor – probably at the request of the police," he said.

He said the killing of Goniwe was a replica of the murder of Durban lawyer-activist Griffiths Mxenge. Coetzee alleges he ordered his hitsquad to murder Mxenge on the instructions of a senior police officer.

According to evidence given before the Harms Commission, Mxenge stopped his car when hitsquad members pretended to have a car breakdown.

He was then stabbed and bludgeoned to death.

Mxenge's car was driven to the Swaziland border where it was set alight.

Coetzee pointed out that the Goniwe murder was very similar.

The last time Goniwe and his three companions were seen alive was when they left by car from PE for Cradock.

Goniwe assured UDF officials that he would not stop on the way to Cradock unless forced to do so by the police.

The car was later found burnt-out, and on examination did not appear to have been forced off the road.

Over the next few days, the charred bodies of the four men were found in widely separate spots far from the car.

Goniwe had been stabbed 12 times before his body was set alight.

Sicelo Mhlawuli had his right wrist cut and his throat slit. A variety of weapons were used to inflict more than 30 stab wounds on his body.

Sparrow Mkonto died from multiple wounds, including a shot through the head and two stab wounds in the heart.

Fort Calata was found stabbed to death.

"This was a typical hitsquad killing, although it was probably intended for MI to handle," said Coetzee.

Coetzee said there was a great deal of rivalry between MI and the Security Police.

The signal recommending that Goniwe and two others "be permanently removed from society", was sent by Col Chris van der Westhuizen, then military commander of the eastern Cape, to the State Security Council on June 7 1985.

Twenty days later Goniwe was murdered.

# Now CP town's moral guardians ban books

**PITY the resident of Ermelo who wants to read the works of Andre Brink or musician Koos Kombuis's first English novel — as far as the local public library is concerned, they don't exist.**

The Conservative Party-controlled town council has banned their works from the library, declaring Kombuis — writing under the name of Andre Letoit — a blasphemer and Brink a maker of "anti-South African statements".

ST Times 27/9/92

By CHARLES LEONARD

Copies of Letoit's book, **Paradise Redecorated**, have already been removed from the public library and returned to the regional depot in Pretoria.

"We feel that certain passages in the book are blasphemous," said town clerk Pieter van Oudtshoorn.

He added the council had banned Brink's works "because of certain anti-South African statements he has made" rather than because of their content.

Coincidentally, in a review of **Paradise Redecorated**, Brink described Letoit as "a milker of holy and unholy cows".

Meanwhile, Mr Van Oudtshoorn warned that the moral guardians of the council would be looking out for other books deemed undesirable for residents of Ermelo.



ANDRE BRINK

Asked whether it shouldn't be left to readers to decide what they want to read, he replied bluntly: "They can read what they want, but our council is not going to provide these books. People can buy them if they want them."

At one point, Councillor Piet de Beer was suggesting that all copies of **Paradise Redecorated** be burnt.

Perhaps a mere banning wasn't dramatic enough, but he refused to comment on the council's action. He wouldn't even say whether or not he had read the book.

Mr Van Oudtshoorn is left cold by the prospect of his town becoming known as a book-banning backwater.

The move has, of course, drawn negative responses from other quarters.

The Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurbond condemned the decision and the SA Institute for Librarianship and Information Science urged the council to put the offending volumes back on the shelves.

# Hints of significant Goniwe developments

CT 29/9/92

**Political Staff**

THE investigations into the deaths of Eastern Cape activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and three of his colleagues are not yet complete — but there may be significant developments by mid-October.

Contrary to recent reports, no decisions have yet been taken about whether there will be any prosecutions or whether the inquest will be re-opened.

The head of the investigating team, Eastern Cape deputy attorney-general Mr Michael Hodgen, would not comment yesterday on the progress being made in the inquiry into the deaths of the four men seven years ago on the road between Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth.

"I have no comment to make at this stage," Mr Hodgen said.

He has said before that, as far as it is possible, he would like to establish the truth beyond reasonable doubt, but because the killings took place seven years ago, the investigation is complicated.

Earlier this month, Minister of Defence Mr Gene Louw said that there would be "some surprises" in the investigations, but Mr Hodgen would not be drawn on Mr Louw's claims.

Former security policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee told a Johannesburg newspaper over the weekend that he did not believe that Military Intelligence was involved in the killings, but that the security police were involved.

# Casino pickets target parliament

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — About 80 casino operators and staff members protested outside Parliament yesterday against the threatened shutdown of gaming establishments.

Posters carried by the demonstrators said, among other things: "Stop the violence not fun"; "Don't rob us of our jobs"; "Free enterprise is a Fairy Tale".

Signatures were also collected for a petition objecting to President F W de Klerk's announced intention of prohibiting casinos in SA. The petition called for the establishment of a commission to investigate all aspects of the matter.

"One wonders what pressure group can have such power and influence that even the government throws recognised democratic principles overboard," the petition said. It accused the government of double standards in allowing horse racing and other forms of gambling.

Director of one of Cape Town's largest casinos, Crown Casino Club's Gerhard Stotzel, said the demonstration was a protest against the proposed Gambling Bill.

Stotzel criticised De Klerk for taking no account of the wishes of 60 000 industry personnel and the investments of casino operators. He objected to Sun International's monopoly.

● Comment: Page 12

# 'Political' crimes probe put on hold

Investigations into past politically motivated crimes, including those allegedly committed by members of the ANC and the security forces, have been temporarily suspended.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday: "In the light of the release of political prisoners announced at the weekend, investigations into all so-called politically motivated crimes committed before October 8 1990 will be postponed."

Investigations which had already become legal proceedings, such as inquests, would continue. So, Captain Kotze said, the investigations into the murders of David Webster and Matthew Goniwe had not been suspended.

Investigations into all crimes committed after the October 8 1990 cut-off date agreed to by the ANC and the Government would still be investigated.

● ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday there was a need to investigate crimes by people in State sectors. "The ANC still insists strongly on these people being investigated." — Crime Reporter.

# Hostel residents to boycott rents payments

TRANSVAAL hostel residents have decided to boycott rent payments in protest against government's plan to increase security at hostels identified as trouble spots.

Random searches of the hostels and tight access control to prevent the carrying of weapons were among the new measures announced yesterday by National Housing Minister Leon Wessels.

The measures, which include the fencing by November 15 of 21 hostels with a history of violence and criminality, would apply only until violence had been stabilised to the satisfaction of the Goldstone commission, said Wessels.

THEO RAWANA

But Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joe Kubheka said a meeting of the organisation had decided on mass action and a rent boycott.

The campaign was launched last night when about 300 association members, representing 22 hostels, protested outside TPA offices in Germiston while Kubheka presented their demands.

Kubheka said afterwards the TPA was working to government's agenda and would not listen to his group's arguments.

He conceded that some hostels were linked to violence but said these should be dealt with in consultation with his organisation, which he said had 40 000 members.

A document on government's hostel strategy released yesterday said policing would be intensified through regular patrols in the vicinity of affected hostels, ensuring a quick response to incidents.

Once stability had been achieved, upgrading or conversion of hostels would be dealt with through negotiation.

● Picture: Page 3

# Gays plan to defy the censors' clampdown

W/Mail 2/10-8/10/92. (327)

*Marxism and mainstream sex are okay.*

*But gay literature still earns the censors' wrath.* By **SHAUN DE WAAL**

IN a move to highlight the discriminatory censorship of gay literature, the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (Glow) is to stage a series of readings from banned works as part of the run-up to the 1992 Gay and Lesbian Pride March.

Actors and writers will read from gay books that remain prohibited despite the liberalisation of censorship since February 2 1990 and the unbanning of the leftist/Marxist canon, once the centrepiece of restricted work. The censors appear to have switched their attention from politics to sex.

In November last year, then Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw assured a meeting of the National Party-linked Junior Rapportryers that, despite political liberalisation, the government would not allow moral standards to slip. He urged the censors to be vigilant, and said the fight against "pornography" was "a matter of national importance".

While heterosexual blockbusters bursting with salacious detail continue to fill the best-seller shelves, gay literature is placed under embargo by customs officials and referred to the Directorate of Publications. Often what is embargoed is free of explicit sexual content, but the mere fact that it may be published by, say, Gay Men's Press, is enough to place it under suspicion. The travails involved in working through bureaucratic channels often come to seem like harassment or deliberate obstruction.

Cape Town's Otherworld Books, for instance, has been locked in a drawn-out battle with Customs and Excise over their imports. For the last two years, every Otherworld shipment has been stopped at customs. Some titles have been re-embargoed after being cleared earlier; others have been submitted to the directorate by customs in an agonisingly piecemeal fashion, causing delays of several months — at which point customs presented a bill for storage in their warehouses.

Otherworld's Moira Edmonds points out that while some titles in their shipments might be classified as erotica or pornography, others that have been stopped include works on Aids, safe sex, gay history, survivors' accounts of incest and rape, humour and classical Greek poetry.

"We're particularly outraged because the books we import are, in the main, educational," said Edmonds. "There is no way of knowing what will be stopped, but there is a definite targeting of gay and lesbian books, and we see it as out-and-out harassment." Otherworld has now resorted to legal action.

Not all distributors are so feisty. Edmonds said that when she appealed to other publishers for support, their general attitude was to let sleeping dogs lie. Apart from the frustrating delays, work that is eventually banned will be destroyed; the distributors may not return it to their suppliers overseas, and must pay for it. If it is banned for possession, it is illegal to transport it to a post office to send it elsewhere.

South African readers are missing out not only on contemporary gay and lesbian work, but on classic texts of universally acknowledged literary merit. While one may now buy Henry Miller's sex-filled books, most of William Burroughs' work is still prohibited.

Work by Burroughs will be among that read at the Glow event, scheduled for October 8 at the Fig Gallery in Johannesburg. An extract will also be read from Larry Kramer's bestselling *Faggots*. Another work to feature in the readings is John Valentine's recent fictional memoir *Puppies*.

"The government's continued repression of gay and lesbian literature," commented the Anti-Censorship Action Group, "reinforces widespread homophobia and encourages intolerance.

"In general, while censorship of political literature has lessened, puritanical attitudes towards sex still govern the censors' decision-making processes."

# Delegates face further charges

W\Mail 2\10-8\10\92 (327)

EIGHT senior officials of various PWV cultural forums are to face charges of contempt of court and trespassing, following their arrest at the State Theatre in August. They were part of a delegation, led by the African National Congress Department of Arts and Culture head Wally Serote, which had intended to hand over a memorandum demanding the transformation of performing arts councils to Pact's executive officer, Dennis Reinecke.

The case has been remanded until November 12, following defence lawyer Tiego Moseneke's assertion that the magistrate's court does not have the jurisdiction to preside over the contempt of court charge.

The charge arose from the delegates' resistance to a supreme court order for their removal from the Pact building and should be heard in the supreme court, said Moseneke.

The delegates represent cultural organisations including Fawo, Sama, Pawe and the ANC DAC. They are: Serote, Tilly Gasela, Carol Steinberg, Anna Varney, Sam Mayekiso, Saul Rantshilo, Tshepo Rantho and Sabiki Nakh.

# Bomb victim's brother hurt

By FRED KHUMALO 327 E|Pres 4/10/92.

THE Robert McBride saga took another turn on Wednesday when the brother of a victim killed by the MK fighter's blast was injured in an explosion at his home.

Clive Pattenden, 25, whose sister Angeline was one of the three killed in the Magoo's Bar bomb blast, was apparently making an explosive with a mixture of chlorine and an oily substance when the mixture exploded in his northern suburb home in Durban.

This was confirmed by SAP spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi.

Pattenden sustained severe burns to his face, chest and arms.

In press interviews last week Pattenden expressed anger at the news of McBride's release.

"I don't think that he falls into the category of a political prisoner. He is a murderer and should stay inside forever," he said.

"I don't believe that his release is going to make Dr Buthelezi become friends with the ANC and that there will be peace in the country."

Pattenden was apparently also embittered by the death of his mother Charmain two years ago. She was said to have given up on life after Angeline's death.

The Pattenden family refused to have him admitted to hospital and he is being treated at home.

Capt Ngidi said police had opened a docket and were investigating charges under the Explosives Act.

McBride was attacked with a homemade knife by other jail inmates at the Westville Prison on Sunday.

At a news conference he disputed reports that prison officials had intervened to save his life.

"Prisoners who stood by my side were of all races – black, white and brown. It is a lie that prison officials intervened to defend me," he said.

The ANC has placed a 24-hour guard on McBride and his wife as a result of assassination threats.

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said: "The man is uncontactable. Ever since his release, I haven't even had a chance to shake his hand and have a comradely chat with him."

His mother Doris McBride is also bitter that she has not had the chance to talk to him and share jokes with him.

But Doris is hoping that some day she will be able to sit down with her son and play him his favourite music – the lilting sound of reggae outfit UB-40.

# On the side of the marchers

By QUINTON RHODES

THIS week's Goldstone report into the massacre of 28 ANC protest marchers at the Ciskeian capital of Bisho on September 7 is significant for more reasons than immediately meet the eye.

Of course the basic findings are important in themselves.

It is notable that Goldstone did not allow the red herring of the Ronnie Kasrils surge through the broken fence to cloud his judgment that "whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers. That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's own version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers".

The report recommended the opening of murder dockets against offending CDF members.

It is also important that the commission should call on the ANC to publicly chastise Kasrils, the SACP stalwart who led the march.

Equally significant is the commission's note that the CDF should question the training and discipline of its soldiers, and the contention that "to arm such men with lethal weapons is unacceptable".

But in the end these aspects of the report are of the nature of a post mortem; they will not bring the victims back to life.

Nor, if the present reaction of the Ciskei authorities is anything to go by, will they result in any real action.

In effect the Ciskei authorities rejected the Goldstone Commission findings in advance, appointing its own internal inquiry into the massacre under Ciskei Chief Justice B de V Pickard.

Predictably the Pickard Commission, releasing an interim report only a day after the Goldstone Commission, sought to lay the lion's share of the blame for the killings at the door of the ANC.

What is of more importance in general terms and what will prove more important in coming months, is that Goldstone stresses the democratic right of people to express their political feelings through mass protest actions.

Says one of the recommendations: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

Another says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

"Public protest," Judge Goldstone notes in the body of the report, "has become the order of the day . . . This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans."

Equally quick as Ciskei to react negatively to the Goldstone Report was the government of Bop. The Bop authorities in the face of Goldstone's recommendations reiterated its rejection of mass action as a means of political self-expression.

In fact political freedom is severely circumscribed in the homeland. Various pieces of legislation make it more or less impossible for the ANC to function effectively within its borders.

Bop's hardline reaction should, however, not be seen as something isolated. It comes in the wake of meetings, held this week in Mmabatho between Bop's President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Gqozo and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, where a plan was mooted to set up a front of homeland leaders in defiance of current talks between the government and the ANC.

The three homeland leaders specifically rejected last Saturday's Record of Agreement concluded after the Mandela/De Klerk summit and said they would not be bound by bilateral agreements between the two groupings. One of the points of agreement spelt out in the Record was an acknowledgement on the part of government of the right of all parties to participate in mass action.

The rejection of the Record – like the withdrawal of Buthelezi from talks – represents a hardening of attitude within Pretoria's homelands and must be seen in conjuction with the continued insistence by all three of the leaders that they will use force against mass action.

In essence, Goldstone has come out on the side of the marchers. That, despite all the qualifications, is the real message of the Bisho report.

# Collusion evidence — ANC

THE ANC's Southern Natal region this week claimed it had "once again" uncovered collusion between the security police and Inkatha leadership.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said "extensive investigations" had revealed that facsimile messages to and from the ANC's regional offices in Durban were diverted to the security forces.

"One of these messages was sent to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi by the security police," he said. CIPMEN 4/10/92.

The claim follows Buthelezi's disclosure of the facsimile message at a news conference in Durban this week. The document named Umkhonto weSizwe officials who are operating in Natal which, the IFP leader said, proved that MK was behind violence in the province.

The message was sent by MK chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda.

Makhaye said MK was a legal organisation with full-time functionaries.

"We never intended to make these appointments a secret, so what Buthelezi showed to journalists was not a political bombshell.

"The bombshell is that the IFP/security force collusion continues unabated even after the Inkathagate scandal."

He claimed ANC regions in Natal knew facsimile messages were being diverted to the security forces, and no longer used the machines for sensitive information.

"The only way Buthelezi could have received that fax is through the handlers of Inkatha within the security forces," Makhaye said.

Police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi denied police had delivered the document to Inkatha and described the ANC's allegations as "very unfair".

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet declined to comment and referred queries to Buthelezi's office. – Sapa

# ASKARI VICTIMS NOW 'MISSING'

By THEMBA KHUMALO

327 04/10

ALLEGATIONS of shocking atrocities committed by Askari mercenaries have resurfaced at tiny Lethlabile township outside Brits.

Two girls – allegedly raped by an Askari – have been missing for two weeks.

Angry residents said the assailants – mostly turned MK and Apla soldiers, now working for the police – had been preying on them for three years.

Residents accuse them of raping and murdering villagers.

Trouble started in 1989 after the exposure of Vlakplaas farm, the Askaris' clandestine base.

They said Askaris had begun moving into Lethlabile in large numbers that year to avoid detection by Human Rights lawyers and a delegation from the SA Council of Churches who were monitoring Vlakplaas.

In February 1990, after the unbanning of political organisations and the return of exiles, the mercenaries – a rag-tag bunch comprising Askariformer Koevoet, (SWA police unit) and 32nd Battalion (ex-Unita) members – had occupied Zone Five, an exclusive suburb in Lethlabile.

Civic leaders spoke of the terrifying effect this had on the township.

In one incident, on September 19, two girls aged 12 and 14 disappeared for the night.

## Distraught

The mother of one said the distraught family was told by neighbours that the girls had been seen at the home of an Askari (whose name is known to City Press).

She said: "When we went to his house the Askari refused to open the door until we called the police. When he finally opened my daughter and her friend were there."

They denied having been raped or spending the night there.

The mother then took both girls to her house and they finally admitted to being raped.



**WAITING . . . The mother of a young rape victim waits to find out if her missing girl will come to light.**

■ Pics: JONAS MANKOA

Cipres 4/10/92



**CIVIC ACTION . . . Lethlabile civic leader Joe Shabalala.**

"My daughter then confessed that they were raped by the man. When I checked her vagina I found that it was bruised and her womb was protruding."

The terrified girl had said the Askari had threatened to shoot the girls and their parents if they told of what had happened.

A doctor had confirmed the rape injuries.

A rape charge was laid but he was not arrested. Police allegedly told the family the Askari was "untouchable" as he was under the command of Maj-Gen Krappies Engelbrecht of Police Intelligence at Kompol, the police headquarters in Pretoria.

Frustrated by police apathy, the family approached the civic.

A week later the two girls vanished.

The mother of the 14-year-old said she feared the Askari was involved.

Civic leaders told how on September 25, a week after the alleged rape, another Askari – whose name is also known to City Press – kidnapped two residents, took them home and, accusing the pair of robbing his home, tortured them so severely that one of the victims died.

Themba Kheswa and Alfred Gonondwe were allegedly tortured until the early hours of the next day when Kheswa died. Realising Kheswa was dead, the Askari released Gonondwe, who crawled into the street and was helped by passersby, officials said.

They said Kheswa's body was later found in the veld and the Askari is said to have admitted to the killing. Local police allegedly told the civic officials they were powerless to arrest him.

## Witness

Now Gonondwe is said to be in hiding following his abductor's threat "to finish him off" as a witness to the murder.

Meanwhile, a meeting of civic leaders and Engelbrecht on Monday failed to resolve the matter.

Residents want the mercenaries out the township, but the civic leaders said Engelbrecht said the soldiers had bought houses there and had nowhere to go because their families had been killed.

A mass meeting held later in the township hall resolved to evict the Askaris.

Today's public meeting is to decide on the how to do it.

The SAP liason office in Pretoria confirmed a rape charge was being investigated against the Askari whom they said was attached to the Crime Investigation Services (formerly Security Police).

The cops said the Askari had been suspended pending the outcome of the case and that a docket was sent to the Attorney-General for his decision.

The statement further confirmed that a murder docket had been opened against the killing of Kheswa and the Attorney-General would decide on the matter.

The police response to both cases was proof that they would not hesitate to prosecute force members who contravened the law, the statement said.

Engelbrecht had suggested a liaison forum between the SAP (Askaris) and the civic be formed.

## Suggested

The statement said the civic had turned the offer down.

Police would no longer react to allegations against Askaris because they were "too vague".

They said: "The SAP finds it difficult to react to unsubstantiated allegations. If the Askaris should contravene any law then the law must take its course. If the complainants decide not to press ahead with the charges for whatever reason, then surely the SAP can't be held responsible?"

# Probe of CCB halted

CT 14/10/92

## 'Harms's men took the files'

JOHANNESBURG. — The investigation into the murder of Dr David Webster was brought to a halt when the investigating officer was ordered early in 1990 to stop probing the CCB's suspected involvement, the Webster inquest court heard yesterday.

Brixton Murder and Robbery detective Warrant Officer Wessel Rousseau, officer in charge of the investigation into the shotgun slaying of Dr Webster, said the investigation had been going well until the establishment of the Harms Commission of Inquiry.

He had been ordered by SAP General Jaap Joubert to suspend the Webster investigation as the Harms Commission, which had its own team of investigators, would handle it.

General Joubert had also told him not to detain any CCB operatives because they would only be released again.

General Joubert was part of the team appointed to investigate the May 1, 1989 killing of Dr Webster, an academic and political activist, outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home.

WO Rousseau said he had been promised, however, that all relevant CCB documents would be handed to him after completion of the Harms Commission — a promise that was not kept.

WO Rousseau, who earlier detained CCB operatives Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl, Mr Ferdie Barnard and Mr Calla Botha and also CCB managing director Mr Joe Verster, said the detainees were released on an order of the Minister of Law and Order to allow them to testify before the Harms Commission.

"They were released on the Friday because they were to testify on the Monday. However, they were only called more than two months later to give their testimony," WO Rousseau told the inquest.

While held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, Mr Van Zyl and Mr Botha had been visited in detention by former Brixton Murder and Robbery chief Brigadier Krappies Engelbrecht and SADF Military Intelligence officer General Witkop Badenhorst.

In statements made by Mr Van Zyl and Mr Botha after the visit, the detainees had stated that they had been told not to say anything about their activities for the following six to seven months.

During the visit, the men had been told to keep quiet about their military activities.

Under cross-examination by Mr Eberhardt Bertelsmann, SC, who appears for Dr Webster's brother Gavin, WO Rousseau said Mr Van Zyl had been told to keep quiet about a bomb blast at the Early Learning Centre in Athlone.

Mr Van Zyl had also been told not to say anything about an incident where a baboon foetus was hung in a tree outside the home of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He had been told to keep quiet because the "politicians won't take the blame" for the incidents.

WO Rousseau said that CCB documents were taken by the team collecting evidence for the Harms Commission before he (Rousseau) could look at them.

"They told me to stand aside and not to look at the documents because I had not taken an oath of secrecy," he told the inquest.

WO Rousseau said he believed that the commission's investigators, Colonel John Wright and General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, would make the documents available after the commission hearings.

He had not asked for the files as he felt the commission's investigating officers would have made information available to him if there had been anything relating to the Webster murder.

WO Rousseau told the inquest chairman, Mr Justice Micheal Stegmann, that about five to six days after Dr Webster's murder, a source told him to look at the possible involvement of CCB head Colonel Joe Verster in the slaying.

However, WO Rousseau could find no evidence,



**NEXT WITNESS . . .** The head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad Brig Floris Mostert will give evidence today.

yesterday

Sowetan 5/10/92

# Appeal 'prejudiced'

**HARARE** - Four South African agents still being held in prison in Zimbabwe for offences connected with actions against the ANC have been told by a judge that their appeals could be prejudiced as a result of a television documentary in which they were interviewed in prison.

The men had claimed in the High Court that the film, *The Hidden Hand*, which explored actions taken by South Africa during the period of total onslaught infringed their privacy, constituted contempt of court and infringed copyright rules. They wanted further showings prohibited.

Mr Justice Adam dismissed the application by Kevin Woods, Michael Smith, Philip Conjwayo, all under sentence of death, and Barry Bawden who is serving 40 years. - *Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.*

# Film 'won't affect pleas of 4 agents'

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Four South African agents being held in prison in Zimbabwe for offences connected with actions against the ANC have been told by a judge that their appeals will not be prejudiced as a result of a TV documentary in which they were interviewed in prison.

The men had claimed in the High Court that the film, "The Hidden Hand", which explored actions taken by South Africa during the period of "total onslaught", infringed their privacy, constituted contempt of court and infringed copyright rules. They wanted further showings prohibited.

The interviewer in the documentary, made for a British TV company, was Jeremy Brickhill, himself a victim of a bomb explosion in Harare.

Mr Justice Adam dismissed the application by Kevin Woods, Michael Smith and Philip Conjwayo, all under sentence of death, and Barry Bawden, who is serving 40 years.

They men see themselves as political prisoners who ought to be freed in view of the release of prisoners in South Africa and Mozambique, and fear their plight has been overlooked.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

(321) (360)

### Spies won't be freed

ZIMBABWEAN President Robert Mugabe yesterday ruled out releasing five Zimbabweans jailed for long terms or on Death Row for spying for SA, but said at a Harare news conference his government kept their cases under constant review.

Among the five, three were sentenced to death and the other two were given 40-year jail terms in 1988 for sabotaging government installations and spying for SA.

Sday 7/10/92

# Mugabe won't release five spies

STAR 7/10/92. (327)

HARARE — Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe yesterday ruled out releasing five Zimbabweans jailed for long terms or on Death Row for spying for South Africa.

But Mugabe told a Harare news conference that his government kept the cases of the five — four whites and one black — under review.

Among the five, three were sentenced to death and the other two were given 40-year jail terms in 1988 for sabotaging government installations and spying for South Africa.

Mugabe had been asked whether he had received an appeal from ANC leader Nelson Mandela to free the men in line with a recent release of political prisoners by Pretoria.

The Zimbabwean leader said he had not received any such request and it was unlikely Mandela would do so unless in power.

Asked whether he would free about 30 jailed followers of former Zimbabwean chief opposition leader Joshua Nkomo, now a vice-president in the government, Mugabe said some had committed serious crimes such as murder but their cases were being examined.

● South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha asked Mugabe if he could persuade Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in negotiations again.

But Mugabe said it should be up to the South Africans themselves to talk to each other and only as a last resort should other people be asked to intervene.

This was disclosed by the Zimbabwean leader yesterday on his return from the signing of the Mozambique peace agreement in Rome where he met Botha for the first time. "We had a chat," said Mugabe.

Mugabe said Botha told him that while Pretoria was happy that Mandela had agreed to talk, the Government was unhappy with Inkatha's withdrawal. — Sapa-Reuter, Star Africa Service.

# the north in brief

Sowetan 8/10/92

## Petrol price up by 15 cents

MOTORISTS could soon be paying up to R9 more to fill their petrol tanks.

SABC radio news reported yesterday an increase of up to 15c a litre was imminent. An announcement is expected from Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs Mr George Bartlett in the next two days.

Bartlett last week said a petrol price rise was unavoidable because consumers on the Witwatersrand had been paying far too little for petrol since March. In July and August, the under-recovery was more than 14,5c a litre.

However, there is some good news for farmers and transport operators - the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs has confirmed that the price of diesel will not be increased.

## Press remembers bannings

A PRESS seminar under the auspices of *Sowetan's* Nation Building campaign will be held on October 19 to focus on the issue of Press freedom and other issues related to the media. Sowetan 8/10/92

Newspapermen and political and trade union leaders will engage in a debate on the issues. The seminar will also be a commemoration of the banning of political organisations and the closure of newspapers, including *The World* and *Weekend World*, on October 19 1977. The event will take place at the Soweto campus of Vista University. 327.



## Webster inquest at last

(327)

THE formal inquest into the alleged political assassination of Dr David Webster will start in Rand Supreme Court on Monday - three years after his death.

Webster was gunned down outside his Johannesburg home in Troyeville on May 1 1989. Testimony would be heard at the hearing, police said yesterday.

However, detectives involved in the investigation were urgently trying to locate two key witnesses. They appealed for assistance in tracking down Mr Cornelius Otto du Plessis who lived in Troyeville and Mr Hendrik Cleophas Mpotoane, who lived and worked in Randfontein. Both have since moved.

Sowetan 8/10/92

## Stolen vehicles found

THIRTY stolen vehicles valued at R1,9 million were recovered during a three-day police operation in Alexandra and Tembisa.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that Benoni Vehicle Theft Unit detectives, supported by uniformed police and the Police Air Wing, arrested four people in connection with car theft in the swoop completed on Sunday. Five hundred stolen cars were recovered during the past year.

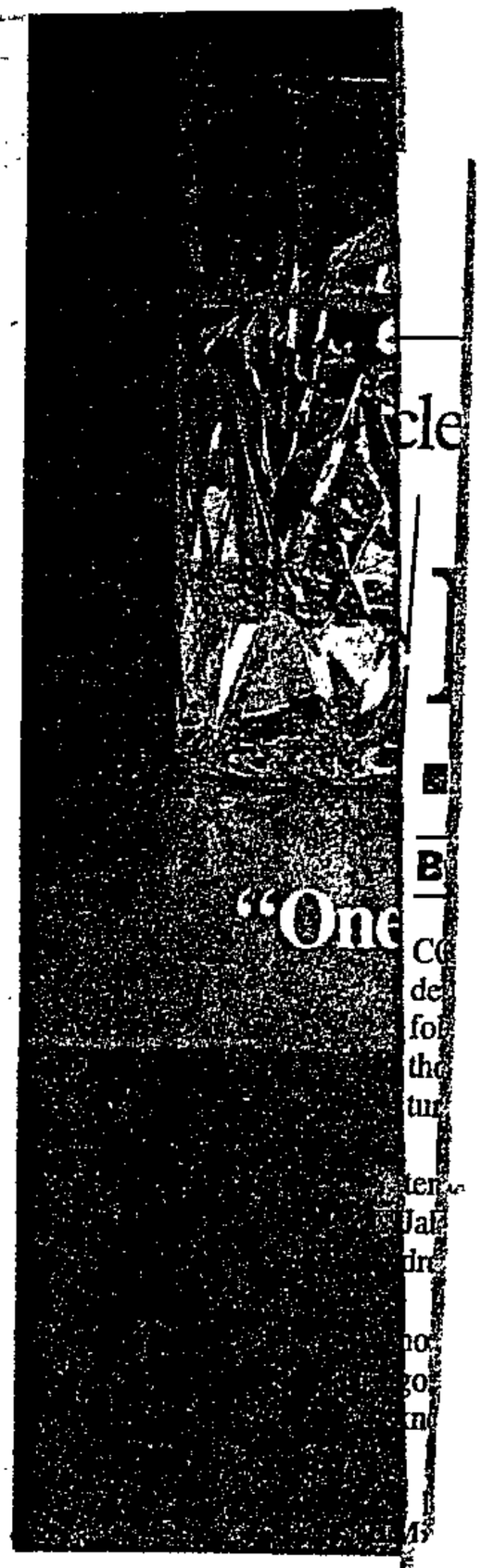
## Ciskei mutineers shot

(1053)

ONE mutineer was shot dead and another wounded when seven members of 2 Ciskei Battalion stationed at Keiskammahoek opened fire on a battalion officer and his staff yesterday.

The officer and two of the staff at headquarters were also wounded in the shooting. The other five defaulters were arrested. They appeared on charges of drunkenness. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

Sowetan 8/10/92.



# MK member is terrified of police

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■ **He has to hide:** Soweto

**By Mzimasi Ngudle** 9/10/92

UMKHONTO weSizwe cadre Tebogo Mosime (19) fears for his safety after police allegedly raided his home five times since he returned from exile.

He has now gone into hiding. What puzzles him is that he has been co-operative with the police, even reporting some of the raids.

"The first time a policemen hit my mother with a rifle. They also smashed a wardrobe and impounded my combat uniform.

"In subsequent raids they punched my brother," he said.

Tebogo said police first came on June 16 but he was not at home.

This week, police allegedly smashed the metal door of his home, kicking the door frame into the kitchen.

Soweto police spokesman Lietenant E Henning said he was not aware of the incident.

ON THE EVE OF THE INQUEST INTO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST'S DEATH

# Riddle of the man who saw Webster's killers

**A WITNESS who saw the faces of David Webster's killers is missing on the eve of tomorrow's inquest into the activist's death.**

Police say they have been unable to trace Mr Cornelius du Plessis, 32, since March 1990, when he moved from the Johannesburg suburb of Troyeville.

He is one of two witnesses who have disappeared.

Shortly after Dr Webster was gunned down in front of his home in Eleanor Street, Troyeville, on May 1 1989, Mr Du Plessis told police that he had been an eyewitness to the murder and had seen the murderers' faces.

He was driving behind a white vehicle from which the shots that killed Dr Webster were fired, he said.

Reports: CHARLES LEONARD

Picture: JOHN HOGG

In his statement, he said the car slowed down as it approached No 13 Eleanor Street, a shot rang out and a man standing on the pavement in front of the house collapsed.

He said the two men in the car turned around and looked straight at him before the vehicle sped away.

Mr Du Plessis got out of his car and tried to save Dr Webster's life by giving him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, but the Wits University anthropologist died 30 minutes later.

Mr Du Plessis told police that he had seen the faces of the two men in the car clearly. This is the first time that this has been disclosed.

A second eyewitness to the killing has also disappeared, police said.

Mr Hendrik Celophas Mpotoane was employed by a Randfontein-based removal company at the time of the murder, and was in Eleanor Street when Dr Webster was shot.

A spokesman for the SAP said all attempts to find and subpoena Mr Du Plessis and Mr Mpotoane had been unsuccessful.

At least 48 people will give evidence at the inquest in the Rand Supreme Court before Mr Justice MS Stegmann from tomorrow.

## Proof

They include 12 people who were in Eleanor Street at the time of the shooting, several former members of the SADF's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau, three SADF generals — Joop Joubert, Witkop Badenhorst and Eddie Webb — and Namibian deputy-commissioner of police, Jumbo Smit.

Brigadier Smit will be questioned on reports that a West Rand businessman had told him CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had allegedly confessed to Dr Webster's killing.

Former CCB managing director Joe Verster and Johannesburg regional chairman Staal Burger are on the witness list along with former CCB agents Calla Botha, Slang van Zyl and Chapple Maree.

Johannesburg advocate Martin Luitingh has also been subpoenaed to give evidence about the alleged confession by Mr Barnard.

The Harms Commission found that there was no proof the CCB had been responsible for Dr Webster's death.

Members of the Johannesburg city council spy ring — investigated by the Hiemstra Commission — will also be called. Among them are spy handler Martin Hennig, Dick Greyling, Paul de Swardt and Hannes Gouws.

Also on the list is Mr Hennie Els, who is being sued by Mr Hennig for R85 000 for allegations made in an M-Net documentary about a CCB plot to murder Dr Webster.

## Trigger

Investigating officers Brigadier Floris Mostert and Warrant Officer Ross Roussouw will also be called.

Webster Trust spokesman Eric van den Bergh said this week:

"The inquest will obviously try to establish who pulled the trigger — but it may also be expected to explain why no one has been charged with Dr Webster's murder in three-and-a-half years."

The trust will be represented by Eberhardt Bertelsmann, SC, and Gys Rautenbach, while the SADF's lawyers are Piet Coetzee, SC, and Herman van Eeden.

Andre de Vries, SC, from the Witwatersrand attorney-general's office and Jannie van Vuuren from the Western Cape attorney-general's office will appear for the state.

The inquest is expected to last for four weeks.

## MAGGIE FRIEDMAN PRE

IT'S three years and five months since Maggie Friedman saw the man she loved gunned down in the street outside the modest suburban house they shared.

Time has helped to ease the pain, but she never stops missing him.

She still lives in the home they made together — "it's comforting to be surrounded by David's things" — but has made one major change.

One of the bedrooms has been turned into a nursery for the son Maggie adopted more than a year ago and who is helping fill the void Dr Webster's death left in her life.

Friends say becoming a mother is the best thing that has happened to Miss Friedman since that fateful day in May 1989 when the Wits University anthropologist and anti-apartheid activist was murdered.

## Convinced

She agrees, but for the next few weeks she'll be dividing her attention between Leo, 14 months, and the inquest into Dr Webster's death.

Miss Friedman is one of 48 witnesses who will give evidence in the Rand Supreme Court, and she is relieved something is finally being done to find the truth.

"No one has been charged with the murder, so this seems the best forum to get closer to bringing David's killers to book.

"The police investigation has led nowhere and, after all this time, my feeling is they were simply incompetent.

"I am still convinced that a state-sponsored hit squad was responsible for David's death.

"It was such a terrible waste ... and it's still happening," she said this week.

Miss Friedman attended the Harms commission hearings into alleged hit squads, and during the inquest will come face to face again with government agents whose names have

# FORD SCRAP SIERRA

Sunday Times Reporter
London

FORD ditched the Sierra yesterday for the new-look Mondeo, named after the Latin word for world.

In a first for Ford, the car will be built and sold in both Europe and America. Company bosses hope the model will boost sales and dent Japan's increasing share of car markets.

The Mondeo, which is being kept under wraps until March, will be a family-sized saloon to attract private and company buyers.

Despite selling 800 000 Sierras in 10 years since replacing the popular Cortina, the car has failed to capture the imagination of drivers.



# Krappies men rip up old wounds

Cpress 11/10/92. (327)

By THEMBA KHUMALO

IT used to be a humble place, but now little Lethlabile is furious again.

Residents of the tiny township outside Brits have scorned promises of State action against Askari mercenaries who recently settled in the area.

Instead they want the Askaris to face the wrath of the community.

To scorn promises of State prosecution sounds strange, but in Lethlabile it makes sense: the former MK and Apla men enjoy the protection of their new master, Maj-Gen Krappies Engelbrecht, head of the Criminal Investigation Service – formerly the Security Police.

The Askaris' alleged brutality has reopened old wounds. Many of the villagers were forcibly removed from Oukasie to Lethlabile in the mid-80s: residents said they "knew" the cunning and savagery of white rule.

The presence of the Askaris – dubbed the Third Force – was exposed by Almond Butana Nofomela, the black cop fighting for his life on Death Row after the killing of a white farmer in the late 1980s.

Residents and informed sources said the Askaris were whisked away from their secret farm base near Brits on the eve of a visit by human rights lawyers and a church delegation.

Frustrated by the unbanning of their "enemy" and the return of their old leaders, and whatever goes into the make-up of a black turncoat in the new SA, these unstable men were quietly inserted into

Residents barely noticed the new arrivals.

Then flowed the accusations: residents spoke angrily and bitterly about sadistic child abductions, beatings, rape and murder.

Township talk soon found a name for the newcomers – the "Intelligents" – after their security cop bosses in Pretoria.

For a while the alleged atrocities went unpunished. "We were told at the police station that the Askaris are untouchable," residents said.

Then last month an Askari was accused of raping two young girls at his unspeakable terror for the frightened girls, who, it was discovered, suffered gruesome damage to their private parts.

Two weeks later another Askari allegedly abducted two men and tortured them so severely in his house that one of them died.

The surviving victim says the mercenary, realising what he'd done, released him. The man crawled bloodied and broken through the empty streets until help came. A blunt weapon was used in the attack.

Police said in Pretoria that the rape accused was suspended from duty pending investigations and that a murder docket against the second Askari was with the Attorney-General for his decision.

The civic association met Krappies Engelbrecht but came away still too angry to accept his suggested "forum" between them and the Askaris to address the crisis.

They called an emotion-charged meeting last Sunday which decided on a mass protest march on the comfy Askari homes – built by the State.

ANC spokesman Karl Niehaus said the matter would be put before the National Peace Secretariat, the Goldstone Commission and UN observ-

## 'Askaris out to get me'

By THEMBA KHUMALO

A 30-YEAR-OLD Lethlabile man has opted to stay in prison rather than face the prospect of being killed by Askaris after he allegedly murdered one of them two years ago.

Awaiting-trial prisoner Clive Masanga was arrested in November last year after allegedly shooting to death one of the turned former freedom fighters during a brawl in a shebeen.

He is appearing in Brits Regional Court charged with murder.

His mother Johanna said Masanga forbade his family from paying his R500 bail because he feared for his life.

She said: "He told me that immediately after his arrest other Askaris came to the police cells where he was held and threatened to shoot him if he dared set foot outside prison."

She said her son was presently serving an 18-month prison term for escaping from jail in April. He and other awaiting-trial prisoners had escaped from the Brits police cells.

However, he had reconsidered the Askari threats and handed himself in soon after.

This was confirmed by Pietersburg Human Rights attorney Jackie Malatji who is representing Masanga.

Masanga's older sister Ellen Adonis, 36, alleged that after her brother's escape from prison the Askaris raided her home and assaulted everyone in the house while demanding to know Masanga's whereabouts.

She said they hit her with gunbutts and tramped on her as she lay on the ground. She suffered hearing loss for two months afterwards.

They had shoved their gunbarrels in her brother's mouth, threatening to kill him if he did not find Masanga.

When she reported the matter at Lethlabile police station the police told her there was nothing they could do as the Askaris were "above the law".

His mother said her family was struggling to make ends meet now that Masanga was not able to provide financial support.

# Webster inquest finally begins

Sowetan 12/10/92

327

**■ Startling facts possible as ex-CCB operatives subpoenaed:**

THE inquest into the killing of anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster begins in Rand Supreme Court today - more than three years after his death.

Webster, a social anthropology lecturer at Wits University at the time of his death, was gunned down on May 1 1989 by masked gunmen in front of his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg. At the time it was speculated that state sponsored "hit squads" allegedly involving top security officials were responsible.

After a year-long investigation, Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres in April said the task force failed to uncover "relevant and admissible" facts.

Days before he was murdered, Webster and his girlfriend, Maggie Friedman, had completed a study of rightwing death squads.

Several CCB officers have been subpoenaed including former operative Ferdi Barnard, who, according to a *Sunday Star* revelation this year, had confessed to killing Webster.

ARG 12/10/92

(327)

# Fresh evidence claimed

## But Black Sash queries justice in Webster case

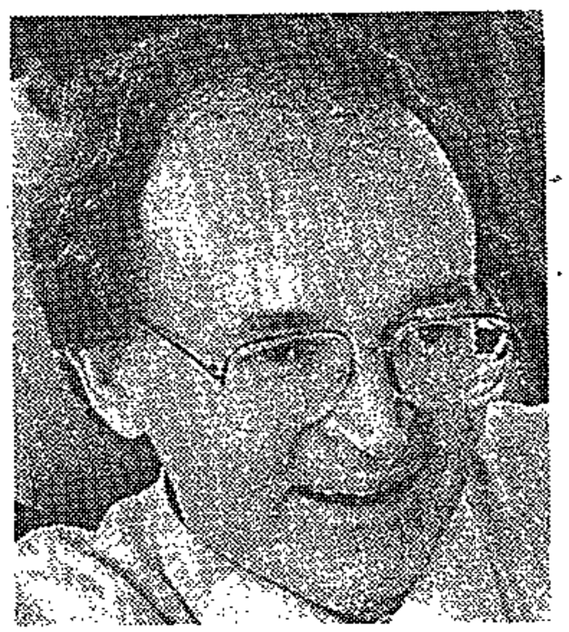
**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A lawyer representing the family of slain activist Dr David Webster believes significant new evidence will be presented at today's inquest in the Rand Supreme Court.

But the Black Sash asked in a statement at the weekend what hope there could be of justice "more than three years later", and Transvaal regional spokesman Laura Pollecutt said most evidence to date had been uncovered by private investigators.

"Or even worse, will the perpetrators be identified and their dastardly deed pardoned through the government's proposed blanket amnesty?

"In the minds of most anti-apartheid activists there was no doubt that State forces were somehow behind his assassination," she said.



**Dr David Webster**

It was therefore not surprising that nobody had been brought to book for Dr Webster's murder.

But attorney Eric van den Berg said: "We hope to present something new, not just a rehash of old evidence."

Dr Webster, a social anthropologist at the University of the Witwatersrand, was shot outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1, 1989.

Mr Van den Berg said: "We need to know what triggered his death, what he did or knew that got him killed."

He said about 48 witnesses had been subpoenaed. These included 12 "eye-witnesses" — people who were in the vicinity at the time of the shooting and had witnessed related incidents.

The first week of the inquest was expected to deal with evidence obtained in the police investigation. The testimony of witnesses was expected to follow, Mr Van den Berg said.

The Webster family's legal team is to be headed by Pretoria advocate Eberhardt Bertelsmann SC, who will be instructed by attorneys Bell, Dewar and Hall.

# Webster inquest told of destroyed files

252 327 254

STEPHANE BOTHMA

IT WOULD be impossible to prove whether the CCB had assassinated political campaigner David Webster because the organisation's project files had been destroyed as part of an "emergency plan", an inquest court was told yesterday.

W/O Wessel Rousseau, the policeman who spent the past three years investigating the May 1 1989 murder of Wits anthropologist Webster, was the first of about 30 witnesses to testify in the inquest which started in the Rand Supreme Court before Judge M Stegmann yesterday.

Although hearsay evidence from several sources indicated that former CCB operatives Ferdie Barnard and Calla Botha had been involved in some way, Rousseau said he had been unable to find enough evidence to justify the indictment of any person.

"According to evidence at the Harms commission, the project files of the CCB had somehow vanished or had been destroyed as part of a so-called emergency plan.

"It is obvious that without these files — unless someone comes forward with information that can be proved — it will be impossible to prove if the CCB or one of its members were responsible for the murder of Webster or not," Rousseau said.

A post-mortem report read out by Witwatersrand deputy Attorney-General Andre de Vries, leading evidence in the inquest, showed Webster had died as a result of a shotgun wound in the chest.

Fifteen shotgun pellets, a plastic wad and a stone were removed from Webster's body, the inquest heard.

☐ To Page 2

## Webster

Rousseau testified that immediately on his arrival at the scene of the shooting outside Webster's house in Troyeville, he had realised it was a political murder.

The only corroboration in the several witness reports investigated was that the assassins had driven a white car, he said.

Shortly after the incident, national serviceman Ernest van der Bank had supplied the police with a detailed account of the events, including descriptions of the assailants and their car — a green pick-up truck.

The information was investigated extensively and identikits were supplied to the media. However, it had turned out to be completely false.

"He had lied in the hope that we would keep him in Johannesburg to assist us with the investigation and, in doing so, keep him out of his army base at Potchefstroom a while longer," Rousseau said.

In September 1989, Rousseau had received information that Barnard had indicated to his former employee Willie Smit that he (Barnard) had been involved in the Webster killing. However, Smit would not make a sworn statement to the police and said he did not want to be involved.

☐ From Page 1

Early the next year, Donald Acheson, arrested as a suspect in the murder of Swapo member Anton Lubowski, said Barnard had admitted to him that he was present when Calla Botha shot Webster. But when approached by Rousseau to make a statement, Acheson refused.

Several other statements, including one from convicted rapist and murderer Cyril de Jongh, that Barnard and Botha had been involved in the murder could also not be substantiated, Rousseau testified.

"In my opinion, I have not found adequate information during my investigation which makes possible the prosecution of any person for the murder of Webster."

The inquest continues today.

Sapa reports more than 30 witnesses have been warned to appear or make themselves available for up to two months.

De Vries said he had asked the witnesses to be available for the next two months "to be on the safe side" but did not expect the inquest to last that long.

One of the two missing witnesses for whom police had been searching, Cornelius du Plessis, was present in court yesterday.

● Picture: Page 3

# FW sends out message govt is poised to crack down on mass action

B Day
13/10/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday signalled that government was poised for a crackdown on mass action, illegal arms and arms caches and private armies.

He also spelt out government's bottom line for a new constitution, flatly insisting that a range of controversial principles would "have to be negotiated in advance".

And Constitutional Development Minister, Roelf Meyer dampened speculation that the country's first nonracial election was imminent, saying that even if multi-party negotiations began soon it would probably not take place within a year.

De Klerk, opening the "state of the nation" debate in Parliament with a speech designed to calm jittery NP supporters, said government intended focussing strongly on steps to prevent violence.

These included "intensified control of mass action and continued, expanded action in respect of illicit arms and caches".

A free general election "in which all will take part is possible only if peace prevails in the country and intimidation is curtailed", said De Klerk.

Peace was only possible if:

- Parties, including the ANC, the IFP and the PAC, whose followers clashed violently, got together and reached an understanding among themselves;
- Any mass action planned with an aggressive motive was stopped. The ANC, specifically, had to honour undertakings in this regard;
- "Inciting" speeches were ended and every leader helped create a climate of tolerance, and;
- The so-called struggle made way for negotiation and a democratic conduct of politics. "This means the complete deactivation of private armies and the democratic conduct of politics," De Klerk said when the transitional parliament came to write the final constitution it would not "simply be able to do what it likes".

"There is no question of a blank cheque being given to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly," said De Klerk.

It would be bound by clear principles on which adequate consensus had been reached. Government insisted agreement had to be reached on:

- Strong and entrenched regional government with constitutionally entrenched authority;
- A bicameral central parliament with a Senate able to meet the need for "protection of regional interests and certain specific interests";
- Power-sharing at the level of the executive authority, meaning that excessive power in the hands of only one person or party had to be prevented.

● See Page 4

# FW's warning to military wings

Rondeten 13/10/92

**■ LUTHULI SQUARE** ANC's Walter Sisulu leads

## 3 000 marchers to Parliament to rename Stalplein:

**By Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk warned yesterday that "the struggle" must end and negotiations must resume or the Government would clamp down on the ANC and PAC military wings.

Opening the short session of Parliament yesterday, De Klerk said negotiations could not continue while "underground activities" and mass action continued or while there were still arms caches stored in the country.

He said the unbanning of certain political organisations did not give them licence to continue their "revolutionary" objectives.

De Klerk said the ANC and PAC (as well as the AWB) would have to "deactivate and dissolve" their private armies completely.

"It remains a crime to be in illegal possession of weapons, to be in control of arms caches, to take part in illegal marches," De Klerk said.

He said considering the intensified violence and breakdown of negotiations over the past four months, Parliament was gathering under difficult and challenging circumstances.

This short sitting of Parliament was not a denial of the importance of negotiations.

Meanwhile, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, led about 3 000 people to Parliament yesterday in a march and rally that was a lot cooler than a Cape Town spring Monday.

After the weekend estimates of 25 000 marchers, the small crowd marched from Cape Town's Grand Parade to the House of Parliament, to rename Stalplein - a square outside Tuynhuys, the office of the State President - Albert Luthuli Square.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has confirmed the meetings with the PAC and IFP, and said that they bode well for the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations, as early, possibly, as November.

The Government is confident that multi-party talks will resume within a month as it prepares for two high-level meetings with the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

From page 1

## Webster inquest

(327) CT 13/10/92

out of his army base at Potchefstroom a while longer," W/O Rousseau said.

In September 1989, W/O Rousseau had received information that Mr Barnard had indicated to his former employer, Mr Willie Smit, that he (Barnard) had been involved in the Webster killing. However, Mr Smit would not make a sworn statement.

He told the inquest that Mr Barnard had admitted to involvement in the Webster killing to an informant of the head Namibia's CID, Colonel Jumbo Smit. Colonel Smit had passed this information but had not wanted to reveal the informant's name.

On October 21, 1989, Colonel Smit told W/O Rossouw Mr Barnard had visited Mr Willie Smit on the night of Dr Webster's death and had asked if Mr Smit had heard of the killing.

According to Mr Smit, Mr Barnard did say he had orders to eliminate an activist named Mr Roland White who worked in United Towers, where Mr Smit had offices. Mr Barnard and Mr Botha were arrested outside the United Towers building shortly after Dr Webster's death.

Early the next year, Mr Donald Acheson, arrested as a suspect in the Lubowski murder, had said that Mr Barnard had admitted to him that he was present on the morning when Mr Botha had shot Dr Webster. But when approached by W/O Rousseau to make a statement, Mr Acheson refused.

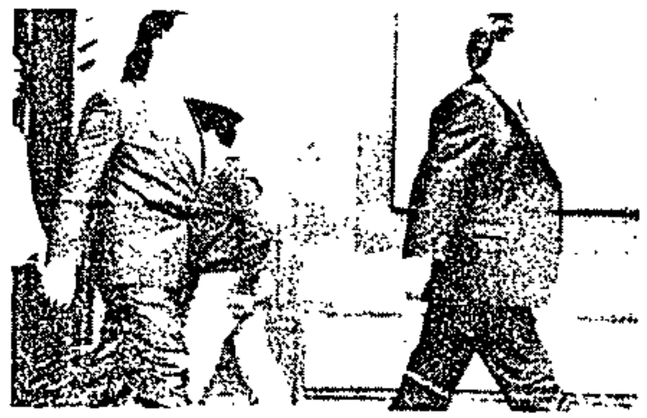
Several other statements, including one from convicted rapist and murderer Cyril de Jongh, that Mr Barnard and Mr Botha had been involved in the murder could also not be substantiated, W/O Rousseau testified.

The witnesses in the inquest were warned to make themselves available for up to two months. One of the two witnesses who was missing earlier, Mr Cornelius du Plessis, was present in court.

The inquest continues today.

# Destroyed

## Files shock at Webster death probe



EX-CCB ... Ferdi Barnard (left) and Calla Botha leaving the Rand Supreme Court where they have been subpoenaed to testify in the inquest of Dr David Webster.

(327) CT 13/10/92



INQUEST STARTS ... The inquest into the 1989 death of University of the Witwatersrand academic Dr David Webster started in Johannesburg yesterday.

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG. — It would be impossible to prove whether the CCB had assassinated activist Dr David Webster because the organisation's project files had been destroyed as part of an "emergency plan", an inquest court was told yesterday.**

Warrant Officer Wessel Rousseau, the policeman who spent the past three years investigating the May 1, 1989 murder of Wits University anthropologist Dr Webster, was the first of about 30 witnesses to testify in the inquest which started in the Rand Supreme Court before Mr Justice Michael Stegmann yesterday.

Although hearsay evidence from several witnesses indicated that former CCB operatives Mr Ferdi Barnard and Mr Calla Botha had been in some way involved, W/O Rousseau said he was of the opinion that he had been unable to find enough evidence to justify the indictment of anyone.

"According to evidence at the Harms Commission, the project files of the CCB had somehow vanished or had been destroyed as part of a so-called emergency plan.

"It is obvious that without these files — unless someone comes forward with information that can be proved — it will be impossible to prove if the CCB or any of its members were responsible for the murder of Webster or not," W/O Rousseau said.

A post-mortem report read out by Witwatersrand deputy attorney-general Mr Andre de Vries, leading evidence in the inquest, showed that Dr Webster died as a result of a shotgun wound in the chest.

Fifteen shotgun pellets, a plastic wad and a stone were removed from his body.

W/O Rousseau testified that immediately on his arrival at the scene of the shooting outside Dr Webster's house in Troyeville, he had realised it was a political murder.

The only corroboration in the several eyewitness reports investigated was that the assassins had driven a white car.

Soon after the incident, a national servicemen, Mr Ernest van der Bank, had supplied the police with a detailed account of the events, including descriptions of the assailants and the car — a green pick-up truck.

The information was extensively investigated and identikits were supplied to the media. However, it had turned out to be false.

"He had lied in the hope that we would keep him in Johannesburg to assist us with the investigation and in doing so, keep him

To page 5

# Webster: security forces suspected

STAR 13/10/92.

By Susan Smuts

Police investigating the murder of University of the Witwatersrand academic and human rights activist Dr David Webster suspected early in the probe that he had been assassinated by a branch of the security forces, an inquest at the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Warrant Officer Wessel Rousseau of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad told Mr Justice M Stegmann that family, friends and the press had regarded Webster's death as a political murder.

No other motive could be found and the investigating team (consisting of Rousseau, General Jaap Joubert and Brigadier Floris Mostert) suspected one of the security organs might have been involved.

Joubert had dealt with the SA Defence Force and told Rousseau he had not been very successful in his investigations. The security police had denied any knowledge of the murder.

Rousseau told the inquest that the police had been unaware of the existence of the secret SADF unit, the Civil Cooperation Bureau, at this stage. The CCB was exposed when agent Ferdi Barnard was held for questioning over the murders of Webster and Namibian lawyer Anton Lubowski, and an alleged plan to murder activist Roland White.

Webster died of a shotgun wound to his chest after being shot dead in front of his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1 1989. Sixteen pellets were found in his chest, according to the post-mortem report handed in at the inquest.

The shotgun round was of a type available to the public as well as to the security forces, Rousseau said.

Several false leads had wasted time and effort during the investigation, Rousseau said.

These included dubious evi-

● To Page 3

# Inquest told of false leads

STAR 13/10/92.

● From Page 1

dence from an eyewitness who gave descriptions of three men he claimed to have seen fleeing the scene in a green car.

The witness, Ernest van den Bank, was a national serviceman stationed in Potchefstroom. Rousseau said he doubted the veracity of his statement as he had said the shooting had taken place at 9.30 am when it had, in fact, occurred at 10.20 am. It was strange he could have described the men so accurately if they had been in a moving car.

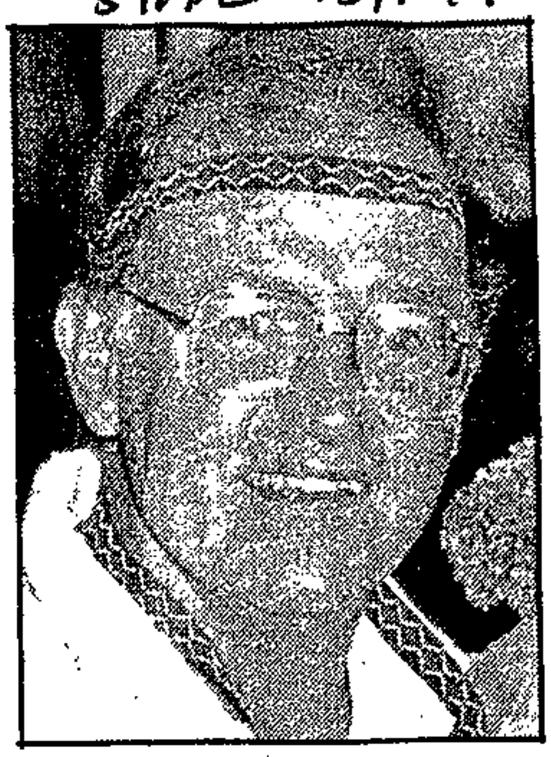
Van den Bank had described dents in the car but had not noticed its number plate. He described the car as green whereas other witnesses had said it had been a white Opel.

Although much time had been wasted on this lead, it was all the police had to go on at the time, Rousseau testified.

A visit to Kosi Bay, where Webster was apparently investigating training camps of the Mozambican rebel movement Renamo, also proved fruitless.

A lead was provided by a woman who told the police that Christiaan Roestorf had told her he hoped he would not be questioned about the murder. Before the police spoke to him, Roestorf killed his wife and himself. He had allegedly conned the woman of R22 000 and the police concluded she had probably acted out of malice.

Under cross-examination from Eberhard Bertelsmann, SC, acting for the David Webster Trust, Rousseau admitted that other leads had not been followed up.



Murdered more than three years ago . . . David Webster.

Included in these was a claim by a man that he had seen the murder from room 4 of a local hotel. No room 4 existed and the lead was dropped.

Rousseau said he had only recently become aware of allegations that two nights before Webster's death, certain policemen had been seen at the hotel. The only policeman who had been booked into the hotel that night had been a student constable who had since been discharged, he said.

Two CCB agents who had a high profile during the Harms Commission (which investigated the alleged assassination of Government opponents) — Calla Botha and Barnard — were arrested after Webster's murder when they were caught on top of a Johannesburg building where they were keeping watch on White, allegedly with the intention of murdering him.

Botha told police he had seen a woman at the parking lot and wanted to meet her. He and Barnard had waited to get her car's registration number. Their version of events was rejected by the investigator, a Lieutenant Zeelie, who told them to reconsider their story and tell him the truth the next day.

Zeelie's investigation established that their actions were connected to White. He accepted their new story that Barnard had taken Botha with him to repossess a white BMW because the new owner had not kept up his payments, Rousseau told the inquest.

Barnard had asked his former boss, Willie Smit, to tell the police "if they asked" that he had used his white BMW that day. Smit told Rousseau he had been convinced Barnard had been involved in Webster's murder although he admitted Barnard had not said as much.

Barnard had also been allegedly linked to the slaying of Lubowski. During this investigation, Barnard told the police he worked as a recruitment agent for a consortium of businessmen in order to infiltrate political organisations worldwide to obtain information which would lessen the risk to investments.

He said he had recruited Lubowski's suspected killer, Irish national Donald Acheson, but had nothing to do with him since, Rousseau testified.

After Acheson's arrest in connection with Lubowski's death, other CCB members were arrested but later released on a ministerial order.

The hearing continues.

# General 'stopped probe into CCB's Webster links'

BIDay 14/10/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE officer investigating David Webster's murder was ordered early in 1990 to stop probing the CCB's suspected involvement.

This brought the investigation to a halt, the Webster inquest court was told yesterday.

Brixton Murder and Robbery detective W/O Wessel Rousseau was further told by the SAP's Gen Jaap Joubert not to detain any CCB operatives because they would only be released again.

Joubert was part of the team appointed to investigate the May 1 1989 shotgun slaying of Webster, an academic and political activist, outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home.

The orders followed the February 1990 appointment of the Harms commission, which had its own team of investigators. Rousseau was however promised that all relevant CCB documents would be handed to him after completion of the Harms commission — a promise which was not kept, Rousseau testified.

Rousseau, who earlier detained CCB operatives Slang van Zyl, Ferdie Barnard and Calla Botha and also CCB MD Joe Verster, said the detainees were released on an order from the Minister of Law and Order to allow them to testify before Harms.

"They were released on Friday because they were to testify on the Monday. However, they were only called more than two months later to give their testimony," Rousseau said.

While held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, Van Zyl and Botha were visited in detention by former Brixton Murder and Robbery chief Brig Krappies Engelbrecht and SADF military intelligence officer Gen Witkop Badenhorst.

In statements made by Van Zyl and Botha after the visit, the detainees stated they were told not to say anything about their activities for the following six to seven months, the inquest heard.

Rousseau said CCB documents, confiscated as a result of the Webster murder investigation team, were taken by Harms investigators before he (Rousseau) could look at them.

"They told me to stand aside and not to look at the documents because I had not taken an oath of secrecy," he told the inquest. Rousseau said he had believed the commission's investigators, Col John Wright and Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen, would make the documents available after the commission hearings.

He told inquest chairman Judge M Stegmann that about five to six days after Webster's murder a source told him to look at the possible involvement of Joe Verster in the slaying.

However, Rousseau could find no evidence and only several months later, in November, the arrest of Van Zyl exposed the existence of the CCB and Verster's involvement in it.

The inquest also heard that Barnard's CCB co-ordinator was Lafras Luitingh, the cousin of the then chairman of the Webster Trust, Martin Luitingh. Lafras Luitingh operated under the name "Louis" when employed by the CCB, the inquest heard.

The inquest continues.

# Webster 'planned to probe SADF'

(327) STEPHANE BOTHMA

A WEEK before David Webster planned to return to Kosi Bay near the Mozambique border to investigate the SADF's rumoured support for Renamo rebels, he was gunned down outside his home, the inquest into the academic's death was told.

Webster's former lover Maggie Friedman, who was with him when he was shot on May 1 1989, told Judge M Stegmann that Webster and a friend planned to visit Kosi Bay the following weekend. B1DAY

She said Webster had spent a lot of time in the Kosi Bay area doing an anthropology study on the community. 15/10/92

"He knew there was military activity in the area and suspected the SADF of assisting Renamo. He planned to return . . . and I think he had plans to continue his work and to look at what the military activity was all about," Friedman testified.

On the day of the shooting, Friedman and Webster had just returned home after a shopping trip to a nursery.

Friedman said she had heard a loud bang which sounded like a vehicle backfiring, and saw Webster falling to the ground. Although she saw a white car passing at the time, she could not identify the make or model or the occupants.

Webster died on the scene despite Friedman attempting mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, the inquest heard.

Former Brixton Murder and Robbery chief Brig Floris Mostert was also called

☐ To Page 2

# Webster

B1DAY (327) (350) (351)

☐ From Page 1

to testify yesterday. 15/10/92.

He said there were no hard facts linking the SADF's covert CCB unit to the shooting, despite the fact that three CCB operatives had been arrested as possible suspects during the investigation.

Mostert told the inquest of the difficulties experienced by the police investigating team in obtaining CCB documents after the Harms commission of inquiry had been appointed.

The commission brought the police investigation to a halt, the inquest heard.

After raiding the home of suspect Theuns Kruger and seizing CCB documents, Harms commission police investigators prevented the Brixton team from looking at the documents. The Harms team said it had the first right to the papers.

The commission also claimed documents taken from CCB headquarters.

Although there were promises that all documents relating to the Webster murder would be handed to Mostert and his team of detectives, no documents had been received by them to date and the documents could not be traced.

The inquest heard earlier that the Harms commission returned all the documents to the SADF.

Mostert said he believed the Webster murder — at that stage not an "unsolved crime" — did not fall within the Harms commission terms of reference.

"The murder was still under investigation and we were making good progress. We will now never be able to know what we could have achieved with our investigation if it could have continued," he said.

CCB operatives Ferdie Barnard, Calla Botha and Slang van Zyl had been held in terms of security legislation while being questioned about possible involvement in the murder. However, they were released on an order from the then law and order Minister Adriaan Vlok to testify before Judge L Harms.

"The moment our detainees were released, our investigation failed," Mostert told the inquest.

# Person held over fraud

## ■ NCCR defrauded of R300 000:

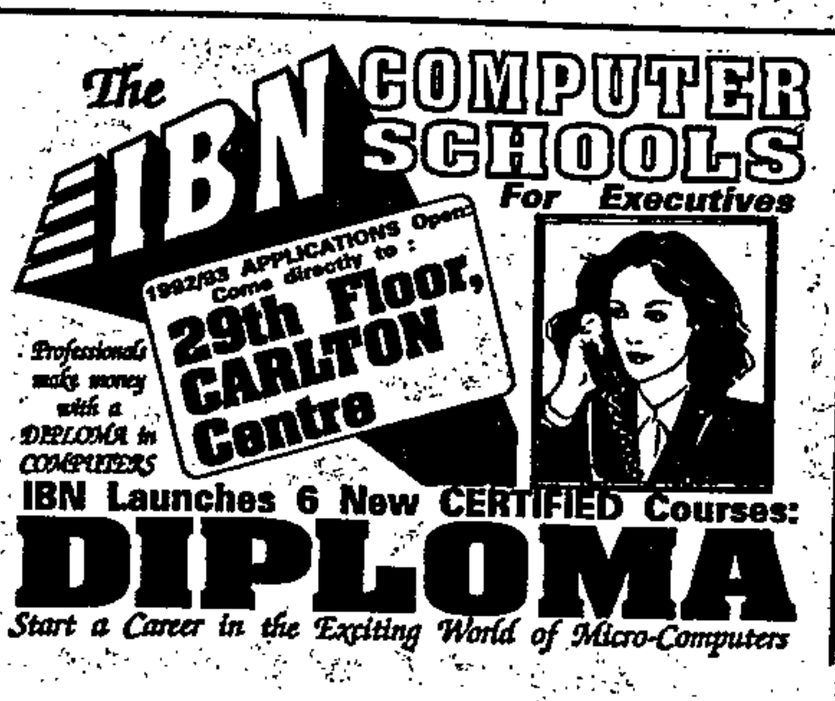
Sowetan 15/10/92

ANOTHER person has been arrested in connection with the embezzlement of funds of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles.

The committee yesterday said the person was linked to two women who had defrauded it of R300 000 while they were temporarily employed by the organisation between March and August this year.

"The arrest of the person has given the NCCR valuable information with regard to a sophisticated network that has defrauded the organisation.

"The NCCR will do all in its power to make sure the interests of the returning exiles are protected at all times," NCCR coordinator Mr Moss Chikane said. - *Sapa.*



# Biko inquest may be reopened

327

## ■ DP man welcomes new move:

**By Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

Sowetan 15/10/92

THE inquests into the deaths of Steve Biko, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge and Ahmed Timol could be reopened when the Inquest Amendment Bill is passed.

The Bill, which is presently before Parliament, amends the Inquest Act of 1959 "so as to further make provision for the reopening of an inquest".

It will empower attorneys-general to recommend to the Minister of Justice to reopen a particular inquest.

Speaking in the debate on the Bill yesterday, Democratic Party spokesman on Justice Mr Tony Leon said: "The need to reopen certain inquests which litter the history of South Afrca as a reflection of our sordid past cannot be in doubt."

Leon said more than 64 people had been assassinated between 1981 and 1989. He said, according to the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, 42 of these had been killed by State agents.

He said at least 138 people outside the country identified as "opponents of the State and apartheid" had been killed, while more than 50 had died in detention.

Leon said the special powers given to the police under former Minister of Justice and then Prime Minister, the late John Vorster, had led to many of these deaths.

While the Bill was aimed primarily at reopening the inquest into the death of Matthew Goniwe in 1985, Leon said he hoped it would also result in fresh inquests into the deaths of Biko, the Mxenges, Timol and others.

# Goniwe killing: Huge reward

CT 15/10/92

321

**Own Correspondent**

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police yesterday offered R200 000 — the largest reward ever in South Africa — for information about the killers of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other Eastern Cape activists.

Mr Goniwe's family welcomed the announcement, saying it had given them a "little bit of hope".

Acting Eastern Cape attorney-general Mr Mike Hodgen said last night the aim of the huge reward was to "try and solve the Goniwe murders once and for all".

Reacting to the announcement, the ANC said the reward was "just another propagandist stand. We don't take it seriously," spokesman Mr Phila Nkayi said.

South African Police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, making the announcement yesterday, said all information on the murders would be treated confidentially.

The Cradock activists, Mr Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli, were murdered near Port Elizabeth on June 27, 1985.

# Amnesty Bill due on table

**Political Correspondent**

THE government's controversial amnesty legislation will be unveiled in Parliament tomorrow.

President F W de Klerk this week restated his determination to legislate a blanket amnesty for all offenders with a political motive — from all parties.

The ANC executive has said the state cannot excuse itself of crimes committed and that the issue of a general amnesty would have to be settled by an interim government of national unity.

CT 15/10/92

*Press freedom seminar marks banning of two newspapers 15 years ago*

# Axing of newspapers recalled

Sowetan 15/10/92

**By Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

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SOUTH Africans, blacks in particular, have lived through decades under a Government which has denied them information and knowledge as provided in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This denial, coupled with the lack of jobs and housing, can only be described as human degradation.

## ■ 15th anniversary of silencing of The World and Weekend World:

Sowetan 15/10/92

White South Africans know very little about life in black townships as a result of the lack of a free flow of information.

It is these thoughts which remind one of October 19 1977 when in one fell swoop the *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers were banned together with 19 black organisations.

On Monday *Sowetan* marks the 15th anniversary of the banning of these newspapers and remembers the dent caused to freedom of expression.

At the Vista University campus on Monday, *Sowetan* will honour Press freedom by holding its annual seminar with the theme: "Is Press Freedom Fundamental for Democracy?"

All those interested in attending should get in touch with convenor Sydney Mafhaku at (001) 474-0128.

# ANC 'will keep meeting government'

GABORONE — The ANC was determined to continue bilateral meetings with Pretoria to find a solution to SA's problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa in Botswana's capital yesterday.

Before meeting government the ANC would have talks with other "patriotic front" organisations to evolve a common position.

Codesa would have to reconvene once the round of bilateral discussions was completed, paving the way for structuring an interim government.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told the committee violence had not subsided in SA because the root causes had not been addressed adequately.

He accused the state of sponsoring violence through mercenaries from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"These mercenaries must be expelled under international supervision. Until this is done there will be no end to violence."

The PAC was offering itself as a mediator because it desired to end the violence. It awaited a response from the ANC. In that spirit, the PAC had met Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and would meet government soon.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim recommended that OAU observers be sent to SA to monitor the situation. — Sapa.

**FINANCIAL**

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| **Employment of capital** | |
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| Unit holders for distribution | |

# Ex-CCB boss 'offered killer an assassin's job'

B1094 16/10/92.

A CONVICTED murderer and rapist serving a natural life sentence was offered a job — later perceived by him to be that of killing people — by former CCB chief Joe Verster, the David Webster inquest was told yesterday.

Cyril de Jongh, sentenced in the Maritzburg Supreme Court in April last year, was called to testify after he allegedly told fellow inmates at Diepkloof prison that CCB operative Ferdie Barnard had gunned down Webster on May 1 1989.

De Jongh refused to answer several questions "for personal reasons", but denied having mentioned Barnard's name in connection with the Webster slaying.

However, he told presiding Judge M Stegmann that he knew Staal Burger, Chappies Maree, Joe Verster, Slang van Zyl and Calla Botha, all former CCB operatives.

"I met them during February or March 1989 at the Park Lane Hotel in Hillbrow, where Joe asked me if I was interested in a job. I was not and told him so," De Jongh testified.

Although the exact nature of the job was not disclosed during that discussion, De Jongh was told on the night of the Webster killing that "that was the kind of job offered to you by Joe Verster".

STEPHANE BOTHMA

He was told this by a mutual friend of De Jongh and Burger, Justin Beyleveld.

On the night of the Webster murder, Beyleveld also pointed out former Brixton Murder and Robbery detective and CCB operative Chappies Maree as "the man with above average" skills with a shotgun who had shot Webster, De Jongh testified.

Evidence at the inquest by nine witnesses to the killing of Webster outside his Troyeville home gave conflicting accounts of what had taken place on that morning.

Only one witness had been able to supply police with identikits of the alleged killers who had used a "white car", possibly an Opel, from which Webster was shot.

However, it was not clear whether there had been three or two men in the car, whether the car was speeding or whether it had tinted windows.

The inquest continues.

# Call for laws to pass 'green' test

B1094 16/10/92

CAPE TOWN — Compulsory environmental impact studies would have to be constitutionally imposed on all the legislation of a future government, ANC spokesman Albie Sachs said yesterday at a forum on the ANC's environmental policy.

He said constitutional guarantees to protect the environment would counterbalance the pressure a future government would face to build factories and create jobs. The green factor would have to be built into the legislative process from the beginning so that it became integrated into development.

Sachs said a delicate balance would have to be struck between the right to development and the right to a clean environment. However, that development itself — such as electrification — would solve some of the immediate environmental hazards facing communities.

LINDA ENSOR

Strong grassroots community organisations would also ensure the implementation of a green policy.

Sachs said the environmental issue should not be appropriated for political purposes.

# *focus on* the Press

Sowetan 16/10/92 327

THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reads:

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people...

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

Will post-apartheid South Africa accept these noble principles? Will it be truly free to exercise its responsibility?

To steal a phrase, it is in the need to protect society against human faults - greed, vanity and dishonesty - that Press freedom finds its purpose.

South Africans, blacks in particular, have lived through decades under a Government which has denied them information and knowledge. This has been described as human degradation, comparable to the denial of basic rights such as jobs and shelter.

As South Africa staggers towards a new order, white South Africans continue to know very little about life in black townships because of this denial.

And until now, very few white South Africans knew how on October 19 1977 the Government, in the form of one Jimmy Kruger, profoundly dealt black advancement - and unity - a death-blow.

It was on this day that, in one fell swoop, the *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers were banned together with 18 black organisations.

October 19 has become known as "Black Wednesday" because it was on a Wednesday 15 years ago that life in the townships came to a standstill. The forces of darkness had worked relentlessly during the previous night.

The late Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the *World* and *Weekend World*, had been visited by Security Branch officers who officially informed him that his newspapers had been declared illegal.

Similarly, many other leaders had been visited and told their organisations had been banned.

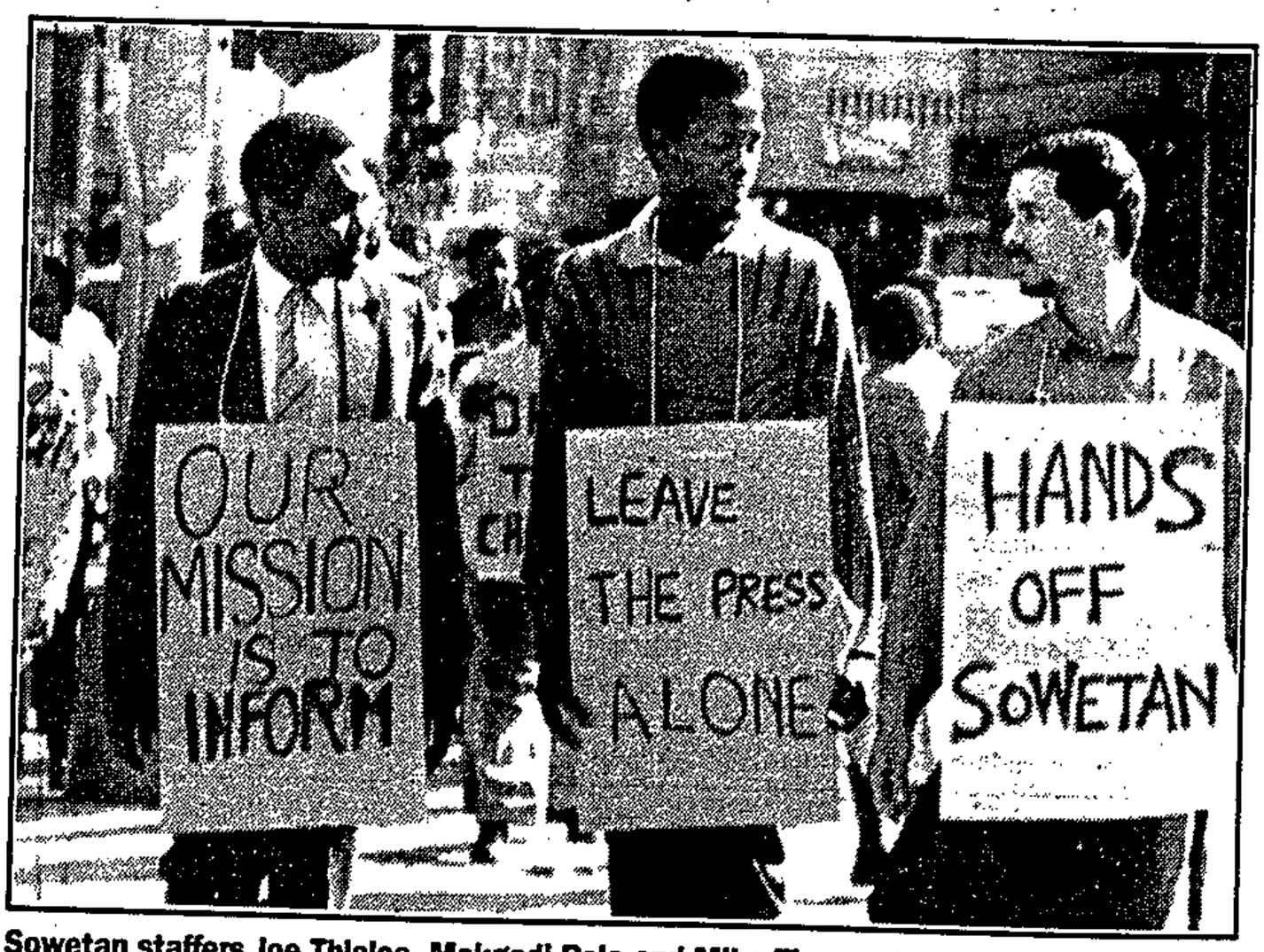
This purge was premeditated. Earlier, Prime Minister Balthazar John Vorster, had warned the Press to "put its house in order".

Qoboza had been summoned to a meeting in Vorster's office in Pretoria - also attented by Kruger, then Minister of Justice and Police - about the "anti-Government line" the newspapers were adopting.

At a subsequent public meeting addressed by Vorster in Durban, a 3 000-strong audience of whites roared that the Prime Minister should ban the *World* and *Weekend World*. Kruger then did it.

Press freedom finds its purpose in the need to protect society from human faults. But will post-apartheid South Africa accept these principles? **Themba Molefe** explores the degradation suffered under apartheid which denied blacks the right to know:






**Sowetan staffers Joe Thloloe, Mokgadi Pela and Mike Tissong took to the streets to demonstrate against Government threats to muzzle *Sowetan*.**

In spite of the argument being put forward that these newspapers were actually moderate and their existence important to both blacks and whites, this reasoning went unheeded.

Professor Anthony Giffard of Rhodes University argued at the time that only black journalists could articulate their people's aspirations and tell what was happening in their townships.

He said the paper gave prominence to the intrusion of police activity in the life of the community, demanded an inquiry into allegations of police brutality, told of people being ejected from their homes and defended the basic rights of people.

If whites had read the *World*, Giffard said, they would have realised earlier how blacks felt about Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at black schools.

"Whites seldom became aware of black issues until they reached disaster proportions," said Giffard.

After banning the newspapers Kruger said he believed in Press freedom..."but there are people in South Africa who can't write a straight story - they are politically committed".

Kruger, who said the death in detention (on September 12 1977) of black consciousness leader Steve Biko left him cold, is dead now. So is Vorster.

In January this year media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds observed that Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remained on the Statute Book.

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act is used by the State against journalists and for many years had been a matter of considerable concern, said Reynolds.

It provides that journalists can be subpoenaed to force them to disclose confidential sources or face jail.

"We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the Press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off," warned Reynolds.

# Stop harassment of journalists - Azapo

Sowetan 16/10/92 327

**FREE PRESS** Commemoration of 15th anniversary of the banning of two newspapers and black organisations by State:

**By Mathatha Tsedu**

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called on political organisations to stop harassing journalists.

In a statement to mark the 15th anniversary of the banning of black organisations and newspapers by the Government in 1977, Azapo cautioned journalists to stop "allowing personal bias to cloud their judgment and colour their stories".

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the anniversary should be used by black people and their organisations to to bring unity and an end to inter-black killings.

"Azapo calls on the ANC and the PAC and all components of the broad liberation movement to meet urgently behind closed doors to work out strategies to defend and protect black people from the continued onslaught of the nationalist regime," Moodley said.

He said a free Press was an integral part of a free country, adding that the banning of newspapers in 1977 was part of the onslaught to deny people the right to know.

Meanwhile, Azapo will hold a commemoration service to mark the day at the Paul Nel Hall in Bekkersdal on the West Rand. Other services will be held in Port Elizabeth and Seshego.

The Jabulani branch of Azapo has called on black people to commemorate the day in any manner they deemed fit.

'ch is by Zulu 'nation' as weapons ban protest



r Daniel Motsuenyane, Mrs

# Ban 'Zulu nation march' call by ANC

Sowetan 16/10/92.

■ **Warning that stability could be threatened in Pretoria's Atteridgeville township:**

**By Mandla Zibi and Josias Charle**

THE African National Congress (ANC) in the PWV region has called on the Government to stop a "Zulu nation march" in Pretoria's Atteridgeville township due to take place tomorrow.

The ANC yesterday warned that the march could threaten stability in the township.

The call comes in the wake of an ANC statement accusing the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) of being responsible for the death of a Saulsville hostel inmate, Mr. Vuyisile Bonya, last Sunday. The ANC claimed the man was killed during the launch of an IFP branch at the hostel on Sunday.

The situation at the Saulsville hostel was quiet this week, contrary to reports that some inmates had been evicted. A spokesman for the hostel complaints office told *Sowetan* that according to his knowledge, no one had been evicted from the hostel.

This refuted rumours that alleged IFP members at the hostel had driven out non-members from their rooms. The spokesman said only one man had asked to be relocated to another section of the hostel and this was a routine request.

The IFP's Themba Khoza yesterday denied that the march was organised by the IFP saying it was only a "Zulu nation march".

"The march has been planned by Zulus who want to show their defiance of the Government's intention to outlaw the carrying of cultural weapons," Khoza said.

He said the marchers would show their defiance by carrying other weapons as well on Saturday.

Asked to comment on the ANC's objections to the march, Khoza said the IFP dismissed them as evidence of the ANC's interference and political intolerance.

# Goniwe: New step welcomed

PORT ELIZABETH. — The R200 000 reward offered by the police in the murders of ANC activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other men in 1985 was welcomed by the deputy attorney-general of the Eastern Cape yesterday.

Mr Mike Hodgen, who heads the investigation into the murders, said the reward should encourage the right witnesses to come forward.

He said the investigation into a military signal relating to the Goniwe matter had been completed, but there was not enough evidence to prosecute. — Sapa

327
2814 DT 16/10/92

# Information reward

THE Deputy Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape, Mr Mike Hodgen, has welcomed the R200 000 reward offered by the police for information leading to the arrest of the murderer or murderers of ANC activist Matthew Goniwe and three other men in 1985.

Hodgen, who heads the investigation into the murders, said yesterday the reward should encourage the right witnesses to come forward.

He added that the investigation into a military signal relating to the Goniwe matter, exposed by a newspaper, had been completed but there was not enough evidence to prosecute anyone.

# Bouncer believed CCB job involved killing

**Johannesburg Bureau**

A CONVICTED murderer yesterday told the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster that former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) managing director Mr Joe Verster had offered him a job which he later believed would have involved killing people.

Cyril de Jongh, who was sentenced to natural life imprisonment in April 1991 for murdering a woman, said Mr Verster had made the offer in February or March 1989 at the Park Lane Hotel in Hillbrow, but had not specified what the work would entail.

De Jongh, who testified he also knew CCB operatives Mr Staal Burger, Mr Chappie Maree, Mr Ferdie Barnard, Mr Slang van Zyl and Mr Calla Botha, said he had refused the offer.

On May 1, 1989 — the day Dr Webster was gunned down — a bouncer at the Park Lane, Mr Justin Byleveldt, had told him the Webster murder was the "kind of job Joe Verster offered me". ST 16/10/92

De Jongh said Mr Byleveldt had also asked him who he thought had killed Dr Webster.

When he had said he did not know, Mr Byleveldt had asked: "Who is above average with a shotgun as far as Brixton Murder and Robbery is concerned?" ~~25~~ (327)

De Jongh had said he did not know and Mr Byleveldt had said "Chappie" (Mr Maree).

De Jongh also rejected earlier evidence by an imprisoned housebreaker, Thomas van der Merwe, that he had said Mr Barnard had gunned down Dr Webster.

Mr Byleveldt said in evidence that he had never spoken to De Jongh about Dr Webster's murder. He had no knowledge of CCB activities, but knew some CCB operatives.

The inquest continues today.

# SABC chiefs black out Webster report

W/Mail 16/10-22/10/92

*The SABC pulled the plug on a planned broadcast about state involvement in the murder of activist David Webster, reports* **JACQUIE GOLDING**

THE SABC this week refused to broadcast a report on the murder of anti-apartheid academic David Webster, saying it "pre-empted" the inquest proceedings.

However, sources within the SABC insisted yesterday the refusal was a case of political censorship. The source said the corporation's hierarchy had objected to a reference in the report to possible security force involvement in the murder, and to suggestions that the government's amnesty plan aimed to thwart the inquest.

The report was to be screened on Monday night after the 6pm news, but was replaced.

Although the inquest chairman, Mr Justice M Stegman, appealed to the press not to speculate on Webster's death, inquest proceedings are not subject to the same sub judice rules as court cases.

SABC editor-in-chief Johan Pretorius said the decision was taken on "sound journalistic grounds. We are not protecting the government or anyone else but the report was based on speculation and not fact."

The question of state links with the the murder of Webster outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1 1989 was central to this week's proceedings at the inquest. The hearing, at the Rand Supreme Court, is scheduled to run for four weeks and call 50 witnesses.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, one of the senior officers investigating the killing, slammed the media for insinuating links between the killing and the South African Defence Force.

A link has been suggested between the Webster death and the SADF's now-disbanded covert unit, the Civil Co-operation Bureau. Mostert said there was not a shred of evidence to implicate the CCB.

"Interrogation of the CCB agents have not linked the SADF unit to the murder and there were no facts to lay before a court as to who was responsible," he added.

Earlier in the week, Detective Warrant Officer Wessel Rousseau, attached to the Brixton Murder and Robbery unit and head of the investigation into the Webster killing, said he had suspected that CCB operatives Ferdie Barnard and Calla Botha were involved in the Webster killing.

He said he saw the murder as politically inspired, and believed the security police and the SADF might have had a role.

Rousseau told Judge Stegman that a week after the Webster death, a source had told him to "look in the direction of (CCB chief) Joe Verster".

Rousseau refused to reveal his source. He added that no evidence could be found to support the source's suspicion, but that several months later, the exposure of the CCB and Verster's position in it had come to light.

Rousseau detained CCB members Barnard, Botha, Verster and Abram "Slang" van Zyl under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, but they were subsequently released on the orders of the then law and order minister Adriaan Vlok to allow them to testify before the Harms Commission.

While in detention the CCB men were visited by Brigadier Abraham "Krappies" Engelbrecht and General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst, then head of Military Intelligence.

Barnard and Botha were arrested outside the United Towers building in central Johannesburg where they were allegedly watching Webster's friend, political activist Roland White, with the aim of murdering him.

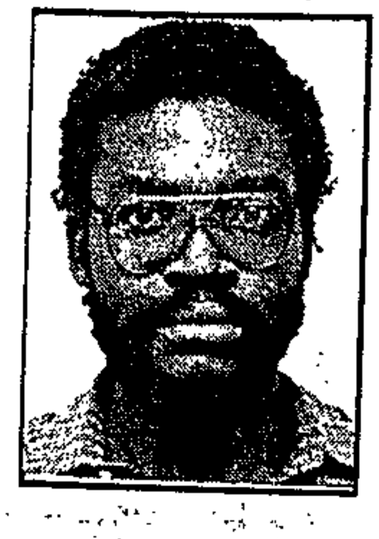
Rousseau also told the inquest court that his investigation into the Webster murder had come to an abrupt halt after all CCB documents were seized and given to the Harms Commission. He added that his police team was prevented from interrogating and detaining any CCB operatives.

His superior in the Webster investigation, General Jaap Joubert, had ordered him to stop investigating the CCB's involvement and to stop detaining CCB members because they would be released again.

Rousseau said many documents had been destroyed by the CCB in an "emergency operation", leaving questions unanswered.

Also giving evidence at the inquest was Webster's lover, Maggie Friedman, who said Webster was investigating SADF military assistance to Mozambican rebel movement Renamo when he was murdered.

# focus on media



## Who should protect the right of free communication and the role of the media in the future South Africa?

## Sowetan journalist **Mathatha Tsedu** considers the question:




**FLASHBACK: Mr Thami Mcerwa, President of Azayo, addressing last year's Sowetan seminar.**

TODAY MARKS THE 15th anniversary of the banning of newspapers and black organisations by the South African Government.

Then, journalists had to look over their collective shoulders each time they wrote anything about the regime.

The peoples' organisations were at that time still banned. They spoke in whispers from underground.

The argument in the black community at the time was that the white regime was banning and harassing mainly black journalists because they were defending their settler control.

"Wait till we are free and you will see how free we will be," the argument went.

Fifteen years later, what is the position?

According to the Institute of Race Relations' publication, *Mau Mauing the Media*, the greatest threat facing black journalists today comes from black political organisations.

According to the publication, which is a compilation of articles written by black journalists, political activists threaten them in their job, insisting that only the opinions of their chosen organisations be reflected in the media.

The activists referred to belong to organisations such as the ANC, Azapo, PAC and Inkatha, among others. Trade unions and their federations have also been found to be culprits in the journalist bashing.

And yet, in their public pronouncements and official positions, these organisations pledge themselves to a free Press and the right of divergent opinions to be heard.

But who must defend the media? The practitioners, in the form of journalists and publishers, political organisations who depend on the media for communicating their activities to the public, or the public that depends on the media for information and entertainment?

The answer should be all. For the media and its practitioners are an important cog in the wheel of democracy. It is the media that, as a watchdog of the public good, has exposed numerous irregularities in Government relating to the squandering of public funds.

Other exposes include killer squads within the Government security network. Without the media, a blanket of propaganda by State broadcasters would envelop the public, leaving them uninformed.

*Sowetan*, in its efforts to promote this understanding, today remembers the 1977 fell swoop that banned our predecessors, World and Weekend World, with an annual seminar to focus on the role of the media.

While as journalists we may tend to look at problems that we encounter externally, there are internal issues such as ownership of the media.

If in a country like ours, the media is in the hands of an insignificant but rich and powerful white minority, is it possible for such media to serve the majority?

What are the present efforts to "unbundle" conglomerates such as the Argus and TML? How do black organisations that are today in opposition plant to deal with the media in the days of their power?

Can free media survive a black takeover of government? Has it happened anywhere in the black world?

Is the voice of labour being heard at all? What are the trade unions doing about this? Is it safe for workers to depend on capitalist-owned media to talk to each other?

These issues concern not only journalists, political activists and trade unionists. It concerns all of humanity for a free Press is a prerequisite for a free country.

It is for these reasons that *Sowetan* has today brought together as wide a spectrum as possible to discuss the matter.

Among keynote speakers will be Azapo deputy president Dr Nchaupe Mokoape, PAC first deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo, ANC information and publicity director Dr Pallo Jordaan, and Mr Mandla Msomi of Inkatha.

These men will talk on their views and need to be questioned about their activities on the ground. People must therefore be there to ask the questions and demand real answers.

The general secretaries of Cosatu, Nactu, Mwasa and SAUJ will also speak on the trade union perspective of Press freedom.

Editors of South Africa's important newspapers will all be there. They include those of the *Sowetan, The Star, Indicator, Weekly Mail, Vrye Weekblad* and *City Press*.

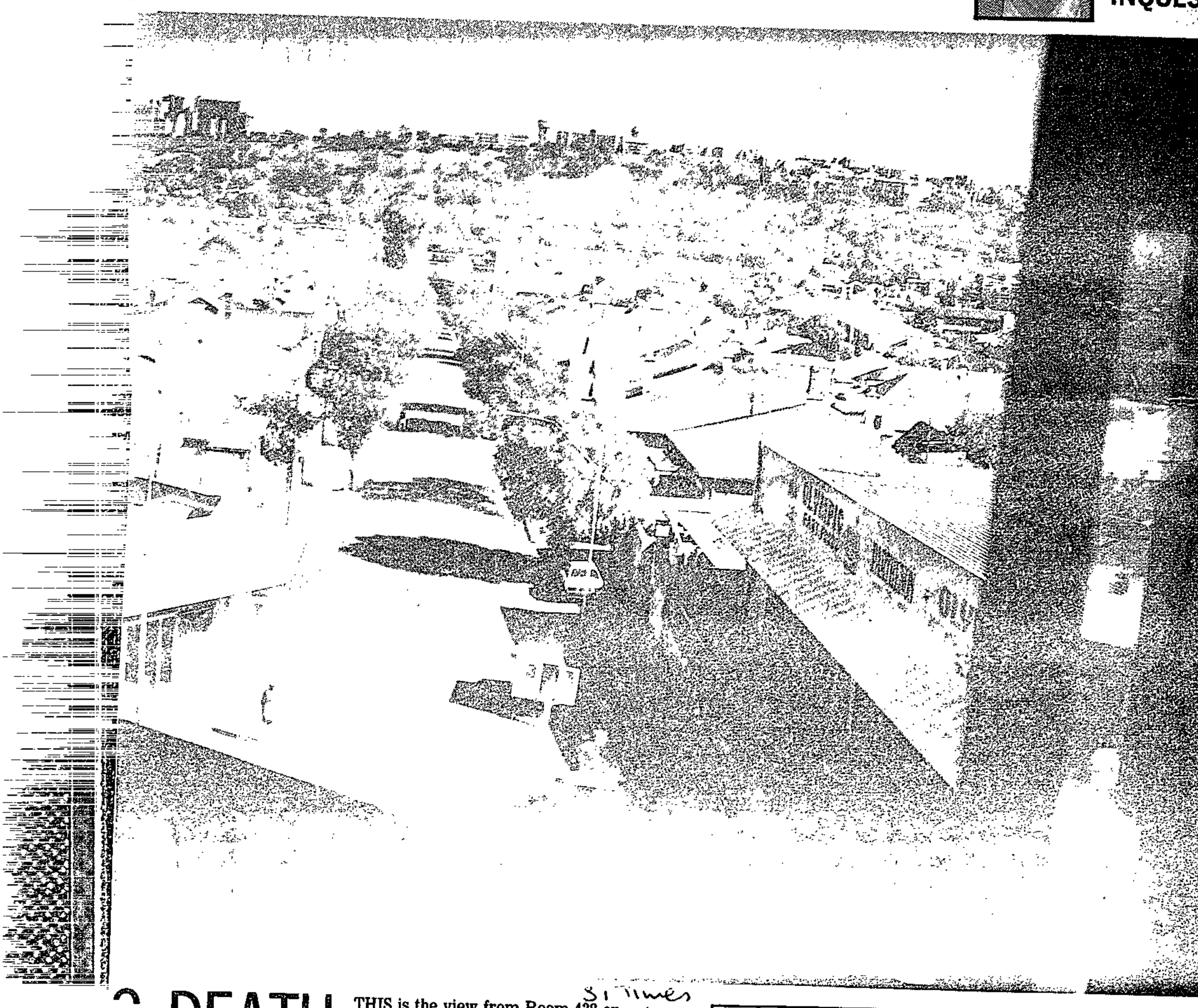
This seminar is but one of many efforts to keep the issue of Press freedom on the agenda of public debate.

But at the end of the day, Press freedom can only be safeguarded if men and women of integrity stand up and insist that politicians, policemen, activists and everybody else respect the need for a free flow of information in this country.

# VIEW TO A KILL



CHARLES LEONARD AT THE WEBSTER INQUEST



## S DEATH

## S ROOM?

## WITH A

THIS is the view from Room 438 on the fourth floor of the Oribi Hotel in Troyevillle, Johannesburg, looking down the street where David Webster was gunned down.

Dr Webster's black-roofed house is number 13, about halfway down the road on the left.

At the inquest into his murder this week, lawyers acting for the Webster family asked whether a room on the Oribi Hotel's fourth floor was used by the killers to plot their assassination.

Cross-examining the investigating officer, Warrant Officer Ross Rousseau, counsel for the Webster Trust, Mr Eberhardt Bertelsmann SC, said: "If you went into the Oribi Hotel you would have noticed that you had an excellent view down Eleanor Street from any of the rooms on the fourth and third floors.

"You can see everything in Eleanor Street at a glance which makes it the perfect building for communications and for observation of anyone in that street.

"That would have been the ideal place for the would-be assassin to plan the logistics for the murder of Dr Webster.

"It is not impossible to give logistic support to anyone from the fourth floor."

Four policemen were seen in the hotel by staff on April 29 or 30, a day or two before Dr Webster's death, Mr Bertelsmann told the court.

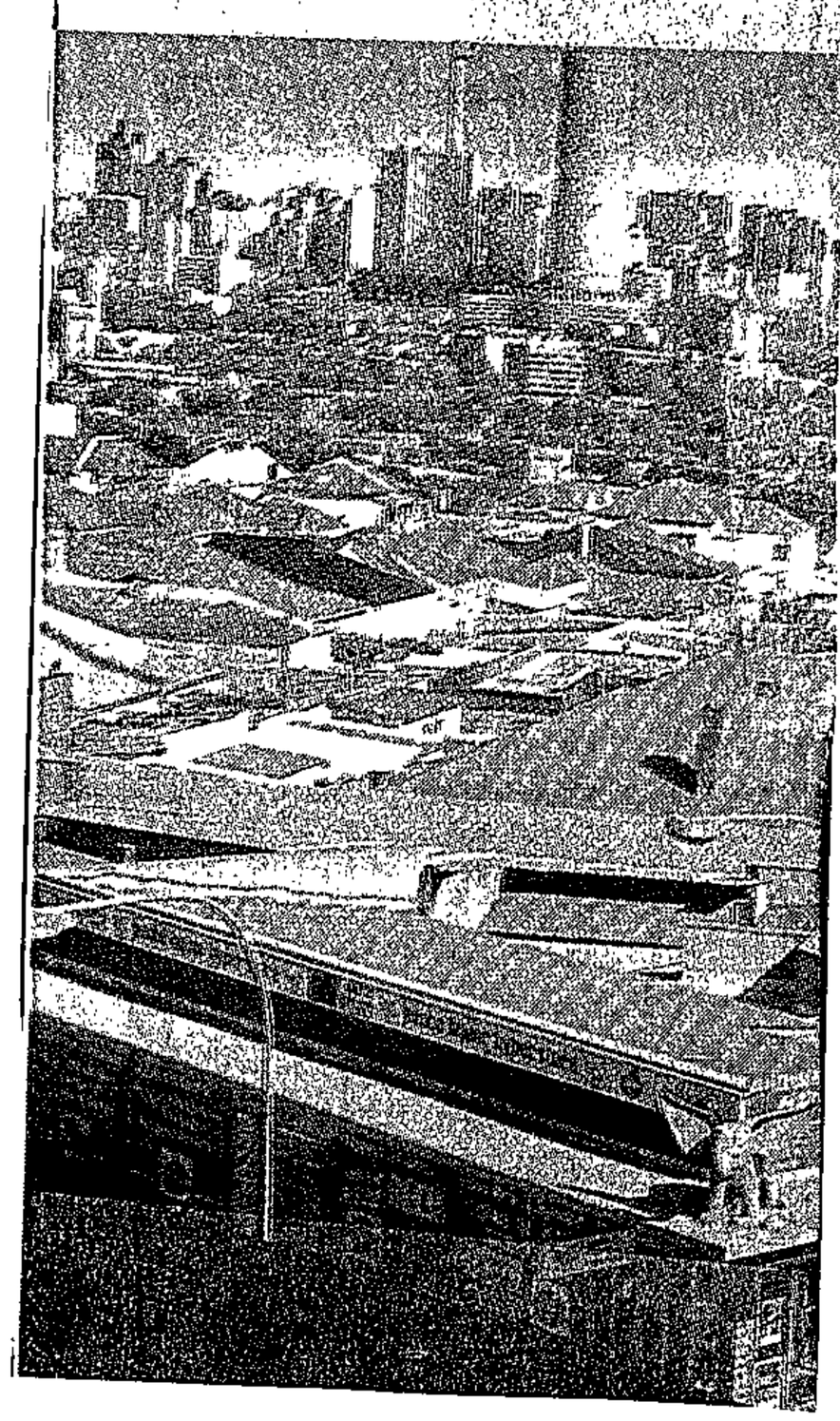
This week the Sunday Times visited the four-storey hotel on Roberts Avenue.

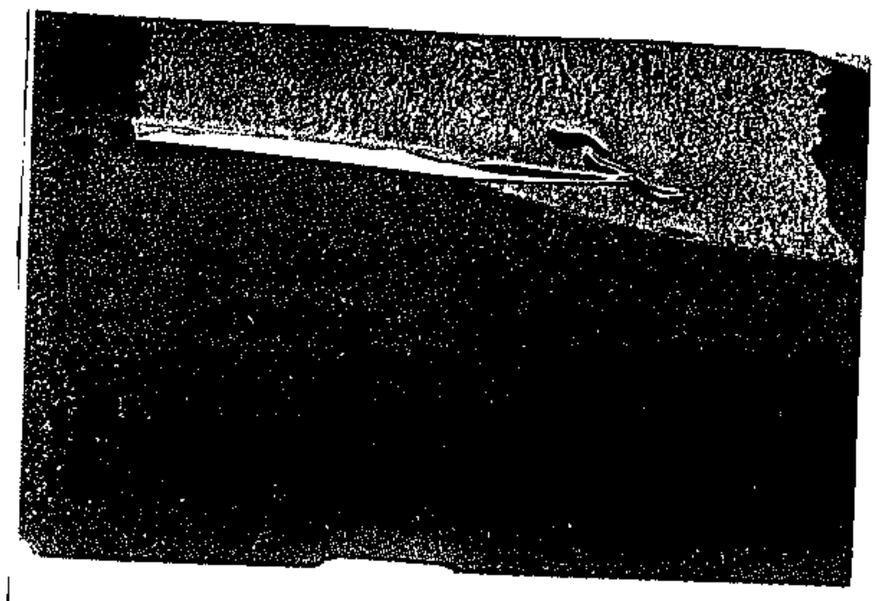
From rooms 436, 437 and 438 there is a perfect view down Eleanor Street from which to observe the comings and goings of residents and visitors.

Today the street is leafy. But Dr Webster was killed on May 1 1989 and, as TV footage of the crime scene shows, the trees had shed their leaves, giving an even better view to anyone hiding out in the Oribi rooms.

The view of the spot where Dr Webster was gunned down in front of his house is unobstructed.

His house, where his partner, Miss Maggie Friedman, still lives, is about 100 metres along the sloping one-way street.





## WAS WEBSTER'

## PLOTTED IN THI

Sunday Times 18/10/92

JOHN HOGG took the picture (327)

# Webster: Inquest told of CCB probe

CT 17/10/92

**Johannesburg Bureau**

NEARLY eight months after Dr David Webster was gunned down, a meeting attended by the former Minister of Law and Order and former Minister of Defence ordered an army general to investigate the alleged involvement of the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Testifying at the inquest into Dr Webster's death, the most senior police officer to have investigated the case, Lieutenant-General Jaap Joubert, said the head of military intelligence, General Witkop Badenhorst, was told in late December 1989 to investigate all rumours concerning the CCB.

General Joubert, who retired from the police last year, said the shotgun killing of the academic and political activist was to have been the main focus of the military's internal investigation.

General Joubert told presiding judge Mr Justice Michael Stegmann he believed General Badenhorst, who reported in January last year that he had found no evidence to link the CCB to the crime, had not withheld information.

General Joubert, who is expected to conclude his testimony on Monday, said that after having spoken to five CCB operatives he found their operation laughable.

"The CCB was like cowboy and crooks games at school," he told the court.

● Earlier yesterday, Weekly Mail journalist Mr Eddie Koch said Dr Webster did not have detailed and reliable information of Renamo activity in the Kosi Bay area.

He said that when he had accompanied Dr Webster to the area in 1988 they had discussed reports of a Renamo base in the Ndumu nature reserve, but abandoned a proposed search for the camp because of time restraints and the danger involved.

But he said a former member of a Renamo faction who told him of ivory smuggling and illegal arms dealing in the area had said Dr Webster's presence might have disturbed the smugglers.

Mr Koch said that although he did not believe Dr Webster had any evidence of these illegal dealings, "I believe the evidence provides possible motives for his assassination".

# RIDDLE OF IDENTIKITS THAT WERE NEVER PUBLISHED

ST Times 18/10/92

(327)

**UNPUBLISHED identikits of David Webster's killers, based on information from a key eyewitness, came to light during the Webster inquest this week.**

The pictures have been gathering dust in police files for three years. Meanwhile false identikits, drawn with the help of a witness who later admitted to police he was lying, were widely published on TV and in newspapers.

This astonishing evidence emerged this week in the Rand Supreme Court inquest into the death of David Webster, a Wits academic and political activist who was shot outside his home on May 1 1989.

The investigating officer, Warrant Officer Wessel Rousseau, admitted in court that he did not trust the young man on whose evidence the first three identikit faces were drawn. He was Ernest van der Bank, a national serviceman who claimed to have seen the incident.

"On August 2 1989 (three months later) this witness admitted after several examinations that he never saw the incident and that his evidence was false," W/O Rousseau told the inquest.

Despite this admission, police did not officially inform the public that the Van der Bank identikits were false.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, who was the senior investigating officer in the Webster case, told the Harms Commission in mid-1990 that the police were no longer relying on the identikits.

But the genuine identikits were never issued. They can be published now for the first time since they are part of the court record in the Webster inquest.

These identikits are based on the evidence of Corrie du Plessis, a witness to the shooting. Mr Du Plessis turned up at the start of the inquest on Monday after reading newspaper reports that police had been unable to trace him because he had changed his address.

## Shot

Mr Du Plessis told the inquest he drove along Eleanor Street in Troyeville, Johannesburg, about 25m behind a white Opel Ascona which had a man in the driver's seat and another in the back.

He heard a shot ring out when the white car was in line with the bakkie Dr Webster was unloading in front of 13 Eleanor Street. Dr Webster staggered and fell.

"When I heard the shot I noticed that the driver looked back," Mr Du Plessis told the inquest court. "He looked at me through the two front seats. At the same time the passenger stuck his head out the window and also looked in my direction."

Mr Du Plessis said he was sure there were only two people in the car.

The Ascona then sped off down Eleanor Street, Mr Du Plessis said.

When police showed another eyewitness, Loretta Mnamatha, the two sets of identikits, she supported both Mr Du Plessis' sketches.

"I am sure that two of the sketches look like the men in the car," she told the court this week when scrutinising them again. "I would make some changes to them, though." The changes Mrs Mnamatha made to the sketches were more stubble on both faces, and a slight cut to the crew-cut of the driver of the car.

The other drawing is of the man who sat in the back. "His window was still open when they drove past me," she said. "I was 10 to 12 yards away from where it happened. This man at the back then started to close his window."

In reply to inquest prosecutor Andre de Vries, SC, who asked how she could be sure of the faces, Mrs Mnamatha said: "Because I saw them."

A third eyewitness, Shirley Rousseau, who lives in Eleanor Street, said she had been shown both sets of identikits by W/O Rousseau three months after the shooting. She told the court one in the second set resembled the driver of the car.

## Orders

In his statement W/O Rousseau said that he was sceptical about the new sketches and "received orders not to make these sketches available to the media. However, they were kept in mind during the investigation".

Brigadier Mostert said that when the Van der Bank identikits were released two days after Dr Webster's death, the police believed they had been given the right information.

W/O Rousseau said he was sceptical about Mr Van der Bank's evidence because he described in detail people inside a car that was speeding past him. Mr Van der Bank also insisted the incident took place at 9.30am instead of the real time of 10.20am.

W/O Rousseau said Mr Van der Bank convinced him at the time that he was an artist and that he worked with modelling clay.

"Did he ever show you any of his works of art, except the identikits?" asked Eberhardt Bertelsmann SC, for the Webster Trust.

"No."

"With justified suspicion did you then make any inquiries about his background?"

"No, I became more and more convinced that he was telling a lie and therefore did not think it was necessary to make inquiries."

Brigadier Mostert said: "We knew that Van der Bank pulled the wool over our eyes."

After this experience with Mr Van der Bank, the police decided not to publish any further identikits.

"It is the exception to the rule for identikits to be of value," said W/O Rousseau.

Mr Van der Bank has been subpoenaed to give evidence this week. The inquest, being heard by Mr Justice Michael Stegmann, continues tomorrow.



# THE REAL HITMEN

## Buthelezi may face criminal charges for leading marchers – police

# IN OPEN DEFIANCE

## 'KwaZulu officials get the call-up'

C/Press 18/10/92

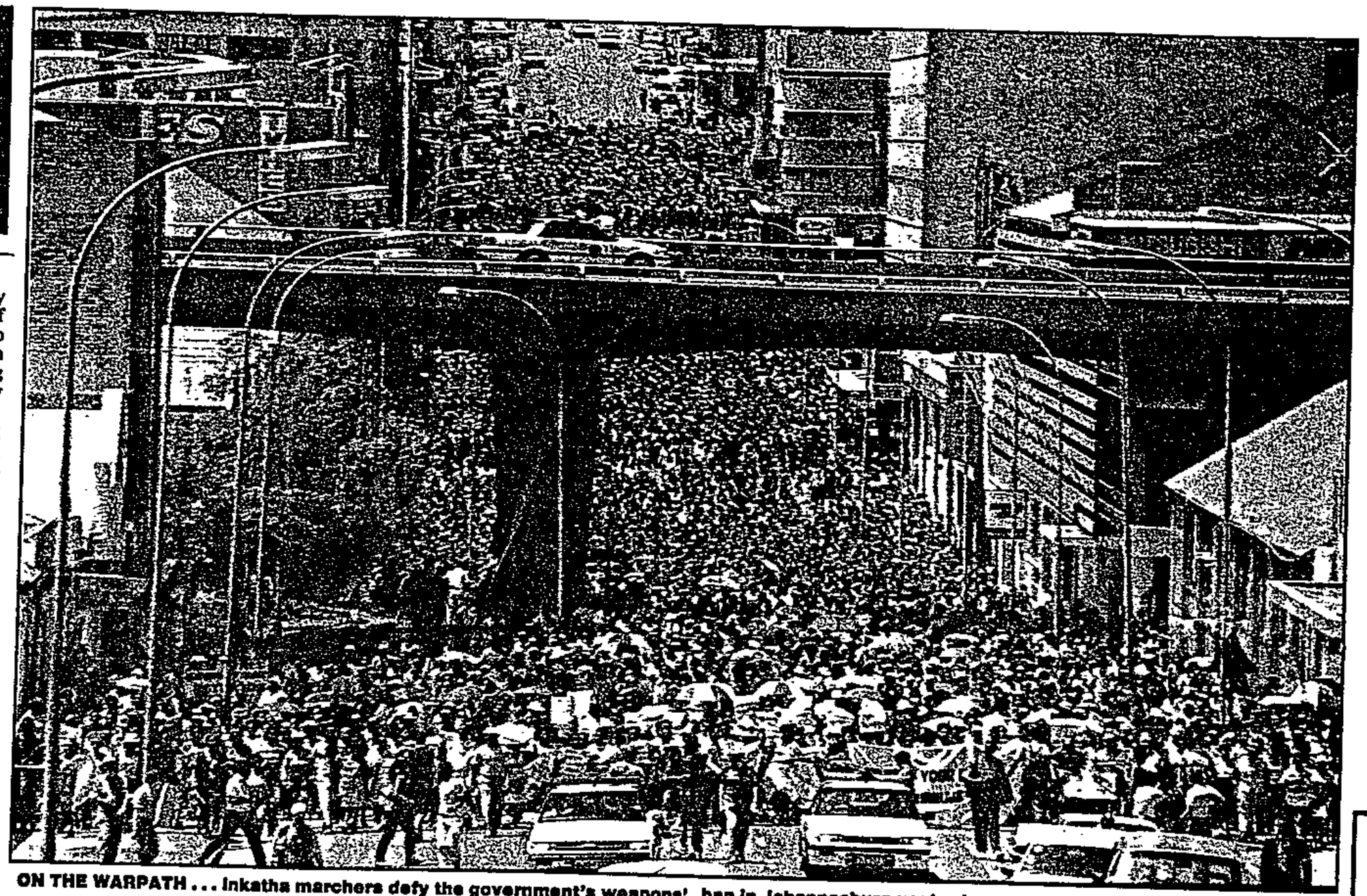
By S'BU MNGADI

INKATHA yesterday called up thousands of KwaZulu civil servants to take part in a march through Johannesburg streets, callers told City Press.

Before leaving Ulundi for Johannesburg at 7 pm on Friday, newly appointed "street indunas" of the Zulu king's Inala regiment read a roll call – street by street – to ensure none of the able-bodied civil servants dodged the call-up.

A fearful KwaZulu government official telephoned City Press on Friday and warned: "If we are killed or arrested in Johannesburg, the world must know we were forced to take part in the march."

The civil servants had been warned to arm themselves with "traditional weapons" – in defiance of a clause in the Record of Understanding outlawing



ON THE WARPATH ... Inkatha marchers defy the government's weapons' ban in Johannesburg yesterday. ■ Pics TLADI KHUELE

**CP Reporters** C/Press 18/10/92

ABOUT 30 000 Inkatha supporters defied a government ban on carrying dangerous weapons in public and marched – armed to the teeth – to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg yesterday.

However, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman told City Press that KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could face criminal charges for leading the marchers.

Opperman said dockets would be opened and submitted to the Attorney-General for his decision on whether or not to prosecute Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders.

The captain could not say what charges the Inkatha leaders would face.

He said police had issued notices prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons and this was defied.

The march was preceded by a rally addressed by Buthelezi at George Goch Stadium.

Buthelezi told his ululating supporters that the Zulus would not allow themselves to be fenced inside the hostels "like pigs".

He rejected outright the Record of Understanding reached by State President FW De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela last month.

The IFP marchers were bussed in from hostels and squatter camps in the Transvaal and some of the vehicles bore Natal registrations.

The police, who were out in full force, watched helplessly as the chanting impis waved their weapons in the air while clasping their shields.

The march was also attended by Angela Davies who leads the United Nations delegation of observers to monitor violence in this country.

# Harms killed Webster probe, say cops

By DESMOND BLOW

THE appointment of the Harms Commission thwarted police investigations into the assassination of Wits academic Dr David Webster who was gunned down outside his home in May 1989 by unknown killers.

This is the evidence of Brig Floris Mostert, then head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Section, investigating officer W/O Wessel Rossouw and Gen Jaap Joubert, former deputy head of the CID.

They gave this evidence at the formal inquest into Webster's death which began in the Rand Supreme Court this week – three-and-a-half years after his murder.

They said following the establishment of the Harms Commission and the release from prison of five detainees, all information regarding the Webster killing had dried up and the investigation had run dead.

All three police witnesses were adamant that police investigations were proceeding well until the appointment of the Harms Commission when they were ordered to release the five detainees, including three CCB members, who they had detained under Section 29 of the Security Act.

They were told that the five would be called as witnesses before the Harms Commission.

A meeting was held on December 20 1989 in Pretoria with the then Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok; the then Defence Minister Magnus Malan; the then SADF head Gen Geldenhuys; the then Commissioner of Police Gen Johan van der Merwe and military intelligence head Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst. The meeting was to discuss the role of the CCB in the Webster murder.

Badenhorst was instructed to investigate the situation and Gen "Krappies" Engelbrecht, former head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, was seconded to assist him.

It was alleged in evidence that Badenhorst and Engelbrecht conducted an "intensive" investigation for three days into the Webster killing between January 6 and January 9 1990 and reported back to a meeting on January 11 attended by Vlok, Malan and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

Mostert said that Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau had also expressed concern that investigations into Webster's murder would be hampered by the establishment of the Harms Commission.

Von Lieres had told Mostert: "Your case is dead."

Joubert said towards the end of February 1990 he was instructed by Van der Merwe to release his five detainees as he had had a complaint from the Harms Commission that it was affecting their investigations.

Joubert said after the police had concluded that the murder of Webster was politically motivated, he had inquired from the Security Branch and MI whether they had any knowledge of it.

In a meeting with Badenhorst he had raised the possibility of CCB involvement.

Badenhorst said that if the CCB Region Six (which included "Slang" Van Zyl, "Staal" Burger, "Chappie" Maree and Calla Botha) had been involved, it was without CCB command's knowledge.



PROTEST . . . Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi leads an estimated 20 000 Inkatha supporters to John Vorster Square Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

# IMPIS ON THE MARCH

Sunday Times Reporters

HUNDREDS of police watched impotently as Zulu impis estimated 20 000 Inkatha supporters defied a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons and marched through Johannesburg carrying spears, axes, sticks and knobkieries. ST Times 18/10/92.

On Friday night, SAP regional commissioner General Gerrit Erasmus turned down a request by march organisers to carry the weapons in public.

As wave upon wave of Zulu impis — led by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — marched from the George Goch stadium to John Vorster Square, police stood on the sidelines, but made no attempt to disarm them.

A spokesman for the police said afterwards it would have been "unwise" to try to confiscate the weapons.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha Freedom Party has approached the government to release 40 prisoners which it claims are political. Among them is controversial former Kwazulu deputy minister of the interior Samuel Jamile.

Trade unions and right-wing political parties have also added their voices to the clamour of those claiming their supporters are political prisoners, said a spokesman for Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok.

He said the November 15 deadline agreed to by the ANC and the government in their Record of Understanding for the release of all political prisoners may have to be extended.

Mr Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1990 for the 1989 murder of a former tenant and the attempted murder of a woman whose throat he cut. He was acquitted on 10 other murder and attempted murder charges.

The government and the ANC held a four-hour meeting on Thursday in which they studied a list of 150 names. It was decided the co-accused of those already released should receive preference and a list of 25 names has been forwarded to Mr Vlok for consideration.

# The fight for Press freedom

Sowetan 19/10/92

**■ Today, 15 years ago, the Government clamped down on the black Press:**

**Sowetan Correspondent**

ON October 19 1977, the Government banned *The World* and *Weekend World* newspapers and 18 other black consciousness organisations.

In honour of media practitioners who were victims of this action, and in defence of a free media in this country, Sowetan today hosts a seminar on press freedom at Vista University from 8.30am.

The Union of Black Journalists was one of the 18 organisations that were banned.

Among the others were Sasm, SSRC, Saso, BPC, BPA, Medupe Writers Association, African Women Federation, six provincial youth clubs, Zimele and Siyazingceda Trust Funds.

There have been many occasions since 1977 when newspapers were banned, journalists detained and arrested, and legislation used to curtail access to information and freedom of expression.

(See story on Page 6)

## the nation in brief

### ANC's torture findings

THE African National Congress (ANC) is to release its findings today on allegations of torture at its camps.

A statement said a report of its commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners would be released to the Press later today.

"There will be no further comment until then," the ANC said. Sowetan 19/10/92

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela appointed a three-member commission consisiting of lawyers Louis Skweyiya, Bridgit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus to inquire into conditions at its camps in the wake of the torture claims.

The commission is expected to make recommendations which may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged torture.

It is believed the commission has heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses - both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

### 325 000 sit matric exams

MORE than 325 000 matric pupils will sit for their final examination from tomorrow amid unresolved problems between the education authorities, teachers and pupils. Sowetan 19/10/92

The Congress of South African Students has resolved that the final examinations be written despite the violence and harassment affecting their members in Ciskei, Natal and the PWV areas.

However, Cosas said they were not going to hesitate in calling the exams to a stop if these factors affected students. Cosas blamed the Department of Education and Training for its intransigence and unwillingness in responding to the pupils and teachers' demands.

OGILVY & MATHER, RIGHTFORD SEARLE-TRIPP & MAKIN 46458

# Dangerous wepaons



Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi leads a march by heavily armed supporters through the streets of Johannesburg in protest against the banning of traditional weapons.
PIC: THE STAR

**OCTOBER 19**
The need for Press freedom comes under spotlight at a seminar in Soweto today **PAGE 6**




# IFP leader dares cops

Sowetan 19/10/92.

**WEAPONS BAN** The IFP challenges the 327

## Government to charge "Zulu nation" leaders:

IN THE the wake of Saturday's march by the Inkatha Freedom Party in Johannesburg, the organisation yesterday dared the State to prosecute the leaders of the "Zulu nation" for defying an arms ban.

It was not the IFP as a political party that was marching, it said, but "Zulus", central committee member Mr Musa Myeni said.

The march was to protest against an agreement the ANC reached with the Government which led to the banning of "traditional weapons".

Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda arrived in the country on Saturday to mediate between the IFP and the ANC.

# Zulu nation was on the march, not IFP - Myeni

Sowetan 19/10/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said a march by 30 000 people led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday was a march by the "Zulu nation" and not of the IFP as a political party.

IFP central committee member Mr Musa Myeni told *Sowetan* that the organisation, as a political party, had had nothing to do with the march.

Asked to comment on police statements that Buthelezi and other leaders faced possible charges for defying the ban on weapons Myeni said: "I am not aware of this. The police must explain if they want to prosecute leaders of the Zulu nation and may launch a full investigation if they wish. They must name all the Zulu leaders they want to charge."

KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi led chanting supporters through the city streets to John Vorster Square to protest against the Government's ban on the carrying of traditional weapons in public.

The marchers defied the ban and openly carried their weapons.

Buthelezi handed a petition to the police protesting against the Record of Understanding between State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela which led to the ban on traditional weapons.

Buthelezi, surrounded by KwaZulu Minister Dr Frank Mdlalose and other leaders, told the crowd at a pre-march rally in George Goch that De Klerk's acceptance of the ANC's conditions for returning to negotiations "have nothing to do with negotiation but everything to do with joint action by the State and the ANC against other parties at Codesa and in particular the Zulu nation".

Buthelezi said Zulus would not allow themselves to be fenced inside hostels like "pigs".

Police said at the weekend that a docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision.

## ■ CINEMA STAMPEDE Babies hurt as scared cinemagoers flee Inkatha impi:

Earlier, about 30 cinemagoers were injured and the doors of the Goodhope Cinema damaged when a crowd panicked trying to get away from three Inkatha supporters who entered after their march, reports Sapa.

Irate manager Mr Sanjith Lutchman said most of the 400 seats had been broken and babies hurt as people rushed to get away.

Police videotaped the damage and said those hurt could file charges if they so wished.

Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda arrived in South Africa on Saturday to mediate in a dispute between the IFP and ANC.

# General told CCB men to keep quiet, inquest told

THE former second-in-command of the SAP Special Branch Gen Krappies Engelbrecht had visited CCB members in jail and warned them not to say anything about their activities, the inquest into the murder of academic David Webster heard yesterday.

Giving evidence in the Rand Supreme Court inquest, the second-in-command of the CID at the time, Gen Jaap Joubert, said CCB operatives Ferdie Barnard, Abraham "Slang" van Zyl and Calla Botha had been visited by Engelbrecht and had been told "to keep their mouths shut".

He said Botha had been told to keep quiet for about "six or seven months".

Interviews with SADF Special Services head Gen Eddie Webb elicited a denial that there was a CCB "project" on Webster.

Counsel for the Webster family Eberhardt Bertelsmann asked if the emphasis was placed on the word project. Joubert replied that the denial seemed to a blanket one, covering the May 1 1989 shotgun shooting of Webster outside his Troyeville home.

Bertelsmann asked Joubert about investigations into the September 1989 death of Swapo executive committee member Anton Lubowski, conducted by Col Jumbo Smit, who passed on information to the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad.

Judge M Stegmann said there might be information on the Webster inquest from the investigation of the Lubowski shooting later, but questions to Joubert were disallowed.

Later advocate Martin Luitingh, who represented the Webster family at the Harms commission of inquiry into politically-motivated violence in 1990, testified that his cousin Laffras Luitingh told him of an admission by CCB operative Ferdie Barnard that he had killed Webster.

Laffras Luitingh, who admitted to being Barnard's CCB handler, asked Barnard if the murder had anything to do with the CCB, and when told it did not, refused to hear any more about the incident.

Martin Luitingh said he had never met his cousin until he had to work on the Harms commission. He never knew his phone number or where he lived and worked.

The two Luitinghs met four times. The first meeting was spent mainly discussing the Official Secrets Act. At a later meeting Laffras Luitingh said Barnard contacted him on May 2.

Laffras Luitingh thought it was about payment and a meeting was arranged. It was at this meeting that Barnard admitted killing Webster.

Laffras Luitingh told Martin Luitingh he had mentioned this to CCB head Joe Verster, who had spoken of it to Military Intelligence head Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst.

In his submission to the Harms commission Badenhorst had made no mention of the incident in connection with the CCB and had not been cross-examined, Martin Luitingh said.

Earlier Joubert said he was told by Barnard that "he would be framed for the Webster killing". He had no reason to disbelieve him, Joubert told the inquest.

The inquest continues today. — Sapa.

# Judge orders probe of security firm

A SUPREME Court judge has directed the Natal Attorney-General to investigate the activities of Norman Reeves and his Durban security company, Combat Force — which seemed to be "nothing less than an unlawful private army".

Judge Meskin ordered the investigation yesterday before sentencing a former company employee, 21-year-old John Rautenbach, to 12 years for murder.

The judge also described as "quite appalling" an instruction promising security guards at Combat Force a R100 bonus for every person killed.

Rautenbach told the court that at a parade held by Combat Force chief, Reeves, before the killing on June 15, 1990, he had been told:

"I want bodies tonight . . . shoot to kill . . . I'll back you up."

Rautenbach fired four shots at Iponse Dlamini after the man appeared drunk at a Lamontville construction site.

He said he had been employed by the company for less than a month when the shooting took place, was given no training as a security guard and had no experience in the use of the gun issued to him.

After the shooting, evidence was heard that an attempt had been made by Combat Force members to cover up the incident.

Own Correspondent

## Court told of shooting spree

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Ladysmith murder accused Callie Delport broke down in the Natal Supreme Court yesterday.

Delport, facing nine murder counts and others of attempted murder on January 20, wept as he told the court of an argument with his father, Martiens, over the sale of cattle.

At the steps of the farmhouse "everything before me turned black". He shot a "dark figure" that rushed at



**Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela breached the national peace accord in his recent address to the UN security council.** Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

# Kaunda adjudicates on Mandela today

RAY HARTLEY

FORMER Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Judge G Kotzé are expected to decide by midday today whether ANC president Nelson Mandela violated the national peace accord during an address to the UN in July.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been refusing to attend peace accord meetings since late July in protest at Mandela's statement to the UN.

Mandela allegedly told the international body Inkatha was a government surrogate.

A national peace committee spokesman said yesterday efforts by ANC and Inkatha lawyers to settle the dispute over the alleged transgression failed, and it had been decided that Kaunda and Kotzé would adjudicate after hearing both sides.

# Inkatha vows to defy ban

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA would continue defying the law banning weapons in public because it was unenforceable and a product of government and ANC connivance, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He was reacting to inquiries about why Inkatha ignored Witwatersrand Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Gerrit Erasmus's ruling that marchers not carry weapons during a Johannesburg march on Saturday.

Felgate rejected the notion that the ruling was made in terms of a government notice of February 28 and not as a result of the summit between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last month.

Meanwhile, police opened a docket and indicated Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi might face charges, as he led the march.

However, spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said video footage taken during the march had to be studied before a docket would be handed to the Attorney-General for a decision on whether to prosecute.

Felgate said Buthelezi had not condoned the carrying of weapons but he would not, in principle, have called on the marchers to lay them down either.

AK-47s, of which "the ANC had thousands stashed in arms caches", were the major cause of violence and killings, he insisted.

☐ Meanwhile, Sapa reports gunmen shot and killed five people in Natal yesterday, taking the death toll in two days to 18 in the strife-torn province.

KwaZulu police said three people were gunned down in Umbumbulu township, another in Esikhawini near Empangeni and the fifth victim killed in Kwamakhuta, south of Durban.

The 18 deaths in Natal, where more than 1 200 people have died so far this year, brought to at least 20 the number of people killed in unrest in the country over the weekend.

In the worst incident, eight people were killed early on Sunday at Umgababa by raiders wielding pangas and spears and firing home-made guns.

RISON.

# the nation in brief

Sowetan 20/10/92

## Azapo stayaway call flops

THE one-day stayaway call by the Azanian People's Organisation on the Reef yesterday went unheeded as workers went to work in their usual thousands.

According to the South African Chamber of Business and transport service organisations, business was normal and buses and trains were full yesterday morning.

A spokesman for Spoornet, Mr Ephraim Mohale, said the call had had no effect on trains. A Putco spokesman, Mr Brian Treweek, supported Mohale, saying as far as he knew there was no stayaway on the Reef yesterday.

## Otis charged for lift death

Sowetan 20/10/92

AN elevator company is facing criminal charges following the death two years ago of a man who was cut in half by a lift in a Durban building.

The Natal division of the Otis Elevator Company faces charges in terms of the Machinery and Occupational Safety Act for allegedly designating that Mr K Marimuthu, who was not under the supervision of an experienced person, work on the lift.

The company's director, Mr S Lewis, yesterday pleaded not guilty in the Durban Magistrate's Court to the charge. The case was postponed to November 16.

## Red Cross gets R920 000

Sowetan 20/10/92

MORE than R920 000 to assist victims of violence in Alexandra was given to the South African Red Cross Society in Johannesburg yesterday by Social Relief Fund board chairman Dr Piet Koornhof.

The money, totalling R920 801,45, was the first allocation approved by the fund's executive for the Southern Transvaal Red Cross.

Koornhof said the Social Relief Fund was established after parliamentary approval was granted for the Fundraising Act to be amended to make official provision for the granting of financial assistance to communities affected by violence.

## Alleged harassment of PAC

Sowetan 20/10/92

SEVERAL cases of alleged harassment by security forces of Pan Africanist Congress members have been forwarded to the organisation's lawyers, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

## Rhodes Press lecture

Sowetan 20/10/92.

THE editor of Zimbabwe's leading independent newspaper, the Financial Gazette, will deliver the Rhodes University annual Press freedom lecture on Thursday.

Mr Trevor Ncube's topic will be Press freedom in Zimbabwe. The Financial Gazette made headlines earlier this month after Ncube became embroiled in a dispute with with a parliamentary committee over his source for a report on a multi-million-rand corruption scandal.

## Mediation for Willards strike

A PAY dispute that has led to a two-week pay strike at Willard Batteries would be referred to mediation today, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa spokesman, Mr Bimba Manqabashana, said yesterday. Sowetan 20/10/92.

HUNT LASCARIS TBWA 204096/CNW

# HoR 'aided drummies'

CT 20/10/92

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff

THE House of Representatives, while under the control of the Labour Party, donated R100 000 to help a group of drum majorettes take part in a competition abroad, but it did not have the authority to do so, a House committee said yesterday.

It also said the financial situation in the House of Representatives administration was still deteriorating.

The House of Representatives Committee on Public Accounts said it had considered evidence on "the deficient internal control, errors, poor financial record-keeping, non-compliance with instructions and incomplete Treasury replies to its resolutions."

The committee said it was "unable to deal with the problems" and effective corrective steps in the administration's financial controls should be given the highest priority, an independent monitoring commission should be instituted and there should be regular reporting to the Ministers' Council.

# HoD 'shortco

THE House of Delegates Committee on Public Accounts has expressed concern at "deficiencies and shortcomings" in the HoD administration's internal checking and controls.

In particular its report tabled in Parliament yesterday refers to problems with control "over leave, official quarters and subsidised and government motor transort".

It recommends that the administration's accounting officer give "special attention t in order t over the re

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# Webster: 3 'told to say nothing'

CT 20/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A top Special Branch officer visited CCB members in jail and warned them "to keep their mouths shut", the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster heard yesterday.

The second-in-command of the CID, at the time, General Jaap Joubert, said Civil Co-operation Bureau operatives Mr Ferdie Barnard, Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl and Mr Calla Botha had been visited by the then second-in-command of the Special Branch, General Krappies Engelbrecht, and warned not to talk.

General Joubert said he had asked the head of the SADF Special Services, General Eddie Webb, if there was a CCB "project" on Dr Webster. He denied it. The denial seemed to be a blanket one covering the May 1, 1989 shooting of Dr Webster, he said.

The inquest heard conflicting reports about Mr Bernard's alleged involvement in the assassination.

General Joubert said he believed Mr Barnard did not take part in the murder.

During his investigation into Dr Webster's murder, Mr Barnard had told him he believed he was going to be framed. He did not say who Mr Barnard thought was trying to frame him.

Mr Barnard was later freed to enable him to testify at the Harms Commission into politically motivated murders.

However, a lawyer who had represented the Webster family at the Harms Commission, Mr Martin Luitingh, testified that his cousin, former CCB operative Mr Lafras Luitingh, had told him Mr Barnard had admitted murdering Dr Webster.

Mr Barnard had told Mr Lafras Luitingh he had acted without the knowledge of his CCB bosses.

Mr Lafras Luitingh had met Mr Barnard to terminate his services with the CCB.

Mr Martin Luitingh said he believed Mr Barnard worked for the CCB on a freelance basis and that his cousin was his contact.

"Mr Barnard was not liked by (CCB chief) Joe Verster or the CCB, apparently because he talked a lot about what he did," Mr Luitingh said. — Own Correspondent, Sapa



**AMNESTY PROTEST** . . . Western Province Council of Churches theological officer Mr Shun Govender hands ANC MP Mr Jannie Momberg a statement condemning the amnesty bill after a march to Parliament yesterday.

Picture: STEWART COLEMAN

# Savimbi fails to turn up for crucial meeting

CT 20/10/92

LUANDA. — Peace in Angola was balanced on a knife edge yesterday as Unita soldiers captured "several" government riot police with sniper rifles in the vicinity of the airport where Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was due to land.

South African foreign affairs spokesman in Luanda Mr Gary Scallan said Unita was claiming this was a direct indication that an attempt on Dr Savimbi's life was being planned.

By late afternoon, he said, the indications were that Dr Savimbi would not fly from his headquarters in Huambo to attend the crucial meeting with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The Unita soldiers who had surrounded the airport to secure their leader's arrival had been withdrawn, leaving SA Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Mr Hank Cohen waiting for hours in the airport.

Mr Scallan said that should Dr Savimbi renege on his agreement to meet Mr Dos Santos, Mr Botha and Mr Cohen would re-evaluate their positions as mediators.

Dr Savimbi is insisting that he and Mr Dos Santos should meet at Luanda airport, but Mr Dos Santos has refused, Angolan sources close to the negotiations said yesterday.

Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos were expected to discuss sharing power in a future government of national unity and arrangements for holding a run-off in the presidential poll. Sapa-AFP

## 11 000 flee Cabinda fighting

**BRAZZAVILLE. — Eleven thousand people have fled conflict and military repression in Angola's Cabinda enclave and recently arrived in Congo, sources close to Congolese relief agencies said yesterday.**

**Four thousand of the refugees were yesterday in Congo's oil capital, Point Noire, where their needs were being assessed, the sources said.**

**The refugees fled Cabinda because soldiers beat them when they boycotted the recent elections, they said. — Sapa-AFP**




# *focus on* The Press

Sowetan 20/10/92. (327)

**Political leaders debated the question of Press freedom and democracy at a seminar organised by the Sowetan yesterday. In the first article in a series, we publish excerpts from a paper by Azapo's Dr Nchaupe Mokoape.**

TODAY IS EXACTLY 15 years to the day that the jackboot of apartheid descended and crushed the dissenting Press in our country.

They banned the *World* and *Week end World* and *Pro Veritate* newspapers and the UBJ. Before October 19 1977 there had certainly been many encroachments on Press freedom and since then there have been many more.

But October 19 1977 epitomises the height of intolerance of this regime to ideas other than its own. On this day, not only were newspapers and the UBJ banned, but 16 other organisations that propagated the philosophy and ideas of Black Consciousness were also banned.

Many people were banned and imprisoned, many were killed, and many more fled their motherland.

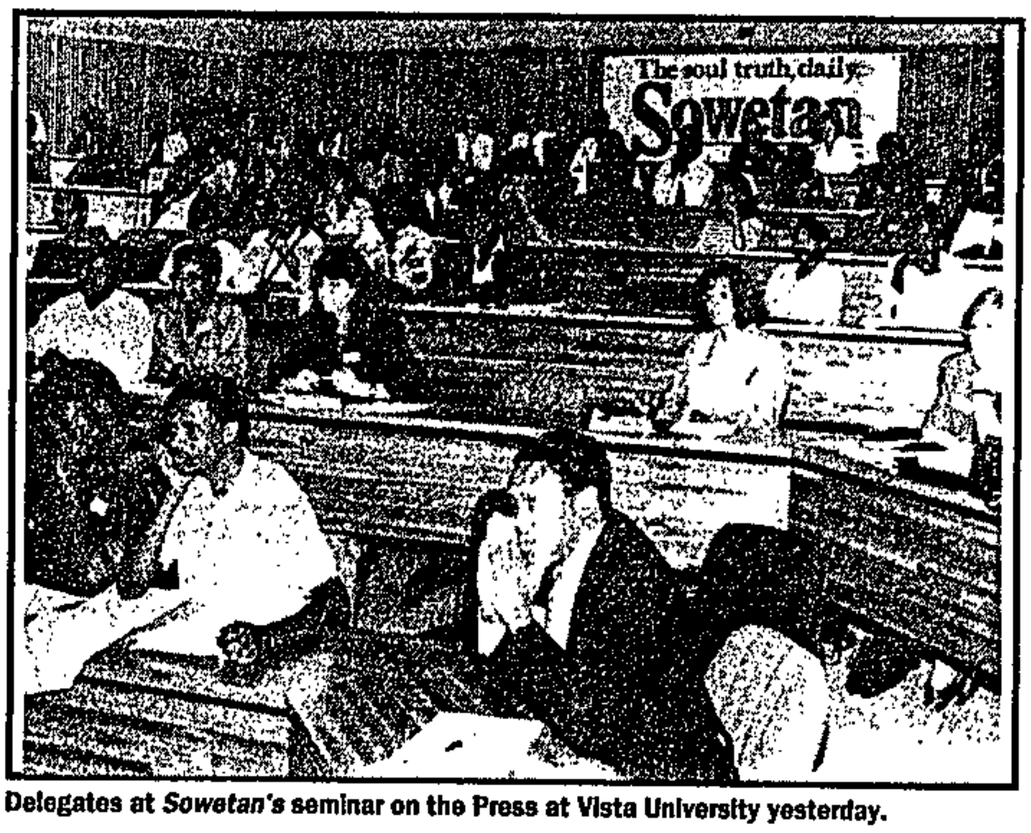
We could look at this episode of bannings with both sadness and pride. Sadness because it occasioned suffering for our people and delayed the process of transforming our society.

Today the same regime that resisted new ideas is tottering on the brink of an abyss, about to be consigned to the dustbin of history. In that fate it is not alone. It joins a long queue of similarly-minded regimes that are history's debris and that litter the sands of time.

Many today know that in fact the earth does revolve around the sun. Many of you might also know that Tiro and Steve Biko were murdered in the most brutal manner for advocating BC.

You also know that today Black Consciousness is the driving force of our total liberation.

From all that I have said it should be clear that Azapo's answer to the question "Is press freedom fundamental for Democracy?" is an emphatic "Yes". For Press freedom is inseparable from freedom and progress, and freedom is inseparable from democracy.




**Delegates at *Sowetan's* seminar on the Press at Vista University yesterday.**

## Questions are interlinked

Let us turn the question on its head and ask: "Is democracy fundamental for press freedom?" And again Azapo's answer is an emphatic "Yes". For Azapo the two questions are interlinked and interpenetrable.

Which leads us immediately to two fundamental questions. "What is democracy?" and "What is Press freedom?"

Without an understanding of these questions we might be in danger of echoing shiboleths that might in fact stab our people in the back.

It is absolutely essential to strive for the universal norm. But it is simultaneously essential to adapt that universal norm to the specific conditions of our society.

For us in Azapo, without attempting to offer a comprehensive definition, democracy means the maximum empowerment of every single individual in our society to exercise power in and influence the direction of society.

It means both the ability of the individual working within society to maximise his potential and to contribute to society. It means both individuality, as opposed to individualism, and solidarity, as opposed to servility. By inference, it is mutually exclusive with poverty and deprivation.

For as long as a small minority has economic power to the exclusion of the majority, talk of democracy is idle at best. Democracy cannot mean the mere exercise of a vote by an ignorant, hungry and confused people.

Democracy and the fruition and contestation of ideas are inseparable. This leads us to the question of freedom of the Press.

The freedom of the Press, or better still the freedom to express and propagate ideas, is a right that has been won for us by previous generations in countless battles. But like democracy, it has become the freedom of the powerful to propagate and impose their ideas.

The same limitations that condition democracy apply to Press freedom. The obvious question is: "Whose press freedom are we talking about, whose ideas are being propagated?"

For black people in this country and for all the people in the oppressed world, this question is a strident one because we are involved in an effort to shape our destiny but we do not have the capacity to propagate our ideas.

While the struggles for Press freedom and democracy go hand in hand, the struggle for democracy takes priority.

The black Press should wage a struggle for the democratisation of the institutions in which they function and must become spokespersons of their people.

The black Press should network with their counterparts in the deprived world to wage war against the monopoly of information and to encourage critical readership and listenership.

**Tomorrow: Peter Soal of the Democratic Party speaks on the Press.**

## Private health plans slated

B|DAY 21|10|92

PLANS by the private health care community to introduce managed health care organisations have been condemned by the SA Dispensing Practitioners' Association.

Addressing the association's conference at the weekend, committee member Dr Rashid Saloojee said medical aid schemes, in collusion with clinic groups, planned to entrench "their dominance over all aspects of the private health care market".

Saloojee said while medical scheme administrators claimed managed health care organisations would do away with the abuse of medical aid schemes by patients and doctors, they would serve only vested interests and not the needs of the people. B|DAY

The concept originated in the US and could not simply be transplanted into SA. 21|10|92

# Account of Webster murder claim denied

B|DAY 21|10|92

A FORMER member of 32 Battalion, called to testify at the inquest into the murder of academic David Webster yesterday, denied former CCB freelance operative Ferdi Barnard had told him "we did Webster".

Kevin Treisman, who was subpoenaed to testify by lawyers acting for the Webster family, said he had never discussed the Webster murder with Barnard whom he described as an acquaintance.

When Treisman took the witness stand, counsel for the Webster family, E Bertelsmann SC, asked him if it was correct he had told instructing attorney Greg Nott earlier yesterday that he had been pressured and was not prepared to testify.

"I didn't say I was scared," Treisman said. "I said I had nothing to say."

He denied telling Nott yesterday that certain people and the police were all involved and/or a colonel from Bramley had said he should keep his mouth shut.

"Did you say you were prepared to spend 90 days in Diepkloof rather than answer questions," Bertelsmann asked him. "No sir," he replied.

He agreed that an explosive device thrown into his garden some months ago could be regarded as a threat.

"I would take it as a threat, but it could be for many things," Treisman said.

Questioned by Bertelsmann, he agreed that Nott and Weekly Mail journalists, Drew Forrest and Eddie Koch, had visited him at his Corlett drive home in May this year.

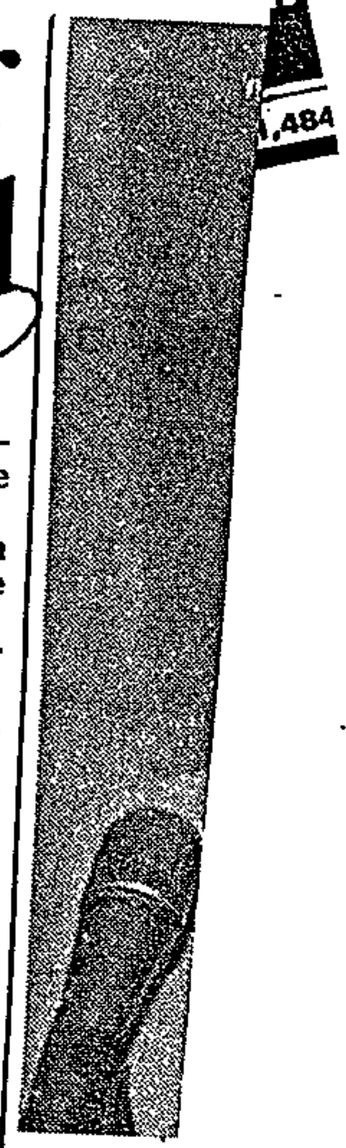
Treisman said he had not discussed his relationship with Ferdi Barnard with them.

He also denied telling them that he had discussed the Webster murder with Barnard or that Barnard had said "we did Webster".

He said when Nott called at his home in September he told him he had nothing to say.

Bertelsmann told Treisman that he would ask his instructing attorneys to arrange "that circumstances be created in which you may reconsider the evidence which you have given".

SUSAN RUSSELL 327



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It is believed ANC secretary-general tus Mekgwe.

# Productivity in ANC spotlight

WILSON ZWANE

NO PROGRAMME aimed at increasing productivity would succeed unless the entire economic system was legitimised, ANC NEC member Saki Macozoma said yesterday. BT Day 21/10/92.

Addressing the 36th annual convention of the Institute of Personnel Management in Sun City, Macozoma said labour should not be blamed exclusively for the ills of the country's economy.

He said various factors had an impact on the "productivity dynamic".

These included the perception SA's economic system was illegitimate because it excluded blacks, and the poor education system which "fails to inculcate basic tenets that would help in increasing productivity".

Macozoma said the country's political crisis was characterised by:

- ☐ A lack of political legitimacy;
- ☐ Mistrust of security forces and the judicial system (by blacks);
- ☐ A climate of repression and intolerance;
- ☐ Escalating exploitation of ethnic and regional divisions; and
- ☐ The collapse of local authorities.

# Police 'threatened Boipatong witness'

BT Day 21/10/92

**TWO policemen threatened a witness of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the June 17 Boipatong massacre when they visited his home, the inquiry heard in Vereeniging yesterday.**

**ANC counsel Karel Tip told the commission, which resumed sitting yesterday after a two-month recess, that the witness had said policemen visited his Boipatong home on Wednesday last week. The witness was not home so the policemen had left a threatening message with his wife, Tip said.**

**SAP counsel Flip Hattingh told the commission the police had no idea the man was to be called as a witness.**

**He said policemen had visited the Boipatong area on Wednesday night to make certain observations, but said they had not entered any premises.**

**The commission was also told that an analysis of the erased police tapes relevant to the investigation would be made available next week.**

**Judge Richard Goldstone said the British government, to whom the tape had been submitted for analysis, would provide the commission with the relevant information. — Sapa.**

# Stress a danger to black managers

BT Day 21/10/92

SUN CITY — The small pool of black managers would shrink in the next five years should advancement programmes not take into account stress-related disorders, Bristol-Myers-Squibb director Ben Allmann said yesterday.

ANDREW KRUMM

Speaking at the 36th annual convention of the Institute of Personnel Management, Allmann said corporates had to extend their thinking beyond the workplace, or about 86% of black managers would suffer from performance-impairing stress related disorders within the next two years.

He said his predictions were based on the results of a three-year collaborative national management stress research project he conducted among managers from 13 major companies.

The project showed that black managers found their homes and community environments twice as stressful as their work.

Black managers recorded lower remuneration, less praise and more criticism, discrimination and cultural gaps as contributory to stress.

**PRESS FREEDOM** *Freedom of speech clause should be included in new constitution*

# A free Press vital for SA

Sowetan 21/10/92 (327)

**CITIZEN'S RIGHT** *Part of an address by DP media spokesman*

*Mr Peter Soal at the annual Sowetan Press seminar this week:*

Is Press freedom fundamental for democracy?

The short answer would be for me to say "Yes" and to sit down.

However, I have no doubt you require more from me than that.

The Democratic Party and its predecessors have long supported the principle of a free and unfettered Press as a guarantor of freedom of expression and of democratic fundamentals.

During the current transition, all elements of society will only develop confidence in a democratic future for our country if they are assured their voices will be heard through the adoption of laws and policies supporting Press freedom.

We have no doubt that the disgraceful policies of apartheid would have shrivelled years earlier had they been exposed to the light of an unfettered Press. The integrity and fearlessness of a few journalists and editors - people who had the courage to risk life and careers to attack unjust policies or expose shameless government scandals - made substantial contributions to bringing about apartheid's final demise.

### Freest in Africa

Although South Africa's Press is possibly the freest in Africa, our recent experience has shown that substantial changes will be required to assure that South Africa will benefit from the high standard of Press freedom our citizens expect.

*Bill Of Rights:*

The Democratic Party strongly believes that a Bill of Rights, specifically assuring freedom of speech and of the Press will need to be included in the new constitution for South Africa. The descriptions of these freedoms in the constitution should be short, succinct and unambiguous so as to avoid confusion and possible complications from the changes brought about by future developments or technologies.

Any person or group should have the right to test any Act of Parliament against the Bill of Rights through the courts. Without these firm constitutional safeguards, the ability of South Africans to protect our seedling democracy will be sadly restricted.

*Basic Rights:*

A citizen's right to privacy, dignity and other freedoms entrenched in the Bill of Rights should not be violated in favour of the freedom of the Press.

In inter-acting with society, newspapers should conduct and regulate themselves in accordance with a code of conduct which conforms to democratic norms and standards.

*Restrictive Press Laws:*

As a demonstration of its faith in the future of democracy and free speech in South Africa, the Democratic Party asks and has asked the government frequently to repeal the following laws, or the relevant sections, which tend to restrict Press freedoms:

- Internal Security Act
- Defence Act
- Police Act
- Prisons Act
- Criminal Procedure Act
- Petroleum Products Act
- Mental Health Act
- Electoral Act
- National Key Points Act
- Armaments Development Act
- Public Safety Act

This partial list, drawn from experts at a conference earlier this year, demonstrates the wide range of legislation impinging on Press freedom at the present time.

Other groups, including the Media Council, have also prepared lists of laws restricting Press freedom that require urgent amendment or repeal.

When a Bill of Rights is adopted, laws such as these, or their relevant sections, will no doubt be declared unconstitutional by the courts.

However, it is essential for a successful political transition that these laws or their relevant sections be repealed as soon as possible.

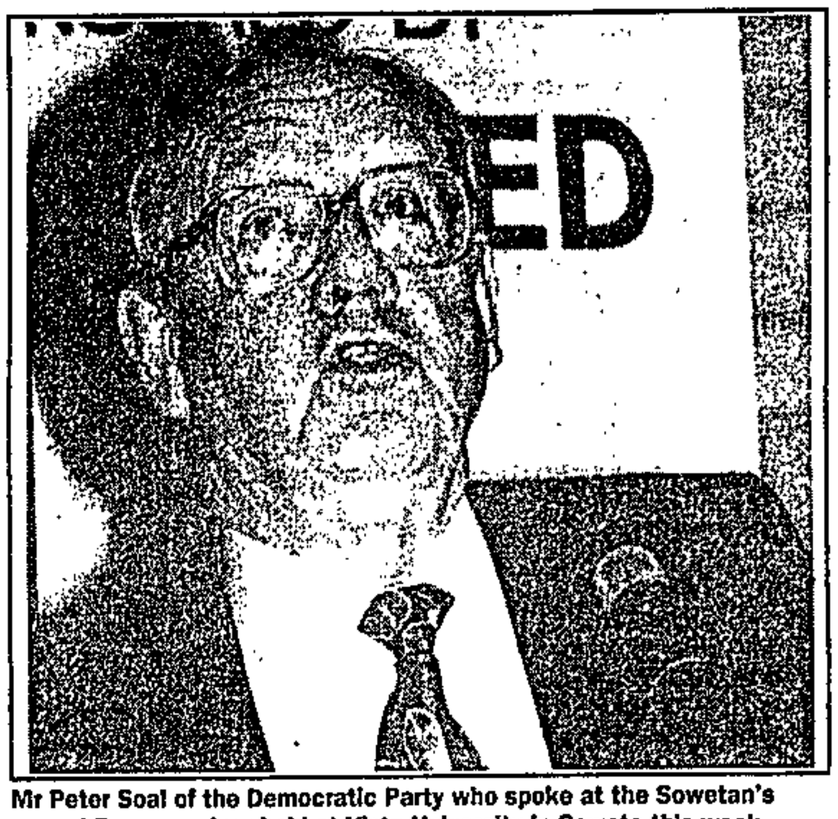
*Protection Of Information or Freedom Of Information:*

The fundamental changes which our country is undergoing requires nothing less than a complete re-evaluation of the way in which we treat information, particularly public information. If our citizens and the world are to believe in the National Party reforms then it is high time to lift the veil of secrecy which covers much of the government's activities.

In view of Government's poor record in protecting the civil liberties of its citizens during the apartheid years and in view of the urgent need to develop a sense of trust between people and government, the Democratic Party strongly urges the adoption of Freedom of Information policies by the negotiators and by Parliament.

*Freedom of Information Commission and Opening Of Police Files:*

We in the Democratic Party are convinced that the government should appoint a Commission on Freedom of Information composed of say five individuals of prominent standing in the community who are broadly representative of all South Africans.



**Mr Peter Soal of the Democratic Party who spoke at the Sowetan's annual Press seminar held at Vista University in Soweto this week.**

### Matter of urgency

It would set procedures for citizen access to government information with the powers to oversee the declassification of most records currently kept secret from South Africans and to set guidelines for the continued justification of classified materials in the future.

Further, the commission should, as a matter of urgency, work with the NIS, SAP and Department of Defence to immediately declassify and make available to individual South Africans all information that has been collected on them.

It has long been a dirty little secret of this country that many people - both ordinary individuals and powerful politicians - have been the subject of secret surveillance by government. If there is no criminal investigation underway and no justifiable national security consideration at stake, the people who pay the bills have a right to know what records are being kept on them.

*Ownership And Control Of The Press:*

South Africa's special history has resulted in a unique pattern of Press ownership and control. Because the industry is dominated by four major groups, many South Africans do not believe that the Press adequately represents their interests and concerns.

Many feel they are being served only biased editorial policies and may feel that their views are inadequately reflected.

The Democratic Party believes that, in carrying out their role as conveyors of political opinion, newspapers are primarily business enterprises. Like other businesses, newspapers must understand and serve their markets in order to continue their work.

We believe that South Africa, including its majority disadvantaged by apartheid, is best served by commercially-owned newspapers.

On the other hand, many black South Africans believe they have been ill-served by a lack of diversity in newspaper ownership.

The answer, as we see it, is not the creation and funding at public expense of several additional newspapers for the various political parties. Rather, we would think a programme of affirmative action in information policy, in which government offers tax incentives to the major newspaper chains to sell one or more papers and magazines to a black-owned company.

Additional incentives might be offered to other companies who assist with equipment, supplies, training, printing or other fundamental service required in the setting up of newspaper and/or magazines serving those peoples in our country who have not been served by apartheid's legacy.

We urge that when negotiations resume, a technical committee meet with the Newspaper Press Union, the heads of the major newspaper chains and with the independent Press to discuss public policy options that could serve the end of broadening newspaper ownership and control.

Although we oppose government action which would force any company to divest itself of a newspaper or magazine, we share the view of many that efforts need to be made so that the industry is not dominated solely by a few, white-dominated companies.

The new South Africa's fundamental premise is the broadening of access - the inclusion of those previously excluded. We hope to work with all to develop public policies that will broaden the ownership and control of our print media and contribute to the concept of the freedom of the Press.

*Establish Democratic Media:*

South Africa needs to move from a closed society into a culture of open debate based on the freest possible flow of information. Affirmative action is needed to redress inequalities in our society created by the wrongs of past governments.

I conclude in the manner in which I began. I have no doubt Press freedom is fundamental for democracy. Press freedom includes freedom of information and the free flow of ideas. In this connection the South African Press has a proud record.

We must ensure that freedom is protected so that in the new South Africa the seed of democracy will take root and flourish under the protection of a free Press.

**Tomorrow: The PAC's John Mlambo speaks on the Press.**

ms ● Buthelezi challenges Government

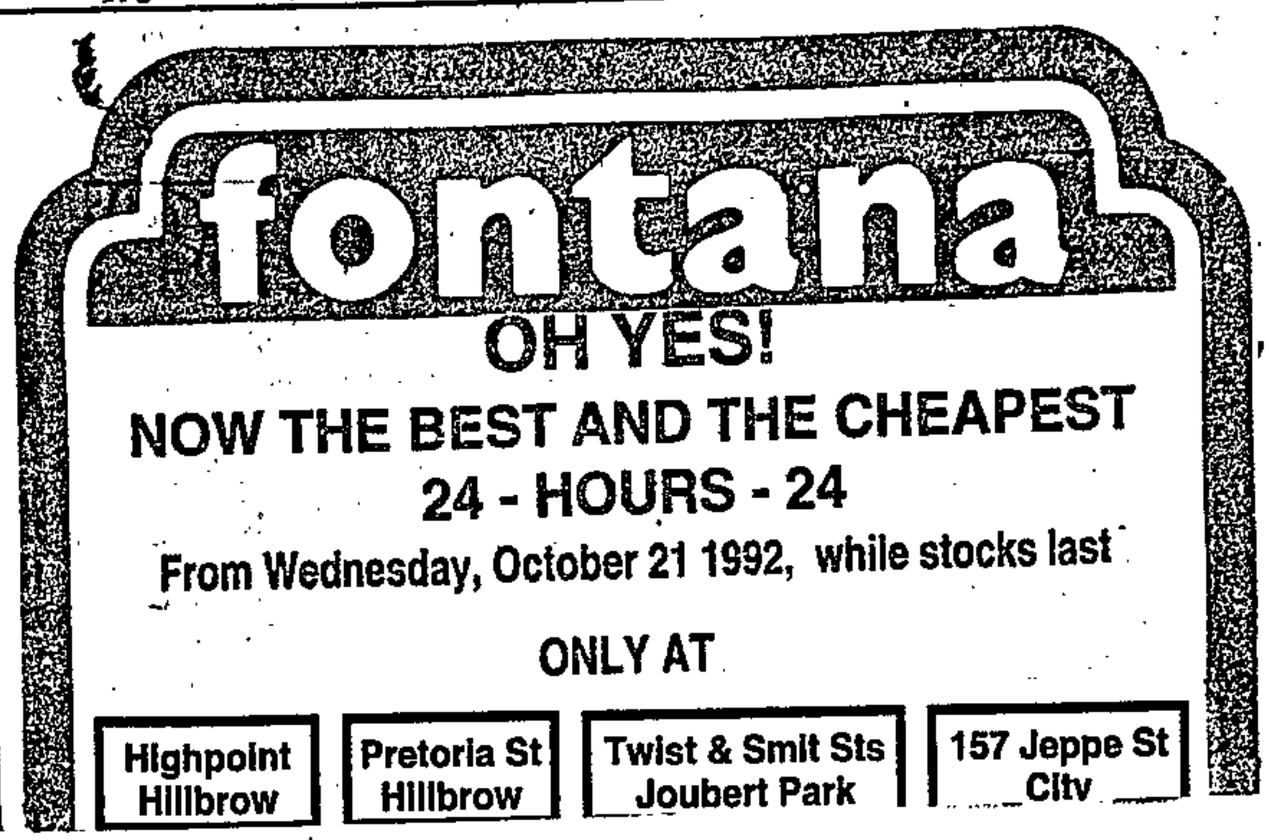
# Buthelezi dares Kriel

## ■ Claims that ANC-SACP alliance gets preferential treatment:

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dared the Government to charge him for leading a march defying the ban on the carrying of "traditional" weapons in public.

"Let Mr (Hernus) Kriel charge me as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. If convicted I'm prepared to go to jail."

Sowetan 21/10/92

# 'Burger identified Webster killers'

Bldnty 22/10/92

(327)

SUSAN RUSSELL

DAVID Webster was murdered by CCB members Calla Botha, Ferdi Barnard and Chappie Maree according to information given to a journalist by former CCB operative Staal Burger, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Testifying at the inquest into Webster's murder before Judge M Stegmann, freelance journalist Johannes Gagiano said Burger had told him the three murdered the Wits academic on the CCB's orders.

Gagiano described Burger as an "extremely trustworthy source" who had supplied him with information for years prior to making his allegations about the Webster murder.

The journalist said he was first approached in November/December 1989 by Gen Jaap Joubert, a member of the police team investigating the murder.

Joubert told him there was a possible defence force connection to the murder and asked Gagiano, as a journalist, to "throw a rock into the bush".

Gagiano then wrote a report which was published in Rapport on December 3 1989.

"The reaction was that the SADF immediately officially admitted the existence of the CCB," Gagiano said.

He said at the time he was already friendly with Burger who had been supplying him with information from time to time over the past 12 years.

Some of this information had been told to him in confidence by Burger and was not for publication.

"Due to the friendly and trusting rela-

☐ To Page 2

## Webster

Bldnty 22/10/92

(327)

☐ From Page 1

tionship that existed between us, I had received information that few, if any, other journalists had obtained from this source. All the information ever given to me was 100% correct."

Gagiano said Burger and he had discussed the Webster murder during January 1990.

"This source informed me at his home that the police would never catch the murderers of Dr David Webster, because he (Burger) knew precisely what had happened," Gagiano said.

"He informed me that Dr Webster was murdered by three members of the CCB, namely Calla Botha and Ferdi Barnard, who were sitting in the front of the car from which the fatal shot was fired, and Chappie Maree, sitting behind on the left, and who fired the fatal shot."

Gagiano said according to Burger the three had been ordered to murder Webster.

"Although he did not specify in detail from whom the order came it was clear from the conversation it must have come from a very senior defence force officer or a higher source," the journalist said.

Gagiano said from what Burger told him he had gathered the three had received logistical support from the police because they had apparently been driving a police vehicle and used a firearm and ammunition which were standard issue to members of the police.

He added that there was also no doubt from the conversation that Burger was involved in the preparation for the attack on Webster because he was higher up the CCB chain of command than Botha, Barnard and Maree.

"In March 1991 I had an article in the Patriot in which I quoted Staal Burger and Eddie Webb where they complained bitterly that they had been thrown to the wolves by the SADF and the government," Gagiano said.

"Staal Burger told me, as is also apparent from that report, that they carried out certain orders which they were told must be done in the interests of the country, but that they were now being betrayed since the political situation had changed.

"Gen Webb confirmed these sentiments and agreed that I must publish them."

Gagiano said Burger also informed him that Chappie Maree, together with Donald Acheson, were responsible for the murder of Namibian activist and Lawyer Anton Lubowski.

Burger also said that he was "in the area" himself at the time.

In his written statement Gagiano said he did not wish to identify his "source" unless ordered to do so by the court.

However, during initial questions put by the State which is leading the evidence of witnesses at the inquest, Gagiano immediately disclosed that the source referred to was Burger.

# Soldiers and cops guard candidates

Sowetan 22/10/92

## ■ Many write exams at secret venues:

**By Sonti Maseko**

THOUSANDS of matric pupils turned out countrywide to write the first Mathematics paper.

In Diepkloof, Soweto, some pupils, fearing disruptions, chose to sit for their examinations at secret venues while others wrote under police and army guard.

The situation at several schools in Diepkloof, where schooling was disrupted for a week, seemed to have returned to normal.

The pupils had vowed they would not write unless their detained schoolmates had been released.

Police in Casspirs and military vehicles patrolled the area and other vehicles were seen parked outside Fidelitas High School, where a private car was stoned, looted and set alight on Tuesday.

The Department of Education and Training, however, said it was unaware of the patrols.

# the nation in brief

## CCB men 'killed' Webster

CIVIL Co-operation Bureau agents Ferdi Barnard, Chappie Maree and Calla Botha murdered Wits University academic Dr David Webster on instructions from the CCB, a judicial inquest in the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Journalist Johannes Petrus Gagiano said he received this information from another CCB agent, Staal Burger, who had also been involved in the planning of the murder. (327)

He said he had known Burger for 12 years and the information he had received from him had always been 100 percent correct. Sowetan

Gagiano said it was clear the instructions to murder Webster had come from a senior SADF officer or a higher source. 22/10/92

The hearing continues today.

## PAC meets Govt tomorrow

THE Pan Africanist Congress and Government summit begins in Gaborone tomorrow and will be opened by Botswana Foreign Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, who is to chair the two-day meeting.

The Government's delegation will be headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development. Sowetan 22/10/92

PAC second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim lead the organisation's team.

A joint statement released from Cape Town this week said the meeting would pave the way for "fully representative constitutional negotiations and to address, among other things, ways and means to end the violence".

Although the parties have agreed not to publicise the agenda it is believed the talks will focus on a future summit between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and State President Mr FW de Klerk and on the PAC's armed struggle.

HUNT L

# *focus on* the Press

Sowetan 22/10/92 (327)

In an address at the *Sowetan* seminar PAC first deputy president **Mr Johnson P Mlambo** looks back over the years of "kragdadigheid" which characterised the apartheid crusade by John Vorster and Jimmy Kruger. He commends those who, despite intimidation and harassment, fulfilled their patriotic role:

SINCE OUR GATHERING coincides with the 15th anniversary of the banning of *The World* and 18 organisations of the oppressed, it necessarily assumes the nature of a commemoration.

The bannings and detentions by Jimmy Kruger and BJ Vorster were ruthless and dramatic - in accord with "kragdadigheid" then characteristic of apartheid practitioners.

PAC commends those of you who continued to fulfil your patriotic duties in spite of the numerous detentions and harassments.

But it is our contention that other less dramatic attacks on, or obstacles to, Press freedom should also be denounced. These are:

* The stranglehold on Press freedom by white owned conglomerates,

* The control and manipulation of the electronic media by the regime, and

* The prevalence of political intolerance among the oppressed which threatens journalists in their work.

Barney Desai, PAC secretary for publicity and information, has enlarged at various forums on our concerns about the monopoly stranglehold on the Press by the "big four". These are the Argus Group, Times Media Ltd, Perskor and Volkskas NasPers. The first two dominate the English Press and are both controlled by Anglo-American. The last two, controlled by the Rembrandt Group and Sanlam respectively, run the Afrikaans Press.

But like the English giants, they also own *City Press, Drum* and *True Love* - which are read by the African community.

This stranglehold is accentuated by the regime's control and manipulation of the SABC-TV and radio, as well as the control of M-Net by the "big four" with the SABC.

The very high price of entry ensures there is only a one-sided flow of information from the ruling class but no effective free and democratic dialogue.

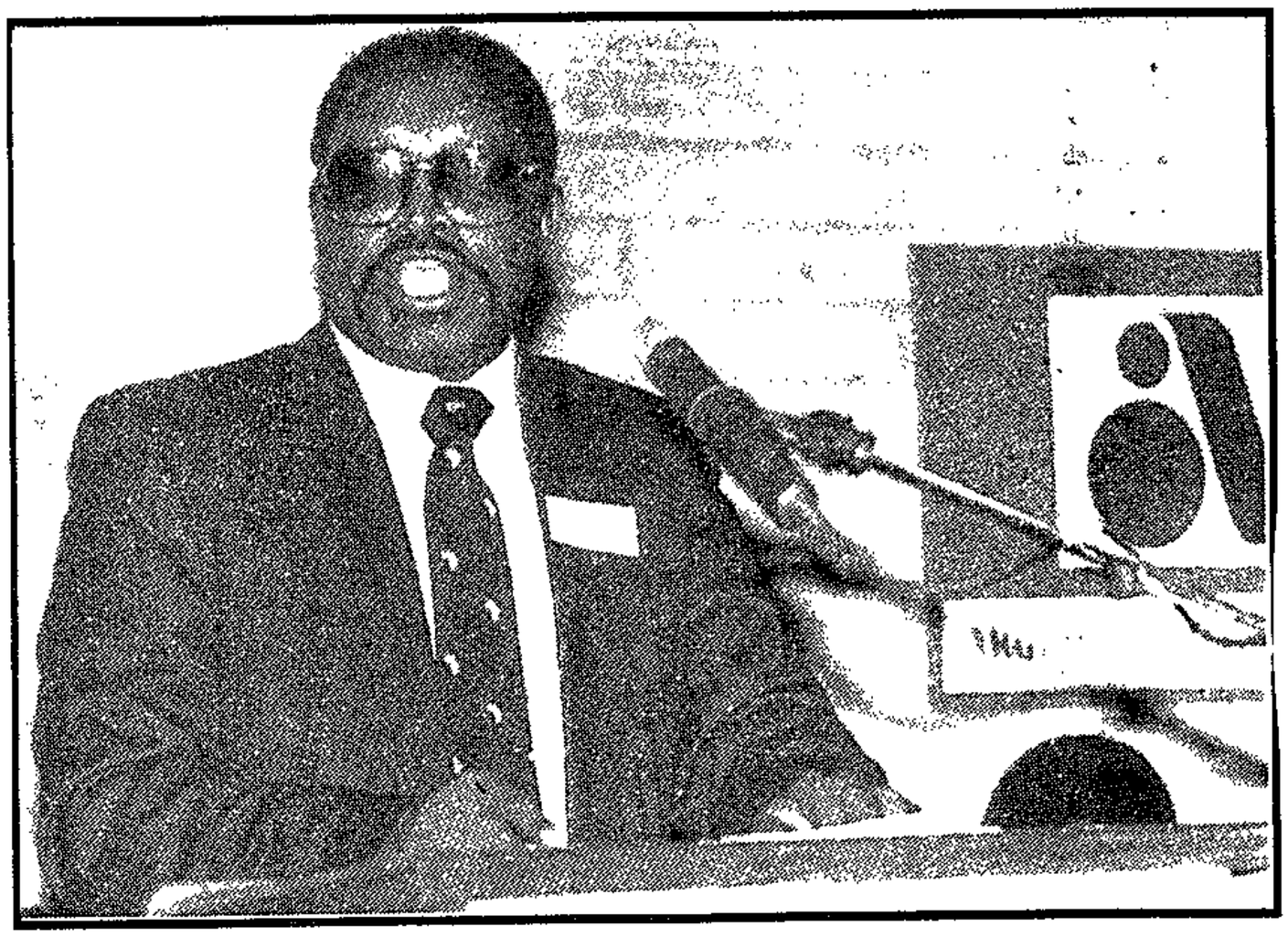
The agenda for debate, even the content of freedom of speech, freedom of the Press and of democracy is set unilaterally economically and politically.

The absence of political tolerance among the oppressed has manifested itself, for example, in attempts by some organisations to boycott the *Sowetan* several times, or attempts to put pressure on certain media institutions not to employ people of a particular political tendency.

This unfortunate anti-democratic tendency is being fully manipulated by the regime - violence perpetrated by its agents takes cover under so-called black-on-black violence.

Mr FW de Klerk on February 2 1990 assured us "the season of violence is over".

But violence has dramatically increased. PAC denounces this trend and blames the regime and its mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Selous Scouts from Zimbabwe.



**PAC first deputy president Johnson Mlambo.**

PAC president Mlamli Clarence Makwetu - during the signing of the Peace Accord in 1991 - called for the expulsion of mercenaries from our country under international supervision.

But De Klerk's solution of disbanding these forces is not only nominal, it spreads the cancer of violence throughout our country.

On negotiations, the PAC regards the present trend of talks with the regime by the oppressed as unfortunate.

PAC forfeited its right to speak to the regime in April 1991, to enhance unity - which the PAC worked hard to achieve.

We have said in the past that this is an untenable situation which we wish to redress in the interest of genuine democracy.

Recent examples of the biased reporting from this media are:

* Censorship by omission of Apla and the PAC by most newspapers when reporting on FW de Klerk's recent threats to take strong action against the armed wings of ANC, PAC and AWB. This betrays a deep desire to portray PAC as insignificant.

* Another glaring example of these diplomatic assaults on Press freedom - the reports on Boipatong's angry response to De Klerk's visit on June 20 1992.

Ignoring the presence of PAC second deputy president, Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, and six other PAC leaders, media reports only spoke of a mob that chased De Klerk away and attributed everything to another organisation in spite of the fact that the slogans and flag clearly showed the unmistakable presence of the PAC.

This practice has a long history. When the PAC introduced non-racialism in 1959, we were told this word was "un-English". When we called for an elected Constituent Assembly instead of rushing into negotiations we were again ridiculed.

But thanks to our principled steadfastness, these have become popular.

# Webster 'hit men' named

CT 22/10/92 (327)

## 'CCB man told me of shooting'

JOHANNESBURG. — CCB commander Colonel Staal Burger named operatives Mr Chappie Maree, Mr Calla Botha and Mr Ferdie Barnard as the murderers of anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster, a journalist told an inquest in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The three men were ordered to carry out the assassination by someone within the South African Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau, the court also heard.

This testimony was given by Mr Johan Gagiano, who said Colonel Burger, the head of the CCB's Region Six, was a reliable source who had given him accurate information over 12 years.

Colonel Burger told him in January 1990 the police would never find the killers of the University of the Witwatersrand anthropology lecturer who was shot outside his Troyeville home on May 1, 1989.

"He also told me Dr Webster was killed by three CCB members, namely Mr Calla Botha and Mr Ferdie Barnard, who sat in the front of the car... and Mr Chappie Maree, who sat at the left rear of the car and fired the fatal shot," Mr Gagiano said.

He said Colonel Burger had told him the three men had orders to kill Dr Webster, but he had refused to say who gave the instruction.

Mr Gagiano said he was told the killers used a standard issue police shotgun with shells that were also standard issue to policemen.

"There was also no doubt that he (Colonel Burger) was involved in the preparation for the attack on Dr Webster, because his line function was above that of the CCB members involved," Mr Gagiano said.

Colonel Burger had also told him that Mr Maree and Mr Donald Acheson were possibly responsible for the murder of Swapo executive member Dr Anton Lubowski in Windhoek in September 1989.

This was the result of a CCB order, said Mr Gagiano.

The hearing was adjourned to today to give legal counsel for the military, CCB head Colonel Joe Verster and Mr Ferdie Barnard, Mr Calla Botha and Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl time to prepare cross-examination of Mr Gagiano.

Earlier, Mr Gagiano said that in an interview with Colonel Burger published in Die Patriot newspaper, the Conservative Party's mouthpiece, the colonel had complained that the SADF and the government had "thrown his organisation to the wolves".

Journalists were yesterday restrained from reporting the last paragraph of Mr Gagiano's statement to the court.

Mr Justice Michael Stegmann is on the bench. — Sapa

# Repression gave a false sense of security — Kriel

GERALD REILLY

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told a Pretoria University audience last night that repressive laws in force before the start of government's reforms in February 1990 had created "a false sense of security".

Addressing an Institute of Strategic Studies function in Pretoria, he said that only a vibrant economy would bring relief from a soaring crime rate and political violence.

Before February 2 1990, political violence and the revolutionary onslaught could be fought by way of massive repression, a full state of emergency, preventative detention without trial, and curfews, Kriel said.

"But by forcefully keeping the lid on the pot we have simply veiled a very serious problem instead of solving it — in other words a false sense of security was created," he said.

He said the country faced conflict, mayhem and anarchy unless political and other role players joined forces to resolve the problem.

He stressed, however, that SA's economic problems were the biggest single factor in escalating crime. Seven out of every 10 crimes in 1991 were economically related.

Kriel said 1 858 people died in more than 7 500 incidents of political violence in the year to end-September.

He said intimidation was an alarming and integral part of the violence.

The laws against the handling and possession of firearms would be strengthened.

During 1991 police recovered 5 700 firearms, including 1 200 AK-47s. Between January and September this year, more than 5 500 illegal firearms and 23 arms caches were siezed.

Kriel called upon the ANC to abandon its mass action campaign for the sake of "peace and stability".

He said inflammatory rhetoric and incitement in mass action was in blatant disregard of the peace accord.

He urged the signatories to the national peace accord to rededicate themselves to its provisions.

For the sake of peace, it was vital that all private armies including the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and paramilitary structures be disbanded immediately.

Kriel said it was possible the ANC could not control its cadres or arms.

Resistance had also gained momentum in far right circles.

Kriel said police manpower had more than doubled to 20 494, supplemented by 100 724 assistants.

# Boesak: govt land sales must stop

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — People who lost their land in the western Cape through the Group Areas Act should put in their claims for restoration now, ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak said yesterday.

"Illegal sales of state land must be stopped immediately," he said.

Boesak said government was selling off land as fast as it could that had been earmarked for resale to victims of the Group Areas Act.

"Of the 5 200 properties in state hands last year, only 3 200 remain. The current Rondevlei case is a clear example that illegal sales and corruption are taking place while the interests of those with legitimate claims are being sidelined and ignored."

"We demand that the government take immediate steps to freeze all sales of state land and, furthermore, that it instructs the state departments concerned to write to all families whose land was removed under the Group Areas Act, informing them of their right to submit a claim for the return of the land," Boesak said.

He added that the ANC, in conjunction with other organisations, was considering launching a campaign to inform the public of its right to submit land claims.

**PRESS** *A democratic Press will act as a catalyst of change — Chief Buthelezi*

# The media needs to be impartial

Sowetan 23/10/92 (327)

**FRANK TALKING** *Address by Chief*

*Buthelezi to Sowetan Press seminar this week:*

AS A LEADING politician in this country, with years of experience in the political realm, and through direct exposure to the politics of the day, I have developed clear and concrete ideals and beliefs concerning the structure and functioning of a future democratic South Africa.

But before my vision can be realised I need to shape the vision of all South Africans.

Many South Africans are not so sure what direction should be taken. Their vision of South Africa is the vision they have been exposed to. Their interpretation of events is the interpretation given by the media - on television, in the newspapers and on the radio - and it is the merits for and the disadvantages against this vision that I would like to address today.

In our violent and controversial times, the challenges and obstacles facing journalists must be addressed. South Africa is a rapidly changing nation, and it is the crucial function of the media to accurately reflect the political dynamics which our country is facing.

> **"Violence in South Africa is the greatest stumbling block to democracy"**

On the one hand South Africa over the past couple of years has witnessed massive reform and reconstruction programmes, and on the other hand this country has witnessed a seemingly uncontrollable wave of violence, corruption and anarchy.

Who more than the Press is better equipped to investigate and publish the details of these happenings? We need to question whether the South African media is feeding the public truthful, objective accounts of the turmoil that is taking place in our communities, at the negotiation table and in the streets?

Are our journalists standing as independent assessors, able to resist the temptations of political propaganda and subversive reporting? Is the vision of South Africa, as portrayed by the media, the reality as it really exists?

The freedom of expression and the freedom of the Press are fundamental prerequisites to any future democracy. And while every individual within the world of the media has the right to personally associate with whatever political views or organisations they choose, they - as journalists - must attempt to transcend their personal biases in favour of honest and responsible reporting.

## Free expression

The new awareness of the potential for free expression in South Africa, where the limits on reporting have been radically minimised, must not be transformed into a political propaganda tool, even further restricting our public understanding and appreciation of current events.

Violence in South Africa is the greatest stumbling block to democracy. Violence has destroyed communities; it has destroyed family life; it has destroyed the respect for humanity.

Yet, while the appalling death toll in Natal and the Transvaal escalates beyond comprehension, I regret to observe that the South African media in general has offered little critical or constructive analysis of its causes and course.

While the role of the Press is not to stand as arbitrator or judge, it is vital that it offers our public a clear perception of events, an unprejudiced scrutiny of facts, and a responsible monitoring of political violence.

The media functions as the watchdog, not only of the government, but of society at large. Journalists have a duty to expose ills of administration in public office. To expose injustices as they occur. To expose pressure and intimidation from various political factions. This all centres on the issue of the availability of information, how it is used and the uses to which it is put.

If the Press is restricted in any way in these vital areas of information dissemination, then it cannot hope to fulfil its democratic function in society.

Only half of what we read and hear is accurate. The rest is made up of political posturings, distortions and concerted attempts to sway and prejudice the public.

## A vision emerges

The credibility of the local media is seriously undermined by this process. The public in South Africa is not allowed to make up its own mind. Without recourse, our thinking is shaped for us and unwittingly a vision emerges based on a distorted and incomplete reality.

For the sake of peace and stability in South Africa, each and every journalist has the important task of acting as independent monitoring body. The Press must somehow be prevented from attributing blame to, or senselessly discrediting, any political organisation for the violence.

Unsubstantiated and biased statements which needlessly anger or provoke the people on the ground, the victims of the bloody violence.

If it can be firmly established that the published findings of journalists are directly related to further incidents of violence, then these individuals, together with their editors and supervisors, should be held legally accountable for their irresponsible reporting. South Africa must not become a victim of Press sensationalism!

Rather the focus of today's journalists needs to be more analytical and discerning and their scope of reporting should be broadened significantly. More concrete efforts must be made to focus on the root causes of the violence rather than attribute the violence solely to political factors.

There is a growing concern about the violence perpetrated against members of the journalist profession. There are very real threats coming from radical elements in our society, often not recognised or reported, but which force our local journalists to publicise very specific lines of political thinking.

While forced biased reporting in favour of particular organisations may temporarily appease these organisations, the more this practice becomes the norm, the more distorted the stories will become and the greater the pressure which will be brought to bear on the journalists.

Biased reporting alienates many other members of a community or region whose political affiliations, beliefs and perceptions differ from those reported.

It is only through impartiality that journalists can ever hope to survive in our multi-dimensional and plural society.

Journalists must rally to protect the ideals and principles of their profession. South Africa is a heterogeneous society made up of a myriad of different races, cultures, languages and ethnic groupings, all with varied political affiliations. The freedom of association, the freedom of the Press and the freedom of expression ultimately mean that all these views must be allowed to be expressed openly and without political intimidation.

A democratic Press will act as a catalyst of change which communicates across all divides in these challenging times, helping us create a vision which imparts hope and faith in the future of this country.

> **"Journalists must rally to protect the ideals and principals of their profession"**

# IFP 'non-traditional' weapon

(327)

By CARMEL RICKARD

AS violence and political intolerance reaches new heights in Natal, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched a campaign to woo whites and other "non-traditional supporters" in the region.

Fliers in the form of a letter addressed to "my fellow countrymen" were put under doors in many Durban suburbs during the week, inviting "you and your family and friends" to the Durban City Hall for a meeting due to be held last night. The purpose of the gathering was to "exchange views and jointly take stock of the state of the nation". (Mail)

On the stock-taking agenda was the cultural weapons issue, Umkhonto weSizwe and its alleged role in the killing of Inkatha members as well as the decision of Inkatha to pull out of talks. 23/10 - 29/10/92.

Buthelezi's approach came as the violence in the region raged more fiercely than ever. Some monitors estimate well over 40 people have died in the past week.

Reports of the latest killings indicate new levels of savagery. Incidents include two decapitations, the disembowelment of a woman and the burning alive of a six-year-old child, who was caught while fleeing from a burning hut and thrown back into the flames.

On Sunday morning Umgababa joined the list of areas savaged by large-scale killings. Before dawn two groups described by witnesses as "impis" attacked the apparently African National Congress-aligned sections 35 and 37. At least 40 houses were burnt and at least 12 people killed.

People in the community claim they saw three white people with the "impis". They claimed one wore South African Defence Force-style browns, another was dressed in camouflage and the third in dungarees. According to other claims, as the "impi" was pushed back, members of the South African Police arrived at the scene, but stood by and did nothing to intervene.

Another ANC-aligned area on the south coast was also targeted this week. Five people were killed in the Shozi area outside Adams Mission at the beginning of the month. Early last week another attack left three dead. Last Friday and Saturday the attacks were repeated and five people, attackers and residents, were killed.

On Tuesday five Inkatha supporters in Bhekulwandle next to Felekise, were killed. This follows an incident in the area on Saturday in which Joseph Nzama (74) was shot and decapitated on his way home from the taxi rank. His head was removed by the attackers, and has not yet been recovered.

Nzama was politically unaligned but his grandsons are staunch ANC supporters. Since he was murdered, his home has been burnt down.

# 'Maree pulled trigger

## CCB chief told me all, witness tells inquest

Cl Pnews 25/10/92

(327)

By DESMOND BLOW

FORMER policeman Chappie Maree gunned down David Webster in cold blood from the left-hand back seat of a car as fellow CCB operatives Ferdi Barnard and Calla Botha looked on from the front seat.

This was the testimony of a surprise witness at the inquest into the murder of the academic and activist outside his Troyeville home on May 1 1989.

Freelance journalist Johannes Petrus Gagiano told the inquest that Staal Burger, former chief of Section 6 of the CCB, had told him this.

Gagiano – who described Burger as an "utterly trustworthy source" who had supplied him with reliable information for over 12 years – also said that according to Burger the order to kill Webster had come from a "very senior SADF officer" or an "even higher source".

He also said he had no doubt Burger had played an active role in the planning of the murder.

There was also evidence that Joe Verster – the then head of the clandestine CCB – confessed to Brig Floris Mostert, then head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit, that the CCB had murdered Adv Anton Lubowski in Windhoek in September 1989.

Deputy Commissioner of the Namibian Police, Jan De Bruin (Jumbo) Smit, told the David Webster Inquest that Mostert had told him this when his investigations into the political assassination of Lubowski brought him to Johannesburg.

He said Mostert, who was investigating the political assassination of Webster at the same time, had said that Verster had told him the CCB was responsible for the Lubowski killing, but not the killing of Webster.

Mostert, who gave evidence at the inquest last week, did not testify that he had interviewed Verster and [illegible] to have told him

At least three witnesses named Barnard as the murderer in their evidence, but all had heard the allegations from a second source – who said Barnard had told them he had killed Webster.

A fourth witness, who was alleged to have told two attorneys and two journalists that Barnard had told him he had killed Webster, told Judge Michael Stegmann that "I am not in fear of my life . . . but I have nothing to tell".

Kevin John Treisman, a former member of 32 Battalion, admitted that after he was subpoenaed two months ago to give evidence an explosive device was thrown into his garden in Corlett Drive – and that as a result he had sent his family to the coast where they still lived.

Treisman denied having told an attorney outside the court on Thursday that the inquest was a waste of time and that it would not succeed. He also denied that a police colonel from Bramley had warned him not to give evidence.

He said that two attorneys from Bell, Dewar and Hall, and the journalists Eddie Koch and Drew Forrest, would be lying if they said he had told them Ferdi Barnard had told him "We did Webster".

He also denied telling Koch and Forrest when they called on him after the bomb had been thrown into his garden: "You guys were not here when I needed help." He also denied saying he would rather be locked up in Diepkloof than give evidence.

Evidence suggested that different members of the CCB were involved in the murders of Lubowski, the first white to be a prominent member of Swapo, and left-wing activist Dr David Webster.

Gen Jaap Joubert, former deputy chief of the CID, has given testimony that while Barnard was being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in the western Transvaal he had been visited by Brig "Krappies" Engelbrecht, who had been appointed to help the Harms Commission, and who had allegedly told Barnard to "keep quiet", Joubert said.

Evidence alleging that Barnard was the killer also came from Gagiano and Adv Martin Luitingh.

Luitingh, who represented the Webster Trust at the Harms Commission, said that his cousin Laffras Luitingh, who had been Barnard's handler in the Namibian cell of the CCB, had told him Barnard had told him that he had killed Webster.

However, he said Barnard, who had been dismissed from the Namibian cell of the CCB because "he talked quite a lot about what he did", had told Luitingh the killing had not been a CCB project.

Gagiano is to be cross-examined by the teams of lawyers representing the SADF, the Minister of Defence, the CCB and various members of the CCB tomorrow.

# Lubowski 'killed by CCB'

THE murder of Swapo executive member Anton Lubowski was a Civil Co-operation Bureau project but the shotgun slaying of University of the Witwatersrand academic Dr David Webster was not, the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Namibia, Jumbo Smit, told the Webster inquest in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday.

Smit said this had been told him by Brixton Murder and Robbery head Brigadier Floris Mostert who got the information from CCB head Colonel Joe Verster.

Smit told the inquest the head of the CCB's Region Six, Colonel Staal Burger, and operative Calla Botha were involved in a conspiracy to kill Lubowski.

The inquest continues today with cross-examination of Mr Gagiano who alleged Burger had told him Mr Barnard, Mr Maree and Botha were responsible for the Webster murder. - *Sapa.*

**FOCUS** *Mediocre journalism needs to be 'treated with contempt'*




# *focus on* the Press

Sowetan 27/10/92

**Strini Moodley,** publicity secretary of Azanian People's Organisation, discussed Press freedom at the *Sowetan* Press seminar in the context of South African society. He maintains that to cry for Press freedom in an unfree society is a romantic notion and says the Press will never be free as long as "it is controlled by a fascist minority":

SOME MONTHS AGO I was in Johannesburg. I picked up a copy of *The Star* and read about a major incident of violence somewhere near Daveyton. The reporter wrote about 200 Zulus marching against 200 Xhosas.

I wondered how this reporter (a white woman) was able to distinguish the differences between the "Zulu gang" and the "Xhosa gang".

It is this kind of mediocre journalism that deserves to be treated with the utmost contempt. It is this kind of journalism that leads to the kind of harassment that white journalists and some black ones suffer when they attempt to go into the township to report.

I am not condoning attacks on journalists but I must caution all journalists to take a little more care when they report on events in this country -particularly in these very sensitive times.

To cry for Press freedom in an unfree society is a romantic notion. Press freedom and the media in general will never do its duty for as long as it exists within the confines of a society that is controlled by a minority and that is characterised by fascism.

What are the ethics of journalism? The journalist cannot be neutral - particularly in a society where there is blatant oppression and exploitation.

The journalist has a duty to uncover evils perpetrated by those in power and those who aspire to power.

The journalist is, in fact, a freedom fighter. Because for as long as the society is unfree, the media can never be freed.

In our country the media is owned and controlled by the minority and propagates the ideas of the minority group. In such a situation the journalist becomes a victim who cannot truly report on events and articulate the ideas of those who oppose that ruling class.

The big corporations in our country are clearly bent on proposing one set of ideas which will ensure that their power and control is perpetuated even as we languish at the edge of transition. That is why Azapo's views on Codesa, for example, were not given as much space or time in the newspapers. That is why journalists wrote Azapo into marginalisation.

Journalists, if they truly believe in their profession, must be able to expose the underlying conspiracy by the ruling class to keep itself in power.

Journalists are victims of bosses who have no interest in liberating society. They are intent upon maintaining the status quo. That is why the major white newspapers in this country continue to employ white exiles from Zimbabwe as subeditors; that is why black journalists will always be denied the right to take control of major newspapers in this country.

Black journalists from time immemorial have demonstrated a much greater understanding of the notion that a journalist is a freedom fighter. Nat Nakasa and Can Themba are two examples.


Strini Moodley

White journalists, on the other hand, are incapable in the main of recognising the link between Press freedom and liberation. Newspapers such as *The Sunday Times* and *The Star* are designed to satisfy the interests of white people; to articulate the views of white society.

People like Ken Owen and Denis Beckett have no sync with black people's thinking and black people's frustrations. Yet people like them will hold senior positions. It would be inconceivable to have black commentators or analysts to occupy such powerful positions.

Aggrey Klaaste, Khulu Sibiya, Barney Mthombothi will never be allowed to control the political desk on such newspapers.

If Azapo had its way the Ken Owens and the Denis Becketts would be relegated to community newspapers that circulate in Parktown, Sandton and the Berea while Aggrey, Barney and Khulu would take over the political desks and editorships of *The Star, The Sunday Tribune* and *The Sunday Star*.

That is why the Black Consciousness Movement as long ago as 1972 called for the establishment of an independent black Press. Not the kind of white-controlled black Press that we have in our country now.

As journalists involved in the black community we were keenly aware at the time that if we were to truly uphold the principles of journalism we had to engage in battle with the powers that be.

That is why so many journalists were subjected to harassment, torture, detention and even death at the hands of the ruling class - and this does not exclude the corporations themselves which found every opportunity to rid itself of upstart black journalists.

If journalists are concerned about Press freedom, then they must plan strategies to take over the newspapers for which they work - in every sense of the word -in short, they must be prepared to storm the ramparts of the owners' mansions and their offices.

Mwasa and other trade unions in the media industry must come together to plan strategies to overthrow their bosses. They must also work out ways and means by which they can establish independent newspapers which will counterpoint the propaganda of the very newspapers for which they work.

The journalists themselves need to become involved in the struggles of their trade unions in more revolutionary ways - not just at the level of wage struggles but in re-defining the manner in which we report; the things we say; the issues we report on and how we project ourselves in the community.

Black journalists need to be encouraged; to be upgraded. They have achieved the positions they have through hard struggles financially and politically, unlike their white counterparts.

Azapo believes that all of us across the political spectrum within the liberation movement must get together behind closed doors to thrash out a strategy to overthrow the ruling class and build a society in which Press freedom can be truly practised.

# CCB man 'used journalist's flat'

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JOHANNESBURG. — Colonel Staal Burger, head of the CCB's Region Six, used the Pretoria flat of freelance journalist Mr Johan Gagiano to hide from Namibian police in early 1990, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

The inquest into the murder of anthropologist Dr David Webster also heard Colonel Burger left the flat after being recognised by a neighbour.

Mr Gagiano, who has a history of treatment for alcoholism, was released from a rehabilitation centre to give evidence yesterday.

He told Mr Jurie Wessels, legal counsel for CCB head Mr Joe Verster, that an elderly woman named Madelaine had recognised Colonel Burger.

She said the man resembled the head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad that the police were looking for in connection with the September 1989 killing of Swapo executive member Mr Anton Lubowski.

Mr Gagiano said he told Colonel Burger what the woman had said, and the CCB operative then left, after a stay of three or four days.

Mr Piet Coetsee, SC, for the SA Defence Force, said Colonel Burger would deny staying there or even visiting Mr Gagiano at home.

Mr Coetsee said Mr Gagiano's statement, in which he claimed Colonel Burger told him who killed Dr Webster on May 1, 1989, was a fabrication.

Mr Gagiano said he had received a threatening telephone call after giving evidence last week. His former wife also received strange telephone calls last week and her flat was watched by men in a white car.

The inquest, under Mr Justice Michael Stegmann, continues today. — Sapa

# Webster killer in court witness

327 CT 28/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The man who shot Dr David Webster was in court on the first day of the inquest into his death — and the Ministers of Defence and Law and Order knew of the CCB as early as December 3, 1989.

These claims were made at the hearing yesterday.

Mr Cornelius du Plessis, who first gave evidence on October 15, made a surprise appearance in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday and submitted a statement in which he claimed he had seen the man who shot Dr Webster in court on October 12, the first day of the inquest.

Mr Du Plessis said he had been under severe pressure since the start of the inquest and would like to have his latest revelations heard in camera.

Before a ruling could be made, however, Mr Du Plessis stood up and said he was prepared to give his testimony in open court.

In his latest statement Mr Du Plessis said that when he arrived at the Supreme Court on October 12, he noticed three "big" men standing outside the court.

"When I approached them, I saw another large man around the corner with a two-way radio.

"I immediately recognised him as the man sitting in the back of the white Opel Ascona, who fired the shot."

He was shocked to see the man in court and when the man made eye-contact with him, "I noticed his eyes got big and it was apparent he recognised me".





'CORRECT' ... These identikits of Dr Webster's killers, composed by Mr Corrie du Plessis, weren't issued.

Asked if any of the men he had recognised were in court yesterday, he replied "no".

Counsel for former Civil Co-operation Bureau operatives Mr Ferdi Barnard, Mr Calla Botha and Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl then pointed out to Mr Justice Stegmann that all three of his clients were in court.

Asked by counsel for the Webster family, Mr

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## Webster inquest

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Eberhardt Bertelsmann, if he would like to give further evidence in camera, Mr Du Plesiss did not reply.

Mr Bertelsmann then asked Mr Justice Stegmann if, through the lack of reply, it was not evident Mr Du Plessis was scared, and whether the rest of his evidence could be heard in a cleared court.

Argument for the in-camera hearing of the rest of Mr Du Plessis's testimony was heard after the court had been cleared.

Mr Du Plessis told the court on October 15 that he had been in Eleanor Street, Troyeville, on May 1, 1989 when Dr Webster was shot outside his home.

He said he had been travelling about 25m behind a white Opel Ascona in which there was a man in the driver's seat and another in the back.

Yesterday he said he had recognised the man in back seat who had possibly fired the fatal shot at Dr Webster.

The man had been sitting in court with someone who looked like a rugby player. It was obvious he had worn a wig on the day of the murder, but he had recognised the man by his pockmarked face.

Earlier yesterday the former second-in-command of the SAP Criminal Investigation Division, General Jaap Joubert, told the inquest that former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and former Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok had been told of the existence of the CCB as early as December 3, 1989.

Questioned about the September 12, 1989 shooting of Swapo executive member Mr Anton Lubowski — which came to light during the investigation into Dr Webster's killing — General Joubert said he had been told things in confidence and had a moral obligation to maintain that confidence unless otherwise ordered by the court.

Mr Justice Stegmann said General Joubert would have to give evidence which could be relevant to the Webster murder, but could keep other details of meetings with SADF generals and CCB head Mr Joe Verster confidential.

General Joubert said he had held meetings with the head of Military Intelligence, General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst, who told him the CCB was upset about the detention of two CCB operatives.

General Badenhorst told him on December 2, 1989 that he would speak to the State President and General Malan about the detentions.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa

# *focus on* the Press

Sowetan 28/10/92

THE ANC's **Saki Macozoma** gave the organisation's perspective on freedom of the Press at the Sowetan's Press seminar and argued that there could be no democracy if the free flow of information was not accessible to all citizens. He said a media charter would have to be drawn up which will detail media freedoms and broad principals:

THERE IS a direct relationship between the formation of the ANC in 1912 and an independent black Press in South Africa.

One of the first projects the ANC engaged in after its formation was to create a newspaper called *Abantu-Batho*. The founding fathers and mothers of the ANC had learnt from practical experience of the importance of a Press that would represent their views and interests within the context of a growing climate of intolerance and exclusion.

Over the 80 years of the ANC's existence and in the struggles waged over that period the ANC has had its views on the importance of a free Press reinforced and incorporated into its policies. Press freedom from any political group's viewpoint can be viewed from three perspectives. These are:

● Press Freedom In Democratic Theory:

The ANC believes that the core of democratic theory is the recognition of the right of all citizens to participate fully in the decision-making process of their society. This means there cannot be a democratic society without a free flow of information accessible to all citizens.

● Press Freedom In A Period Of Transition:

Apartheid is a totalitarian ideology that sought to suppress all competing ideas through a myriad of Press and security laws. It is a *sine qua non* that a political transition that will lead to democracy is a reversal of all the factors that have contributed to the muzzling of the views of the oppressed majority. In colloquial political parlance this is referred to as the levelling of the political playing field.

Of course it is not only government-imposed restrictions that have resulted in the marginalisation of the oppressed in the media. As early as the 1880s black people realised the importance of access to a Press that was in their hands and served their interests as a group that was facing marginalisation in a colonial society. In launching his newspaper on November 3 1884 John Tengo Jabavu wrote:

"Although the columns of the Colonial press have never been open to any Native to unbosom himself, still, speaking as Natives who have had opportunities of observing the newspapers in the Colony, we have arrived at a conclusion not dissimilar to that expressed by our talented friend the Reverend E Makiwane during the sessions of the last Missionary Conference held in this town (King William's Town), that, in addressing Europeans, our countrymen felt rightly or wrongly, that they spoke or wrote out of courtesy."

In the 28 years that the independent black Press survived between 1884 and 1912, the people were underdeveloped and proletarianised.



**Saki Macozoma**

By 1913 Sol Plaatjie, first Secretary-General of the ANC, was to write: "Three Native papers have ceased publication during 1913, but we are still here to tell the story. It is not through any valour on our part as much as through the liberality of advertising firms throughout South Africa, who stood by us when our natural customers, the Native peasants of the Free State and Transvaal, were driven from pillar to post under the cruel provisions of an unprecedented law, and send us money."

In order to level the political playing field a number of mechanisms are necessary. ANC proposals on these mechanisms were submitted to Working Group 3 of Codesa. An essential element of those proposals dealt with an independent Media Commission which would ensure fair treatment of all political parties by the public broadcasting system, especially during the elections for a Constituent Assembly.

Since the referendum and the collapse of Codesa 2 we have been extremely concerned by the role played by the commercial media in the transition period.

Monitoring that will look into bias, selectivity, omission, equal access, style of reporting, use of information without verification, etc., will have to be instituted.

It would be better if these measures should become unnecessary due to an understanding being reached among South Africans with an interest in the media field.

●Press Freedom In A Democratic Society:

The view of the ANC is that a Media Charter will have to be drawn up which will detail media freedoms and broad principles that will promote them. Some of the elements of such a charter will be contained in the legislation and in a Bill of Rights. Others will merely serve as social guidelines.

The Media Charter would have to contain a number of provisions including Basic Rights and Freedoms.

Other elements of Basic Rights and Freedoms are:

The right to freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information;

Access to state information subject to limitations by a Bill of Rights and the Constitution;

No legislative measures restricting the free flow of information or imposing any form of censorship;

All media shall subscribe to a standard of practice or a Code of Conduct agreed upon by producers and distrubutors of public information;

No restrictions on public broadcasting can be tolerated.

● Democratisation Of The Media:

This will take into account the historical imbalances. It will also have to take into account the diversity of communities in terms of geography, language, gender, interests and prevailing levels of literacy.

Legislation preventing monopolisation and concentration of media resources will have to be put in place.

● Conclusion:

The ANC is totally committed to a free Press in South Africa. The free Press cannot be a servant of power but should be a mirror in which all of us can look at ourselves

# Witness 'saw alleged killer at inquest'

B(IDAY) 28/10/92 (327)

STEPHANE BOTHMA

A WITNESS to the 1989 slaying of David Webster saw one of the alleged murderers at the first day of the inquest into the Wits academic's death, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Corrie du Plessis, who had already testified at the inquest about what he had witnessed outside Webster's Troyeville home on May 1 1989, made a surprise appearance and an additional statement yesterday.

His statement was read in open court, but his subsequent testimony and cross-examination was heard in camera.

Calla Botha, Ferdi Barnard and Slang van Zyl — three former CCB agents detained earlier as possible suspects in the murder — attended yesterday's hearing, but Du Plessis said the man he had recognised was not in court yesterday.

Du Plessis described the man he had seen as recognisable by facial pock marks.

During the hearing in camera yesterday, Botha, Barnard, Van Zyl and a fourth person — with red-blond hair and pock marks, and who had not earlier been in court — were called into the courtroom for what was believed to be an informal identification parade for Du Plessis' benefit.

Du Plessis claimed in his statement that on October 12 this year, when the inquest started, he reported to court.

He recognised a man standing in the corridor "as the person who was on the back seat of the white Opel Ascona on May 1, who had probably fired the fatal shot".

Du Plessis said he had feared for his safety and that of his family since witnessing the murder and that the man's presence at court had come as a huge shock. The man had recognised him, he said.

vised during Slabbert on Sunday this weekend.

Caldwell, who would have turned 32 this week, was unmarried.

# Court's film ban criticised

ADRIAN HADLAND (327)

THE last-minute Supreme Court decision to ban the controversial film, The Last Temptation of Christ, was criticised strongly by the Anti-Censorship Action Group yesterday. B1 DM 29/10/92

"State power has once again been used to prevent people being exposed to the ideas of others," the group said in a statement.

The film was scheduled to be screened on Tuesday night at the Weekly Mail Film Festival in Johannesburg after a Supreme Court ruling overturning an earlier Publications Appeal Board banning order.

Judge D Levy then granted an appeal to ban the film minutes before it was due to be screened.

The statement said freedom of worship could "only exist when all religions are open to criticism and interpretation, and the rights of non-believers are respected as well as those of religions not supported by the state".

The group warned of religious intolerance as evidenced by the furore surrounding the publication of Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses.

● Comment: Page 12

# Ferdi Barnard 'told workmates he was involved in Webster murder'

B|Dmy 29/10/92 (327)

FORMER CCB operative Ferdi Barnard told colleagues at an insurance company he had been involved in the murder of academic David Webster, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Businessman Willem Smit said he and a number of his employees had been told this by Barnard on various occasions.

Smit, who has been under police guard since the second day of the Webster inquest, said he did not wish to endanger the employees concerned by identifying them.

He told the court that on one occasion he and his wife had been woken in the early hours by a panic-stricken Barnard, who was accompanied by his brother.

Barnard asked Smit to provide an alibi for him and Calla Botha after an unsuccessful attempt to "take out" anti-apartheid campaigner Roland White.

The businessman told the court he had met Barnard socially in 1983, shortly before the latter was convicted and imprisoned for murder.

After Barnard was released on parole, his brother had asked Smit to organise a job for the former policeman at the insurance company where they both worked.

SUSAN RUSSELL

Smit, a senior manager at that time, had done so.

He said Barnard had a photo album containing 22 pictures of corpses which, he told people, were the bodies of people he had murdered.

Barnard, he said, would go into detail about how he had shot these people.

Smit said the pictures appeared to have been taken from police dossiers.

After working for the insurance company for about three months, Barnard told Smit he was leaving because he had been offered a job by the security police.

He told Smit his job, mainly, would involve monitoring political campaigners.

Smit said he himself left the firm some time later to establish his own company.

He had regular contact with Barnard's brother Calla (not to be confused with Calla Botha, another CCB operative) who worked for an insurance company which had premises close to his own.

Smit said the next direct contact he had with Ferdi was when the Barnard brothers came to his home after the Roland White incident. On that occasion Barnard told him he and Botha were monitoring White.

Barnard told Smit the two had orders to "take out" White, but had been caught by members of another branch of the security police in the United Towers building, where White worked.

These policemen, Barnard told him, were not aware of their activities.

Smit said Barnard asked him for the use of a white car from his list of stolen vehicles to establish an alibi, because the police who had caught them had not be-

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## Barnard

B|Dmy 29/10/92 (327)

lieved the story they had given for being on the premises.

Smit also testified he had been interviewed by Namibian deputy police commissioner Col Jumbo Smit, who was investigating the murder of lawyer Anton Lubowski at the time.

The policeman had questioned him about what he knew of the Webster and Lubowski murders and about Barnard's possible involvement.

After their meeting, Smit said, he telphoned Barnard who, accompanied by his brother, had come to his office at once.

Smit said Barnard told his brother they must immediately get rid of an AK-47 and an attache case which, Barnard said, contained important documents.

Smit said he had lied about the Roland White alibi incident and other meetings with Barnard in statements he made to the police and submitted to the Harms commission, because he had not wanted to get involved. He had also been afraid for the safety of his family.

He was scared of Ferdi Barnard, whom he described as a psychopath.

# Harassment untrue - police

Soweten 29/10/92

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## ■ Spokesman says few harassment cases have proved to be true:

VERY few of the many allegations of police harassment of returned exiles have proved true, police spokesman Captain Nina Barkhuizen said on Tuesday.

She was reacting to claims that SAP harassment of returned exiles was of such a nature that many intended leaving the country, had fled their homes or were in hiding.

Although "precious few" claims of harassment had proved well founded, all would be investigated.

"If they prove to be true or if anyone emerges as guilty of these offences, the necessary steps will be taken against them," said Capt Barkhuizen.

An earlier newspaper report said the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles had compiled a dossier of alleged police torture. - *Sapa.*

# *focus on* the Press

**Looking back at the years of racial oppression and suppression of the Press, Mwasa secretary general S'thembele Khala, who addressed the Sowetan seminar on freedom of the Press, examines the necessity of its role in the light of Bantu education which robbed generations of blacks of the right to know.**

Sowetan 29/10/92.

**MWASA, WHOSE ORIGIN was in the Union of Black Journalists which was directly affected by the ignoble attempt to silence and completely emasculate the Press - seizes this opportunity to commend all the positive forces of light that stood steadfastly against the perpetrators of the evil political suppression, economic exploitation and social degradation.**

**Were Bantu Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro and a host of others to arise from their graves and find the National Party brushing shoulders with the condemned - and the leadership of the country entrusted upon it - they would quickly return to their graves in shock.**

**Biko sought to inculcate and infuse blacks with a militant spirit to fight injustices without fear.**

**Self-help projects mushroomed throughout the country and organisations aimed at fostering that spirit were founded.**

**The UBJ had its origins in that kind of a situation. *The World* and the *Weekend World* were utilised by black journalists who were not recognised by law as workers to enlighten and inform their community.**

**A whole gamut of laws aimed at curtailing the freedom of the Press were enacted. A number of extremely good journalists were turned into social casualties, many more banished and a host of others jailed.**

**Some went into exile and, worse still, others lost their lives at the hands of the South African security apparatus.**

**The few that remained operated under extreme hardships of total censorship and the notorious Section 205.**

**Still, these men and women remained true to their calling and assumed the role of harbingers of the new social order. They undertook to report matters as they were. They exposed themselves to State brutality in pursuit of Press freedom and freedom of speech.**

**The electronic media in this country is the monopoly of the State.**

**It provided the intellectual muscle to the colonial parliament that condoned the massacre of people at Belhoek, Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga, Soweto and everywhere.**

**It protected the police murder machine that killed freedom fighters in detention.**

**It protected the Vorster Government that defrauded the taxpayers of billions of rands in the Information Scandal. It suppressed the findings of the Sanlam commission in its own fraud.**

**It was founded along the lines of the German broadcasting corporation and later modelled after the Nazi radio stations.**

**We hope that the winds of change will blow in this direction.**

**The freedom of the Press should therefore be seen as a fundamental right to report without fear or favour. It should be seen as the first right of any society, which would be above all the laws, ethics and traditions of the country.**



**S'thembele Khala of Mwasa**

**The media cannot be politically aligned. What we see in our country today is the bad influence of the SABC which should be discouraged. If the media is politically aligned it paces itself into the political chemistry of its ally. If the ally is guilty of complicities, the allied paper cannot step aside as an innocent bystander.**

**The fundamental tenet of the media is its accessibility to the public. Its objectivity and ability to take criticism.**

**The present media must break with the historical role played by the media. The media has, with regard to the different economic and political systems, been the spokesman of the ruling classes.**

**The role of the media, under the heading of Press freedom, should be clearly defined. He who controls the media, controls the minds of the people.**

**This is very important in the shaping of society and must be guarded carefully.**

**Freedom of speech and of the Press is not an absolute right. We cannot for instance accept the rights of racists and fascist newspapers to preach sermons of racism and anarchy.**

**No instrument of dissemination should be granted the right to sow anarchy, confusion and hate.**

**The political situation in this country is confused and the media has a critical role to play. The media must be the watchdog of the people.**

**The media is doing too little to bring current issues into focus.**

**In most instances it reports them in a complicated and confusing manner.**

**At most we are given the Government definition.**

**If the fighting forces cannot tolerate one another now, what will happen if one is in power and the other the subject. The investors will lose confidence and there will be a mass disinvestment, which would result in the loss of jobs, the increase in misery and human suffering.**

**The media is doing very little to correct misconceptions and deliberate distortions. It is time that the media becomes critical and possesses a mind of its own.**

**People have died and continue to die in the name of democracy. Can we blame Mussolini for saying that democracy is a putrefying corpse? Can we blame Bernard Shaw for his deep suspicions of democracy, that in the end democracy is a tool in the hands of the wealthy minority in which their demagogues humbug people into voting for them?**

**Bantu education has denied us the opportunity to tackle these basic social issues at an early age. It is too late now to go back to school to learn new concepts.**

**Because of these historical disadvantages we now rely totally on the media for education.**

**The media is an important ally of any democratisation process. Our society must be exposed to all the information it requires or else our citizens will never be in a position to identify and positively and constructively respond to the issues facing them. The media in South Africa must serve the public in such a way that the ideals of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society is pursued and advanced to the fullest.**

# Webster 'flew . . . after shot'

(327) 29/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Former CCB operative Mr Ferdie Barnard had said Dr David Webster "flew through the air after being shot", Mr Barnard's former employer said in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Mr Willie Smit, who had employed Mr Barnard as an insurance assessor, was giving evidence at the inquest into the May 1, 1989, killing of the Wits academic.

He said Mr Barnard made the statement while on the way to Lanseria Airport in Randburg, with his (Mr Smit's) mother in the car.

Mr Smit also told the court Mr Barnard had said he had made an unsuccessful attempt to "take out" anti-apartheid activist Mr Bruce White.

He said Mr Barnard and his brother Calla had arrived at his Florida home on the West Rand in a state of panic between 1am and 2am one day, saying they needed an alibi.

Mr Ferdie Barnard asked Mr Smit to provide one. He also asked Mr Smit if he knew about Dr Webster's assassination and then told his former employer he had orders to monitor Mr White and to "take him out".

Mr Ferdie Barnard said the first attempt on Mr White had been unsuccessful as he and Mr Calla Botha — another CCB operative — had been spotted by a security guard, Mr Smit said.

Mr Smit, a former managing director of ACA Insurance, employed Mr Barnard as an assessor when the CCB operative was paroled from prison after serving part of a sentence for multiple murder.

Mr Smit told the court Mr Barnard had a photograph album which showed the corpses of 22 or 23 people he had killed. The album was shown to others at the insurance company.

Mr Smit had owned a .357 magnum pistol, which he sold to Mr Barnard. Mr Barnard took Mr Smit's identity document to get details of the gun and failed to return it.

At a later stage Mr Smit told Mr Calla Barnard that in terms of Mr Barnard's parole he was not allowed to own a gun and he (Mr Smit) wanted to know what had become of the pistol. Mr Calla Barnard told him the gun had been sold to a police lieutenant.

Mr Barnard often wore wigs in the presence of Mr Smit — including one similar to the hairstyle of one of the people said to have murdered Dr Webster. Mr Smit told the inquest he identified pictures drawn up by witnesses as Mr Barnard and a friend of his whom he knew as Mr Eugene Riley.

During cross-examination Mr Smit said he had been threatened and, because he feared for his safety, had been reluctant to give evidence.

# Webster witness gave false evidence

THE inquest into David Webster's murder took a dramatic turn yesterday when businessman Willem Smit admitted he had falsely implicated former CCB operative Ferdi Barnard in the killing.

Smit testified on Wednesday that Barnard, whom he had known since 1983, had told him and a number of his employees that he had been involved in Webster's murder. His allegations were also contained in a written statement.

During cross-examination by Barnard's attorney Piet du Plessis earlier yesterday, Smit said he did not wish to answer any more questions and would walk out of the hearing if questioned any further.

At that point Smit said he stood by his statement, but did not wish to testify any further and would lie under cross-examination in order to get out of the court.

SUSAN RUSSELL

He said his presence at the inquest was ruining his business and his family.

After a break, his counsel Hennie de Vos told the court Smit had had a conversation with someone outside the courtroom and did not wish to testify any further.

The court then reconvened in camera.

When the inquest was reopened to the public and media shortly afterwards, Du Plessis put it to Smit that his statement and evidence had been a fabrication.

☐ To Page 2

## Webster

☐ From Page 1

Smit admitted that he had lied about Barnard's disclosures to himself and members of his staff. He also retracted evidence that Barnard had asked him for an alibi after an unsuccessful attempt to murder political campaigner Roland White.

At the conclusion of his cross-examination, De Vos informed the court he was withdrawing from the matter.

The media, through the State, later asked Judge M Stegmann if they could be informed of what had occurred during the in camera session.

Stegmann said the impression might have been created that pressure had been improperly applied on Smit.

The judge said there had been no proof of this being the case.

Former CCB operative Abram "Slang" van Zyl testified next.

Cross-examined by E Bertelsmann SC on behalf of the Webster family, Van Zyl said the task of the CCB was to act against those identified as enemies of the state.

Van Zyl said he had been involved in the project to eliminate lawyer Dullah Omar.

He believed Omar had been targeted because the advocate had been a UDF executive member and a member of Lawyers for Human Rights.

The hearing continues today.

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B10Am 30/10/92 327

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# Pact pinpoints danger hostels

By ARTHUR GAVSHON (327)

AN unpublished pact between the government and the African National Congress commits the security forces to isolate, disarm and regularly check 28 hostels identified as centres of violence, crime and a danger to law and order.

Commonwealth diplomats, who disclosed details of the pact, said it was drawn up as an annexure to the Record of Understanding reached by President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela on September 26. The details have remained secret presumably to avert protests. W/Mail 30/10-5/11/92

Essentially, the confidential document spells out how the government and ANC foresee the implementation of a programme of security focusing on the flashpoint hostels named.

It embodies the main recommendations on the problem submitted by the Goldstone Commission which the government has accepted. November 15 is set as the deadline for completing the new security measures, though there is provision for extending that time limit.

Prime responsibility for executing the programme is delegated to the police who, if necessary, may call for military support.

The document pays particular attention to the issue of fencing danger hostels. It stipulates that fences erected around new hostel perimeters should be 2m high, with limited access points allowed. Where old fences exist, they must be maintained in good repair.

Topping a list of hostels needing to be fenced is kwaMadala Hostel. Others earmarked for urgent attention include Mzimhlope, Dube, Nancefield, Dobsonville and Merafe in the Greater Soweto area; the Sebokeng complex in the Vaal; and Umlazi Section T Unit 17 and kwaMashu in kwaZulu.

# State owns up: We funded foreign paper

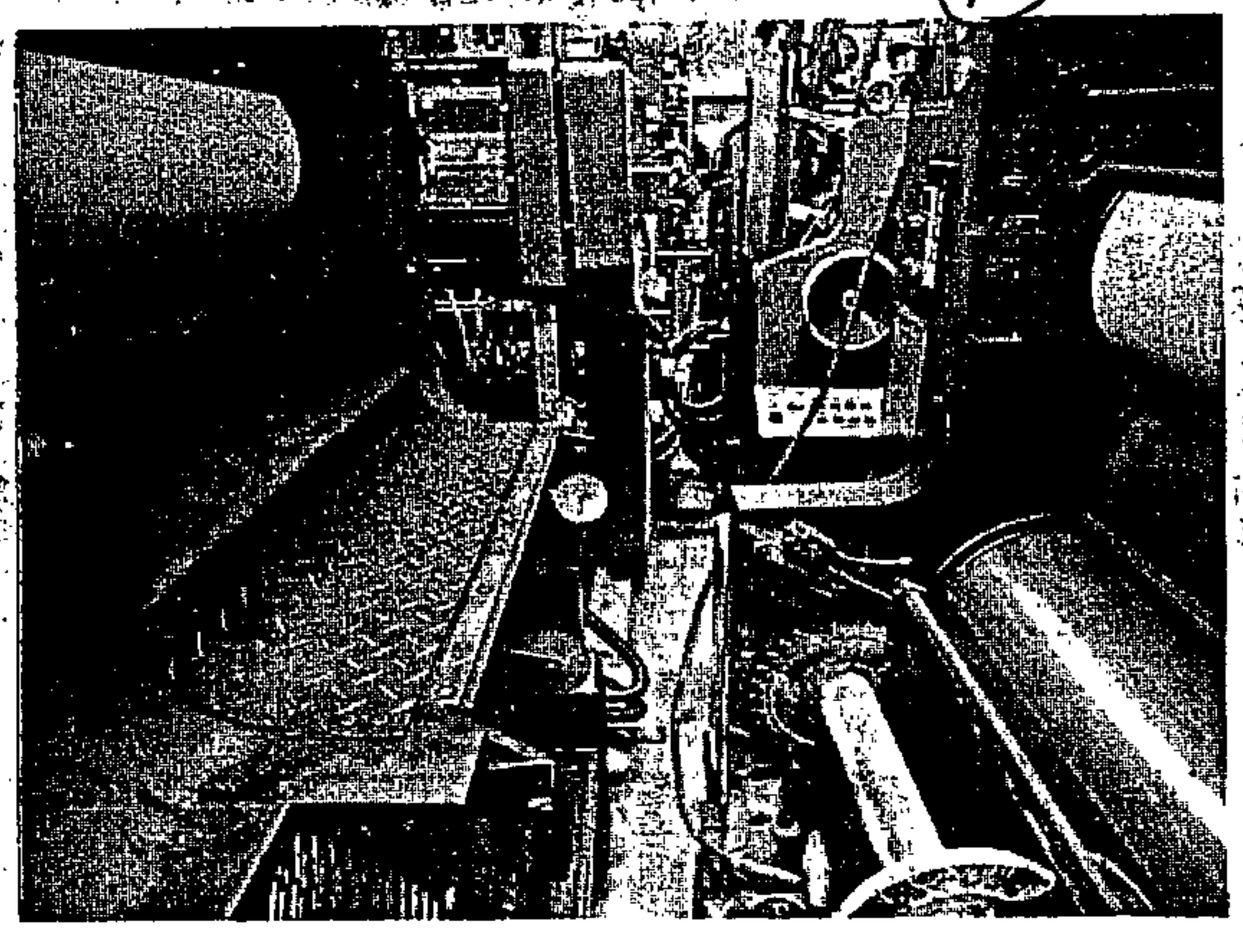
W/Mail 30/10 - 5/11/92.

*The government has finally admitted secretly funding a Gaborone-based newspaper. Now it is fighting to recover millions of rands spent on the project, reports*

**ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK**



Abel Rudman



Newslink's press lies idle in a warehouse Photo: KEVIN CARTER

THE government has admitted for the first time that the South African Defence Force provided secret funds to launch a foreign newspaper — and that it is now involved in a legal tussle to reclaim assets bought by the newspaper's publisher.

*Newslink*, the Gaborone-based newspaper which closed down last December, four months after its links with Military Intelligence were exposed by *The Weekly Mail*, is believed to have cost the government up to R3,4-million in start-up and running costs.

The disclosures could send shock waves through the Botswana establishment. It is understood there are close links between *Newslink's* management and both South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Basimanyane Masire, brother of Botswana's President Quett Masire.

*The Weekly Mail* was unable to obtain comment from the Botswana government this week, but was told last August by the country's CID chief, assistant commissioner T Katlhalo, that "if the reports prove accurate, it would amount to subversion".

Within days of President FW de Klerk announcing on July 30 last year the curtailment of 41 secret projects, a monthly subsidy of around 200 000 pula (about R150 000), necessary for the newspaper to break even, suddenly dried up.

"Even before the president's announcement, the SADF had decided to terminate its relations with, and interests in, the printing press and newspaper," a spokesman at the State President's Office said this week. "As is the case with other curtailed projects, this termination was embarked upon with a view also to ensure that potential losses are limited."

Casper Venter, the president's press secretary, confirmed that *Newslink* was funded from the Special Defence Account, which last year had a budget of R4,17-billion for secret projects. He said the government was still trying to recover assets bought with state funds by private individuals who acted as fronts for such operations.

Referring to the curtailment of funding for *Newslink*, Venter said: "A part of the exercise was also to retrieve all assets belonging to the state. This entails, inter alia, an application to the supreme court, which is now about to be finalised."

The supreme court is, however, becoming the scene of a three-cornered tussle for control of *Newslink's* assets.

Its publisher, Pretoria businessman Abel Rudman, who bought a printing press with initial secret payments amounting to about R1,3-million, is fighting to keep the assets from being auctioned by liquidators. Rudman is also understood to be preparing a civil case against the government for curtailing its funding, on the basis that *Newslink* was originally devised as a five- to 10-year project.

At the time that the secret projects were curtailed, Rudman insisted he was the sole source of funds for setting up and running *Newslink*, and that he would continue publishing it.

However, he was unable to persuade senior staff members of the newspaper's independence. After several key resignations, the premises of *Newslink* and its publishing company, Magnum Press, were secretly cleared out last December and the contents transported to Johannesburg.

Rudman refused to compensate staff members — several of whom had relocated to Botswana from South Africa upon being hired — for loss of employment and income. Four ex-staffers then successfully applied to the Botswana High Court for the liquidation of Magnum Press. The liquidator, Price Waterhouse Botswana, was given permission by the supreme court in South Africa to be recognised here, and attached the assets.

The printing equipment was due to be auctioned off on August 20 at 10.30am. At nine that morning, Rudman brought an application in the Rand Supreme Court for an urgent interdict preventing the sale. He said the equipment had been sold by Magnum Press to *Newslink*, which was a separate entity owned by himself.

The judge granted the interdict, on the basis that he would have to read through about 600 pages of documentation before making a ruling. The return date of the hearing was set for October 29, but Rudman's attorneys have since succeeded in postponing it to November 17.

Rudman and Basimanyane Masire were partners in several Botswanan companies, including Tshepho Safaris and Tshepho Trading, an import/export company. A second member of President Masire's family, T Masire, was also a director in several of Rudman's companies.

Funds for *Newslink* are believed to have been channelled from the SADF via Strelley Investments, a front company based on the island of Jersey. When Magnum Press was placed under liquidation, Strelley put in a claim for R2 767 391, on the basis that it had loaned the money to Magnum. Total liabilities to other creditors amounted to about R1,5-million.

Reg Webb, a partner in Price Waterhouse Botswana, said Strelley's claim was rejected because "at no stage was such an amount ever recorded as a liability in the books of Magnum Press. However, a similar amount was recorded as being owed to Abel Rudman."

Documents lodged with the Rand Supreme Court in opposition to Rudman's application for an interdict include a telex message from Volkskas Bank's head office in Pretoria to Lloyds Bank in London, dated February 15 1990, authorising the transfer of R2 327 366 to Strelley Investments' account in Jersey.

A week later, an equivalent amount in pula was transferred from Strelley's account to Barclays Bank Botswana, Magnum Press' bankers.

# focus on the Press

*The Star's* editor-in-chief **Richard Steyn** argued at *Sowetan*'s seminar on Press freedom that because of too much garbage from the past, journalists that had been involved in the liberation struggle would discover that power does strange things to people:

Sowetan 30/10/92 · 327

BECAUSE THIS IS A SEMINAR on the Press, I would rather share my vision of journalism in the new South Africa.

My view of the prospects for a free Press is somewhat pessimistic.

Any new government will, almost inevitably, fail to meet expectations and, as criticism mounts, it will be tempted to do what governments in trouble always do: turn on the bearer of bad tidings and blame him for the bad news.

A huge body of legislation on the statute book has restricted the free flow of information and inhibited open discussion for as long as many of us can remember.

Matters have improved in the last year or so, but old habits die hard.

Bureaucrats of all races regard themselves as responsible more to the Government than to the public. Their instinctive reaction to media inquiries is "What the hell has it got to do with you?".

At many levels, there is scant understanding of the role of a critical and inquiring press. Pressure, both subtle and unsubtle, continues to be exerted upon journalists to take sides in the political struggle on the basis of "If you are not for us, you must be against us".

This intolerance of the irritating intrusions and occasional excesses of newspapers in a free society suggests that the fight for freedom of expression will have to be fought for over and over again in the future.

Everyone seems to agree that the Press has great influence for good or ill in the new society.

But to who are we responsible? We are responsible to our readers, and our responsibilities - it seems to me - are these:

- To convey information and ideas to people, and put choices before them that will make them free; and
- To act as a channel of communication between government and people, and people and government, thereby promoting justice and sound governance.

We must give reasonable opportunities for reply to those whom we attack or criticise. We must keep free of any affiliations that might compromise us in the eyes of the public.

And we must keep at bay powerful commercial interests who seek to control and influence the way in which news and comment is presented.

Perhaps most important of all is our duty to ensure that the "marke place of ideas", to borrow a phrase from John Grogan of Rhodes, remains open.

We have to insist that the mistakes of the past are not repeated by whatever government comes to power.

In order to make sensible decisions and govern properly, governments need to find out facts quickly and respond to them.



**Richard Steyn**

And free and open media are best placed to provide those facts.

We must also remain in the frontline in upholding the right to free speech and defending the rights of others, including political opponents, to speak freely.

It's easy to stand up for one's own right to free speech - the test of our sincerity is to what extent we are prepared to stand up for the rights of those with whom we strongly disagree.

We journalists have not always set a good example in this regard. We are also sadly divided among ourselves.

South African journalism still betrays many of the divisions of the apartheid society. We have a mainstream Press and an alternative Press.

Newspaper proprietors are divided into members of the Newspaper Press Union and non-members.

We have a Conference of Editors and a Conference of Independent Editors. We have a Media Council recognised by some and not by others; we have a code of conduct observed by some and ignored by the rest. Radio and television operate to a different set of rules from the print media.

Journalists belong to separate and racially divided trade unions. We run different courses for trainee journalists.

And all this in a profession, or craft, which is not slow to preach to others about the need to let bygones be bygones and come together.

We should also be far more ready to stand together. An attack on one journalist is an attack on all.

## Self-respecting journalists

Advocacy journalists who have spent their lives in the struggle for liberation have understandable difficulty in realising that power does strange things to people.

There comes a time when the interests of power-holders and those of self-respecting journalists diverge.

Our freedom, in the end, depends on whether or not we have the support of the public.

We can assist in building up the nation, or contribute to what Professor Johan Degenaar of Stellenbosch calls the "polarisation syndrome", the politics of "us" and "them".

If we lead our readers to believe that negotiations are a zero-sum game in which one side will win all at the expense of the other, we are reducing the chances of differences being settled peacefully.

Finally, we must continue to remind people, without preaching to them or sounding holier-than-thou, that a free Press is not only a *sine qua non* for democracy - you cannot have one without the other - but the final guarantee of their security.

Have these lessons been learned by our future leaders and by the people? I wonder. I hope they have been learned by journalists.

Democracy, if it is to succeed, needs the nourishment of good, accurate, informed journalism.

My vision of the future, my hope for the future, is for South African journalism to provide that nourishment.

# Goldstone clears 'secret base' police

W/Mail 30/10 – 5/11/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE Goldstone Commission has cleared the police of allegations that a secret network of police bases in the Vaal area was used to plan and instigate political violence.

However, the one-man investigation by advocate RM Wise into the allegations — carried in *The Weekly Mail* earlier this year — recommends that covert operations aimed at obtaining intelligence in relation to crimes of violence should be investigated by a "non-police, impartial agency" and that guidelines should be laid down for the implementation and supervision of these.

"When an organisation exists which is permitted to carry out such undercover operations and which has sophisticated means of doing so, the opportunity and temptation for abuse exists," Wise notes. "Outside the evidence before this committee there is much to suggest that in other contexts and other circumstances covert operations have been abused, in that they have been the means whereby illegal acts of violence have been carried out by the security forces."

He stresses, however, that covert operations for legitimate purposes appear to be recognised both internationally and by the National Peace Accord.

The "Wise Commission" was charged with conducting a preliminary inquiry, with an eye to determining whether a wider investigation into *The Weekly Mail's* allegations was necessary. Finding that the sources relied on by the newspaper "proved to be untruthful and without substance", it recommends that no further investigation take place.

The commission also finds that the police were not given adequate time to respond to the allegations before they were published. "(*Weekly Mail* editor Anton Harber) did not send the police the draft articles, but a list of questions which cannot really be said to have made it clear what they were being accused of," he says.

*The Weekly Mail* based its reports on affidavits by a Vaal activist, Daniel Kolisang, and a recently returned exile, Solly Mngomezulu, who both stated they had been taken to a secret house and offered training or money to carry out attacks on African National Congress targets.

A *Weekly Mail* investigation discovered the location of the house and others linked to it, that it was a police operation and the names of several policemen involved. To do this, it had to penetrate an elaborate veil of secrecy, including the systematic use of falsely registered vehicles and falsely registered pager and telephone numbers.

The Wise Commission found that Kolisang and Mngomezulu's statements were "totally false". It also cleared the policemen mentioned in *The Weekly Mail* reports, Captain AD du Plessis, Constable Johannes Mkwane, Warrant Officer Thys Nolte and Sergeant George Supra, of involvement in planning or committing acts of violence.

**● The commission's report only arrived an hour before the paper went to press. A fuller report will appear next week. See editorial, Page 18**

# Man 'lied' to inquest

CT 30/10/92

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Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG. — The inquest into Dr David Webster's murder took a dramatic turn yesterday when businessman Mr Willem Smit admitted he had falsely implicated former CCB operative Mr Ferdi Barnard in the killing.**

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AT INQUEST ... Ferdi Barnard

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**After a break, his counsel Mr Hennie de Vos told the court Mr Smit had had a conversation with someone outside the courtroom and did not wish to testify any further.**

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KILLER ... Police identikit

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**The media, through the State, later asked Judge M Stegmann if they could be informed of what had occurred during the in-camera session.**

**Stegmann said the impression might have been created that pressure had been improperly applied on Smit.**

**The judge said there had been no proof of this being the case.**

● City advocate a 'CCB target' — Page 12

Sarlan P1

# Brigadier admits NIS kidnapped Ebrahim

W/Mail 30/10 - 5/11/92. (327) 334

By CAROL GALES

NATIONAL Intelligence Service (NIS) agents had admitted they kidnapped top African National Congress official Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim in Swaziland in 1986, according to a former acting head of the security police.

Retired Brigadier Johannes Broodryk's testimony, heard this week during a civil action brought by Ebrahim in the Pretoria Supreme Court, is the first admission by a South African official of state involvement in the kidnapping.

But his testimony poses a delicate legal problem for Ebrahim. He is suing the ministers of justice, defence, and law and order, while the NIS answered directly to the state president's office.

Ebrahim is claiming R652 000 in damages. He says he was tortured during more than four years of illegal detention and imprisonment after he was kidnapped. In 1987, Ebrahim was convicted of high treason and sentenced to 20 years in jail, but he was freed in February 1991 after the Appellate Division overruled the judgment.

Broodryk was a deputy commissioner in the security police, in charge while his chief was on holiday, on the day after the abduction — December 16 1986. He told the court two NIS men had interrupted a braai at his Pretoria home to ask him what to do with Ebrahim, who was in a car parked outside. One of the men was NIS agent Paul Gogh. Broodryk could not recall the other man's name.

Asked by Mr Justice J Els whether Ebrahim had been transported from Swaziland or the Swazi-South African border, Broodryk said he "recalled they brought him from Swaziland".

Broodryk said he phoned security police headquarters in Pretoria and asked that Brigadier Jan Cronje, commanding officer of the security police, determine whether Ebrahim should be held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Broodryk indicated the NIS commonly conducted investigations for the security police, conceding that it was possible they had collaborated on Ebrahim's case. "There could have been contact between the two intelligence services at a high level," he said.

Under cross-examination by Ronald Selvan SC, counsel for Ebrahim, Broodryk said he had probably filed a report on how Ebrahim came into police hands and on the investigation. But the report had been routinely destroyed after two years.

On Wednesday, Ebrahim spent three hours in the witness box describing his abduction. He said two black men had accosted him with guns outside his suburban Mbabane home. "They said they were from the SAP and warned me if I made a noise they would shoot me," he said.

Ebrahim said he did not recall stopping at Broodryk's home in Pretoria. Instead, he said, the driver parked on a business district street and, using the two-way radio, guided another car to them. This car took Ebrahim to security police headquarters.

He said that when he complained there to SAP Brigadier Willem Schoon that he had been kidnapped, Schoon replied: "That is of merely academic interest now. The important thing is, you are here now and you are going to tell us everything about the ANC."

Ebrahim also complained of his kidnapping to a Captain Naude, who told him that "such things are allowed". Another police official told him: "You thought you were safe in Swaziland, but we got you."

# CCB colonel is to remain faceless

JOHANNESBURG. — The public will not know what Civil Co-operation Bureau head Colonel Joe Verster looks like but will be informed on Monday of what he tells the Rand Supreme Court inquest into the shotgun slaying of University of the Witwatersrand academic Dr David Webster.

The judge presiding over the Webster inquest, Mr Justice Michael Stegmann, ruled yesterday that Colonel Verster would give his evidence in camera but that the details of his testimony would be made public after his appearance.

The judge also ruled that no photographs, sketches or descriptions of Colonel Verster may be published.

The decision followed almost 90 minutes of argument yesterday afternoon. This in turn followed an in-camera session in the morning to determine whether the argument about Colonel Verster's appearance could be heard in open court.

Colonel Verster said in a statement that if people recognised him or were to match his name to his likeness, his life would be in danger because of his CCB operations.

Earlier yesterday Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl was the first CCB operative to give evidence at the inquest into the murder of Dr Webster, who was shot outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1, 1989.

He said CCB agents had a licence to kill and had no need to worry about the consequences. Colonel Verster had told him agents need not worry about the consequences of any authorised action against enemies of the state. CT 31/10/92

Colonel Verster had not told him who authorised the indemnity.

Cross-examined by Mr Eberhardt Bertelsmann, SC, for the Webster family, Mr Van Zyl said Colonel Verster and CCB co-ordinator Mr Christo Brits suspected the CCB's Region Six of having been involved in the Webster murder. 327

# CCB chief asks to appear in disguise

THE Rand Supreme Court inquest into the shotgun slaying of anthropologist Dr David Webster had its third in-camera hearing on Friday, this time to decide whether Civil Co-operation Bureau head Joe Verster is to give his evidence tomorrow, again in camera.

Col Verster was due to give evidence on Friday and his counsel, Jurie Wessels, on Thursday asked if the court would make a ruling on whether his client could give evidence in a cleared court or in some sort of disguise to protect his identity.

Following the evidence of CCB operative Abraham "Slang" van Zyl, the court was informed Col Verster would be available to give evidence on Monday before leaving on an overseas trip.

During the Harms Commission of Inquiry into politically-motivated violence, Verster and various other CCB members testified while wearing a variety of wigs, dark glasses, false noses and moustaches.

Earlier on Friday, Van Zyl, who submitted the same statement to the Webster inquest as he did to the 1990 Harms Commission, said he was asked about Dr Webster's death by Verster during an internal inquiry.

He was also later asked about possible CCB involvement in the killing by Military Intelligence head Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst.

Throughout his evidence, Van Zyl denied any knowledge of the killing.

The inquest continues before Judge Michael Stegmann. – Sapa

# Verster will testify in camera — judge rules

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER CCB MD Joe Verster will testify behind closed doors at the Webster inquest today after the court was told his life could be in danger if his identity was made public and he was recognised.

Judge M Stegmann granted Verster's application to testify in camera, but ruled that a transcript of the former CCB operative's evidence would be made available to the media and the public.

Verster's counsel, J Wessels, told the inquest court that his client's concern for his safety if he was recognised did not arise from CCB activities inside SA, but from projects carried out outside the country.

Verster's external projects had included acts of violence, Wessels told the court.

He said the application for an in camera hearing was not to stop Verster's evidence being made public, but to prevent the former CCB operative from being recognised.

Verster's application was opposed by both the State, which was leading the evidence of witnesses, and counsel for the Webster family, E Bertelsmann SC.

It was submitted that the Vrye Weekblad had already published a picture of Verster at the time of the Harms Commission. The names and identity of other former CCB operatives under Verster's command, as well as his superiors like Gen Eddie Webb, were also public knowledge.

Wessels said according to Verster he was not identifiable from the photograph, and he had been unrecogisable to himself and to people who knew him.

The court was also told that a witness at the Harms Commission, an askari, had been found murdered in the veld three days after testifying at the commission.

Granting Verster's application, the judge found there was a possibility that Verster would be endangered if his face was made public.

# Public defenders 'needed nationally'

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE initial result of using public defenders in Johannesburg had been successful and justified expansion on a national basis, public defender pilot project steering committee representative Les Morison said at the weekend.

Speaking in Johannesburg at an international conference on the right to legal representation, Morison said the project had silenced the "considerable concern" voiced at its launch in January.

Two senior and eight junior public defenders had been appointed for a two year period to the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court, with a budget of R2,5m.

To date more than 2 200 cases had been dealt with, with a 57% success rate on the not guilty pleas, and a 90% success rate for bail applications.

Nearly 2 000 applications for assistance which could not be accommodated, for reasons such as limited capacity and the type of assistance sought not being offered, were referred to the Legal Aid Board.

The average cost per case was about R420, which compared "very favourably" with the costs allowed to private practitioners by the board, he said.

Board fees were themselves considered very low.

Morison said that the quality of defence was "high," as public defenders appeared in the same courts daily, attended training courses and were in an environment of active discussion.

This compared well to a private practitioner who stood to lose money if a case was not wrapped up quickly.

He called for support in lobbying the Justice Minister to establish a national public defenders' office.

# CCB chief leaves SA

(327)

ET 3/11/92

## Judge orders his arrest

**JOHANNESBURG. — A warrant for the arrest of former Civil Co-operation Bureau chief Mr Joe Verster was issued in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday after he failed to appear at the Webster inquest.**

It was learnt that he had left South Africa.

In a shock development the inquest was told that Mr Verster had gone overseas, allegedly to wind up various CCB projects before it was disbanded.

Mr Verster left the country despite a directive to his counsel from Mr Justice Stegmann last Friday that his client be in court yesterday to testify.

On Friday the judge granted Mr Verster's application to testify in camera to protect his identity, but ruled that a transcript of his evidence would be made public.

In a statement submitted to the court yesterday, Mr Verster apologised for his non-appearance but said the arrangements for winding up these projects had been made before he was aware that he had to testify yesterday.

Mr Verster said he had no intention not to testify at the inquest and would be available not later than November 23.

He claimed that in terms of the agreement between the Defence Force and the CCB, former members of the covert unit would not get their final pension payouts until these projects had been wound up.

All parties involved in these projects had been given a timescale in which to complete them, Mr Verster said.

A plan of action had been drawn up to meet these people within the shortest possible time without one being made aware of the other's involvement.

Mr Verster said there were already at least four people on the move at the moment and the first meeting with them was to have taken place yesterday.

"My working relationship with these people must be kept in mind," he said.

"I cannot reveal my involvement in the Webster inquest because I have only dealt with these people on a business basis."

Later yesterday, former CCB operative Mr Calla Botha detailed to the court how he had been trained in courses given by CCB managing director Mr Verster and others to "combat the enemy".

news

# in brief

Sowetan 3/11/92

## CCB man flees the country

A WARRANT for the arrest of former CCB managing director Joe Verster, who failed to appear in court yesterday, was issued by Mr Justice Michael Stegmann in the Rand Supreme Court.

The court was told that Verster, who was subpoenaed to appear yesterday to testify at the inquest into the May 1 1989 killing of Wits University academic Dr David Webster, had left the country.

## Agreement to disagree

FOOD and Beverage Workers Union of South Africa official Mr JT Mdlalose yesterday contested an attorneys' statement on Friday that two union officials had been reinstated as members of the union's executive committee in terms of an order granted in the Rand Supreme Court. He said the return to FBWUSA administrative affairs of the two officials was the result of an agreement reached in court, rather than an order as reported.

Sowetan 3/11/92

## Security boost for Natal

AN ADDITIONAL 250 policemen left for troubled areas of Natal from the Transvaal yesterday, Law and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh told Soweto. He said they formed part of 600 policemen who would be deployed in the province as part of the Government's plan to curtail violence there.

Sowetan 3/11/92

## Alleged necklacers on trial

LEGAL argument in the trial of five policemen, alleged to have attempted to murder a man by "necklacing" him, will begin in the Durban Regional Court today.

The men, Lance-sergeants Mark Lucy (24) and Simon Gerald Coetzee (22) and constables David Potgieter (19), Pierre Laubscher (18) and Bradford Brown (19), have all pleaded not guilty before Mr PJ du Plessis to attempting to kill Mr Vusi Phiri.

Sowetan 3/11/92

## Is fencing-off the answer?

THE GOVERNMENT appears to be in a dilemma over plans to fence off troublesome hostels on the Reef and the Vaal Triangle.

"The aim of fencing off hostels - in line with the Record of Understanding - was to place a barrier between attackers and people on the receiving end of the violence, but in areas where normality has returned we have to ask ourselves whether such measures solve the problem or worsen it," said Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburg during a tour of eight hostels on the Reef and the Vaal Triangle yesterday.

## Hefty damages paid out

A STELLENBOSCH wine farmer yesterday agreed to pay two farmworkers R50 000 in a Supreme Court sequel to the fatal beating of one of the workers. Mr Wynand Smit, owner of the Koopmanskloof wine estate, did not accept liability when settling the claims arising from assaults by a former employee, Mr Rudolf Rix, said the applicants' attorney, Mr Glynn Williams.

Smit agreed to pay the estate of the late Andrew Thompson R20 000 and R30 000 to Mr Godfrey Williams, plus their costs. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

Sowetan 3/11/92

# Anderson claims a 'pack of lies'

(327) BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA was convinced its name would be cleared when the Goldstone commission tested allegations by its former official, Bruce Anderson, that he had been gun-running for the organisation.

Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos yesterday said she would welcome Anderson's allegations being tested thoroughly by Judge R Goldstone as this would show without doubt it was a "pack of lies". BIDAM 3/11/92

It is also understood Anderson was demanding permanent residence status in SA in return for testifying.

This, a source said, made Anderson's claims questionable, especially when the organisation had physical proof dating from as recently as August and "stating unequivocally on his honour that he had never been involved in any form of gun-running or acquiring weapons for Inkatha".

Anderson has claimed he arranged a supply of arms for Inkatha last year after setting up a meeting between Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and Inkatha foreign affairs head Musa Myeni. The arms were "collected and distributed" by SA Military Intelligence, he alleged.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose has denied the allegations outright, stating Inkatha "emphatically denies acquiring arms in the way Anderson claims or in any other way. We also deny having dealt with Renamo in any way whatsoever."

# Interim rule needed — Relly

BIDAM 3/11/92

LLOYD COUTTS

AN INTERIM government would have to be instituted without delay to restore credible authority and bring violence under control in SA, former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said in Toronto, Canada, yesterday.

He told Canadian Club members SA leaders would have to raise their vision beyond horizons set by party ambitions and seek constitutional agreements with a long-term chance of working.

"Finally, and perhaps most difficult, we must do these things very soon so that we can make progress towards rebuilding the economy of southern Africa before it becomes totally moribund," he said.

Initiatives like the national peace accord, the national housing forum and the economic forum were cause for optimism.

"It is nevertheless vital that we move quickly to an acceptable form of interim authority so that a proper process of governing can get going again at all levels," he said.

SA was languishing in its worst recession since the beginning of the century, which unfortunately coincided with the need to meet the expectations of participants in a new democracy.

"In the short term there is a stark deficit of available resources to keep the bare minimum of governance proceeding. For the long run there is a hopeful and increasing congruence between the important political groupings that a free enterprise system, with a strong market emphasis, is more likely to provide economic growth than some centralised dirigeste system."

The violence, he said, came in many forms, but the main causes were clashes between the ANC and Inkatha. "Both sides appear culpable. It is good to be able to think that the leadership of neither party is involved, but one must then worry about lack of control."

He said a criminal element was "making hay" in SA because of the release of many prisoners in terms of political agreements and partly because police were in disarray.

Another problem was the cheap and easy availability of arms.

"I think we can be extremely grateful that violence, however dreadful, is not worse, and that the extraordinary capacity of South Africans, and particularly black South Africans, to moderate and contain enmity, has been so far a significant feature of post-Rubicon life."



Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh during his visit to Mzimhlophe Hostel yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Mandela, Buthelezi must talk — Kriel

BIDAM 3/11/92

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — An urgent meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be held so that a political solution could be found to curb violence, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Weekend violence in Alexandra township, in which 11 people died, and strife in Natal stressed the need for a political solution, Kriel said in a statement.

"Political manoeuvring, while more and more innocent men, women and children are being killed, is completely unacceptable to government," Kriel said.

RAY HARTLEY reports that new obstacles to a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi were raised by ANC southern Natal regional organiser Bheki Cele yesterday. Cele said the ANC's three Natal regions had insisted on a meeting with Inkatha before they would sanction a national summit between the two leaders.

He said agreements would first have to be reached at a regional level and then ratified at a national meeting.

**NEWS** Mandela, Mugabe meeting 'without Makwetu' ● Tip-off leads cops to arms

# Vital meeting in Harare

Sowetan 3/11/92

**By Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

**■ Mugabe in quest to find common ground between African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress:**

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu meet Zimbabwean leader Mr Robert Mugabe in Harare tomorrow.

But the ANC insists it will be separately, according to spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma yesterday.

He said the meeting would be private, between Mugabe and Mandela only. Nor would the ANC leader meet Makwetu, Macozoma said.

Mugabe has invited the two leaders in terms of a resolution taken at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Senegal in June.

The OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, which met in Gaborone on October 15, endorsed the Senegal resolution after Mugabe cancelled, at the last hour, a meeting he had scheduled for September 9 in Bulawayo.

This was because Mandela would not attend following the Bisho massacre of September 7.

As chairman of the Frontline States, Mugabe's mandate is to discuss the reconvening of the Patriotic-United Front of liberation movements, specifically to urge them to find common ground in negotiating with the Government and formulate strategies to end the violence.

The ANC and PAC are officially recognised as observers by the OAU and United Nations and the OAU itself insists that the two's unity, albeit principled, is important in championing the total unity of South Africa's majority.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said Makwetu had been invited to a meeting with both Mugabe and Mandela.

"The invitation is in keeping with the OAU mandate for Mugabe to pursue the question of a united front of the liberation movements," said Ebrahim.




**To add humour to your day, Sowetan cartoonist Len Sak uses his sharp pen to take a look at a slice of South African life**

# Arms in a vehicle

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**■ 53-year-old man held:**

Sowetan 3/11/92

A TIP-OFF from a member of the public led to the seizure of an arms cache in a car outside a hotel in Nelspruit on Sunday.

The police special investigation found eight AK-47 rifles, nine magazines, 256 rounds of 7,62 AK-47 ammunition, 27 rounds of VZ26 7,62 ammunition and one VZ26 magazine.

A 53-year-old man was detained.

Two more men were arrested. An AK-47 and two magazines were confiscated at a four-way stop in nearby Carino.

SAP Regional Commissioner Maj-Gen JJ van Zyl asked the public to give information to curtail arms smuggling - *Sapa.*

news

# 'CCB not linked to lawyer's death'

Sowetan 3/11/92

By Sowetan Correspondent

THE CIVIL CO-OPERATION Bureau did not order the assassination of Namibian advocate Anton Lubowski, the David Webster judicial inquest in the Rand Supreme court heard yesterday.

Counsel for the SADF, Peet Coetsee, SC, said neither Military Intelligence chief General Witkop Badenhorst nor CCB chairman General Eddie Webb had been aware of any sanctions for the murder.

He was cross-examining one of the investigating officers into Webster's murder, General Jaap Joubert, who earlier told the court the Lubowski killing had been a CCB project while that of Webster was not.

Joubert said he was given the impression during discussions with Webb and Badenhorst that Lubowski's murder had been a CCB project, although the correct procedures were not followed.

"The person who pulled the trigger got the sanction from someone. The correct procedure was not followed but someone in the structure gave the authority for the shooting," he told Mr Justice M Stegmann.

## WRONG IMPRESSION

### Made to believe Lubowski's murder was CCB project:

Coetsee said his instructions were that Badenhorst had commented to Joubert that he was upset Lubowski was murdered as he was a Military Intelligence agent. Neither Badenhorst nor Webb further discussed the assassination with Joubert, he added.

Joubert replied they had discussed the assassination because he was following up parallels between Webster's and Lubowski's murder. "In my wildest dreams I can't imagine that we did not discuss the matter," he said.

Webster was shot outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1 1989 and Lubowski was gunned down outside his Windhoek home on September 12 the same year. The hearing continues.

# Erasing of Boipatong tapes 'deliberate'

ALAN FINE

AN INVESTIGATION by British government experts has found that the Boipatong tapes may have been "hurriedly and deliberately erased with the object of obscuring the contents". BIDAY 3/11/92

Details of the findings are scheduled for public release today by the Goldstone commission. They were released to the SAP's legal advisers and other legal teams involved in the hearing on Friday to enable police to consider their response.

It is understood the police have questioned the validity of the UK findings.

The tapes in question were those which recorded radio communications between police in the field and the Vereeniging internal stability unit on the night of the June 17 Boipatong massacre. It had been hoped that they would throw light on allegations of neglect of duty by the police in failing to prevent or halt the massacre, or even of complicity.

Police told the Goldstone inquiry on August 11 that the recordings had been wiped clean accidentally because of a procedural fault.

The tapes were then handed for analysis to a local firm, Grinaker Electronics.

It later emerged that the firm, which found no evidence of deliberate erasure, had links with the security services. The commission requested the British government to analyse the tapes independently.

British Embassy First Secretary Geoffrey Adams said yesterday the results of the analysis and the tapes themselves had been handed to the commission. The tapes had arrived from London on Sunday.

Commission spokesman Glen Cuthbertson said yesterday Judge R Goldstone received the report late last week.

Neither was willing to comment further.

The Boipatong inquiry was officially closed on Friday but Goldstone said it could be reopened if the analysis of the tapes warranted it.

2x2 drive. Erlston, who took three years to develop the Bidrive, smiles as he answered as computers tried to calm the killings. ANC, who said biking enjoys greater popularity than in SA. He expects the Bidrive will sell for around $30.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Report inconclusive on Boipatong tape erasure

THE Goldstone commission had found no conclusive evidence that the Boipatong tapes may have been deliberately erased as suggested by British experts, Judge R Goldstone said in Johannesburg yesterday.

British government experts found the tapes had been recorded over and said the technical evidence "suggests that this may have been done deliberately and hurriedly in order to obscure the contents".

Their report was received by the commission on October 29.

After portions of the tapes were replayed on Monday, the commission found that "no conclusions can fairly be drawn on the strength of the tentative suggestion made by the British experts", Goldstone said in a statement issued yesterday.

"The important information ascertained by the British experts is that what was over-recorded is not retrievable," Goldstone said.

The technical experts had offered a further clarification of their findings on Monday, he said.

They said some of the material superimposed on the tapes, which recorded police communications on the night of the June 17 Boipatong massacre, was recorded at a non-standard speed equivalent to between a third or a quarter of the normal recording speed.

In addition, some of the superimposed material had been recorded backwards, they found.

Goldstone said: "The commission would like to emphasise that in its opinion it would be speculative to draw any inferences or conclusions on the information which has thus far been received with regard to the circumstances in which the original information on the tape came to be erased".

Police told the Goldstone inquiry on August 11 the tapes had been accidentally erased, which was supported by the preliminary findings of a local firm, Grinaker Electronics.

But when it emerged that the company had links with the security forces, the Goldstone commission withdrew the tapes from Grinaker and the British government agreed to have the tapes analysed by its own technical experts.

Goldstone said yesterday that if any party wished to have further witnesses called or if the tapes were required for further technical analysis, the commission would decide on such requests after consultations with the legal representatives of all interested parties. — Sapa.

# FW's fall 'his own fault'

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was responsible "all by himself" for any damage to his popularity, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He was responding to De Klerk's complaint on TV1's Agenda programme on Monday night that the ANC had embarked on a "negative" campaign against him after the referendum because he was becoming too popular.

De Klerk said his growing popularity had been perceived by the ANC as a threat and this had led the organisation to embark on the campaign.

Niehaus said De Klerk and government's lack of movement towards democracy, and its lack of commitment to this ideal and clearly addressing the violence was the major reason for people losing faith in De Klerk.

The President should look to himself and not others to blame for his political misfortunes, he said.

policemen were deplorable. day, said he bore his assailant no grudges. tical misfortunes, he said. between a third or a quarter of the normal

# 10 companies go bust every working day

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Ten registered companies or close corporations were liquidated every working day for the first eight months of the year, reports the Information Trust Corporation (ITC).

ITC CEO Tony Leng said most were small organisations, but there were also large companies among the casualties.

This was obviously one of the root reasons for the country's continued and worsening unemployment situation.

Leng said so far this year 1 592 liquidations had occurred, an increase of 28% compared with last year.

There was little hope, he said, of an improvement in the distressing situation while interest rates and inflation remained at current levels.

In the first seven months of the year 2 627 individuals were sequestrated — the highest figure ever recorded and an increase of 21% over the same period last year.

Leng said most retailers were having a torrid time, with consumer confidence at an all time low.

# Business bid to ease Natal crisis

WILSON ZWANE

BUSINESS had become involved in negotiations with the ANC and Inkatha in a desperate bid to find solutions to the deepening crisis in Natal, an ANC official said yesterday.

ANC southern Natal official Bheki Cele said ANC regional leaders, Inkatha and business representatives were engaged in low-profile negotiations aimed at removing obstacles to a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Cele said the ANC's three Natal regions were opposed to a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting until the resolution of certain problems, including the bar on ANC members using school buildings in KwaZulu-controlled areas for political meetings, and the withdrawal of Inkatha from several local dispute resolution committees.

Natal-KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee chairman M C Pretorius refused to comment on the business/ANC/Inkatha negotiations. He said the talks were delicate and to comment could jeopardise the process.

Meanwhile, last night's meeting of the national peace committee's executive was postponed until tomorrowbecause ANC officials could not attend as they were travelling to Natal to work on defusing tensions.

Our political staff reports that hundreds of Natal servicemen are being called up to help stem the violence ravaging the province.

The army said yesterday Natal citizen force and commando units would have to be called up to supplement troops being transferred to the province from other areas.

President F W de Klerk promised last week that the number of troops deployed in the province in support of the SAP would be doubled by tomorrow.

Commenting on the decision to deploy more troops, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, said the ANC had "grave concerns ... in light of President de Klerk's statement that one of the specific duties would be to hunt down MK people."

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson welcomed the move and said the organisation had called for this step several months ago.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha is to ask the Goldstone commission to investigate the role of the ANC armed wing in attacks on the mainly Zulu party.

Hodgson said Inkatha would also ask the commission to investigate MK arms caches. "We are convinced that such arms, ammunition and explosive devices are being used by the ANC in its military operations."

# Strydom's actions do not 'defy parole conditions'

STEPHANE BOTHMA

"WIT Wolf" Barend Strydom's issuing of a list of political demands in Pretoria's Strijdom Square — where he gunned down seven people in 1989 — did not contravene his parole conditions, the Correctional Services Department said yesterday.

Strydom said on Monday night that the "illegal" government should resign and meet him within 30 days or face "action".

A Correctional Services spokesman said the mass murderer's parole conditions did not prevent him making news statements.

The threat of "action" did not necessarily imply force or the commission of any crime, the spokesman said.

However, the ANC yesterday called on government to take the necessary legal steps to prevent Strydom from killing again.

Strydom issued a six-page document to journalists in Strijdom Square on Monday night, stating that the Wit Wolwe organisation expected a written reply to its demand to meet the "illegal government" to negotiate "the achievement of our demands".

The ANC said in a statement that it had been government's decision to accept that Strydom's "heinous crimes" were committed in defence of apartheid and fell within their definition of a legitimate political act.

"Having done so, the government will also have to accept full responsibility for any future atrocities Strydom might commit," the ANC said.

The DP said: "This fiasco underscores the DP's opposition to random, and now secret, indemnification of persons guilty of heinous crimes, misrepresented as political acts."

# HOW MUCH

LLOYD COUTTS

# Verster says unit is govt scapegoat

THE CCB alleged yesterday that an orchestrated effort was being made to hold the organisation accountable for a large number of crimes committed in SA.

Ex-CCB MD Joe Verster accused government, the police, the Auditor-General and the media of conducting a witch-hunt.

A warrant for Verster's arrest was issued on Monday when he failed to appear at the Rand Supreme Court to testify in the David Webster inquest.

Verster said the police had chosen to focus on the CCB in its investigation of the Webster murder, despite the fact that the Harms commission and the Webster Trust believed the CCB had nothing to do with the killing.

Police officers had been subpoenaed only to help prove the CCB's participation in the murder. Not only the investigation, but witnesses were being manipulated to suit the trial, Verster said.

Verster said he had attempted to present arguments to the parliamentary Select Committee on Public Accounts against claims of large-scale maladministration and theft of funds by the CCB, to no avail.

His attempts to secure an interview with President F W de Klerk had proved fruitless, and government had added to the proclamation of lies about the CCB when

☐ To Page 2

## Verster

From Page 1

former Defence Minister Magnus Malan said CCB projects had been terminated.

"I am, however, now busy closing the same projects with the sanction of the President. It is clear that certain Ministers did not inform the President thoroughly."

He added there was no truth to reports that he intended laying low until amnesty legislation was passed. The question of amnesty was meaningless unless those who had given commands and politicians applied for it.

"I do not believe that my people and I should apply for amnesty for the execution of orders given during a specific political era," Verster said.

Former CCB personnel manager Wessel Huyser (an "administrative" name), told the news conference that Verster was abroad dismantling former CCB "business deals".

The identity of the businessmen involved could not be revealed to protect them.

Some of the businessmen involved would lose money from the closure of the CCB, but Verster was also in the process of recovering assets for the government.

Asked how he could still be acting as CCB personnel manager, Huyser said that although no CCB projects were under way, certain "structures" still existed.

The ANC, meanwhile, said it was shocked and outraged that the CCB still operated to such an extent that its head could defy a court of law.

# CCB chief misled Harms commission

B/DM 4/11/92

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER CCB chairman and SADF Special Forces CO Gen Eddie Webb admitted yesterday he had misled the Harms commission by not disclosing he knew CCB MD Joe Verster had approved the elimination of activists Dullah Omar and Gavin Evans.

Testifying at the Webster inquest yesterday, Webb agreed that this evidence would have had a material effect on the findings of the Harms commission.

Webb, Verster's immediate superior, said CCB projects to eliminate people had to be approved by himself. Both he and Verster denied during evidence to the Harms commission that CCB activities included killing people inside SA.

Webb testified yesterday that he had first found out about plans to kill Omar and Evans at a meeting with Verster and former MI chief Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst during an internal inquiry into CCB activities in January/February 1990.

Verster told him that the projects had been approved at his level. (327)

Under cross-examination, Webb agreed that the only person at Verster's level had been Verster himself. ~~(252)~~ (254)

He denied that his motive for withholding his knowledge of the Omar and Evans projects from the Harms commission was because it would have shown the world that the CCB had in fact committed acts of violence inside the country.

Webb also denied that he had tried to create the impression at the Harms commission that these were unauthorised activities by low-level CCB operatives.

Counsel for the Webster family E Bertelsmann SC put it to Webb that if he was prepared to lie under oath about the unsuccessful Omar and Evans projects to protect brothers in arms, it was more probable that he would lie about successful projects like the murder of Webster and Swapo lawyer Anton Lubowski.

☐ To Page 2

## CCB

B/DM 4/11/92

☐ From Page 1

Webb replied that that was pure speculation. He said he had not known about a CCB project to monitor Evans.

CCB operatives had not been required to inform him or obtain his approval for monitoring projects, he said.

Webb told the court he had been aware of the name Evans because it had been used by Lusaka-based ANC member Hein Grosskopf.

Asked whether he knew of a project to eliminate Grosskopf, counsel representing the SADF, P Coetzee SC, objected on the grounds that Webb could not answer questions about foreign projects because this would contravene the Defence Act.

~~(252)~~ (327)

The court was also told that Webb had applied for indemnity in respect of various CCB activities carried out while he was head of the covert unit. The Lubowski and Webster murders were not among these.

Webb also refused to answer questions about certain CCB projects on the grounds that he would incriminate himself.

The hearing continues today.

# 'I misled Harms' - CCB man

Sowetan 4/11/92

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■ BUSINESS TRIP Covert unit managing director Joe Verster says he is not in hiding:

**Sowetan Correspondent**

CCB CHAIRMAN GENERAL Eddie Webb deliberately misled the Harms Commission investigating alleged death squads to protect his "brothers in arms", the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster heard yesterday.

Giving evidence in the Rand Supreme Court, Webb admitted he and CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster had misled the commission by denying any knowledge of plans to murder lawyer Dullah Omar and journalist Gavin Evans.

He conceded his ommission was designed to mislead the commission's chairman, Mr Justice Louis Harms. He did not want the commission to make the finding that the CCB could have assassinated people inside the country.

Mr Eberhardt Bertelsmann, SC, appearing for the David Webster Trust, said: "If you were prepared to mislead the commission under oath to protect your brothers in arms against possible repercussions for unsuccessful assassination attempts, how much further would you be prepared to go to protect them for actual murder?"

Webb replied that had the assassination attempt on any of the targets been successful, his evidence to the commission would have been different.

He said senior CCB officials were aware of plans to murder South African citizens, but he had twisted the truth since "it would have negative implications" for this to be made public.

He denied trying to create the impression that the murder of people within the country had been unauthorised actions by lower-ranking agents. The inquest heard earlier that former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard was suspected of murdering Webster on May 1 1989 to impress the CCB hoping to winning another contract.

Webb said this suggestion had been made to him by Verster, whom he had approached to inquire about possible CCB involvement in the assassination.

He claimed Verster and others had "taken it upon themselves" to decide which enemies to eliminate - in direct conflict with the established procedures.

Webb told Mr Justice M Stegmann he would have had to approve plans for any elimination, and, since such action would have political and strategic implications, he would have to consult his superiors in the SADF.

● Verster had not fled the country as alleged in media reports but is on a scheduled overseas business trip, a senior official of the CCB said yesterday.

CCB personnel manager Mr Wessel Hyser said he had been mandated by Verster to release a statement denying the reports.

"I have never tried to flee, and the South African Police have never had to arrest me. I even made myself availabe to give evidence before the Harms Commission and I have no reason not to do so now," Verster said in the statement.



Troop reinforcements arrive at Maritzburg's Oribi Airport yesterday after being sent to Natal to help quell violence.
Picture: AP

# Denials over CCB MD's overseas trip

B/DAM 5/11/92

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PRESIDENT F W de Klerk, Defence Minister Gene Louw and the SADF said yesterday they had no prior knowledge that CCB MD Col Joe Verster was going abroad.

De Klerk also denied Verster was winding up the affairs of the CCB with the sanction of the State President's office.

A warrant for Verster's arrest was issued on Monday after he ignored a subpoena to appear at the inquest into the murder of Wits academic David Webster.

Verster's attorney claimed earlier De Klerk's office knew his client had gone overseas to wind up CCB affairs. Presidential spokesman Casper Venter said De Klerk knew nothing of Verster's trip.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Louw and SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg yesterday distanced the military establishment and government from the CCB, saying they did not know of instructions for "action" against Webster.

In a joint statement, Louw and Liebenberg said that if any instruction to take action against Webster had been issued without authorisation, it would have been condemned in the strongest possible terms.

Verster intimated on Tuesday that an attempt was being made to pin the Webster murder and a large number of crimes on the CCB.

**Political Staff**

A spokesman for the Defence Ministry confirmed that Verster was winding up projects for the CCB, but referred all questions on the CCB activities and structuring to the organisation or its lawyers.

Meanwhile, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley denied a claim by the SADF that Verster was completing projects "to the satisfaction" of his office.

"(Wronsley) wishes to make it clear that his office has nothing whatsoever to do with the final closure of projects which are part and parcel of a settlement reached between ex-members of the CCB and the SADF in regard to retrenchment packages," a statement said.

□ Sapa reports that the Justice Department had taken note of CCB chairman Gen Eddie Webb's claims that he had given false evidence to the Harms commission into alleged death squads. However, the government would decide on action after the findings of the present inquest into Webster's murder were announced.

# Court told of missing page

Sowetan 5/11/92

**AUGUST ENTRY** Reference to "Anton" has nothing to do with murdered academic Lubowski:

PAGES FROM the 1989 diary of CCB regional co-ordinator Wouter Basson, alias Christo Brits, were missing, including the page for September 12, the day Namibian advocate Anton Lubowski was killed.

Testifying at the Rand Supreme Court inquest into the assassination of Dr David Webster yesterday, Basson told Justice Michael Stegmann he sometimes used his diary for notes when he had no scrap-paper available.

He would then tear the page from the diary for filing in Civil Co-operation Bureau files.

State advocate Mr Jannie van Vuuren said forensic tests had deciphered the words "disguise", "new clothes", "change of clothes", "no personal contact after job" and "alibi to go to Zambia" from imprints on the page for September 14.

Basson acknowledged that this "sounded right" and he vaguely recalled that he had made notes on instructions which were to be given to an indirect member of the CCB for a project outside this country.

He was not at liberty to divulge any further details as projects which took place on foreign soil were classified, he said, but denied the project had anything to do with the then South West Africa or Lubowski.

Other diary entries read out by Mr van Vuuren referred to:

- Emphasis on disruption of the enemy;
- The issuing of weapons and ammunition to CCB Region Six members;
- A master plan to defeat the total onslaught;
- CCB projects and amounts allocated to them; and

A diary entry on July 27 indicated that "client two" should be monitored. Basson denied this was a reference to Lubowski, saying he thought it referred to someone he wanted to recruit.

A later entry in August refers to an "Anton" and outlines a number of options available to the CCB.

# Webster probe hears missing diary entries

(327) **SUSAN RUSSELL** (284)

A PAGE missing from the diary of former CCB co-ordinator Wouter Basson appeared to be instructions to an assassin, the Webster inquest heard yesterday. (282)

Basson, alias Christo Brits, was co-ordinator of the CCB's region 6 which operated inside SA. B1DM 5/11/92

He conceded during cross-examination that his notes for September 12 1989, the day on which Swapo lawyer Anton Lubowski was murdered, did look like instructions for an assassin after completion of an assignment.

The page is one of two missing from the diary. Forensic experts who examined the diary have been able to ascertain the contents of the missing entry.

The entry reads: "disguise/don't phone. new clothing. only act according to plan. don't use pager, no personal contact after completion. Alibi, to go to Zambia".

Basson, who denied there had been CCB projects to murder Lubowski and David Webster, said the entry referred to a CCB operation outside SA involving an individual known as Mohamed.

He said it was purely coincidental that this page and the one for August 31 were the only ones missing from the diary.

August 31, he said, was the date of a CCB operation, one of four about which he did not wish to testify.

Basson was cross-examined at length about other entries in the diary.

The August 3 entry refers to "options" in respect of "client 2". Among the options are "witchdoctor, medical, and car bomb".

Counsel for the Webster family, E Bertelsmann SC, put it to Basson that these were the options suggested for the elimination of a subject.

Basson said the entry could be referring to suggested methods for recruiting people, but conceded it was possible the "options" did refer to methods of elimination.

Another entry refers to Client 1 being made to "fall"(val) before the end of August and client 2 by the middle of September.

☐ To Page 2

## Webster

B1DM 5/11/92 (327) (282)

☐ From Page 1

Basson agreed that omval (topple over) was CCB terminology for elimination.

Entries in July 1989 refer to CCB projects to disrupt Swapo activities prior to the elections in the then South West Africa.

Basson admitted that one note referred to an order that Staal Burger, who was involved in the CCB's activities in SWA, kill supporters of Hein Grosskopf.

He said this order had come from CCB chairman Gen Eddie Webb.

"It's very clear, isn't it, that during the course of 1989 the CCB had a very intensive interest in Namibia," Bertelsmann asked.

"It was a direct order," Basson replied.

He said the order had come from CCB MD Joe Verster, but did not know if Verster had received the order from higher up.

The hearing continues.

# Verster: We didn't know, say FW, army

'CT 5/11/92

(327)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk, Minister of Defence Mr Gene Louw and the South African Defence Force all said yesterday they had absolutely no prior knowledge that the managing director of the CCB, Colonel Joe Verster, was going "overseas".

Mr De Klerk also denied that Colonel Verster was winding up the affairs of the CCB with the State President's office.

Mr Louw and SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg also said yesterday they did not know of any instructions for "action" against David Webster.

And both the ANC and the DP have asked for a fresh investigation into the activities of the group, following the defiance this week of a court order by its former managing director Colonel Verster to testify at the Webster inquest and the admission by its former chairman, Mr Eddie Webb, that he had lied to the Harms Commission.

In a joint statement, Mr Louw and General Liebenberg said that if any instruction to take action against Webster had been issued without authorisation, it would have been condemned in the strongest possible terms.

A warrant was issued for Colonel Verster's arrest on Monday when he failed to testify at the Webster inquest in Johannesburg. He explained in a press statement that he had gone abroad to wind up CCB projects and "business deals" on behalf of the SADF and with the knowledge of Mr De Klerk.

A spokesman for the defence ministry said Colonel Verster was being paid by the SADF, but could not comment on the amount of money being spent on his activities.

Meanwhile, auditor-general Mr Peter Wronsley denied a claim by the SADF that Colonel Verster was abroad completing projects "to the satisfaction" of the auditor-general's office. — Own Correspondent.

# Two held in Tembisa after arms haul

STEPHANE BOTHMA

A MAN and a woman were arrested in Tembisa yesterday after a large number of handgrenades and ammunition were found in their possession, police said.

The man said he was storing them on the instructions of a senior SACP member, said Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman.

He declined to name the SACP member.

The arrests followed action by members of the SAP's crime information service and internal stability unit who reacted to a tip-off received from an informant, Opperman said.

At a hut searched in the Mandelakhufa squatter camp, they found 22 RGD Russian-manufactured handgrenades, a full magazine for a Stechkin machine-pistol and 20 AK-47 rounds.

A woman, who said she was a member of the Tembisa Residents' Association, was also held.

Further investigations led the police to a house in Emangweni Section in the township, where an AK-47 rifle, an RGD5 handgrenade and a Russian F1 handgrenade were found.

The arrested man told investigators that he had undergone military training in Angola during 1987, Opperman said. He had returned to SA on August 12 last year.

# Ex-spy chief denies CCB admission

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER Military Intelligence (MI) chief Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst denied at the Webster inquest yesterday that CCB MD Col Joe Verster had ever admitted in his presence to giving approval for the murder of two activists.

Earlier this week former CCB chairman Gen Eddie Webb testified that Verster had told Badenhorst and himself that approval for the murder of Dullah Omar and Gavin Evans had been granted "at his level".

According to Webb, Verster had made this disclosure in early 1990 at an internal investigation into CCB activities.

Badenhorst, however, yesterday denied Verster had ever made this disclosure

It was put to Badenhorst by counsel for the Webster family E Bertelsmann SC that if this was the case then Webb's evidence must be false. He replied that Webb could have been referring to another meeting, and reiterated that the discussion had never taken place.

He also admitted omitting to mention to the Harms commission that he had received a report that CCB operatives Ferdi Barnard and Calla Botha were involved in Webster's murder.

The report had come from Barnard's handler Lefraas Luitingh. Badenhorst said he had tested Luitingh's allegations and

☐ To Page 2

## CCB

☐ From Page 1

found them to be false.

Badenhorst said he questioned several people and had put the allegation to Gen Jaap Joubert who was part of the police investigation.

Joubert told him he had questioned Botha and Barnard and the allegation was not true.

Badenhorst said he had also questioned Botha and he had denied any involvement.

He said he had never questioned Barnard, nor had he had any connection with him.

Badenhorst denied he had made no attempt to ascertain whether senior officers were involved.

Asked about the allegations of CCB involvement in the murder of Swapo lawyer Anton Lubowski, Badenhorst said he was sure the unit was not responsible.

Lubowski's death, he said, had left a large gap in "our organisation".

After Webster's murder he had not been worried about possible MI involvement because this had never been its task.

"We were an information collecting organisation."

The inquest was adjourned until November 16.

● Comment: Page 10

# De Klerk signs Bill into law

Sowetan 6/11/92

## ■ State agents may now not be prosecuted for their offences:

**By Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk has signed the Further Indemnity Bill into law, which means that security force members who may have assassinated State opponents may now be pardoned.

De Klerk signed the Bill on Tuesday and it is expected to be published in the Government Gazette soon, Mr Dave Stewart, director-general in the State President's Office, said yesterday.

The Bill was opposed by Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political groups. But the Government used its special powers in the President's Council to push it through.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said the Government had proof that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had sent at least 120 of its soldiers into Natal.

Kriel said the Government had dispatched 2 000 South African Defence Force troops into Natal and declared Richmond and Umbumbulu Unrest Areas "to give the security forces extra powers".

He appealed to Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet and to stop the fighting in Natal.

SOWETAN Friday November 6 1992

**NEWS** Webb denied any involvement in lecturer's murder

# Policeman knew CCB secrets?

Sowetan 6/11/92

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**Sowetan Correspondent**

A SENIOR POLICEMAN who allegedly told former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agent Ferdi Barnard "to keep quiet" while he was in detention, was part of an informal investigation team into the CCB's possible involvement in Dr David Webster's murder, an inquest in the Rand Supreme Court heard today.

The court had earlier heard that Brigadier Krappie Engelbrecht had told Barnard in November 1989 to keep quiet about their projects for six or seven months.

The police suspected SADF involvement in the May 1 1989 assassination of the Wits anthropologist and

## ■ DIVIDED LOYALTY Claim that cop was involved with CCB and probe:

Engelbrecht and Military Intelligence chief General Witkop Badenhorst were instructed in December 1989 to form a contact committee to facilitate this aspect of the investigation.

Badenhorst told Mr Justice M Stegmann he was aware of the allegation that Engelbrecht had passed a message to Barnard. He had investigated the claim but was satisfied there was no need to withdraw Engelbrecht from the inquiry.

Badenhorst said he first became aware that the CCB operated within South Africa's border when General Jaap Joubert, one of the investigators into Webster's murder, had contacted him towards the end of 1989. Joubert had wanted information about claims made by Barnard in a statement made in detention.

Badenhorst initially acted as middleman between Joubert and the head of Special Forces, CCB chairman General Eddie Webb, but later arranged for Joubert and Webb to have direct contact. He also arranged for contact between Joubert and CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster.

The hearing continues.

# 2 held after tip-off

POLICE yesterday arrested two people in Tembisa in connection with the alleged discovery of a large number of handgrenades and ammunition in which a senior SACP member has been implicated.

Police said they reacted to a tip-off and a man and a woman were arrested in two separate homes - the man in Emmangweni section and the woman at "Mandelakhufa Squatter Camp".

Twenty two Russian manufactured RGD handgrenades, a full magazine for a

# in brief

Stecklin machine-pistol and 20 AK-47 rounds were found in the woman's home. Sowetan 6/11/92

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the man had told investigators that he had been instructed by "a very senior SACP leader" to store the handgrenades and arms.

The two are expected to appear in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court today. - *Sowetan Reporter*

# IFP's non-traditional weapon

w/mail 6/11-12/11/92.

*White Inkatha supporters are taking up arms in Natal's conflict, reports*

**PHILIPPA GARSON**

WHITE supporters of Inkatha are increasingly prepared to take up arms in the ground war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress in Natal.

"We are tired of our people getting killed. We're getting pushed out of negotiations, becoming a voice in the wilderness. It's about time people took sides. We're a force to be reckoned with," said a white man brandishing "traditional weapons" who joined about 15 000 IFP members in a protest march through Durban last Saturday.

Pointing out that he prefers to be known by his Zulu name Mehlwemamba (eyes of the mamba), Shaun (surname unknown) was unequivocal about his support for Inkatha. "I would fight for Inkatha," he said.

Asked if he had done so in the past, he replied: "That's an unfair question."

He said he had served 11 years in Military Intelligence and still works for the South African Defence Force in Natal's townships in an "unofficial capacity".

"I am not scared to come out of the closet, but I would say there are literally thousands of members who are scared to do so because of what people will say," he added.

IFP central committee member Albert Mncwango, who co-ordinates paramilitary and other training of Inkatha's "self-protection units", confirmed that Mehlwemamba is a member of his regiment. On the man's SADF background, Mncwango's reply was: "When people join Inkatha, we don't screen them."

Mncwango said a "deluge" of whites — about 600 a week — have been joining the IFP since the government signed the Record of Understanding with the ANC.



**Brothers in arms ... White warrior 'Mehlwemamba' brandishes a spear and shield, while his companion conceals a firearm beneath traditional garb** **Photo: GUY ADAMS**

A recent Markinor survey showed that the IFP has considerable support among whites. While only 11 percent of the 800 whites polled expressed support for the Conservative Party, at least 15 percent said they would vote for the IFP and 30 percent were positive about the organisation. The survey concluded that "every second white expresses a positive attitude towards the IFP".

Whites occupy most of the IFP's public relations positions and several sit on its central committee.

Evidence of the increasing involvement of white supporters in Natal's conflict include:

●Reports by residents of Amagcino, an ANC stronghold in Umgababa, that at least two whites were among Inkatha fighters who attacked the community on October 18. The attack, which left at least eight people dead, was in apparent retaliation for a gruesome ambush of a bakkie carrying Inkatha supporters, which also claimed eight lives. One of the white men allegedly involved wore dark blue overalls and the other wore jeans and a coloured shirt.

●Peace monitors present during a confrontation last month between Inkatha supporters at Patheni, near Richmond, and ANC refugees attempting to return to the area, noticed an armed white man among the Inkatha members who gathered at the local chief's tribal court.

Steve Collins, national co-ordinator of the Network of Independent Monitors, said: "There was a white, bearded man with ginger hair who seemed to be with the chief's bodyguards. He stayed quietly in the background but he looked prepared for a fight."

●The shooting of kwaZulu government representative Philip Powell after an IFP rally in Imbali in April. Powell, a former president of the rightwing National Students' Federation and an ex-policemen, was shot in the legs and an arm. His bodyguard was also shot. Powell carries a powerful Lougar assault rifle and says he has been ambushed seven times in the past two years.

●Former Natal rugby player Adam Mortessagne, a farmer and police reservist in the kwaGengshe area, openly supports the IFP. The ANC has accused him of training IFP members on how to shoot and of transporting them to sites of conflict.

After several attacks on his life, Mortessagne drives an armoured vehicle. When *The Weekly Mail* tried to contact him this week, a white man claiming to be his bodyguard said he was out of town.

●Farmers and businessmen in the Richmond and Ixopo areas have long shown allegiance towards the IFP. *The Daily News* last year reported the existence of training camps on private farms.

# Pretoria's secret weapon: Poison

w\mail 6/11 - 12/11/92. (327)

By GAVIN EVANS

DUTCH African National Congress supporters Klaas de Jonge and Connie Braam both suffered permanent damage to their health through being "poisoned by South African security force agents".

The details of this allegation, contained in Braam's book, *Operation Vula,* and repeated in an interview with her, bear remarkable resemblance to those surrounding the 1989 case of South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, who was poisoned with the lethal pesticide Organo Phosphate, which was sprinkled on his clothes.

Braam, who suffered internal injuries after a similar poison was placed in clothes she wore during a visit to Harare in 1987, says subsequent research on the incident suggests it was the work of the Civil Cooperation Bureau.

She said that soon after his 1987 release, former Dutch embassy fugitive De Jonge was poisoned, and permanently lost the sight in one eye.

"At the time we did not tell anyone outside the Vula leadership. We needed to show them we were not afraid, and that they had not succeeded.

"But in fact what happened was that Klaas went blind in that eye in three days, and his sight in the other eye was also affected. I have since had two operations as a result of my poisoning."

Shortly after the Violence Against Children conference in Harare, in September 1987, Braam checked into a small hotel where she found two perfectly fitting jackets in the cupboard. Later she discovered they had no labels or tabs.

When she tried them on she said they had a "musty smell ... like stale perfume". An hour later she woke up with a headache and later her body was seized by cramps and "unbearable pain", which led to vomiting, and lasted for several days.

A day later she discovered a glass jar, with an ill-fitting label saying "all-vitamin pills" on her bedside table, containing "something fluid, a thick syrupy mass, with on top of it something which looked like pills". Inquiries showed someone had broken into her room.

She told Vula coordinator Ivan Pillay about the incident, and mentioned she'd kept the jackets after having them dry-cleaned.

"Angrily he recited to me a list of examples of people being poisoned through clothing. Hundreds of people had been murdered that way. The South African secret service was known for the technique. They used various unidentified poisonous compositions which entered the bloodstream through the skin," she writes.

According to the ANC hundreds of its members were poisoned by an "enemy agent" in an ANC camp in Angola in the early 1980s. Former ANC Swazi underground leader Thami Zulu died in Lusaka in November 1989 five days after his release from 17 months of ANC house arrest. Traces of the quick-acting pesticide, diazinon — similar to that used against Chikane — were found in his blood.

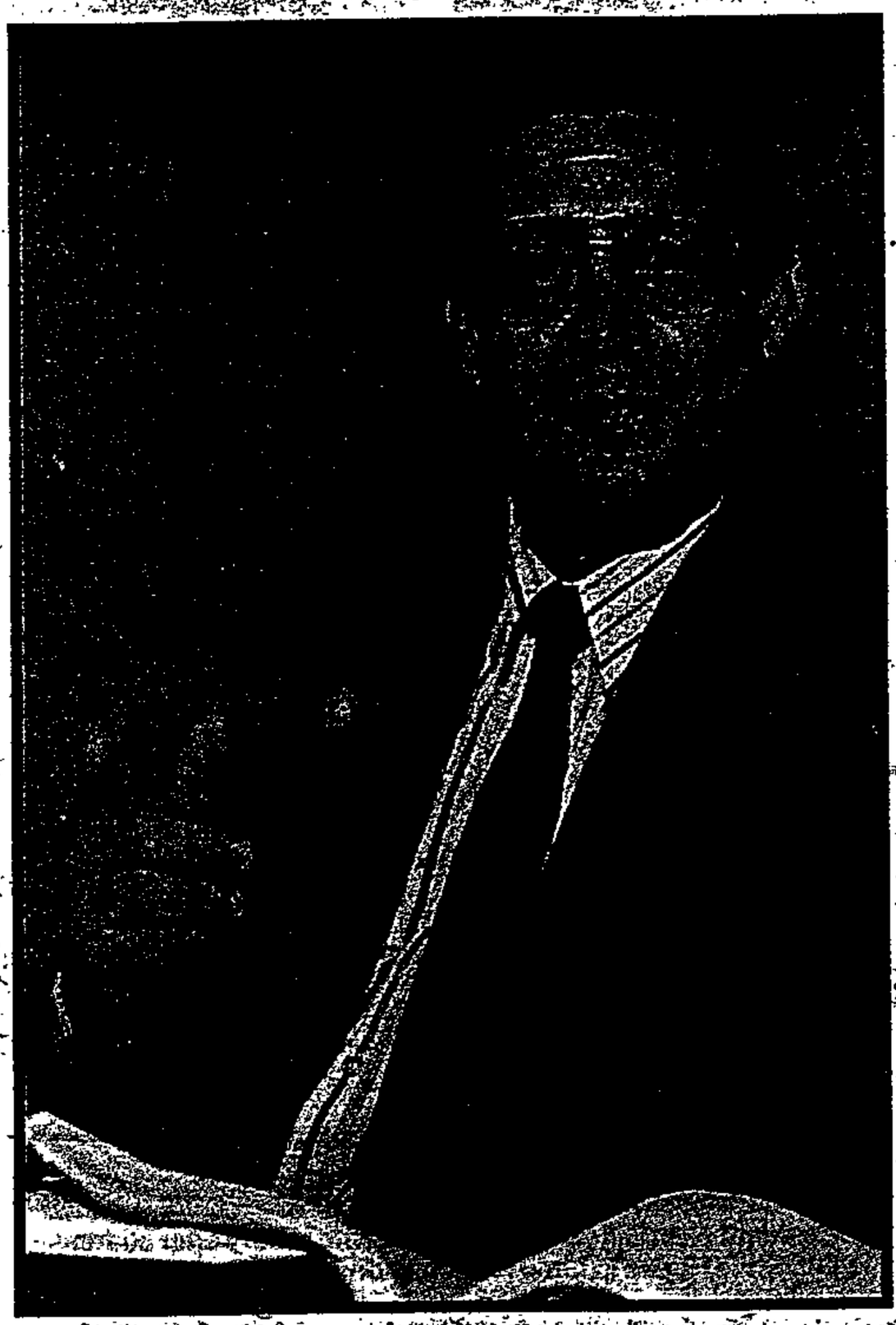

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*Businessman entrusted with covert disinformation campaign breaks cover ...*

# How I ran SA's secret propaganda war



Abel Rudman with his pile of secret files, many of them marked 'uiters geheim'

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Wmail 6|11-12|1|92

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By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK and PAUL STOBER

ABEL RUDMAN, a Pretoria businessman entrusted by the government with a covert international disinformation campaign, this week supplied *The Weekly Mail* with files of documents revealing plans to undermine the image of the African National Congress abroad.

The documents reveal that a campaign was launched eight months after President FW de Klerk accepted the ANC as a negotiating partner. They prove what has long been suspected: that the government has a double agenda in its dealings with black opposition groups.

Rudman was the front man for "Project Crist", a newspaper organisation planned as the government's pan-African propaganda vehicle and a channel for disinformation on the ANC to the rest of the world.

After R12-million was spent on the project, funding was curtailed in the wake of the Inkathagate scandal, when De Klerk promised to end secret projects. But the operation continued until last year, when it was shut down amid controversy over who is responsible for its bills.

See PAGES 4 and 5

9. As a means of subtly influencing the thought processes and perceptions of the people in Botswana-i.e. the ANC negative/RSA positive!

10. As a legitimate cover for any number of projects and/or operations.

# State's propaganda man

W/Mail 6/11 - 12/11/92.

## BUSINESSMAN ABEL RUDMAN TELLS HOW HE RAN SA'S INTERNATIONAL

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK and PAUL STOBER

ABEL RUDMAN, the man the government entrusted with a worldwide disinformation campaign, this week told of his bitter battle for compensation with the South African Defence Force and the Office of the State President.

Rudman was the frontman for *Newslink*, the hub of an international propaganda network aimed at undermining the image of the African National Congress.

Sitting in the study of his Pretoria home with a portrait of President FW de Klerk hanging on the wall behind him, he said his decision to reveal his involvement in the secret projects came despite deep loyalty to the government.

A confident, tough-talking businessman, Rudman made it clear that he wanted what was his due, and he had had enough of every approach to the state being rebuffed.

"I've been pushed too far," said Rudman. "I'll fight to my last cent, my last drop of blood."

Rudman claims that, at one stage, the SADF had proposed a settlement payment of R6-million to "privatise" *Newslink*. However, the deal was never authorised, and went to arbitration. Rudman's claims were rejected, and the SADF obtained a ruling that it could claim money back from him.

"How can these guys come and say that, while they've launched a military operation, they now want their money back as if it was a normal business deal?" Rudman angrily asked. "No war can be a profit centre: you fight a campaign, using up bullets and equipment and so on; you're not expected to come back with money for it. You write off the costs. Now they want money back that they spent on the project."

Rudman is furious that the government pulled the plug, but failed to protect the assets of the front company or its employees. Because of resultant cashflow problems, the company was forced to retrench employees to close down.

He believed the state's ... *Weekly Mail* last week that it ing to recover assets and losses was sheer hypocrisy could have saved the com- liquidation a year ago. W... they try to protect the assets "

The detailed ... showed *The Weekly Mail* " revealed that:

●While the project was ... in 1988, under PW Bo... expansion of the project ... mended by chief of the ... tenant General AJ "Kat" ... on February 12 1990: a ... million in covert f... approved.

●At that point, the day release from prison of Ne... dela, the army saw the pro... cial to counter the "twisted perception of Umkhonto ... against South Africa" in A...

●The state had already more than R5-million for th... that stage. By the time the ... closed down on August 26 ... ly R12-million had been sp...

●*Newslink*, the news... hub of the campaign, was ... August 31 1990: well after the ... ment and the ANC had ... ations.

●A front company called ... Investments was establis... island of Jersey to act as a ... state funds from Military ...

# State operatives to sue SADF for millions

W/Mail 6/11 - 12/11/92.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE South African Defence Force may have to pay out millions of rands to former employees of their now disbanded secret projects if the employees' civil actions are successful.

After calling a halt to covert operations like the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and "educational" front companies promoting conservative black organisations, several former employees — irate at being dumped or held accountable for costs accrued by the front companies — have begun legal proceedings.

Though secretly funded, some front companies were nevertheless registered establishments with shareholders. By pulling the plug on the projects, the SADF has exposed itself to a string of legal headaches.

The SADF and Defence Minister Rocif Meyer are being sued by 23 former members of the CCB for breach of contract. The combined sum is rumoured to be in the region of R3,5-million.

Abel Rudman, the owner of *Newslink*, a Botswana-based newspaper covertly funded by SADF Military Intelligence (MI), and former employees of the publication are involved in legal wrangles in the wake of MI's withdrawal from the project.

Rudman is seeking a R6-million payout from the state as compensation for pouring his own money into a now defunct MI operation. The state in turn is demanding a sum of R3-million from Rudman, which it claims was loaned to him. A secret arbitration last year between Rudman and the government rejected Rudman's claims and ordered him to repay the "government loan" instead. Now that he is considering a civil case, the state is threatening to call in the R3-million "loan".

The *Newslink* employees also seeking compensation from the state were told yesterday by a Defence Ministry spokesman that the SADF was under no obligation to compensate them. They are now considering their legal options.

In another case, Dr Barend Conradie, former head of Eduguide, set up in 1986 under the auspices of an MI front company in the eastern Cape, Adult Education Consultants (AEC), is suing the SADF for salary payments allegedly owed to him. No date has yet been set for the case.

After being approached to set up Eduguide in 1986, ostensibly to promote race relations through education, Conradie soon discovered that the real aim of the project was to form and promote black groups in opposition to the United Democratic Front.

He was dismissed from the project in 1988 for what the SADF called financial mismanagement. His subsequent reinstatement in 1991 was overturned when he refused to hand over documents and assets of the company.

"I've lost my career. They just dropped me without any compensation ... They set up front companies which became credible and could not just be liquidated," Conradie said this week. "They were using able people to perform certain tasks. After 1990 they simply tried to get rid of all the obligations to those people."

Conradie says he holds no grudge against the SADF for setting up the initial project but objects to the way he was dumped. "They leave a man on his own at the age of 55, claim back whatever they gave him in the form of assets and then they say goodbye — that is an unfair labour practice."

Conradie now lives on royalities from scientific text books he has written. As an employee of AEC he drew a salary of R105 000 a year and claims he was guaranteed a job until the age of 65. His assessors are in the process of tabulating the amount owing to him.

On the CCB affair, an SADF media liaison officer said: "The overall matter of settling disputes between the CCB and the SADF is being handled by a negotiations mechanism. As good progress had been made in these negotiations the SADF does not regard it appropriate to elaborate further."

The spokesman said he could not comment on the other civil proceedings until further investigations had been made.

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## SA'S INTERNATIONAL

forced to retrench employees and then to close down.

He believed the state's claim in *The Weekly Mail* last week that it attempting to recover assets and minimise losses was sheer hypocrisy. "They could have saved the company from liquidation a year ago. Why didn't they try to protect the assets then?"

The detailed documentation he showed *The Weekly Mail* this week revealed that:

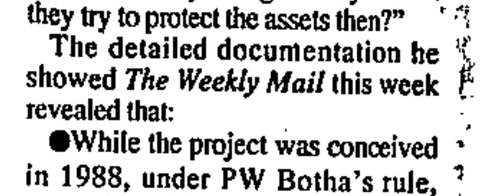
●While the project was conceived in 1988, under PW Botha's rule, expansion of the project was recommended by chief of the army Lieutenant General AJ "Kat" Liebenberg on February 12 1990: a further R2,3-million in covert funding was approved.

●At that point, the day after the release from prison of Nelson Mandela, the army saw the project as crucial to counter the "twisted and false perception of Umkhonto weSizwe against South Africa" in Africa.

●The state had already approved more than R5-million for the project at that stage. By the time the project was closed down on August 26 1991, nearly R12-million had been spent.

●*Newslink*, the newspaper at the hub of the campaign, was launched on August 31 1990: well after the government and the ANC had entered negotiations.

●A front company called Strelley Investments was established on the island of Jersey to act as a conduit for state funds from Military Intelligence



...Die oorsprong van die transaksie is nie bekend nie, bly ...
...Dit is dus bevestig dat die ... in belang van die Staat is.

pp HOOF VAN DIE SA WEERMAG - s GENERAAL

# breaks cover

w/mail 6/11-12/11/92 (327)

## DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN

(MI) to *Newslink*.

●Volkskas Bank was intimately involved in the transfer of secret funds. On February 15 1990, its International Department authorised the transfer of R2 327 366,31 from its account at Lloyds Bank in London to Strelley Investments.

●On one occasion, the chief executive officer of Volkskas was instructed by MI to pay R300 000 into Rudman's personal account in Wolmaranstad, and was further instructed to keep the source of the funds secret. Volkskas head office then instructed the local branch to make the payment without costs, to be credited by its international department.

●By January 15 1991, *Newslink* had made a major impact on the Botswana newspaper market, had opened a branch office in Francistown, was distributing copies into Zimbabwe, and had targeted Zambia as its next distribution focus.

●Purchase of a new printing press, at a cost of R650 000, was approved and effected as late as February 1991, to enable *Newslink* to increase its distribution.

●On April 1 1991, it was proposed that a one-off final payment be made to cover operating costs until 1995, the end of the initial launch period originally envisaged for the project.

●After funding was cut off in August 1991 and allegations of its military links made, contingency plans were discussed in a meeting with SADF representatives on August 4. A "settlement" figure of R6-million was proposed.

"The original deal was that I would eventually own the company after five years," said Rudman. "I stopped all my other businesses and invested everything into this thing. It was an enormous operation. The marketing involved was immense. We sponsored soccer tournaments, pop festivals, horses, the works. Now they want to recover losses. It's ridiculous."

**'They can't use you as a prostitute and then afterwards say they're over and done with you'**

Rudman alleged that a Washington front set up by MI, International Network Information — with the same propaganda objectives as *Newslink* — had cost the state at least R5-million in funding. They had then paid a substantial settlement figure to their alleged front man, lobbyist Tom Huhee, to close down the operation "cleanly".

However, claims Rudman, the settlement figure discussed with him on August 4 last year created a problem for the SADF, as they would be unable to persuade the treasury to authorise the amount. Smaller amounts had been paid out of the Special Defence Account, but the Treasury had to be given authority to pay out the kind of lump sums required in the *Newslink* project.

Rudman was advised to go for arbitration, and they would present a case that would enable the settlement figure to be "rubberstamped" by a judge.

However, the case presented by the SADF duirng the secret arbitration proceedings was very different to what Rudman had been led to expect and a finding was made against h... (see separate story).

"They can't use you as a prostitute and then afterwards say they're over and done with you. And then they still want their money back," he said. "I've got no option. I must pursue this matter to the end."



**Abel Rudman ... 'I've been pushed too far'**

# 'Rationale' behind the paper

(327)
W/Mail 6/11-12/11/92

THE government viewed the launching of a foreign newspaper "against the background of escalating levels of psychological warfare being waged against the RSA".

Documentation of "Project Crist" reveal an approach rooted in the Total Onslaught mentality of the PW Botha/Magnus Malan era.

In a Military Intelligence feasibility study, under the heading "Rationale behind starting a newspaper in Botswana", the state envisaged the project as fulfilling 11 specific roles:

●"As a measure to counter anti-SA propaganda.

●"As a platform from which to launch counter-propaganda attacks against revolutionary groups.

●"As a catalyst for improving relations between SA and her neighbours.

●"As a means of access into government circles both in Botswana and other frontline states.

●"As a means of attending conferences and meetings (ANC, SADAC, Commonwealth, EEC and others) throughout southern Africa and possibly internationally. This could lead to information and intelligence gathering.

●"As the basic start to an all-Africa news agency with headquarters based in Botswana.

●"As a platform from which to attack certain organisations or individuals.

●"As a means of relaying the South African point of view.

●"As a means of subtly influencing the thought processes and perceptions of the people of Botswana, ie 'the ANC negative/RSA positive'.

●"As a legitimate cover for any number of projects and/or operations.

●"As a first step towards establishing a firm and influential foothold in the frontline states."

The "cover story" outlined in the

●To PAGE 10

**RUDMAN TELLS HOW HE RAN SA'S INTERNATIONAL DISIN**

# The paper for propaganda

W|mail 6/11-12/11/92. (327)

● From PAGE 5

same document was designed to explain *Newslink's* sudden arrival in Botswana: "That due to Botswana's remarkable growth rate and its relative political and economic stability, a consortium of international businessmen are interested in exploring potentially viable business opportunities in the country. They are specifically interested in the printing and newspaper industry as this is one of their major international business lines.

"However, due to the fact that Botswana still has strong and undeniable trade links with South Africa, coupled with the fact that most material and expertise in the printing industry is still supplied by the Republic, they remain loath to reveal any visible short-term connection with the project.

"The obvious reason for their need for discretion is linked to the real danger a southern African business connection could hold with regards to their other international dealings when seen against the background of sanctions."

The political objectives of the operation were reiterated in a letter dated 10 February 1990, from chief of the SADF Lieutenant General "Kat" Liebenberg, recommending an additional R2-million for the project. The project, he said, includes "the establishment and running of an alternative news agency in Botswana to counteract the twisted and false perception of Umkhonto weSizwe against the RSA in Africa. It also creates a channel through which information about the subject can be disseminated to Europe, the United States and the rest of the world."

The SADF's front men succeeded completely in persuading the Botswana government of the operation's bona fides. So much so that the guest speaker at the launch of *Newslink* on 31 August 1990 was Botswana's minister of trade and industry.

# Webster reported smuggling network

w/mail 6/11 - 12/11/92.

*A former Mozambican minister of security has revealed that David Webster divulged details of an ivory smuggling operation before his assassination.*

*By* **JACQUIE GOLDING** *and* **EDDIE KOCH**

ASSASSINATED academic David Webster uncovered details of an ivory smuggling operation across the border between Mozambique and Natal before he was gunned down three years ago.

Sergio Veira, a former minister of security in Mozambique, last week told a South African Police officer that Webster had called him to report the illicit movement of ivory from areas south of Maputo into northern Natal.

Webster was conducting research in the Kosi Bay region, which straddles the Mozambique border, and was killed just days before he was due to travel into the area.

Lawyers for the David Webster Trust plan to interview Veira, now a professor of politics at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo.

*The Weekly Mail* has a confidential statement from another source which alleges that former members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau were linked to a network of smugglers who brought weapons, ivory and rhino horn from Mozambique across the Natal border and into Johannesburg.

Former CCB agent Staal Burger had passed on an order from senior military officers that Webster be killed , freelance reporter Johannes Gagiano has testified at the inquest into the academic's assassination.

At the inquest hearing in the Rand Supreme Court this week, former CCB operative Carel "Calla" Botha said that when he joined the organisation in January 1989 he believed the country was "in a war situation". Dealing with "enemies" ranged from "breaking a window" to the "elimination" of targets.

Botha denied having been ordered to monitor or "eliminate" Webster but admitted he had monitored Webster's friend, Bruce Roland White, after reports that White was an active member of the United Democratic Front. His orders were given to him by Burger and Christo Britz, who provided him with White's name, car registration, work address and a photograph, he said.

Cross-examination following Britz's evidence centred on pages missing from his 1989 diary. The page for September 12 1989 — the day Swapo official Anton Lubowski was assassinated in Windhoek — was missing.

Britz — whose real name, Wouter Basson, was placed on record — said that the missing entries referred to CCB projects outside South Africa, with regard to an agent called Mohammed, and that this was classified information. He said he may have torn out the pages of the diary and attached them to CCB files, but some files were missing.

Former CCB chairman Major General Eddie Webb, a retired South African Defence Force Special Forces commander, told the court this week he had lied to the Harms Commission of Inquiry in 1990 about CCB orders to "eliminate" lawyer Dullah Omar and *Weekly Mail* journalist Gavin Evans.

His object in lying was to protect CCB managing director, Colonel Pieter Johan "Joe" Verster, who had admitted ordering the assassinations of Omar and Evans.

Webb added that the orders were given without his approval.

Webb testified that CCB operatives did not always inform him of their monitoring activities and that, in retrospect, he realised he did not have "complete control" over the organisation.

The plans to eliminate Evans and Omar had been revealed to him only in November 1989 by Military Intelligence chief General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst who, he said, was conducting an internal investigation into Webster's death.

Badenhorst contradicted Webb's testimony on Thursday, when he told the hearing that Verster had not even known about the Omar and Evans projects.

Many rumours had been brought to his attention, he said, but at no stage had he approached or questioned Verster.

Badenhorst insisted that he had taken the internal investigation seriously, reporting at intervals to the minister of law and order at the time, Adriaan Vlok.

He conceded that he had not followed up rumours that SAP deputy chief General "Krappies" Engelbrecht had allegedly visited Botha and CCB colleague Ferdi Barnard while they were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in November 1989 and had told them to "keep their mouths shut", nor had he removed Engelbrecht from the investigating team.

Earlier in the week, a warrant for Verster's arrest was issued by Mr Justice Stegmann after Verster failed to respond to a subpoena. It had been agreed that Verster would testify in camera because he feared that if his "face was matched to his name", his life would be in danger.

In the event, he went abroad instead, according to his counsel, Jurie Wessels.

Wessels said his client had been forced to travel overseas to attend to certain outstanding CCB monetary matters. The trip was unavoidable, he said, because payments of outstanding monies had to be met. He was under pressure from CCB families who had received no money after the disbanding of the organisation.

Verster's testimony was crucial in the cross-examination of other witnesses and his absence was disrupting the logical sequence of witnesses being called to testify, argued Eberhardt Bertelsmann SC, appearing for the Webster Trust.

Wessels told the court Verster would be available on November 23. Judge Stegmann said Verster had "inconvenienced" the court. "It is not for him to stipulate when he will testify," he added.

# Hollanders who went 'underground' in SA

w/mail 6/11-12/11/92.

327

BETWEEN 1987 and 1990 Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Connie Braam recruited over 60 Hollanders into the Operation Vula support network.

Many were involved in key roles — setting up the computer coding system, living "underground" in safe houses in South Africa, Swaziland and Botswana, making disguises for the ANC cadres, and building hidden vehicle compartments for storing weapons. Others were involved in minor, backup roles.

Remarkably, they were almost all people with little or no active political background. Yet virtually everyone she approached became a willing volunteer and almost all of them succeeded in their missions.

Interviewed in Johannesburg, Braam explained this as a legacy of the Dutch experience in World War Two.

"Everyone knows people involved in setting up underground addresses, to hide people from the Nazis. It was the decent thing to do, and even today many people talk about what they would have done if they found themselves in this situation.

"There's also a very strong solidarity tradition there, and because of the Dutch historical link with South Africa there is an awareness about the country, and of course, just about everybody is anti-apartheid. So it was not a crazy thing for me to ask people, and that's why Mac Maharaj approached me to do this in 1986."

But to play this role she could not risk drawing in the regular activists from the firmly pro-ANC Dutch AAM. Instead, after careful vetting, she drew in actors, professionals, hairdressers, dentists and the like from her exceptionally wide circle of friends and acquaintances.

The ebullient, friendly Braam is hardly what one would expect of a solidarity-cum-underground activist involved for 22 years with a country she had never visited, and her success would seem to have much to do with her personality.

She was a person the recruits could easily relate to, and could trust and turn to when in trouble. "The main thing was that you had to keep your mouth shut. It could get very lonely. Only now can they inform their family and friends about what they did. So when they needed to talk, they talked to me. I was a kind of mother to the lot."

Now that it's all over, she has been free to enter South Africa.

"It has been fantastic seeing the country and the people I worked with. I'm still quite full of admiration for the ANC, because it is still fighting hard for its principles and policies."

# Govt accused of double dealing

THE government launched a covert international campaign to discredit the ANC months after President FW de Klerk began negotiating with the movement, the *Weekly Mail* claimed on Friday.

But government spokesman Dave Steward denied the charge, saying "there was certainly not any agenda of any kind ... it is not conscious policy to undermine the ANC".

The *Mail* said Pretoria businessman Abel Rudman headed the international disinformation campaign. C Times 8/11/92

According to documents provided by Rudman, some R12-million was spent on the campaign, but government funding was cut back following last year's Inkathagate scandal and De Klerk's promise to end secret projects. 327

The project was finally closed down on August 26 last year.

A newspaper at the centre of the campaign, the Gaborone-based *Newslink*, was launched on August 31 1990, months after the government first began negotiations with the ANC.

# Taxpayers foot R800 000 bill — in defence costs

By CHARLES LEONARD

TAXPAYERS have paid at least R800 000 so far to defend CCB agents linked to the murder of Dr David Webster. (327) (354)

The inquest into the death of the Wits academic, which completed its fourth week in the Rand Supreme Court on Thursday, has involved three legal teams acting for the Civil Co-operation Bureau agents, officials and the SA Defence Force.

It was admitted at the inquest this week that the state was funding the three legal teams — for the SADF, CCB boss Joe Verster, and for three CCB agents, Calla Botha, Ferdi Barnard and Slang van Zyl.

Legal experts said that this "legal assistance" over the past four weeks in court had cost the state at least R800 000.

Despite footing the legal bills, the Ministry of Defence this week distanced itself from the CCB.

In a statement, ministry spokesman Das Herbst said that the CCB had been disbanded in 1990 and that any questions about former members should be directed to the organisation.

"Former members of the CCB were and are not subject to the standing orders of discipline of the defence force," read a further statement by Defence Minister Gene Louw and chief of the SADF Kat Liebenberg.

But, said the statement, "regarding the Webster inquest, the defence force has a moral obligation to provide its former members with legal assistance".

The privately funded Webster Trust is the fourth legal team taking part in proceedings, representing the Webster family. Their counsel are Mr E Bertelsmann SC and Mr G Rautenbach. ST Times 8/11/92

On behalf of the Minister of Defence and some CCB members, Mr P Coetsee, SC, and Mr H van Eeden appear. Mr JJ Wessels and Mr P Louw appear for Joe Verster, while the three CCB agents are represented by a senior attorney, Mr P du Plessis.

Mr Bertelsmann also represented the Webster family at the Harms Commission in 1990, while Mr Wessels was the CCB's junior counsel on that occasion. (352)

The high fees charged to the state by some of the lawyers for the CCB and the SA Police during the Harms Commission led to the suspension of three lawyers by the Pretoria Bar Council at the beginning of this year.

LIES, EVASIONS AND REVELATIONS AS

# Webster and

(327) S|Times 8/11/92

By CHARLES LEONARD

**IN four weeks of hearing evidence about David Webster's murder, Mr Justice Michael Stegmann has succeeded where the months-long Harms Commission failed.**

In one of the most dramatic moments of an inquest punctuated by startling revelations, former Civil Cooperation Bureau chairman Major-General Eddie Webb admitted that he had lied under oath in testimony to the 1990 judicial inquiry into alleged hit squads.

The Rand Supreme Court has also heard, for the first time, that the SADF's shadowy CCB did plan political murders within South Africa's borders — belying all evidence to date that assassinations were carried out only externally.

One witness after another in Court 4F has testified that Dr Webster was most likely gunned down in front of his home in Eleanor Street, Troyeville, on May 1, 1989 on CCB orders — or by CCB agents acting of their own volition.

The court has heard that the CCB was formed to "maximally disrupt" the enemy.

Weeks one and two were scene-setters, with evidence from investigating officers and eyewitness accounts of the murder.

In week three, fear stalked the corridors of the Supreme Court complex in downtown Johannesburg as Corrie du Plessis told the court he had recognised Dr Webster's killer in the building on October 12, the first day of the inquest.

"I saw a group of three big men standing in the passage in front of court 4F," an ashen Mr du Plessis said.

"When I approached them I saw a fourth person, also heavily built, at the back of the courtroom. He had a two-way radio in his hand.

"I immediately recognised him as the person who on May 1 1989 sat in the back of the white Opel Ascona and who fired the fatal shot at Dr David Webster."

## Abuzz

Mr du Plessis was so intimidated by the presence of this man that the court went into camera to hear his further testimony.

Afterwards, the corridors were abuzz with rumours that a wig had been produced during an impromptu identity parade before the judge, and that Mr du Plessis had positively identified the killer behind closed doors.

Businessman Willie [illegible], who had earlier testified that CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had confessed to him that he had killed Dr Webster, was also in court.

## The mystery of the diary

**A MAROON leather-bound diary embossed with gold inscriptions holds the key to hitherto undisclosed CCB operations.**

**But its secrets may never be revealed because many of its entries are protected from public disclosure under section 118 of the Defence Act.**

**When the Webster inquiry this week adjourned for 10 days, the well-thumbed diary was placed in the custody of Mr Justice M Stegmann.**

**And unless the Minister of Defence waives the provisions of the Defence Act, much of its content will remain a dumb testimony to covert operations in foreign countries.**

**Section 118 of the Defence Act covers "improper disclosure of information" and stipulates that "no person shall publish in any manner whatsoever any secret or confidential information relating to the defence of the Republic, or any information relating to any works proposed, undertaken or completed for or connected with the fortification or defence of the Republic ex-**

# The leather-bound secrets that may never be revealed

(327) S|Times 8/11/92

By CHARIS PERKINS

**cept where the information has been furnished or the publication thereof has been authorised by the Minister or under his authority".**

**Before the inquiry began, Defence Minister Gene Louw gave the court permission to openly examine information on the internal operations of the CCB and on the murder of Windhoek-based advocate Anton Lubowski.**

**External activities, however, would not be disclosed.**

**This week, state advocate Jannie van Vuuren cross-examined the diary's author, CCB member Wouter Basson, on words from a missing page of the diary deciphered during forensic tests.**

**The vanished page contained entries from September 12, 1989, the day Mr Lubowski was gunned down in front of his Windhoek home.**

**The test revealed it included the cryptic phrases: "disguise", "new clothes", "change of clothes", "don't use pager", "no personal contact after job" and "Zambia — stay for two days".**

## Classified

**Mr Basson said the words sounded right but denied they had anything to do with Namibia or Mr Lubowski.**

**He claimed to vaguely recall making notes that day on instructions which were given to an indirect member of the CCB for a project outside the country, but refused to say**

# Plots to assassinate activists were covered up at top level

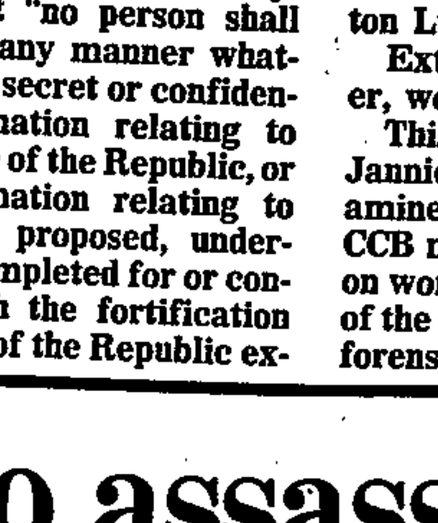
Calla Botha to "shut up" while they were being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Held in the tiny Western Transvaal town of Hartbeesfontein, the agents were visited by Brigadier Engelbrecht, despite the fact that only members of the investigating team were allowed to see them in detention.

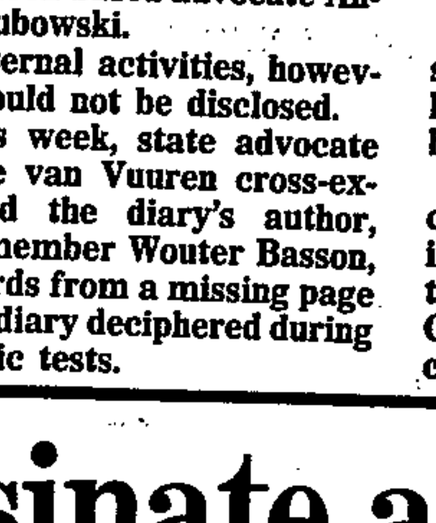
After learning that the brigadier had seen Barnard and Botha, General Joubert "put an extra lock on their cell doors".

## Gunned

Recalled to the stand last Monday, General Joubert said he was convinced



CALLA BOTHA
Held under Section 29



FERDI BARNARD
Allegedly confessed

was monitoring UDF leader Dullah Omar and journalist Gavin Evans as far back as March 1990 — but had withheld this information from the Harms

vocate Omar?

Webb: During the internal investigation by General Badenhorst.

VV: When was this?

W: Early, early 1990.

W: Joe Verster said at his level.

B: You said earlier that during the internal investigation by Witkop Badenhorst, Joe Verster admitted they were approved by him?

W: Yes.

B: Do you recall that in Joe Verster's statement at the Harms Commission he denied that?

W: Yes.

B: You knew that his evidence was not true?

W: Yes.

B: You failed to bring this fact to the attention of the Harms Commission?

W: Yes.

B: You failed in your

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Afterwards, the corridors were abuzz with rumour that a wig had been produced during an impromptu identity parade before the judge, and that Mr du Plessis had positively identified the killer behind closed doors.

Businessman Willie Smit, who had earlier testified that CCB agent Ferdi Barnard told him he had killed Dr Webster, retracted his evidence after a tea-time altercation with a heavily built man in the corridor.

But it was during week four that the full extent of the CCB cover-up began to emerge.

In earlier evidence, Gen Joep Joubert, the senior police officer in charge of the Webster investigation, had told how Brigadier Krappies Engelbrecht told CCB agents Barnard and Calla Botha to "shut up" while they were being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Held in the tiny Western Transvaal town of Hartbeesfontein, the agents were visited by Brigadier Engelbrecht, despite the fact that only members of the investigating team were allowed to see them in detention.

After learning that the brigadier had seen Barnard and Botha, General Joubert "put an extra lock on their cell doors".

## Gunned

Recalled to the stand last Monday, General Joubert said he was convinced that the same people were responsible for the murders of Dr Webster and advocate Anton Lubowski, gunned down outside his Windhoek home on September 12, 1990, and that he believed they were from the CCB.

On Tuesday, it was the turn of the slightly built, silver-bearded former Special Forces soldier, Eddie Webb.

He spent the morning telling the court he had been aware that the CCB was monitoring UDF leader Dullah Omar and journalist Gavin Evans as far back as March 1990 — but had withheld this information from the Harms Commission — and acknowledged that he had not been able to exercise full control over CCB agents.

In response to questioning by state advocate Jannie van Vuuren, General Webb confirmed that certain CCB projects required authorisation at the highest level within the SADF.

The crucial exchange, however, followed soon afterwards.

**VV: When was the first time you heard there was a project to allegedly kill Advocate Omar?**

**Webb: During the internal investigation by General Badenhorst.**

**VV: When was this?**

**W: Early, early 1990.**

(This was before the Harms Commission).

**VV: Was it the first time that you heard of that?**

**W: Yes. I was called in one night during the investigation by Engelbrecht and Badenhorst. General Badenhorst called me in and it came out that Dullah Omar and Gavin Evans, according to his information at that time, had to be eliminated. That is what came out then.**

**VV: What was (CCB MD) Colonel Verster's reaction to these allegations?**

**W: I actually asked him that night on whose level Omar and Evans were approved and he said on his level.**

**V: So in effect he gave the order for Evans and Omar to be killed?**

**W: In that terminology, yes.**

Mr Eberhardt Bertelsmann, counsel for the Webster family, began his cross-examination with a question about the Harms Commission.

**Bertelsmann: You were present when most CCB agents gave evidence?**

**Webb: Yes.**

**B: Including Colonel Joe Verster?**

**W: Yes.**

**B: At what level were the Gavin Evans and Dullah Omar projects approved?**

**W: Joe Verster said at his level.**

**B: You said earlier that during the internal investigation by Witkop Badenhorst, Joe Verster admitted they were approved by him?**

**W: Yes.**

**B: Do you recall that in Joe Verster's statement at the Harms Commission he denied that?**

**W: Yes.**

**B: You knew that his evidence was not true?**

**W: Yes.**

**B: You failed to bring this fact to the attention of the Harms Commission?**

**W: Yes.**

**B: You failed in your version to the Harms Commission to bring the facts to light?**

**W: I said at the time that I had no knowledge of Gavin Evans and Dullah Omar.**

**B: You knew at the time that the impression left with the Harms Commission was false?**

**W: Yes.**

**B: You gave false evidence to the Harms Commission?**

**W: In regards to these incidents (the monitoring of Evans and Omar), yes.**

**B: You also put Joe Verster in a position where he was able to mislead the Harms Commission?**

## Profile

**W: Yes.**

**B: Gen Webb, I put it to you that the reason for this was to create the impression that the CCB was not operating internally.**

**W: I deny that.**

(At the Harms Commission Gen Webb denied the CCB operated internally).

**B: I put it to you that the impression you were trying to create was that the CCB's internal projects were unauthorised and carried out by low-level operatives?**

**W: I deny that.**

**B: You must have realised that if you had put the**



**CALLA BOTHA**
**Held under Section 29**



**FERDI BARNARD**
**Allegedly confessed**

# Plots to assassinate activists were covered up at top level

**sure of information" and stipulates that "no person shall publish in any manner whatsoever any secret or confidential information relating to the defence of the Republic, or any information relating to any works proposed, undertaken or completed for or connected with the fortification or defence of the Republic ex-**

**Windhoek-based advocate Anton Lubowski.**

**External activities, however, would not be disclosed.**

**This week, state advocate Jannie van Vuuren cross-examined the diary's author, CCB member Wouter Basson, on words from a missing page of the diary deciphered during forensic tests.**

## Classified

**Mr Basson said the words sounded right but denied they had anything to do with Namibia or Mr Lubowski.**

**He claimed to vaguely recall making notes that day on instructions which were given to an indirect member of the CCB for a project outside the country, but refused to say**

... GENERALS TAKE THE STAND AT INQUEST

# the CCB

## with the vanishing pages

□ From Page 4

anything further because activities on foreign soil were classified.

"We don't exactly know which projects in the diary are from Region Six, so when we are told something is classified we have to leave it alone," said Mr van Vuuren.

Other pages missing from the diary included entries from September 1-4, 89, dates which coincide with the bombing of the Early Learning Centre in Athlone, Cape Town.

Mr Basson, using the alias Christo Brits, kept the diary in 1989 while he was the co-ordinator for Region Six.

Recruited to the CCB in 1987 while he was an officer in the South African Defence Force, he co-ordinated secret projects inside and outside of the country, joining Region Six when it was set up in January 1989.

His diary was seized by police investigating the murder of Lubowski and was later submitted to the Harms Commission.

Pretoria police forensic expert Colonel Hannes Hattingh said the investigating officer on the Lubowski case had asked him to conduct tests on the diary before the Harms Commission started.

Its missing pages and cryptic entries on covert operations inside South Africa have, however, escaped public scrutiny until now.

The first forensic report on the diary was not examined by Mr Justice LTC Harms because it fell outside of the terms of reference of the commission's investigations into the killing of Mr Lubowski.

### Forensic

Despite allegations of CCB involvement in the murder, the commission confined its work to inquiring and reporting on allegations that Mr Lubowski was a paid agent of the South African Defence Force Military Intelligence.

Free State Attorney-General Tim McNally, who was a senior officer for the commission, said the Christo Brits diary was used to cross-examine witnesses.

He said he had no recollection of a forensic report, but he remembered that the entry from September 12 was missing.

"We were, however, not investigating the murder," he said.

Referring to the diary in his findings, Mr Justice Harms mentioned that it showed the CCB procured a limpet mine a few days before the Athlone bombing.

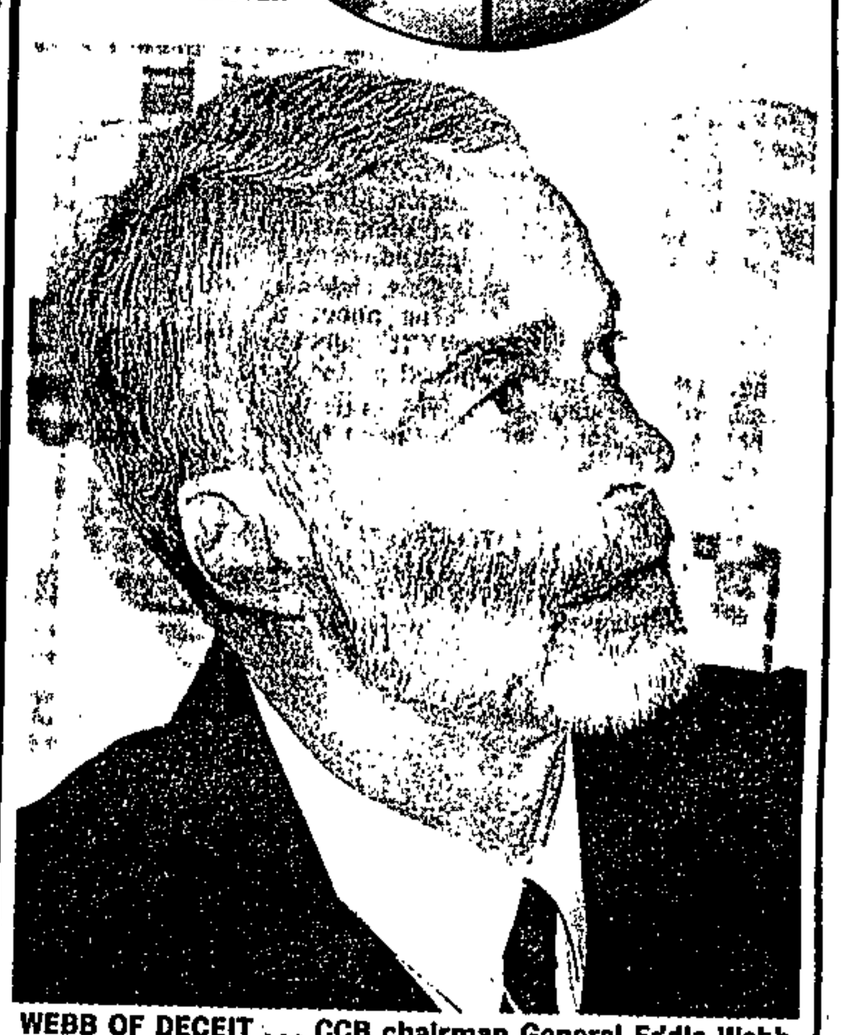
"The Harms Commission didn't touch the relevant parts," said Mr van Vuuren, who first discovered forensic tests had already been done when he asked the Pretoria forensic unit to examine the diary for him.

Colonel Hattingh this week said that on both occasions tests were done, the words were desciphered after sidelighting showed up the shadows of indentations on the next page of the diary.

"It is a hit-and-miss procedure," he said.



DAVID WEBSTER



WEBB OF DECEIT ... CCB chairman General Eddie Webb

## He said it . . .

**THIS IS what self-confessed liar General Eddie Webb told the Harms Commission under oath in March 1990:**

*I HAVE no knowledge of a plan to substitute Dullah Omar's pills for some that would bring on a heart attack . . . or that journalist Gavin Evans was placed under surveillance with a view to elimination.*

**AND this is what General Eddie Webb told the Webster inquest under oath, November 1992:**

*I FOUND out in January 1990 during General Badenhorst's internal investigation into the CCB that Joe Verster had approved the Dullah Omar and Gavin Evans projects.*

**HE ALSO told the inquest under oath:**

*I LIED to the Harms Commission to protect Joe Verster.*



CONTRADICTED ... General Witkop Badenhorst, whose evidence was at odds with General Webb's

□ From Page 4

facts to the Harms Commission it would have had a concrete influence on the findings. That would have helped the Harms Commission realise what type of organisation the CCB was, which wanted to kill victims like Gavin Evans and Dullah Omar.

I want to point out to you that Gavin Evans and Dullah Omar had the same political profile as David Webster?

W: I wouldn't know.

B: I put it to you that you lied under oath at the Harms Commission to protect your brothers-in-arms?

W: Yes.

B: By the way, is General Badenhorst also aware of the admission Joe Verster made regarding Gavin Evans and Dullah Omar?

W: Yes.

B: When the CCB decided to identify a victim like Roland White (a "project" of CCB operative Calla Botha) they could have got more information on their fellow citizen from Military Intelligence?

W: Yes.

B: If they decided on David Webster, they could in a similar way have received information from Military Intelligence?

W: Yes.

B: I put it to you that if you were willing to lie under oath at the Harms Commission to protect your brothers-in-arms regarding incomplete projects like Evans and Omar, you would be even more prepared to lie about successful ones?

W: That is incorrect.

B: You violated the truth to protect your brothers-in-arms?

W: I lied to the Harms Commission to protect Joe Verster.

B: If your untruths only applied to the unsuccessful, how much more would you have done to protect your brothers-in-arms after the successful completion of the murders of David Webster and Anton Lubowski?

W: That is an insinuation.

Former Military Intelligence chief General Witkop Badenhorst — the first witness called at the Harms Commission — took the stand on Thursday.

He flatly contradicted General Webb's evidence. He denied that he had ever been in a meeting where Colonel Verster had admitted to assassination plans for Omar and Evans.

Questioned about Brigadier Engelbrecht's gag order to Barnard and Botha, he said he had not considered it necessary for the SAP officer to withdraw from the internal investigation into the CCB.

Van Vuuren: Where did the allegation of Brig Engelbrecht's order come from?

Badenhorst: From Ferdi Barnard's statement.

V: Did you ask Calla Botha personally if the same happened to him?

B: Yes, Brig Engelbrecht was with me.

V: So you asked Botha in the presence of Brig Engelbrecht whether the latter asked him to obstruct the ends of justice?

B: I don't think he asked him to obstruct the ends of justice.

V: You did not think that Brig Engelbrecht's presence complicated this part of your investigation?

B: No.

He admitted under cross-examination that he had omitted to mention to the Harms Commission that he had received a report from Barnard's handler that Barnard and Botha were involved in Dr Webster's murder.

The inquest will resume on November 16.

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B|DAY 10/11/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

entered into an agreement with a private security firm, only for the council to be successfully sued for R120 000 when the contract was illegally terminated.

The investigation found seven of Diepmeadow's 18 councillors in arrears with rent and service charges.

One Soweto councillor, allocated a damaged council house, spent R104 000 repairing it, while continuing to pay rent of R85 a month.

"The approximately 67 tenants in Power Park (excluding eight councillors) pay rent which varies between R400 a month and R600 a month," the report stated.

"In contrast, the eight councillors pay monthly rentals of R100 each and R20 for services a month. Even these amounts appear to be credited against the purchasing of the houses by the eight councillors."

In addition, the TPA report said some councillors actively discouraged payment of rent and services charges by residents, while the councils themselves had "persistently failed" to collect owed monies and had taken "inadequate steps" to recoup, in the case of Soweto, R116m lost since October 1990.

The TPA reported that at a meeting in September, which attempted to resolve the situation in Soweto, "councillors present accused and blamed each other and officials of the council; the accused councillors and officials defended themselves and placed the blame elsewhere".

Hough has listed more than 70 demands the two councils, which owe more than R700m between them, must fulfil to avoid intervention.

These include repayment of illegally gained funds and arrears in rent and service bills, wage reductions, retirements and retrenchments in council staff, the dropping of a lawsuit against the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber and full participation in its activities. A host of further restitutive actions have also been listed.

A Soweto council source said it was extremely unlikely the long list of demands would be met before the December 15 deadline.

# Flores to testify at Mlangeni inquest

FORMER SADF agent Leon Flores, who was arrested in London in April for his alleged involvement in a plot to assassinate renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee, is to testify at the inquest into the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni today.

Flores and MI operative Capt Pamela du Randt, who was arrested with him in London, have both been subpoenaed to testify at the request of lawyers acting for the Mlangeni family.

The inquest was to have resumed in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, and Flores and his counsel Wim Cornelius were present. But Cornelius told the court his client could not testify because he was involved in a labour dispute with the SADF which was due to be finalised yesterday.

B|DAY 10/11/92

SUSAN RUSSELL

Cornelius said the Attorney-General was also investigating criminal charges against Flores. This matter was also expected to be settled yesterday.

Du Randt was not present because she had not yet received her subpoena.

Judge B O'Donovan postponed the inquest until today.

Mlangeni was killed when he activated a booby-trapped "walkman" cassette player posted to him from Lusaka. The cassette player and a tape marked "evidence — hit squads" was posted to Coetzee but redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender, after he failed to collect it.

# Labour deal

B|DAY 10/11/92

From Page 1

International Labour Organisation's fact-finding mission — which made recommendations to bring SA labour law into line with internationally accepted standards — may be implemented;

- Amendments to the LRA to enable registration of public and private sector unions by February; and
- Allowance for Cosatu to make an input on the Public Sector Labour Relations Bill.

There was also agreement on processes and committees to investigate problems regarding industrial council agreements, the Industrial Court (including the appointment of court personnel), the harmonisation of labour relations in SA and the homelands and the introduction of a labour appeal court next year.

In addition, it was agreed the restructured National Manpower Commission should start working by February.

Naidoo said Nactu and Saccola were not part of the agreement because the "sticky points" in negotiations had been between Cosatu and government.

GERALD REILLY reports SAAU manpower committee chairman Chris du Toit said the decision had been taken without consultation with organised agriculture.

The SAAU had submitted its own draft legislation to the Minister and had arranged to discuss its document on November 20. "It was, therefore, with shock and indignation that agriculture learned that the Minister had, before his discussion with the agriculture sector, made a decision in consultation with Cosatu, especially in the light of the fact that Cosatu has virtually no members among farmworkers.

"All the good work of the recent past has now been rendered worthless by an ill-considered decision."

# Spy Gerhardt 'back in SA' on secret visit

IAN HOBBS (327)

LONDON — Anti-apartheid masterspy and former navy commodore at Simonstown Dieter Gerhardt, who was released from a life sentence for treason two months ago, is believed to have returned secretly to SA.

Gerhardt said this week he was heading for SA in order to hold talks on future national security plans and amnesty arrangements with ANC leaders, including ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He said he had applied to government and the national intelligance service (NIS) for permission for the visit.

Gerhardt, 56, who was the ANC's and Moscow's top regional undercover agent for nearly 20 years, was preparing to play a key advisory role in reforming defence and intelligence forces, he said.

Gerhardt said he would ignore warnings that he was a prime right wing terror target. He is believed to have slipped into the country from exile in Switzerland during the past 48 hours.

He said he wanted to personally thank Mandela for securing his freedom.

"You cannot overstate how important to peace it is to secure amnesty for all political prisoners," said Gerhardt.

However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday he was unaware that Mandela had any plans to meet Gerhardt.

"He will probably at some stage return to SA and Mandela would then meet him," Niehaus said. BIOAM 11/11/92

Gerhardt said he would also meet ANC women's leader Gertrude Shope and Lawyers for Human Rights, which fought to establish his status as a political prisoner.

While with the SA Navy, Gerhardt was acknowledged as a brilliant military officer and tipped as a defence force chief. He was exposed as a spy by a Russian defector and arrested in the US on January 8 1983.

Gerhardt said his visit would last only a few days.

Secrecy about his movements was "unfortunately esssential at this stage".

Lesotho ambassador Joseph Mollo, right, and Foreign Affairs protocol chief Lewellyn Crewe-Brown review a guard of honour at the Presidency in Pretoria yesterday, during the ceremony at which Mollo and Hungarian ambassador Andras Gergely presented their credentials. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

# Ex-SADF agent denies he set up hit on Dirk Coetzee

SUSAN RUSSELL

DISMISSED SADF agent Leon Flores denied in the Rand Supreme court yesterday that he was given R10 000 by former Vlakplaas commanding officer Maj Eugene de Kok to pay Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) members in London for monitoring renegade police Capt Dirk Coetzee.

Flores also denied RUC contacts had offered to "take out" Coetzee.

The former agent said he told these lies during his debriefing by Military Intelligence (MI) after his arrest and deportation from Britain in April this year because he thought he was being set up and used as a scapegoat.

Flores was testifying at the inquest into the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, who was killed in February last year when he activated a boobytrapped cassette recorder that was apparently meant for Coetzee.

Coetzee had since claimed that the parcel was sent to him by former police colleagues at Vlakplaas who he alleged were involved in covert hit squad activites.

Flores and Capt Pamela du Randt were arrested in London by Britain's anti-terrorist unit in April suspected of being involved in a plot to eliminate Coetzee.

Flores said his task in Britain had been to introduce Du Randt to his contacts there while she was investigating the ANC/Umkhonto we Sizwe.

According to MI reports submitted to the inquest yesterday, Flores told them that De Kok had given him R10 000 to be deposited into an account for his parents-in-law.

The report said that during his debriefing that Flores had agreed to a "lie detector" test, indicating he had not been truthful.

Cross-examined by Jules Browde SC for the Mlangeni family yesterday Flores said both his versions to MI had been "lies".

He said he had used De Kok's name because the police officer was highly respected and that this would take the pressure off himself.

"As you say in English I was passing the buck, but I just did it in the wrong way," Flores said.

The hearing continues before Judge B O'Donovan today.

# Alarming corruption in Lebowa

CT 11/11/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MASSIVE corruption, maladministration and incompetence has been uncovered in the Lebowa homeland and millions of rands were lost. But the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Jacob de Villiers, yesterday denied any South African politician or official was responsible.

The shocking report of the De Meyer Commission of Inquiry, which criticised the administration of the homeland, was released yesterday.

The one-man commission, consisting of Johannesburg Chief Magistrate Mr Justice Oelof de Meyer, found that the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Mr Nelson Ramodike, owned two liquor outlets although he was disqualified. South African taxpayers' money was transferred to the homeland in terms of bills which were not yet law.

It also said government departments had been created without authorisation, salaries had been paid for officials who did not exist and many Lebowa officials were incompetent in their jobs, particularly in the field of financial administration.

One official, Mr K J Seboptja, paid R543 261,56 extra to a company in two years out of a total of R2 751 122 in overpayments.

Mr De Villiers told a press conference that neither he nor his predecessors in the Department of Development Aid were to blame for the maladministration.

However, he added: "To say I am totally blameless would be wrong. But it is impossible for anyone to have full knowledge of everything happening in the ambit of his portfolio."

Mr De Villiers said the government was paying R2 235,1 million to Lebowa in the current financial year, but he could not provide in cash terms the cost of the maladministration in the homeland.

## Overtime

During the current financial year, South African taxpayers are contributing R12,9 billion to the 10 homelands, R8,4 billion of which is going to the six non-independent homelands, including Lebowa.

Unauthorized overtime payments between 1989 and 1991 had cost the government service about R112 million.

The lack of efficient management and control over social grants was "alarming" and the indifference of many officials caused grave concern.

● Yet another scandal — Page 8

## Starvation rife in homeland

LEBOWAKGOMO. — The number of children admitted and treated at various Lebowa hospitals for kwashiorkor and other malnutrition-related diseases had increased significantly, it was reported yesterday.

Despite the food aid programme introduced by the Department of Health and Social Welfare, the situation in rural communities was deteriorating. — Sapa

## Body calls for end to covert state activities

JOHANNESBURG. — The Coalition against State Murder and Corruption (Casmac), which bands together about 50 organisations including the ANC and PAC, has suggested a detailed plan beginning in January next year within which all covert state activities will either be contained or ended.

This emerges from a document released here by the coalition yesterday.

The document, titled "Coming to grips with covert operations: Who does what and where", formed the basis of discussions between the alliance and members of the United Nations monitoring groups last week. — Sapa

CT 11/11/92

Wednesday November 11 1992 So

NEWS Reservation

# Secret ops targeted

Sowetan 11/11/92

## ■ UN men handed document:

UNITED Nations observers have received a document detailing plans aimed at ending all State covert operations beginning next January.

The document was released to the Press at a briefing yesterday by the Coalition Against State Murder and Corruption (Casmac), a pressure group comprising 50 broad-based organisations including the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and human rights groups.

The document, *Coming to grips with covert operations: Who does what and where*, suggests a two-phased plan regarding the State's Special Forces regiments and its elite units.

**NATION BUILDING** *Helping up the underdog with the assistance of a caring company*




Happy children at a creche in Guguletu near Cape Town admire the beautiful hand-made toys that have been donated to the school. All the toys were made by senior citizens who entered them for Sanlam's Pretty Things for Little Things Competition.

# Banking on a growing society

Sowetan 11/11/92

By Joshua Raboroko

**REACHING OUT** *Sanlam makes a commitment to helping the disadvantaged:*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF the small business sector for a sound and flourishing economy is just as important as education.

Expanding the small business sector ensures participation in the free-market system, which is the sound basis for economic prosperity.

As one of the largest shareholders of the Small Business Development Corporation, Sanlam is at the forefront of small business development in South Africa.

Sanlam senior public affairs manager Mr Leon Koen says: "We are fully aware of the critical importance of the small business sector in paving the way to economic recovery."

The thrust of the company's corporate responsibility programme in relation to small business development is concentrated in two areas - the promotion of the concept of entrepreneurship and advancement thereof through training.

To achieve the first end the company sponsors several competitions in conjunction with the SBDC and *Sowetan* to promote and encourage entrepreneurs and new business ideas.

According to Koen, Sanlam's contribution in the area of training is diverse and includes support for organisations such as the South African Free Market Foundation, the South African Foundation for Entrepreneurship Development, Get Ahead Foundation, Africa Cooperative Action Trust, Triple Trust, Valley Trust, the Independent Business Enrichment Centre, Informal Business Training Trust and the African Businesswomen's Development forum.

Moreover, in conjunction with the northern Transvaal Technikon the company established the Sanlam Centre for Small Business management, which provides vital training for business people in the informal sector.

"Sanlam has not only become an important player in South Africa's economy as a life assurer and investor of policy-owners' funds, but its involvement in social and business upliftment, as well as education and training, clearly illustrates the company's acceptance of a much wider role.

"It shows our deep commitment to the future of all South Africans," Koen says.

Referring to welfare and health-care, Koen says far-reaching political and economic change in South Africa, as well as unemployment and health and housing problems, have placed unparalleled demands on welfare and health services.

"Comprehensive political and economic changes provide massive challenges.

"A shortage of job opportunities, health problems such as tuberculosis, AIDS and malnutrition, as well as a shortage of housing, are making demands on the already-shrinking resources of the government and also on every individual.

"This situation places a double burden on welfare and health organisations.

"We regard it as our duty to help, so that all of us can look forward to a brighter future. That is why Sanlam supports more than 50 welfare and health organisations. We must help to pull the cart of economic upliftment, and this we do gladly," he adds.

Regarding education, he says there are today many conflicting views on the future of South Africa.

Politicians oppose one another and philosophers debate their divergent scenarios. Even businessmen and the collective man-in-the-street are divided in their hopes and dreams for the new South Africa.

The only fact about which there can be no argument is that education and training will play a critical role in our shared future. Every right-thinking South African will agree with this.

"The factors which will determine our quality of life and standard of living are not simply technology, factories or equipment.

"Our major assets on which we must depend are our human capital - our individual and collective insights, abilities and skills. These are the seeds which, if sown wisely, will blossom into a bright future for all of us," says Keon.

"But to prosper and grow these seeds need nurturing - nurturing which can only be provided through education and training.

"We at Sanlam realise this full well, which is why the major part of our corporate social involvement is allocated to education and training."

Sanlam supports education from preschool to tertiary level. One of its most recent projects is the Sanlam Saturday School for black matriculants. This rewarding project is run in conjunction with the University of Potchefstroom.

To assist the company in its task of allocating funds for corporate social involvement, it conducts regular research to determine the areas in greatest need of its support.

In addition, the company conducts surveys among its policy-owners to ascertain their preferences with regard to the allotment of funds.

Acting on the results of this research, the company extends financial aid mainly to education and training, the development of small business sector, job creation, welfare and health-care.

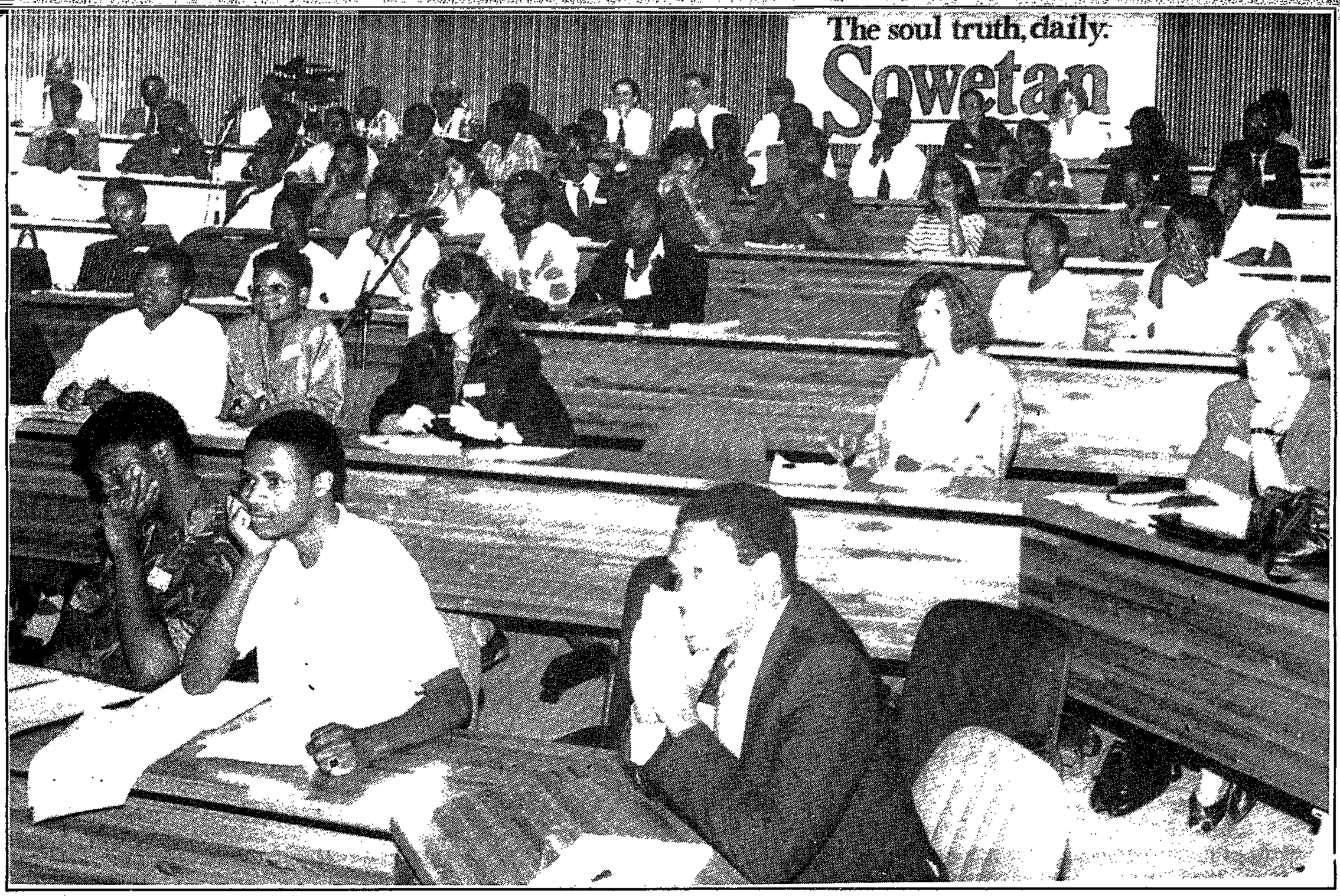
But it does not stop there. It also supports nature conservation, sport, culture and several other community projects. When Sanlam's name is mentioned, one can be forgiven for seeing a mental picture of a huge institution involved in many sectors of the economy. But the truth is that it has - first and foremost, always been, and still is, a leading life assurer.

It therefore seems reasonable to claim that it actually performs a social function, through helping people to help themselves and through providing financial peace of mind and financial growth.

The company is owned and ultimately controlled by about two million policy-owners of all population groups.

Sanlam
Assuring your tomorrow
For sure!
LINTAS CAPE 30035

**NATION BUILDING** *Journalists get together to affirm the ideal that the Press should be free*




Please release us ... guests gathered at the recent *Sowetan* Press Freedom seminar.

# You can't keep a good pen down

Sowetan 11/11/92 327

**By Themba Molefe**

**DARK DAYS** *Remembering the time when silence was the only sound we made:*

THE THIRD ANNUAL *Sowetan* Press Freedom seminar on October 19 once again underscored the divisions in South African politics.

And while journalists concurred on the need to maintain a free Press, battle lines were drawn between the "mainstream" Press and the "alternative" media, especially on control and ownership of both broadcast and print media.

Argument from the "alternative" Press was that the monopoly ownership by big giants, The Argus Company and Times Media Limited, should be broken to maintain independence. The "mainstream" justified the monopoly as in line with the free enterprise system.

### Human degradation

However, the seminar at the Soweto campus of Vista University succeeded in bolstering the need to uphold a free Press.

South Africans, blacks in particular, have lived through decades under a Government which has denied them information and knowledge. This has been described as human degradation, comparable with the denial of basic rights such as jobs and shelter.

It is in the need to protect society against human faults - greed, vanity and dishonesty - that Press freedom finds its purpose.

### New order

As South Africa staggers towards a new order, white South Africans continue to know very little about life in black townships because of this denial.

And until now, very few white South Africans knew how on October 19 1977, the Government, in the form of one Jimmy Kruger, profoundly dealt black advancement - and unity - a death-blow.

It was on this day that, in one fell swoop, the *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers were banned together with 18 black organisations.

### Forces of darkness

October 19 has become known as 'Black Wednesday' because it was on a Wednesday 15 years ago that life in the townships came to a standstill. The forces of darkness had worked relentlessly during the previous night.

The late Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the *World* and *Weekend World*, was visited by Security Branch officers who officially informed him that his newspapers had been declared illegal.

Similarly, many other leaders had been visited and told their organisations had been banned.

### Whites roared

This purge was premeditated. Earlier, the then Prime Minister, Balthazar John Vorster, had warned the Press to "put its house in order".

Qoboza had been summoned to Vorster's office in Pretoria where Vorster and Kruger, then Minister of Justice and Police, questioned him about the "anti-Government line" the newspapers were adopting.

At a subsequent public meeting addressed by Vorster in Durban, 3 000 whites roared that the Prime Minister should ban the *World* and *Weekend World*. Kruger then did it.

At the end of the day Qoboza and his assistant, Aggrey Klaaste, editor of *Sowetan*, were detained without trial together with hundreds of other leaders.

In spite of arguments that those newspapers were actually moderate, and their existence important to both blacks and whites, this reasoning went unheeded.

Professor Anthony Giffard of Rhodes University argued at the time that only black journalists could articulate their people's aspirations and tell what was happening in their townships.

**"At the end of the day Qoboza and his assistant, Aggrey Klaaste, editor of Sowetan, were detained without trial together with hundreds of other leaders"**

He said the paper gave prominence to the intrusion of police activity in the life of the community, demanded an inquiry into allegations of police brutality, told of people being ejected from their homes and defended basic rights of people.

If whites had read the *World*, Giffard had said, they would have known earlier about the feelings of blacks over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at black schools.

"Whites seldom became aware of black issues until they reached disaster proportions," said Giffard.

After banning the newspapers Kruger said he believed in Press Freedom..."but there are people in South Africa who can't write a straight story - they are politically committed".

### Left him cold

Kruger, who said the death in detention (on September 12 1977) of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko left him cold, is dead now. So is Vorster.

However, since 1985 not only black newspapers were being targeted by the State but all newspapers critical of the Government.

Between 1985 and 1989 the Government used state of emergency regulations, and later security legislation, to silence and censor newspapers.

In 1989 co-editor of *Weekly Mail* Anton Harber said police were using a "new approach" to quash honest reportage and political events in the country.

This was after he and two reporters were summoned to appear in court for contravening state of emergency regulations.

### Listed person

The same year the *Sowetan* editor was charged in terms of the Internal Security Act for publishing a speech by ANC leader Harry Gwala who was then a "listed person".

Until 1989 the South African media lived under a permanent state of emergency and had to rely on the courts to challenge restrictive regulations.

In January this year media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds observed that Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remained on the Statute Book.

A week earlier the Government published the Police Amendment Act which repealed Section 27B of the Police Act.

Section 27 inhibited the free flow of information, especially the publishing of misdemeanours and questionable activities of the police.

Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act is used by the State against journalists and for many years had been a matter of considerable concern, said Reynolds.

It provides that journalists can be subpoenaed to force them to disclose confidential sources or face jail.

### Clean up laws

"We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the Press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off," warned Reynolds.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reads:

"The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief, and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people...

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

Will post-apartheid South Africa accept these noble principles?

Will it be truly free to exercise its responsibility, and those who defend that freedom allowed to do that, and ensure the nation's peace and prosperity?

# Addo accused face additional charges

ct 11/11/92 (327) (-45-)

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The state added three more charges, two of attempted murder and one of conspiracy, against two men accused of murdering Addo farmer Mr Andre Maasdorp de Villiers, the Addo Regional Court heard yesterday.

The court was also told the case against Mr Tamsanqa Mali, 23, and Mr Lindile Stemele, 25, both of KwaZakhele, would be heard in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on February 8.

Port Elizabeth senior public prosecutor Mr Martin le Roux said a third accused, Mr Xolani Ncinane, 24, had died on October 14.

Mr Le Roux said the state withdrew the charge of murder against the deceased and the court ordered that the charge be withdrawn.

Earlier Mr Mali, Mr Stemele and the late Mr Ncinane had pleaded not guilty to the August 17 murder of Mr De Villiers on his farm Athelstone.

The additional charges were attempting to murder Mr De Villiers' wife Elizabeth Brenda and his son Louis as well as conspiring to rob Mr De Villiers.

The two accused were not asked to plead to the new charges yesterday. No evidence was led and they were ordered to remain in custody.

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hutha near Amanzimtoti on Natal's South Coast yesterday. The township is in the Umbumbulu district which was declared an unrest area last week. But killings continue on an almost daily basis, Sapa reports.

In KwaZulu, police said eight people had been arrested, but subsequently released, last weekend in connection with the Folweni massacre of 22 people in Mpushini south of Durban last month. The men were released because "they were not physically involved in the killings".

country to end the violence.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

# Mlangeni inquest told of illegal cash export

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER army intelligence operative Leon Flores illegally took money out of SA while on a mission to spy on renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee in London, a colleague yesterday told the inquest into ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni's death.

Capt Pamela du Randt also told the inquest at the Rand Supreme Court that Flores had told her not to tell their superiors about the money after their arrest and deportation from the UK.

Flores has denied receiving R10 000 from former Vlakplaas commanding officer Col Eugene de Kock, which he allegedly took to London to pay Royal Ulster Constabulary members for monitoring Coetzee.

Du Randt and Flores were arrested in London in April by the British anti-terrorist unit, which suspected the pair were involved in a plot to kill Coetzee.

Flores was dismissed by army intelligence after an internal inquiry found he had been acting according to an agenda outside the scope of his official instructions. Du Randt was exonerated.

Du Randt said yesterday Flores told her about the money on their flight to London, where she was to investigate links between the ANC's military wing and the IRA.

Flores, a member of a police counter-insurgency unit based at Vlakplaas before joining army intelligence, was to introduce her to sources who could assist her.

Du Randt said Flores had been worried about carrying the money because it should have been recorded in his passport.

Du Randt said she did not ask Flores why he had the money with him, but had thought it was to pay "sources".

She also told the court that before their debriefing back in SA, Flores told her not to tell anyone about the money, but she had done so anyway. 'I was not prepared to have the SADF embarrassed by something underhand," she said.

Recalled to the witness stand, Flores said Du Randt had lied but he did not know what her motive might be.

An SADF document submitted to the inquest itemised the costs of Du Randt's and Flores's mission to London. The total given was R18 167 plus R2 000 for forging links with contacts.

The inquest continues today.

# Bid to halt executions

PRETORIA — Influential businessmen — including Sun International's Sol Kerzner — are to be approached by Lawyers for Human Rights in an attempt to put pressure on the Bophuthatswana government to halt next week's execution of three convicted murderers.

LHR spokesman Andries Nel Lawyers said yesterday entertainment and sporting celebrities taking part in the Miss World Pageant, the Million Dollar Golf Challenge and the Lost City opening would be asked to boycott the events if the executions were carried out.

Jonathan Molema, 31; Stephen Mashinini, 42; and Joseph Mnisi, 30, are due to be hanged on Tuesday.

"We will take whatever measures open to us, both legal and otherwise, to halt the pending executions. A court application will be heard in the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court on Friday," Nel said.

The group would also ask President F W de Klerk for help.

Bophuthatswana Information Department spokesman Alwyn Viljoen this week confirmed that the three Death Row prisoners had received execution orders last week. — Sapa.

# Dieter Gerhardt lands in SA ...

BDay 12/11/92

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Former Soviet spy and SA Navy commodore Dieter Gerhardt arrived in SA yesterday for the first time as a free man since his arrest in January 1983 on charges of high treason.

Gerhardt arrived at Jan Smuts at 9am on a Swissair flight from Basle, Switzerland, where he has lived since his release from Pretoria Central Prison two months ago.

On his arrival form Gerhardt stated his purpose of entry was business and that the duration of his stay would be eight days.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Gerhardt spent yesterday afternoon with "an old political prisoner friend" but declined to name the former prisoner or his or her party affiliation.

The Home Affairs Department confirmed Gerhardt's arrival about seven hours after he had stepped off the plane, and after it had sifted through "thousands" of arrival forms.

Department spokesman Chris Pretorius said Gerhardt was an SA citizen and therefore entitled to the same rights of entry as any other citizen.

Niehaus said Gerhardt made the journey at his own volition and not at the request of the ANC.

He said there was no meeting planned with the ANC, but should he request one the ANC would "welcome it".

"Mr Nelson Mandela has a full schedule, but I am sure he would somehow find time for it (a meeting)," Niehaus said.

He denied speculation that Gerhardt was being groomed for a defence portfolio, and said there had been "no considerations" on the matter.

It is believed Gerhardt is staying in Johannesburg with his brother, Parktown orthopaedic surgeon Michael Gerhardt.

An attempt by a reporter to contact him there yesterday afternoon by telephone was answered by a child, who said Gerhardt was "not here at the moment, but he will be back later".

# ANC slams covert operation

(327) RAY HARTLEY

THE disclosure of a covert operation to undermine the ANC by linking it to the IRA and PLO proved President F W de Klerk had a double agenda, the ANC said yesterday. It said government "speaks peace while it wages war".

"How can anyone expect the ANC to trust the army if it is led by individuals who still hatch and execute plans to destroy the government's fellow negotiator?"

Government officials were tight-lipped about the covert operation yesterday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer refused to comment on a document which said he was aware of the covert action while serving as Defence Minister and as a senior government negotiator at Codesa. A spokesman for Meyer said it was "a defence matter" and could be dealt with only by the SADF.

But an SADF spokesman said the issue could be dealt with only by army officials.

Army officials said no comment could be given as the documents in which the allegations were made had been submitted as testimony in the inquest into the murder of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

The SABC denied suggestions in one of the documents that its London correspondent, Cliff Saunders, had played a role in the operation.

The documents, marked "top secret", include verification that army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring personally authorised the operation and rubber-stamped the expenditure of more than R20 000 to pay for overseas flights by SA agents.

A document signed by Meiring gave details of how the media would be used to

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13/11/92 Blom

## ANC

☐ From Page 1

(327)

link Umkhonto we Sizwe to the IRA and PLO. "By dealing with contacts in the British Press and the representative of SABC TV in England, this relationship (between MK, the IRA and PLO) can be brought to the surface and this will expose the hidden agenda of some negotiators.

"For this purpose, we plan to send a member of this directorate to England to hand the information over to the media," the document said.

The operation failed in April when the two operatives, who had been sent to Britain to collect information on the ANC's links with the IRA and PLO, were arrested, according to the documents.

A section of one document said: "The Minister of Defence and the Chief of the SADF have been briefed on the information obtained during the investigation and advised that the SADF operation was contaminated by one of the members of the operational team who appeared to have a hidden agenda."

One of the two agents, Leon Flores, is referred to in the documents as a one-time member of the security police's Vlakplaas unit, along with Almond Nofomela, who claimed the base was used to launch hit-squad activity.

The other operative, Capt Pamela du Randt, assumed a senior communication post at army headquarters in 1991, according to the documents.

● Comment: Page 10

**Members of the covert units reveal all in their scramble for safety ...**

# I know of third force — colonel

w/mail 13/11 - 19/11/92.

*The leader of the police's Vlakplaas unit is prepared to reveal police and army involvement in 'third force' activities — in exchange for indemnity.*

*By* **EDDIE KOCH**

COLONEL Eugene de Kok, commander of the South African Police's notorious Vlakplaas unit, is prepared to give the National Intelligence Service (NIS) detailed information about members of the police and army involved in third force activities in exchange for indemnity.

This extraordinary statement is contained in a set of top secret military intelligence documents handed to the Witwatersrand Supreme Court this week during an inquest into the murder of human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni in February last year.

*The Weekly Mail* has information that De Kok, together with a band of other policemen and former military agents, ran a right-wing operation to destabilise the African National Congress and its supporters.

Two informants who have had close dealings with De Kok and his colleagues claim this cell of rightist security force members call themselves the "Badgers". "They chose the name because the badger is known for its great cunning and because it goes straight for the groin when it attacks," said one source.

It has also been established that policemen from De Kok's police unit at Vlakplaas use a company called Badger Security as a front to communicate with each other by receiving and transmitting messages on a pager service.

The sources say the "Badgers" have members in Johannesburg and Pretoria and that the secret unit is made up of police officers currently employed at Vlakplaas as well as former military agents and policemen.

Men alleged to be members of the Badger unit include De Kok, a member of the Vlakplaas unit called "Chappies" Kloppers as well as Staal Burger, former member of the CCB and officer at the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad.

Sources allege the Badger unit is involved in the surveillance of left-wing activists as well as a range of criminal activities that include the alleged laundering of counterfeit money and vehicle theft. Its members are apparently issued with a plaque depicting the portrait of a badger when they are accepted into the unit.

The report that De Kok is prepared to reveal the activities of "third force" units — which may operate in the way that the Badgers have been described — is contained in a set of hand-written notes appended to secret documents from the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) which have been handed to the inquest dealing with the murder of Mlangeni.

The notes are headed "items not in the report" and deal with sensitive issues that were excluded from DMI's official reports to the British government about the role that Leon Flores played in his mission to have Dirk Coetzee monitored and killed by members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary in England.

They appear to have been drafted either by General CP van der Westhuizen, the chief of military intelligence, or another senior DMI officer.

According to the notes, De Kok contacted an NIS agent called "Kennedy" with an offer to expose the third force network on condition that he be given immunity from prosecution.

The notes add the startling suggestion that Brigadier "Krappies" Engelbrecht, a senior policeman involved in a number of sensitive political investigations, tried to suppress the probe into De Kok's role in the scheme to have Coetzee's movements monitored.

Engelbrecht is De Kok's direct superior as overall commander of the Vlakplaas unit. He also worked at the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad and is an acquaintance of Staal Burger, another alleged member of the Badgers.

The DMI notes point out that a military intelligence officer gave the go-ahead for Brigadier Engelbrecht to obtain some 20 taped recordings of the Flores interrogation sessions so that De Kok's role in the incident could be investigated.

"Krappies het toe nie tyd gehad nie. Hy sê ons mors ons tyd. (The brigadier did not have time. He says we are wasting our time)," the notes say.

They add that the brigadier supported De Kok's claim that he, De Kok, had given R10 000 to Flores just prior to the London mission so that this could be given to De Kok's grandmother who lives in England.

Under interrogation Flores admitted that the R10 000 was to pay for costs incurred by members of the RUC while they were monitoring the movements of Coetzee. Yet, according to the document, Engelbrecht suggested that the investigation into De Kok's role be curtailed.

Captain Craig Kotze responded to queries about police involvement in the Coetzee debacle by saying: "If any policeman is involved in a crime then that allegation will be investigated. That is the policy."

Kotze said he could not comment on the implications of a cover up contained in the MI documents. "We cannot comment on that particular hearing until the magistrate has made his finding."

**... and the flood of truth threatens to break the wall of government secrecy**

# Truth the winner of covert units' battle

Wlmail 13/11 - 19/11/92 (327)

*As various police and army covert units rush to inform on one another in order to cover themselves, more and more revelations of the government's shady past are exposed. By* **EDDIE KOCH**

THREE rival units of Pretoria's security forces are involved in a bitter vendetta which threatens to present President FW de Klerk's cabinet with damning evidence of government involvement in dirty-tricks campaigns.

First there is the Department of Military Intelligence's unprecedented submission this week of top-secret military documents to the Rand Supreme Court inquest into the death of Bheki Mlangeni, a human rights lawyer who was blown up by a parcel bomb in February last year.

The documents show that the Chief of the Army, General George Meiring, in April this year approved a clandestine operation to discredit the ANC by leaking information to the British and local press about alleged cooperation between Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Irish Republican Army.

The ANC says this is proof of what the organisation has always known: "that the SADF is misused for political purposes by the government". But the most serious offences outlined in the documents do not relate to the relatively soft propaganda mission that was to be carried out by MI agents Leon Flores and Pamela du Rand.

The documents contain more explosive evidence that Colonel Eugene de Kok, commander of the SAP's feared Vlakplaas base, instructed Flores to arrange for the surveillance and assassination of renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee while in England on official MI business.

Coetzee joined the ANC after he defected and implicated De Kok directly in a number of political motives and the suggestion is that the Vlakplaas commander was bent on revenge. Flores is a friend of De Kok's who joined military intelligence after working in the Vlakplaas unit for a number of years, primarily along the Swazi-Natal border where the police colonel and his colleagues were involved in a series of operations against ANC insurgents.

The documents show that Flores admitted under interrogation from MI officers that he had been given R10 000 by De Kok to pay members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary to monitor Coetzee's movements with a view to assassinating the dissident policeman.

Du Randt and Flores were "debriefed" by MI counter-intelligence operatives after they had been arrested by the British Anti-Terrorist Squad on April 15 this year on suspicion of recruiting Irish right-wingers to kill Coetzee.

Flores has since claimed under cross-examination in court that he fabricated the reports of Vlakplaas involvement in the London murder mission while under interrogation by MI men. The court will have to decide on the veracity of the intelligence reports. But it is MI's agenda in releasing the documents which do not fall under the court's scrutiny, that is likely to become more significant.

The image of the military will suffer from the admission that it used public funds to mount a propaganda campaign against the ANC. This is even more so because the revelations come in the wake of *The Weekly Mail's* exposé last week of a multi-million rand project, funded clandestinely by the SADF, to spread propaganda against the ANC.

But on the more serious charge of plotting murder, MI comes out squeaky clean. Pamela du Randt, a former assistant and close personal friend of the DMI chief, was a relatively minor figure who knew nothing of the Coetzee plot.

The papers show Flores to be a rogue who acted without the sanction of the Defence Force. The real villains in the piece, the documents suggest, are the SAP and De Kok. As the inquest unfolds it will, no doubt, uncover further dirty tricks on the part of state agents.

But at the same time another agenda is unravelling: a clear and concerted campaign to cover the back of military intelligence and its chief, General Van Der Westhuizen.

Then comes the counter-reaction of De Kok and his colleagues. According to an appendix to the military documents, the police colonel has all but admitted that a third force exists and he is prepared to reveal substantial details about this.

One covert units rats on another and this, in turn, generates a new flood of revelations about the government's shady past.

This is the upshot of the case involving more than 20 disgruntled CCB men who are demanding that the SADF meet its contractual obligations to them by paying out pension and other benefits in the region of R30-million.

The former CCB operatives have made it apparent that they are prepared to reveal top-level approval of their covert operations to bolster their demands. "We acted on orders in a specific state of emergency and because of this people were eliminated on both sides," says the CCB's personnel manager Wessel Huyser. "We will not be scapegoated in this way and blamed for everything that happened in the past."

Huyse told *The Weekly Mail* that his CCB group had undeniable evidence that Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan, who was minister of defence at the time of the unit's operations, had personal knowledge of the CCB's operations.

"We respect Nelson Mandela for the way he took personal responsibility for the abuses committed by his security personnel. FW de Klerk and the members of his cabinet must do the same," says Huyser.

Reports from sources in this group indicate that CCB managing director Joe Verster is disgruntled about the way his men have been denigrated. He is preparing to tell everything he knows about the murder of human rights academic David Webster when he gives evidence to this Supreme Court inquest on Monday 23.

The former CCB members are also raising questions about the police. Why are they being labelled "scum of the earth" and "self-confessed" murderers while the police covert operation continues to operate.

The CCB fights with the SADF and points fingers at Vlakplaas. The SADF blames Vlakplaas and denigrates the CCB. Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kok reacts by threatening to reveal all about the "third force".

These conflicts within the security forces are creating fissures in the secrecy that has been built around the state's shady past. Indications are the wall is about to burst.

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# 'Probe army actions'

Cape Argus 15/11/92

LAWYERS for Human Rights on Friday called on State President FW de Klerk to suspend SA army chief Gen George Meiring and to probe the activities of the defence force.

This comes in the wake of "Project Echoes", a document allegedly approved by Meiring to discredit the ANC.

Meiring claimed in a statement on Friday there had been no intention to discredit the ANC, as it had been aimed only at Umkhonto weSizwe.

He said he authorised Capt Pamela du Randt and a facilitator to travel to London to try to confirm information of possible links between MK and the Irish Republican Army and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, because the existence of such links would have serious security implications for SA.

LHR said an inquiry should be established to investigate the political aims of the SADF and its involvement in "third force" activities. – Sapa

# Spies, lies and SADF dirty tricks

Cpress 15/11/92

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

THE "dirty tricks" department of the SADF misused taxpayers money to send spies to Britain.

This emerged in the Rand Supreme Court this week where a high-ranking policewoman admitted lying to her authorities.

The SADF's aim was to investigate whether there was a link between the Irish Republican Army and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But while the two were still trying to set up their operations they were arrested by British Intelligence and extensively interrogated before being sent back home.

On their return from Britain, Leon William Flores and Capt Pamela du Randt were debriefed and Flores was dismissed for misconduct.

The SADF stated then that Flores had his own "hidden agenda" regarding spying on former hitsquad leader Capt Dirk Coetzee, while Du Randt had merely been a pawn in the operation.

Du Randt was testifying at the inquest into the murder of Human Rights lawyer and chairman of the Jabulani ANC branch, Gofdrey Bheki Mlangeni.

Mlangeni sustained fatal head injuries when a miniature bomb, placed in an earphone of a walkman cassette player, exploded at his Jabulani home on March 15 last year.

The booby-trap was addressed to former Vlakplaas policeman Coetzee, who joined the ANC and fled to London.

Shortly after Mlangeni's death, Coetzee accused his former colleagues at Vlakplaas of the brutal murder.

During her debriefing Du Randt said Flores told her on a plane to London that he had a large sum of money and was worried because he had not entered the amount in his passport. The money – allegedly given to Flores by Col Eugene de Kock – was supposed to have paid members of the Ulster Constabulary to monitor Coetzee.

She then retracted the statement, saying that she had lied because she was confused by the interrogation, and did not know what was going on.

Du Randt then said that further into the debriefing – conducted by Capt John Imrie – she had confided in Imrie and told him that she had in fact not been lying, and that Flores had indeed taken the money to London.

When asked by E du Toit for the SAP why this crucial evidence had not been mentioned in any of the official reports, she answered that she did not know.

"I did not compile the report," she said.

The inquest was postponed to November 26 to allow counsel to listen to 20 SADF tapes.

# Brazen Gerhardt back, but he keeps silence

By CHARIS PERKINS

THE spy who sold his country's military secrets strolled out of the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters into the sunny streets of Johannesburg this week.

Dieter Gerhardt, the former Soviet agent who was sentenced to life imprisonment, came back this week to thank the people who helped secure his release and to talk to the ANC top brass about security forces in a new South Africa.

Or so he said.

For, despite 10 years behind bars, the 57-year-old former Simons Town dockyard naval commander is as mysterious about his activities as he was when he was arrested while drinking scotch in a New York hotel in 1983.

From his John le Carré raincoat and the compact tape recorder he keeps in his briefcase, to the way he wriggles out of questions, he is exactly what one expects of a spy.

At lunch in a restaurant, he manoeuvred the seating arrangement so he could keep a watchful eye over the room, admitting that he was worried about his safety.

He took notes of all the questions put to him during the two-hour interview, recording them in his diary with a gold-plated pen and ticking them off with military precision as he responded.

He was evasive about his plans for the future. But he made one revealing comment: "I don't really need to work full-time."

At the time of his trial, there was widespread speculation that Gerhardt was paid handsomely for his spying activities, but he has consistently denied that this is true.

Nor would he comment on the possibility of his returning to South Africa permanently.

## Damaging

"Home is wherever my family is," he said. Since his release from Pretoria Central two months ago, Gerhardt has lived with his Swiss-born wife and spy partner, Ruth, and his son, Gregory, 14, in a flat in Basle, Switzerland.

He would say nothing about his 19 years as a spy beyond: "I was a very damaging element."

Nelson Mandela invited Gerhardt to return to South Africa to advise the ANC on military matters shortly after he was released. They will meet tomorrow.

He has also been sharing ideas on the composition and duties of a future defence force with ANC officials, but says he has no ambition to play a public role in its establishment.

"It would be inappropriate considering the discomfort people feel about the role I played during my years as a spy for Russian intelligence," he said.

Apart fom Mr Mandela, he will meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa this week to thank them for their part in securing his release. He also plans to see Gertrude Shope to discuss the role of women in breaking negotiation deadlocks.



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# Ex-CCB agent in perjury probe

By CHARLES LEONARD

THE Transvaal attorney-general will investigate charges of perjury against former Civil Co-operation Bureau chairman General Eddie Webb when the Webster inquest is concluded.

"I have little doubt the court record will be referred to us once the inquest is over," said Dr Jan D'Oliviera this week.

Last week General Webb admitted under cross-examination at the inquest into the murder of Wits academic Dr David Webster that he lied under oath to the Harms commission in March 1990.

"If the inquest judge does not refer the matter to us, we will take action independently," said Dr D'Oliviera.

"Although the perjury investigation could go to the Witwatersrand attorney-general, I expect it will land on our desks."

The Harms commission sat in Pretoria, which falls under Dr D'Oliviera's jurisdiction.

The Webster inquest resumes in the Rand Supreme Court tomorrow.

CON

# Missing page 'had notes to assassin'

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A page missing from the diary of former CCB co-ordinator Mr Wouter Basson appeared to be instructions to an assassin, the Webster inquest heard yesterday.

Mr Basson, alias Christo Brits, was co-ordinator of the CCB's region 6 which operated inside South Africa.

He conceded during cross-examination that his notes for September 12 1989, the day on which Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski was murdered, did look like instructions for an assassin after completion of an assignment.

The page is one of two missing from the diary.

Forensic experts who examined the diary have been able to ascertain the contents of the missing entry.

The entry reads: "Disguise/ don't phone. New clothing. Only act according to plan. Don't use pager, no personal contact after completion. Alibi, to go to Zambia".

Mr Basson, who denied there had been CCB projects to murder Mr Lubowski and Dr David Webster, said the entry referred to a CCB operation outside South Africa.

He said it was purely coincidental that this page and the one for August 31 were the only ones missing from the diary.

August 31, he said, was the date of a CCB operation, one of four about which he did not wish to testify.

Mr Basson was cross-examined at length about other entries in the diary referring to various CCB activities.

The August 3 entry refers to the "options" in respect of "client 2".

Among the options listed are "witchdoctor, medical, and car bomb".

Counsel for the Webster family, Mr E Bertelsmann SC put it to Mr Basson that these were the options suggested for the elimination of a subject.

Mr Basson said the entry could be referring to suggested methods for recruiting people, but said it was possible the "options" referred to methods of elimination.

Another entry refers to Client 1 being made to fall (val) before the end of August and client 2 by the middle of September.

Mr Basson agreed the word omval (topple over) was CCB terminology for elimination.

Entries in July 1989 refer to CCB projects to disrupt Swapo activities prior to the elections in Namibia.

Mr Basson admitted one note referred to an order that Mr Staal Burger, who was involved in CCB activities in Namibia, kill supporters of Mr Hein Grosskopf.

He said this order had come from CCB chairman General Eddie Webb.

"It's very clear isn't it that during the course of 1989 the CCB had a very intensive interest in Namibia," Mr Bertelsmann said.

"It was a direct order," Mr Basson replied.

He said the order had come from CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster, but did not know if Colonel Verster had received the order from higher up.

The hearing continues.

## Government accused of CCB 'witch-hunt'

**Own Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG. — The shadowy CCB alleged yesterday that an orchestrated effort was being made to hold the organisation accountable for a large number of crimes committed in South Africa.**

**At a press conference called by the CCB, former CCB MD Colonel Joe Verster accused the government, the police, the Auditor-General and the media of participating in a witch-hunt against the outfit.**

**Colonel Verster said the police had chosen to focus on the CCB in its investigation of the Webster murder, despite the fact that the Harms Commission and the Webster Trust believed that the CCB had nothing to do with the killing.**

**He added there was no truth to reports that he intended laying low until amnesty legislation was passed.**

**● A decision on whether action would be taken against former CCB chairman and head of special forces General Eddie Webb — who admitted that he had lied to the Harms Commission — could not be made before the Webster inquest was over, according to a spokesman for the Attorney-General's office in Johannesburg.**



**INQUEST . . .** Dr David Webster

# NEWS IN BRIEF

## R400 000 for arms

POLICE paid out almost R400 000 in rewards this year for the recovery of 4 470 firearms between January and the end of October.

The SAP, which pays up to R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK-47 rifle, said 338 AK-47s had been collected and 173 people prosecuted for unlawful possession of firearms.

Rewards included R193 000 paid out for the AK-47s, R36 000 for 876 shotguns, R83 860 for 455 ordinary calibre pistols, and R59 000 for 228 ordinary calibre revolvers. R10 000 was paid following the discovery of three arms caches.



Judge R Goldstone discloses details of a Military Intelligence covert operation at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday. With him are commission members Solly Sithole and Gert Steyn.
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Military's dirty tricks campaign uncovered

BIDAY 17/11/92 (327)

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE discovery of a large Military Intelligence (MI) operations centre together with hundreds of files by Goldstone commission investigators last week has uncovered a complex web of subterfuge and dishonesty in "high quarters".

Files seized by the commission contain details of a covert operation to criminalise and discredit the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), a shady MI task force led by former CCB member Ferdi Barnard, money-counterfeiting and the illegal importation of arms.

At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Judge R Goldstone said it was the commission's duty to make public the information in the MI files.

The files, five of which were seized, show that Barnard, a former SAP drug squad sergeant convicted in 1984 on two counts of murder, one of attempted murder and three of theft, was employed by MI from May to December 1991.

"The SADF made a public statement denying that Barnard was employed by it when it was known in high quarters that such denial was quite untrue," Goldstone said.

Barnard was employed on the recommendation of Chief of Staff Intelligence Lt-Gen R "Witkop" Badenhorst.

Barnard had served part of a 20-year sentence, had worked for the CCB on his release in 1988 and was employed by MI's unnamed director of covert collection in May 1991.

Goldstone pointed out that "highly placed members of MI were party to the employment of a person with a serious criminal record involving crimes of violence and dishonesty".

From May 1991, Barnard was employed for a trial period, Goldstone said.

In June 1991, Barnard submitted to MI a plan for a task force he was to lead. The Barnard files disclose the task force was to specialise solely on MK activities. The objective was to discredit the organisation by linking its members to crime.

In this way MK cadres could be recruited, compromised or, as in the case of ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, discredited. Mokaba, however, survived allegations that he was a police spy.

An excerpt from the files says "(Barnard's team) was to concentrate on the involvement of MK in crime and its relationship with criminal syndicates. For that purpose MK members were to be used to infiltrate the criminal elements, and where such members could not be recruited they would be criminally compromised. For that purpose use would be made, inter alia, of prostitutes, homosexuals, shebeen owners and drug dealers".

The task team obtained access to "telephone bugging experts", the computer systems of the SAP Criminal Bureau and the Revenue office, contacts at immigration control and licensing authorities, the voters' roll and credit bureaus.

"One of the persons used by Barnard or one of his sub-agents was involved in the installation of computers at the ANC headquarters," Goldstone said.

Following the presentation of Barnard's report, he was employed as a chief agent at an increased salary. The appointment was approved by Badenhorst.

Goldstone said: "References are contained in the files stating that the ANC is involved in criminal conduct, including counterfeiting money and illegal importation of arms."

In December 1991, a man named Christopher Human appeared in court on charges of unlawful possession of an Uzzi machine gun. "In a bail application Mr Human is reported to have alleged that the weapon was left with him by Barnard, who tried to recruit him and an escort agency woman as spies for MI," Goldstone said.

"Upon instructions from the Minister" (of Defence, then Roelf Meyer), Barnard's services were terminated.

In a report dated January 21 1992, Barnard's MI handler said his "attitude towards the SADF (was) still sour but his relationship with (the handler) is strong enough for (Barnard) to stay and not to go to a newspaper and 'cause trouble".

Goldstone said 48 members of the secret MI operations centre had spent hundreds of thousands of rands using credit cards.

# FW denies bid to undermine ANC

RAY HARTLEY

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk denied yesterday that government organs were being used to undermine the ANC, but hinted there could be members of the security force with a hidden agenda.

In a BBC World Service interview just hours before Judge R Goldstone's disclosures on a Military Intelligence project regarding Umkhonto we Sizwe, De Klerk said: "Obviously there might be individuals who have their own agendas. We have nothing to hide. There is no third force. There is no sinister cabal within the security forces working against government. The government is in firm control of the security forces."

De Klerk said he could not comment on disclosures last week that SA agents had been sent to Britain to smear the ANC by linking it to the IRA and PLO because the matter was under "judicial review".

There was no plan to split the ANC and he continued to "get along well" with its president Nelson Mandela, he said.

"In the party political sense, we are definitely opponents because we will be vying for support and we will be fighting an election against each other. But I regard him as a very important interlocutor in the negotiation process."

De Klerk said multiparty talks could resume "in a month or so". There was convergence between negotiating parties on a government of national unity, regional government and increased majorities in a constitution-writing body.

# Army chief defends Echoes

Soweten 17/11/92

## ■ Meiring denies spy project was meant to discredit ANC:

THE chief of the SA Army, General Georg Meiring, has denied jeopardising the peace process by authorising Project Echoes.

"I wish to put on record that I approved Project Echoes as part of my line function. As chief of the SA Army I am responsible for the landward safety and security of South Africa and all its people," Meiring said yesterday.

He said this following allegations that he wanted to discredit the African National Congress. He said he authorised a trip to London by Captain Pamela du Randt and a facilitator to try to confirm information that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had links with the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation "because the existence of such links would have serious security implications".

# Hearing goes in camera again

Sowetan 17/11/92

**By Sowetan Correspondent**

**■ Only Bertelsmann, Wessels and Van Vuuren sat with the witness and the judge at yesterday's proceedings:**

THE JUDICIAL inquest into the assassination of Dr David Webster resumed yesterday and immediately went into in camera proceedings.

State Advocate Jannie van Vuuren said Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agent Derek Louw did not want to give evidence in an open court. Mr Justice M Stegmann agreed to hear an in camera application for the evidence to be withheld from the public.

This is the fourth time the proceedings have been held behind closed doors since the inquest started on October 12. The other times the court had heard evidence in camera include:

When eyewitness Cornelius du Plessis told the inquest he had seen Webster's assassin in court;

An application for CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster to give evidence in disguise and *in camera*. The judge ruled he could give evidence in camera but could not appear in disguise.

However, ignoring his subpoena, Verster went abroad to wind up CCB projects. He is expected to give evidence later;

Willie Smit, a former employer of CCB agent Ferdi Barnard, who earlier told the inquest Barnard had described how Webster "flew through the air" after being shot on May 1 1989.

After speaking to a man during a tea adjournment, Smit indicated he no longer wanted to give evidence. The proceedings were then held in camera.

# Big arms cache found at East Rand hostel

## ■ Largest stock of illegal weapons uncovered on the Witwatersrand.

AN operation by police and the SA Defence Force yesterday uncovered one of the largest illegal weapons finds yet on the Witwatersrand.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the security force operation took place at the Buyafuthi Hostel near Katlehong on the East Rand.

Police and soldiers seized 23 AK-47 assault rifles, 2 200 AK-47 rounds, 28 AK-47 magazines, two RPG-7 rockets and 431 7,65 rounds of ammunition.

No arrests had been made so far "but we are investigating this find thoroughly. No more information can be made available at this stage as investigations are at an extremely delicate stage," police said. - *Sapa.*

# Meyer tells Goldstone he knew nothing of dirty tricks campaign

FORMER Defence Minister and chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer last night denied that he had known former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard was employed by the SADF or that he had issued instructions for his dismissal.

He also denied knowledge of a plan to undermine the ANC.

He made the statement as government came under local and international pressure to act decisively on the Goldstone commission's disclosure of a dirty tricks campaign by Military Intelligence.

Judge Richard Goldstone said last night Meyer had informed him that two reports found in MI files reflecting his involvement were not true.

Sapa reports Goldstone said that on the basis that reports relied on were false, "Minister Meyer has been unfairly implicated in this matter".

It had been assumed by the commission that the references in the MI files "would not have falsely implicated the then Defence Minister. That the files were official files of MI was confirmed on oath by the present senior officer of the MI establishment from which they were seized."

BILLY PADDOCK

There had been no other evidence in the files nor was the commission aware of any evidence implicating or suggesting knowledge by Meyer with regard to the employment or dismissal of Barnard. There also was no suggestion in the files that Meyer should have been consulted or informed of Barnard's employment.

In his statement, Meyer emphasised that the first time he had heard of Barnard's links with the SADF was when Goldstone made the announcement.

Meyer said on Agenda last night he believed his name had been falsely used in the MI files claiming he had known of Barnard's employment and dismissal.

He had made inquiries and "the explanation that was given to me was that this was probably used to emphasise the importance of the termination of the services of Mr Barnard ... but falsely so. (When) this was done, I was not even in the country."

The Minister pointed out that while the Goldstone commission had an important role and its credibility had to be protected, some of the procedures used in this instance should be reviewed.

Meyer said when he took over as Defence Minister last year, he immediately instructed the Chief of the SADF and other heads of SADF departments that there should be no SADF involvement in any political activity. He believed strong action would be taken against any members who had disobeyed these instructions.

Meyer said he was not in a position to reply to questions about Barnard's employment as the matter was being investigated by the Defence Minister and the Chief of

☐ To Page 2

## Meyer

☐ From Page 1

the SADF. From information he had received it appeared, however, that Barnard had "probably" received a salary for providing information to the military.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk, who returned to SA yesterday from London, said he was "deeply concerned" at the disclosures.

He said government had appointed the Goldstone commission and believed "it has played an important role in identifying the sources of public violence and intimidation. It will accordingly give careful consideration to the initial information and proposals contained in the statement which, according to Judge Goldstone, will require further inquiries and ... form the basis of a report."

The Cabinet would consider the matter at its regular meeting today after which he would issue a further statement.

While government prepared to lay the blame for the scandal at the door of renegade elements within the SADF, Defence Minister Gene Louw stressed yesterday that the SADF was not a rogue organisation. He said it would bring criminal elements in its ranks to book.

Addressing troops in Pietersburg, he also deplored the existence of several private armies in SA, and claimed the SADF was the only force which could ensure peace and stability for all.

Anarchists who tried to overthrow orderly government were in for a surprise, he said, as the SADF would stop at nothing to defend the security of the country and its people.

☐ In a statement last night, Louw "seriously disputed" several statements in Goldstone's Press briefing on Monday, especially pertaining to the manner in which they were presented. His office said a full explanatory statement would be released as soon as possible.

● Comment: Page 8

## Exiles' body calls for aid

LLOYD COUTTS

THE National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles is expected to appeal to government for assistance in the repatriation process.

A committee spokesman said yesterday a lack of government participation was having an adverse effect on the programme.

In a statement the committee said about 14 000 returned exiles and former political prisoners were registered, while about 6 000 were still outside SA.

The committee's funds were frozen after it was found that R300 000 had been embezzled.

The committee's policy allowed individual returnees to be given a loan of up to R6 000, payable within 18 months at an interest rate of 18%.

Twenty percent of the total was given to the returnee as a grant.

The ANC has also called on government to take responsibility for the funding of the repatriation programme, after repatriation centres in the Cape were forced to close because of a lack of money.

# 'Barnard boasted he killed Webster'

SUSAN RUSSELL

DAYS after activist David Webster was murdered, former CCB operative Ferdi Barnard told the mother of a friend that the Wits academic had been thrown five feet by the bullet that killed him, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Johanna Smit said Barnard told her this in the presence of her son, businessman Willie Smit, during a drive to Lanseria Airport.

Smit and her son-in-law Andrew Vorster both agreed to testify at the Webster inquest yesterday on condition that Barnard and former CCB colleague Calla Botha were not present.

They were to have given evidence two weeks ago, but hurriedly left the Supreme Court building and disappeared minutes after Willie Smit withdrew his evidence implicating Barnard in the murder.

Smit told the court yesterday she and Vorster had left with her son on that occasion because they were intimidated.

A certain Lester Mouton had also threatened her son's wife and children.

Smit said she met Barnard in 1988 when he started working for the company where she and her son were employed.

Barnard left the company after three months, saying he had a job with the security police.

The conversation about Webster's murder took place two or three days after the assassination, she said.

"Ferdi and I were talking. I said to him it was shocking that people could be shot dead in the street like a dog. He answered that he (Webster) was a dog."

According to Smit, Barnard then said: "Tannie, when the police heard of the shooting they immediately said it was Ferdi Barnard because he is the only person who could shoot so accurately out of a moving car."

Barnard then made the remark about the bullet.

Smit told Barnard to stop talking nonsense and he laughed, she said.

She also testified that Barnard would walk into the company's offices and laughingly tell female employees they were afraid of him because he had killed people.

"He was not ashamed to admit it," Smit said. "He said on many occasions that he was a murderer."

Barnard also told her about an album in which he kept pictures of the bodies of those he had killed.

Smit said she never saw the album, although Barnard had told her he would show it to her one day.

She told the court she and her family had been intimidated by Barnard and his relatives before her son gave his evidence.

Smit added that Barnard talked a lot of nonsense and claimed to have done many things he had not. To this day, she added, she did not believe he killed Webster.

## Ramodike vows to fight corruption

LEBOWA Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike vowed yesterday to take appropriate steps to end the massive incompetence and corruption in his government unearthed by the De Meyer commission.

He said these steps would involve punishment for offenders and measures to prevent a recurrence of the situation.

His cabinet had appointed a management committee to deal with the commission's recommendations, and letters had been sent to affected departments.

Ramodike said government ministers could not escape responsibility for their departments' activities. The incompetence of any minister would be "measured or evaluated according to the seriousness of the case in his department".

Defending his own position, Ramodike reiterated that he had taken the initiative to have irregularities investigated.

Rounding on seconded officials from Pretoria who were exposed during an earlier internal investigation, Ramodike said some seconded officials were even given sanctuary by the central government "when we discovered the extent of their involvement and wanted to take appropriate action against them".

He said the NP continued to feed the homelands with incompetent seconded officials who had come only to further the idea of apartheid without real regard for sound financial management. — Sapa.

# 22 in jail hunger strike protest

RAY HARTLEY

TWENTY-TWO prisoners who claim to have been jailed for political crimes have been on hunger strike since Sunday at Leeukop Prison, north of Johannesburg, in protest against the failure of the authorities to release them.

Forty-two prisoners were released over the weekend in terms of agreements reached between government and ANC negotiators in September.

A well placed source said the striking prisoners included six Numsa members imprisoned for the killing of a scab labourer, an Umkhonto we Sizwe member jailed for attempted murder, a self-defence unit member and a necklace murderer. Correctional Services spokesman Col Danie Immelman last night confirmed the hunger strike.

The hunger strikers had been informed that "undisciplined behaviour jeorpardises their privileges and even their remission of sentence, which is earned through good behaviour", he said.

Meanwhile a joint committee of ANC and government negotiators have endorsed the release of 123 of the 153 prisoners freed after a joint summit in September, Correctional Services spokesman Lt Bert Slabbert said.

Sapa reports 16 inmates at Durban's Westville Prison have been on hunger strike for more than two weeks, demanding their release on the grounds that they are "victims of apartheid".

Department of Correctional Services spokesman W/O R Potgieter said two groups of prisoners began fasting on November 2 and 3.

# ANC supports probe into all armed forces

ANC official Mac Maharaj said on the SABC's Agenda programme last night that the ANC supported the investigation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and all other "armed formations" as recommended by the UN.

He said government had not shown a similar commitment to an impartial investigation of the SADF, SAP and KwaZulu Police.

The ANC would decide whether government was negotiating in good faith based on the response to the Goldstone commission's revelations of a covert campaign to undermine the ANC undertaken by Military Intelligence (MI), Maharaj said.

He said the question of whether or not government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was aware of this campaign would not dictate the ANC's attitude to talks with government.

President F W de Klerk's response to the Goldstone report was "unfortunate" and he should have accepted its recommendation immediately that its powers be extended, said Maharaj.

Meyer said on the same programme that government supported in principle the Goldstone commission's recommendation that its powers be extended, but would need more details on the issue before a decision was reached.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday Inkatha would support investigations to expose MI efforts to undermine the ANC.

But Mdlalose defended the KwaZulu Police, saying while the force would not object to specific allegations being investigated, it would oppose "a fishing expedition launched in respect of an entire police force consisting of thousands of members".

RAY HARTLEY

Sapa reports that the SACP called for the sacking of the former and present Defence Ministers, Meyer and Gene Louw, as well as top leaders in the military and police.

Those to be dismissed should include SA Defence Force Head Gen "Kat" Liebenberg, Chief of the Army Lt-Gen Georg Meiring and Police Commissioner Maj-Gen Johann van der Merwe — all of whom the SACP alleged were the "masterminds of a government low-intensity war against the mass democratic movement".

Azapo said government had to resign immediately because of Goldstone's disclosures.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said: "De Klerk cannot hide any longer behind the tired cliché, 'We did not know'."

The CP said De Klerk, as SADF commander-in-chief, should assume responsibility for any irregular SADF acts.

The CP lamented the fact that the Goldstone commission had brought the integrity of SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg and Army chief Gen Georg Meiring into question by insinuating that Meiring's statements on MK were questionable.

The SA Council of Churches (SACC) said it was appalled at government's "blustering responses" to the "many recent revelations of corruption and falsehood".

# Police chief takes issue with Goldstone

PRETORIA — Judge Richard Goldstone has come under fire from SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe, who said yesterday the police had been prejudiced by his commission.

Goldstone had indicated that a witness brought before the commission by the SAP was the initial link in providing clues to an MI role in covert operations.

Van der Merwe said the witness had been presented to disprove allegations made by a Mozambican army deserter that he was paid by the SAP to commit acts of violence.

He said claims that former MI agent Ferdi Barnard had gained access to the SAP Criminal Bureau's computer system had as yet not been established. Police had not been given an opportunity to do so, or to respond.

He took issue with Goldstone's comment that police had been "singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders...."

When untested allegations were presented so that they were perceived as facts, it contributed to a false perception that the SAP was unwilling or unable to perform its task, he said. — Sapa.

# ANC riddled with agents, says Barnard

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE ANC, including its intelligence department, had been infiltrated at a high level, former Military Intelligence agent Ferdi Barnard claimed yesterday.

He called a news conference after Judge Richard Goldstone's disclosures that Barnard was employed by MI last year to head a task force aimed at discrediting the ANC.

Barnard said he had decided to speak out because Goldstone's statement had failed to give his side of the story.

Sapa reports Barnard said he was "extremely disappointed" that the judge had deemed it fit not to disclose that his proposals for the task force were never implemented. This, he said, had led to sensationalised reporting which had unjustly discredited the SADF.

Although the plan had not been implemented, Barnard said his task force had begun recruiting. Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders were recruited as informants and links established with individuals active in the PWV underworld, he claimed.

Barnard said links were also established with Mandrax-smuggling syndicates in southern Africa, which in turn had good contacts with certain Umkhonto commanders. "There is a very fine line between smuggling drugs and cars and smuggling weapons, because often they use the same routes into the country."

ANC official Mac Maharaj last night dismissed Barnard's claims. He said any ANC members found to have engaged in vehicle and Mandrax smuggling would probably have been deliberately infiltrated into the organisation by the likes of Barnard, to discredit it.

Barnard also claimed that Gen "Witkop" Badenhorst's evidence to the Webster inquest, that he had never met Barnard, was "not the truth". "I bumped into Gen Badenhorst at my lawyer's office and asked him for a position at MI because I was in financial straits.... He (Badenhorst) said people would contact me within a week. After three days a colonel contacted me."

**NEWS** New wave of terror cause concern in Soweto

# 'Webster was a dog,' Supreme Court hears

Sowetan 18/11/92 (352) (327)

**Sowetan Correspondent**

■ **Judge Stegmann told doctor's body "jumped five foot into the air" after shooting:**

CIVIL Co-operation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard did describe how Dr David Webster's body "jumped five foot into the air" after being shot, the mother of a witness who earlier retracted similar evidence told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mrs Johanna Smit, the mother of Barnard's former employer Mr Willie Smit, told the inquest into Webster's death on May 1 1989 that she had been with her son when Barnard told of the shooting.

Mr Smit earlier testified that Barnard described the shooting, but later retracted his evidence "as lies".

Yesterday, Smit's brother-in-law Mr Andrew Voster told Mr Justice Michael Stegmann that Mr Smit had withdrawn his evidence because the safety of his wife and children had been threatened.

Voster, who was to give evidence after Smit, said his brother-in-law had told him it would be better if they did not get involved in the case.

"After he came out of court, he said we should leave it alone. Later he told me his wife and children's safety had been threatened by a Mr Mouton during the tea break."

Voster told Justice Stegmann Barnard had showed him a "short shotgun" shortly before Webster's murder. Barnard had never said anything about Webster's murder to him, but had once telephoned him and pretended to be the investigating officer in the case.

Disguising his voice, Barnard had asked him whether he knew anything about Barnard and his shotgun. When Voster said "no", Barnard burst out laughing and identified himself, Voster testified.

Johanna Smit said Barnard was with her and Willie (her son) a day or two after Webster's death. Noticing a newspaper report, she commented "it was terrible how people can be shot in the street like dogs". Barnard replied Webster was a dog.

The hearing continues.

...mission of inquiry".

...time the contest is being held in Africa. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

# Mokaba plans to sue govt

B/DAY 19/11/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba is considering legal action against the state following disclosures that Military Intelligence (MI) may have conducted a campaign last year to discredit him.

Mokaba said he would also be calling on the ANC leadership to launch an investigation into the matter.

"There is no question of me keeping quiet. I intend taking action against the state and will also ask the ANC leadership to look into it," he said.

Details of proposed smear campaigns against members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were released this week by Judge Richard Goldstone.

Files recovered from a secret MI operations centre by Goldstone commission investigators stated that "as an example of the manner in which MK would be compromised criminally or amongst their own members reference is made by (MI chief agent Ferdi) Barnard to the case of Peter Mokaba". 327

"During May 1991 Mr Mokaba was widely reputed in the Press as having been a police spy. That was denied by him and soon thereafter he was elected as president of the ANC Youth League," Goldstone said this week.

Mokaba said allegations, apparently encouraged by MI, that he was a police spy had "caused a lot of grief" and resulted in a "life-threatening situation".

"At that time people who were accused of being police spies were necklaced."

Mokaba said that while he was in detention police interrogators had threatened to "plant something" on him.

"Goldstone's report has important ramifications for the ANC. The people who accused me of being a police spy are still working for the organisation," he said.

## Two men killed on trains

TWO MEN were killed and four people injured on Witwatersrand trains yesterday, police spokesman W/O Andy Pieke said. B/DAY 19/11/92

He said the body of a man inflicted with stab wounds was found between the New Canada and Crown railway stations. Police suspect he was attacked on a train before being thrown off.

The body of a man with gunshot and stab wounds was found on a stationary train at the New Canada station.

Pieke said a man was stabbed, robbed and thrown from a Springs-Randfontein train at the Angelo station near Boksburg. Two men, one shot and the other stabbed, disembarked from the same train when it stopped at Braamfontein station in Johannesburg.

A fourth man disembarked at the Mayfair station in Johannesburg after he had been stabbed on a train.

No arrests had been made. — Sapa.

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26 NOV 1992

## Verster due at inquest

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER CCB "managing director" Col Joe Verster is due to testify at the Webster inquest in the Rand Supreme Court today — two weeks after a warrant was issued for his arrest when he failed to appear to give evidence.

Judge M Stegmann issued a warrant for Verster's arrest after he defied a subpoena and went overseas to "wind up outstanding CCB matters".

Verster was to have testified on October 30. Instead his counsel Jurie Wessels brought an application for his client to be allowed to testify in camera to protect his identity.

The judge granted the application, but ordered Verster to appear at the inquest on Monday, November 2.

When the court reconvened, however, the judge was told that Verster had gone abroad. Wessels submitted an affidavit in which Verster apologised for his non-appearance, but said he had been forced to travel overseas to finalise CCB matters.

Verster also stated that he did intend to testify at the inquest and took full responsibility for his non-appearance.

In addition to allowing him to testify in camera, the judge also ordered that no photographs, sketches or physical descriptions of Verster be published.

# Probe into covert activities was 'deliberately misled'

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Kahn advisory committee set up by President F W de Klerk last year to investigate state covert operations was misled by senior security force officers, who prevented it from fully investigating all activities.

Prof Ellison Kahn was appointed to head the committee by De Klerk in July 1991, after initial reports of the Inkathagate funding scandal. His investigation was confidential, with a report going only to the President, who was to decide what would be made public.

In an interview yesterday, Kahn said all the covert projects exposed in the past few months, such as project Echo and the Ferdi Barnard plan to undermine the ANC, were "news to me". Because his brief meant he had to delve into sensitive and highly secret areas, he had to rely on heads of departments and other "high-ranking officials" to supply him with the necessary information and documents.

"I did not have free rein to go where I pleased and dig around.

"Such an investigation would have taken me years and was impractical," Kahn said.

The investigation, therefore, was largely in the control of, and dependent on, the openness of the high ranking officials who determined which material Kahn could have access to.

This meant that De Klerk also, as head of government, was kept in the dark deliberately.

Kahn said that because his report was confidential and submitted directly to De Klerk, it was up to the President to reveal what he saw fit.

He said De Klerk did issue a statement accepting the recommendations, and that these had been put into effect. "Therefore, if the committee had known of these projects at the time, they would have been stopped," Kahn said.

De Klerk, in announcing the investigation, said no state covert operations aimed at political opponents would be tolerated, and he instructed Kahn to evaluate all special projects and special funds and make recommendations about which were legitimate. The rest were to be scrapped.

In December, he said the advisory committee on special secret projects had found that all continuing government covert projects met the requirements he had laid down in July.

The committee investigated and evaluated projects to ensure these did not advance or prejudice political parties, were in the broad national interest and were playing a positive role in promoting peace.

The committee reviewed secret projects of the SADF, SAP and the National Intelligence Service and was satisfied that these departments had to continue with covert activities, he said.

# Inland Revenue to investigate computer claim

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE Inland Revenue Commissioner announced an investigation yesterday into whether illegal access had been gained to its computer system by Military Intelligence operatives.

The investigation stems from comments made by Judge Richard Goldstone this week that a task team headed by MI agent Ferdi Barnard had used the computer system as part of a plan to discredit the ANC.

After a raid by Goldstone commission members on a secret MI operations centre last week, it was disclosed that Barnard's team "had the ability to obtain access" to Revenue office computers as well as those of the SAP criminal bureau.

"Every step will be taken to establish whether an offence has been committed and, if so, the necessary legal and disciplinary action will be taken," commissioner Hannes Hattingh said.

The impression had been created that Inland Revenue had given its approval to the use of its computer system by Barnard's team, Hattingh said. "I wish to deny this emphatically. Inland Revenue has always placed great store on the confidentiality of records of taxpayers."

With the exception of the auditor-general and the Customs and Excise Commissioner "no information concerning taxpayers' records is supplied to any Minister of state, state department, organ of government or commission of inquiry".

# focus on Africa

Sowetan 19/11/92

## Ferdi Barnard, former Civil Co-operation Bureau operative, murderer, detective and bouncer sees himself as a scapegoat for a security force in turmoil. His crimes, he says, are being overstated and falsified as others scramble to cover their own tracks:

FERDI BARNARD, THE CONVICTED MURDERER at the centre of a storm over South African Defence Force "dirty tricks", admits his life has been "rotten with violence".

But the burly former drug squad detective says he fears he is becoming a scapegoat for the apartheid crimes of former colleagues in state security services plagued by infighting.

Barnard, who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", has long been the focus of allegations of state-sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists.

For the past three years newspapers have splashed his photograph with reports linking him to two of southern Africa's most notorious assassinations - the 1989 killings of South African anti-apartheid academic David Webster and that of white Namibian lawyer Anton Lubowski. He denies the charges.

"My record is rotten with violence," he told *Reuters* in an interview last May. "But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Barnard served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for the unrelated murders of two drug addicts.

On Monday, Barnard achieved further notoriety when a judicial inquiry said he had led a military intelligence project last year to discredit the African National Congress by involving its guerillas in crime.

Barnard said he had proposed the project but the army had not allowed him to carry it out. He said that instead he had led a military intelligence team gathering information on the ANC - work that was being falsely portrayed for political ends.

"There are some forces at work here which might even be National Intelligence (Service) oriented, that are using me as a scapegoat," he told a news conference on Tuesday.

"They are giving this thing against me momentum because the momentum just never stops, it's constantly in the Press."

Barnard, echoing comments by other former security force personnel, painted a picture of a security establishment in turmoil as it sought to come to terms with political reform.

Asked by a reporter whether there was an increase in "back-stabbing" between the security forces as revelations of wrongdoing by the police and army were exposed, he replied: "Yes, very much so. Everyone is covering themselves."

In answer to questions at the news conference, Barnard said the ANC was deeply infiltrated by the security forces. "From my experience I would say (the ANC was infiltrated) very much, all departments, including the intelligence department and at a very high level."

In last year's project "I recruited certain Umkhonto weSizwe (MK - the ANC's armed wing) commanders as informants of mine.



**Ferdi Barnard ... employed to expose the ANC's involvement in the criminal underworld.**

"I started strengthening links again with Mandrax smuggling networks operating between here, Zambia and Maputo, which had very good contacts with certain MK commanders," he said.

In late 1989 he was detained for three months in connection with the Webster killing but was released due to a lack of evidence.

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 includes a stint as a Johannesburg club bouncer. Barnard is six feet two inches (1,88 metres) tall and weighs 230lbs (105kg).

He said in the May interview businessmen impressed by his 1988/89 service in an undercover army unit known as the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) offered him money to assault 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."

A former CCB colleague, Calla Botha, told a Johannesburg radio station on Tuesday that people misunderstood Barnard.

"What I can say about Ferdi Barnard is that he is a very loyal, emotional and very sensitive person," Botha said. "In a nutshell I would say that is the real Ferdi Barnard."- *Sapa-Reuter.*

# Owners of club get threats

Sowetan 19/11/92

**By Isaac Moledi**

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## ■ Close it down or else...:

THE owners of La Rosa Country Club in Zuurbekom near Westonaria live in fear of their lives after an anonymous phone call warning them of an imminent attack if they continued running their business.

Two former exiles, Mr Abia Molaba and Mr Tshediso Mokhoanatje, together with Mr Thabo Mokone, who has been operating the club since December 1991, now say they can no longer continue the business.

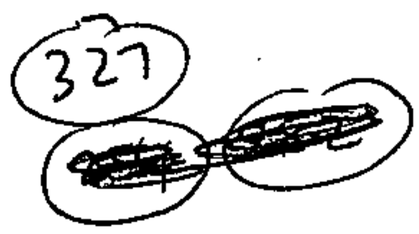
He said the caller warned them to close down because the business was patronised by returnees, particularly armed members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mokone said on November 8, six men, two white and four black, came to their club driving a white Monza and demanded to search the place.

COVERT OPERATIONS

FM 20/11/92

# Lifting more stones




**Calling for** heads to roll in the wake of this week's stunning revelations by the Goldstone Commission of SA Defence Force-sanctioned dirty tricks may be expecting too much of a government grown impervious to the principle of accountability.

In any event, the perceived imperatives of negotiations may well require the retention at his post of Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who was Defence Minister at the time these covert operations were taking place.

Meyer — who is refusing to comment — looks bad, whether he approved of what was secretly going on or whether he was kept in the dark.

In order to redeem himself, however, President F W de Klerk must act swiftly by, at the very least, acceding to Goldstone's call to be empowered to investigate all armies and security bodies, and ensuring that the hundreds of files discovered at the secret Military Intelligence (MI) unit are handed over — intact.

Goldstone's disclosures suggest that we should keep an open mind on the existence of a so-called third force. On its own, though, the uncovering of the MI secret unit did not amount to conclusive proof of the existence of a third force, said Goldstone.

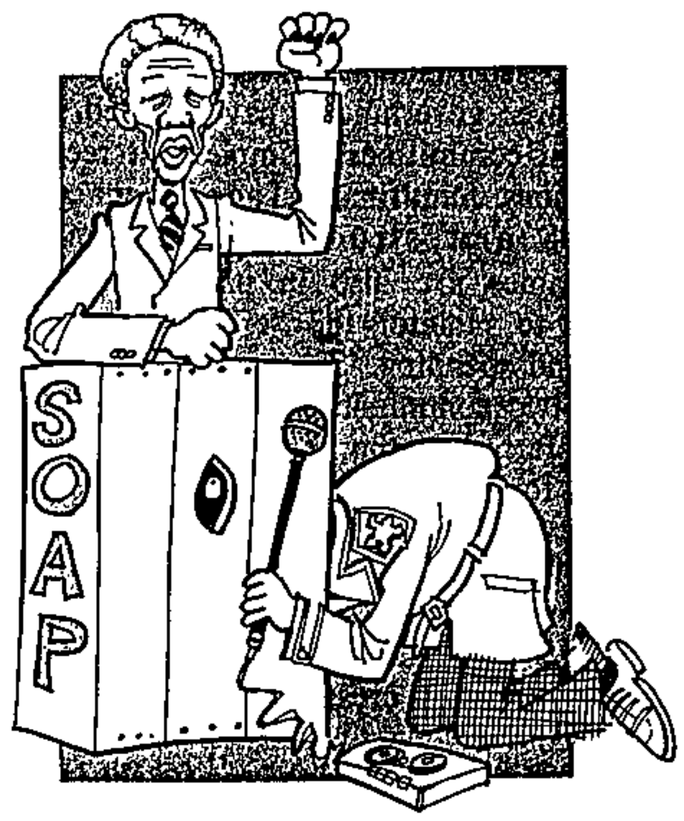
If De Klerk accedes to Goldstone's request to widen his brief, it would blunt the edge of any further revelations and go some way to restoring government's bona fides. If De Klerk refuses, the inescapable conclusion would be that he has something to hide.

Making his announcement last Monday, Goldstone noted: "The commission has previously reported that the main cause for the present violence arises from the political rivalry between the ANC and the IFP. It has also reported that it had been presented with no evidence of an organised 'third force' and that there was no evidence implicating senior members of the security forces in political violence and intimidation. The commission stated that it would investigate fully any such evidence."

On November 11 the commission was led to a building housing a large operations unit of MI. This was as a direct result of the evidence of a witness brought to the commission by members of the SA Police.

With the assistance of police reinforcements, the building housing the MI unit was sealed and five files were seized relating to information provided by the witness. It must be assumed that the other files have been secured against sabotage.

The files disclosed that from May 1991 until December 1991, MI employed Ferdi Barnard, a notorious former member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). Bar-




nard's employment was approved by the SADF's Chief of Staff (Intelligence) at the time, Lieutenant General "Witkop" Badenhorst.

Barnard is a former SAP drug squad sergeant and has two convictions for murder, one for attempted murder and three for theft. In 1984 he was sentenced to an effective six years' imprisonment, of which he served four; in 1988 he was paroled. He was then employed by the CCB.

The files show that on June 20 1991, Barnard submitted to MI a plan for the task force he was to lead, specialising in the activities of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). It was to concentrate on the involvement of MK in crime and its relationship with criminal syndicates. "For that purpose MK members were to be used to infiltrate the criminal elements and where such members could not be recruited they would be criminally compromised."

Barnard's team apparently was able to gain access to the computer system of the SAP Criminal Bureau, to immigration control and licensing authorities, revenue offices, credit bureaus and telephone "bugging experts."

His detailed plan was submitted to senior members of MI and thereafter he was employed as a chief agent. A member of Barnard's team was involved in the installation of computers at the ANC headquarters.

On December 19 1991 an article in *Beeld* reported that a Christopher Human had appeared in court on a charge of being in unlawful possession of an Uzi machine gun. In a bail application, Human apparently alleged that the weapon had been left with him by Barnard, who tried to recruit Human and an escort agency woman as spies for MI. According to the article, a spokesman for the SADF denied that Barnard was employed by the army. "That denial was false," says Goldstone.

Evidently as a result of this publicity, Barnard's services were terminated with effect from December 31 1991. He was paid three months' wages in advance (R10 500). His handler reported that "contact is still being made in order to dissuade (Barnard) from acting irrationally and embarrassing the SADF."

In short, says Goldstone, the Barnard files indicate that:

- ☐ Highly placed members of MI were party to the employment of a person with a serious criminal record involving crimes of violence and dishonesty;
- ☐ The SADF made a public statement denying that Barnard was employed by it when it was known in high quarters that such denial was quite untrue; and
- ☐ At least one senior officer of MI was prepared to recommend the illegal arming of Barnard with an SADF weapon. He was able, without any apparent adverse consequence to himself, to make such recommendation to General Badenhorst. ■

NEGOTIATIONS FM 20/11/92

# Cautious optimism

**President F W** de Klerk's prediction this week that multiparty talks might resume within a month or two is in line with government's general view that negotiations could be under way again by February — barring any new obstacles that could arise before then.

But, considering government's mounting credibility crisis in the face of financial and political scandals, resignations of "burnt out" senior party lieutenants, continuing violence in Natal and the Inkatha Freedom Party's intransigence, this outlook may be hopelessly optimistic.

Another possible obstacle is the entry of at least two new negotiating partners — the Pan Africanist Congress and the conservative Afrikaner Volksunie, both of which may demand backtracking on issues already covered by Codesa. Government would, however, oppose such demands.

It was significant that De Klerk predicted the formation of a government of national unity "within the next two years," indicating the likelihood of a lengthy period of multiparty talks — possibly the whole of next year and even beyond.

Intensive preparations for the resumption of multiparty talks are already under way and have included bilateral meetings over the past few weeks between government and

CONTINUED →

# Barnard said he killed Webster — CCB officer

Blom 20/11/92.

FORMER CCB agent Ferdi Barnard told his handler Lafras Luitingh he had killed David Webster to prove to the bureau's MD Col Joe Verster that he was of use, the Rand Supreme Court heard this week.

This was said by former CCB information officer Derrick Louw, an alias, at the judicial inquest into Webster's assassination.

On Monday Louw testified that Luitingh had told him shortly after the May 1 1989 attack that Barnard had confessed to the killing, in an attempt to show Verster that he was acceptable and of use to the bureau and should not be dismissed.

Louw's evidence was heard in camera on Monday but the transcript was made public yesterday afternoon.

He said following Barnard's dismissal from the CCB in 1989, Luitingh, a personal friend and former co-ordinator of Barnard, had approached him to use his contacts to try and get Barnard a job with special forces.

He had approached someone in special forces who required more background on Barnard — who had a criminal record and was a convicted murderer.

He had allowed the matter to rest there as he had not considered the matter a priority.

Luitingh had approached him a few days after Webster's death to tell him to inform special forces to rather "stay away" from Barnard.

He had told Louw he feared Verster would dismiss him too if he found out he was trying to get Barnard re-employed.

He admitted then that Barnard had confessed to him that he had killed Webster.

Louw said he found it strange that Barnard had chosen Webster as a target as he was unknown to the information branch of the CCB.

At no stage had the CCB targeted Webster as this would usually involve an intensive investigation of the person's activities, his routine, photographs of his house and aerial photographs.

"To my knowledge there was no indication of any sort that Webster was a priority of the CCB."

He had told former Military Intelligence chief Gen Witkop Badenhorst during his internal investigation into the Webster incident about the conversation with Luitingh. He was under the impression from later interviews with Verster that the information had been conveyed to him too.

Louw acknowledged during cross-examination by State Advocate Jannie van Vuuren that information had been gathered on activist Gavin Evans, but denied that it was the sort of information that would suggest that Evans had been targeted for assassination.

Van Vuuren put it to him that CCB chairman Gen Eddie Webb had told the inquest Verster had admitted in his presence that Evans had been targeted for murder.

He said he had no knowledge of this order nor did he have any knowledge about the collection of information regarding lawyer and activist Dullah Omar, who Webb also said was targeted.

Luitingh was called to give evidence yesterday as a consequence of Louw's evidence. His evidence was heard in camera.

Verster is expected to give evidence today. — Sapa.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

# Contraceptive put under the spotlight

Blom 20/11/92

THE controversial contraceptive injection Depo Provera came under the spotlight yesterday as leaders in the medical, political and labour spheres debated its use and abuse at a heated international symposium in Johannesburg.

Jan Peterse, CE of Upjohn Pharmaceuticals — which produces the drug — said his company had planned the symposium to provide a forum to review recent scientific evidence on the product.

Wits Centre for Health Policy researcher Barbara Klugman said the problem had not been with the product itself, but the way it was used.

Family planning in SA had historically been aimed at controlling and limiting the black population, she said, and it was in this context that Depo Provera had been prescribed.

Makhosazana Xaba, also at the centre, said it was now accepted internationally that Depo Provera was a medically safe and reliable drug, but the concern was that it was open to abuse.

It could be administered without women knowing what it was and uneducated black women were not always informed of its side effects and contra-indications. They were also not advised of alternative methods.

White women, on the other hand, were discouraged from using the drug.

The symposium focused on the need for more training, education and counselling to ensure that abuses of the drug came to an end.

Peterse said the recent approval of Depo Provera by the US Food and Drug Administration further proved the safety and effectiveness of the contraceptive injection.

Speakers at the symposium included a World Health Organisation advisory committee member, a World Bank representative and medical experts from Washington, Sweden and Australia.

# Goniwe: No date for inquest

**EAST LONDON. — Investigations into the 1985 murders of anti-apartheid activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and friends Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli are still in progress.**

**Acting Eastern Cape attorney-general Mr Mike Hodgen yesterday said it was up to the Minister of Justice to decide when to re-open the inquest.**

**The first inquest, held in 1989, found that their deaths were brought about "by a person or group of persons unknown".**

**Mr Hodgen was ordered by President F W de Klerk to investigate the deaths following the revelation of an official order for the "permanent removal" of the four. — Sapa**

# Boipatong, Barnard ... what's next?

SOUTH 21/11 - 25/11/92

**JUDGE Richard Goldstone's revelations that military intelligence employed a convicted murderer to head a plot against uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, is the most damaging scandal the government has suffered so far.**

"This is certainly going to take some of the shine off De Klerk," a European diplomat said.

The South African president reacted cautiously on Wednesday. Instead of heads rolling, he simply instructed army chief of staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn to probe the details of the scandal.

He also issued a veiled rebuke to the Goldstone Commission for releasing its information to the press, saying that he would still be considering the full judicial report.

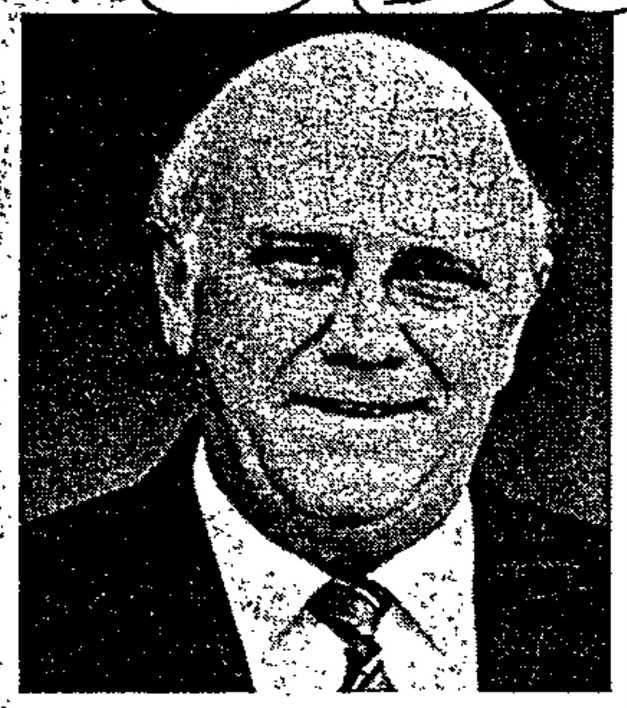
The latest disclosure followed bruising evidence last week of massive corruption in two of the 10 black homelands that were cornerstones of the government's former apartheid policy.

Goldstone's inquiry linked top army officers to a plan to discredit the ANC while De Klerk was engaged in high-profile negotiations with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"All the worms are coming out of the woodwork," said Mr Tony van Nieuwkerk, an analyst at the University of the Witwatersrand Institute for International Affairs.

But diplomats cautioned against an over-reaction to the disclosures, saying De Klerk should be given time to respond.

**F W de Klerk's image as the reform-minded white leader trying to end apartheid is being battered by scandals over corruption and dirty tricks:**



**President FW de Klerk**

"Let's not be too apocalyptic about this," one Western diplomat said.

The diplomat said De Klerk had to be kept in power if only because there was no obvious successor who could take over the process of dismantling apartheid and persuading whites to share power.

Stellenbosch University political scientist Professor Philip Nel said most Western governments were still inclined to support De Klerk rather than Mandela, mainly because of De Klerk's commitment to a market-driven economy.

Nel said that while the black community probably was most disturbed about the disclosure of military bias against the ANC, white Afrikaners were enraged by the evidence of corruption.

"Afrikaners have traditionally trusted their leaders to be honest and they are seriously disappointed about the corruption. Disillusionment is a dangerous thing, it makes people unpredictable," Nel said.

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said Goldstone, who heads a judicial enquiry into political violence, had "confirmed what we have always known" when he revealed evidence that the military had lied about employing Ferdi Barnard in 1991.

Goldstone told a news conference he had found military intelligence files confirming that Barnard, a former policeman who served four years of a 20-year sentence for killing two drug addicts, formulated a plan to undermine the ANC.

Marcus said the evidence underlined the need for a quick transition from exclusive white rule to democracy.

"It's not a question of whether De Klerk has to go, the whole government must go — that's why we want interim rule now and elections by the middle of next year. But there might be some ministers who should go more quickly," she said.

Marcus declined to say, however, whether she wanted Mr Roelf Meyer, the government's chief negotiator, sacked because he was briefly in charge of the defence ministry.

"Somehow, I doubt whether Meyer was ever actually in charge at the defence ministry," she said.

One diplomat concluded: "The latest allegations are very serious indeed, but we have to keep going, we must keep the process on track".

**— Sapa-Reuter, South Reporter**

## ANC leadership adopts compromises

SOUTH 21/11 - 25/11/92

**THE ANC offered an olive branch to FW de Klerk on Wednesday when its National Working Committee formally adopted a discussion document which opts for a possible power-sharing settlement with the National Party.**

The document, "Strategic Perspectives", is a modified version of the paper circulated at the October 29 Patriotic Front conference in Port Elizabeth.

At the time of phasing in a new constitution, the ANC notes that "the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity, provided the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government".

The document identifies the need to restructure the security forces and civil service and to address the question of a general amnesty because of the potential of these issues to delay transition.

The job security, retrenchment packages and pensions of civil servants and members of the security forces would also be addressed.

The document proposes bilateral deals with the regime on issues such as regional government.

It spells out recent retreats of the De Klerk regime as well as the ANC's ability to mobilise mass action and international support.

However, it admits to organisational weaknesses and insufficient military and financial resouces to defeat the "counter-revolutionary movement".

In setting goals for the present round of negotiations, the document warns that "we may not achieve everything we set out to achieve".

# Reward still out on Goniwe's killers

THE police are still hopeful they will be able to launch a prosecution in the lengthy investigation into the murder of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe.

The police have decided to extend indefinitely a R250 000 reward offer for information which will lead to prosecution.

Col Suiker Britz, leading the investigation, said on Friday his office had not received any "positive" information to date.

He declined to comment on the extent of the information received so far, but said he remained hopeful that something positive would be received.

A Department of Justice spokesman said the eastern Cape's acting Attorney-General Mike Hodgen had not ruled out prosecution but that there was not yet enough information for prosecution.

Goniwe, a Cradock teacher, and three others, were found murdered outside Port Elizabeth in July 1985.

The probe into the murders was reopened earlier this year after the publication of a military signal message which apparently implicated the SADF in the killing. – Pen

# Ex spy tells all to City Press

By JOHAN RETIEF 22/11/92

RONALD Desmond Bezuidenhout is currently charged by Makro Zuidenhout, alias Tokarev, drew up an affidavit at City Press on Friday before turning himself in to the police tomorrow "for fear that I may disappear while in custody because of my intimate knowledge of the workings at Vlakplaas", he said.

Bezuidenhout is currently charged by Makro for fraud.

According to the affidavit, Bezuidenhout claims to be a former member of Vlakplaas, "the headquarters of the hit squad of the SAP".

Bezuidenhout was later involved in at least two covert activities for Military Intelligence.

In one incident, Bezuidenhout shot and injured a drug dealer with a stolen pistol. "I was congratulated personally by the then Maj Eugene de Kock," he alleged.

No action relating to the shooting was taken.

The Askari's were said to be instructed by De Kock to arrest as many people as possible in an attempt to prevent the closure of Vlakplaas, which was a possibility with the advent of the

■ To Page 2



LIVING FEAR ... Ronald Bezuidenhout.

# Dirty tricks man fears for his life

From Page 1

Harms Commission of Inquiry.

Another mission was to drop off two HIV-infected Askari's at Kagiso near Krugersdorp "on the specific orders of De Kock".

The affidavit further states Bezuidenhout had personally witnessed documents relating to the activities of Vlakplaas being destroyed and weapons being removed to Daisy, "another base in the vicinity".

Bezuidenhout also overheard that a mission was being planned to eliminate Capt Dirk Coetzee, a former commander of Vlakplaas.

Shortly afterwards, ANC member and lawyer Andrew Mlangeni was killed by a bomb that was meant for Coetzee.

In 1976 Bezuidenhout was sent to infiltrate trade unions and in 1986 to infiltrate Umkhonto we-Sizwe as a member of MI.

He petrol-bombed a vehicle on February 2 1986 with two members of the ANC, Donovan Kinlock and Ernest Arnold.

"This conduct was carried out under the direct instructions of MI."

As a "member" of the ANC, Bezuidenhout underwent military training before being sent on March 14 1989 by Chris Hani to blow up an oil pipeline near Vryheid. This never happened because he was arrested "after having been sold out".

"There is a real possibility that I may disappear because of my previous activities," he said.

# Aussie eyes focusing on SA events

**By ELIAS MALULEKE, writing from Australia**

THE expose by Judge Richard Goldstone this week on SADF dirty tricks to destabilise the ANC through common criminal activities, has received wide media coverage in Australia.

Australian newspapers have been ignoring events in SA, and instead focused on domestic issues – mainly the recession which is threatening thousands of Australian jobs.

However, reports on how the "third force" sought to discredit the ANC in 1991 have been splashed across the pages of major newspapers this week.

Widely-circulating dailies carried prominent photos of a thumb-sucking and dejected Ferdi Barnard, the alleged CCB operative and the man behind the plot.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was quoted extensively in *The Mercury* as saying that "hawks" in the SA government had taken over from President FW de Klerk and were harming the reform process.

*The Australian* carried a leading article in its world news page calling on De Klerk to resign and hold elections for an interim government.

# Police guilty of abduction

A PRETORIA Supreme Court judge on Friday ruled that the Law and Order Minister was responsible for unlawfully abducting and detaining a former regional commander of the ANC.

Judge Johan Els ordered the minister to pay damages for the full period during which Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim was in detention between 1986 and 1991. CPress 22/11/92.

Ebrahim's claim of more than R650 000 against the minister is still pending but in a preliminary leg of the civil suit the court was only asked to determine liability for Ebrahim's arrest and abduction in Swaziland on December 15 1986. 327

Ebrahim was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for high treason but he was released in February last year after the Appeal Court found that local courts were not empowered to try him.

Els found the acting commander of the Security Branch was aware that Ebrahim had been unlawfully abducted. – Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

# IRA connection used to embarrass ANC

ST Times 22/11/92 327

Sunday Times Reporters

SOUTH AFRICAN Military Intelligence agents actively promoted a book by a British Conservative MP detailing links between the ANC and Irish Republican Army in a bid to embarrass the ANC,

Among those approached to publish extracts of the book was the Sunday Times.

The details of the Military Intelligence operation, undertaken by staff at the top secret Directorate of Covert Collection, has emerged in the wake of the Goldstone raid on the unit this week.

## Arrested

The raid uncovered evidence that Military Intelligence was involved in a campaign to embarrass the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

This week, Mr Andrew Hunter, the author of the book, confirmed he had been approached by SA Military Intelligence agents about the book, but had been unaware they were agents.

One of those who approached him was Pamela du Randt. Du Randt and a fellow agent, Leon Flores, were arrested in Britain recently on suspicion of plotting the death of Captain Dirk Coetzee, a former police hitman.

At least three Sunday Times members of staff were also approached by various people about the book — the latest approach being from Randburg entrepreneur Ron Major.

Mr Major, arts director for Digital Computers, said last week he had the manuscript in his possession and asked whether the newspaper would be interested in publishing extracts.

But when the Sunday Times went back to him this week he said he had decided againt releasing the manuscript after discussions with his partner, George Joubert.

He claimed he did not want to endanger his life, nor did he want to burn his bridges with any future ANC government.

He said his interest in the manuscript had been of a purely commercial nature and he had no political affiliations. His company has, however, never embarked on a book publishing venture before.

In an interview in Basingstoke, Britain, this week, Mr Hunter emphatically denied he had written the book for South African Military Intelligence or had any connection with the organisation.

He said he had been studying the IRA's links with different organisations, including the ANC. His book, he admitted, was not complimentary to the ANC.

a host of African states. On show was state-of-the-art weaponry developed and manufactured by Armscor in the face of the UN arms embargo, ranging from assault rifles to the renowned 155mm G6 motorised cannon — which could explain the warning to visitors photographed by JAMES SOULLIER.

# Police informer organised massacre in name of ANC

ST Times 22/11/92 (327)

**THE Goldstone commission has found that two attacks which claimed the lives of 19 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza last year were organised by a police informer posing as an ANC self-defence unit head.**

By CHARLENE SMITH

The results of the eight-month inquiry into serious violence in that township and in the adjacent Phola Park squatter community found that Mncugi Ceba headed a self-defence unit which, in September 1991, ambushed a march by hostel dwellers killing 16 and injuring 13.

He also led a coup by the Phola Park SDU which violently ousted the Phola Park Residents' Committee (of which three members were subsequently assassinated), falsely claiming that the committee was involved in the fraudulent use of development money to the area.

The report said the "acknowledged use of informers in positions such as that held by Ceba are not conducive to improving the already tense relations and suspicions between the security forces and the communities in question".

Although the Thokoza report was completed before the Goldstone commission's dramatic raid on a military intelligence centre last week, the technique of using people like Ceba, who claimed falsely to be part of an ANC self-defence unit, in criminal activities tied in with suggestions Ferdi Barnard made to military intelligence last year — and which it claimed it never adopted — to employ precisely such techniques.

The report detailed out-of-control self-defence units, savage attacks by residents against opponents and hit-squad type actions by some hostel members in both Thokoza and neighbouring Phola Park.

However, since the commission began its work a modicum of calm had been restored to the area and a number of upgrading projects have commenced.

During the commission's investigations three witnesses, including a man and his wife, and well-known community worker Prince Mhlambi were murdered.

The 75-page report — the longest yet released by the year-old commission — detailed the attack on hostel inmates during a march, and six other bloody incidents that took place in the area last year and early this year.

While the commission praised the conduct of the Defence Force in bringing calm to the area after the attack on the march, it raised questions about police investigation methods afterwards.

The commission, which released its report late on Friday, forwarded some of its findings to the attorney-general. It said there appeared to be a prima facie murder case against a Mr Ndebele who belonged to the so-called Kapla squad, the defence arm of the Katlehong People's Taxi Association, and who lived in a hostel.

The evidence related to an attack on people attending the funeral of civic leader Sam Ntuli late in September last year during which 18 people were killed.

There also appeared to be a similar case against some members of the Phola Park self-unit, of which Ceba was a leader.

The commission heard the testimony of more than 100 people and four expert witnesses.

It found that squatter dwellers and hostel residents felt persecuted by frequent police searches and by the way they believed opposing groups in the area viewed them.

It found there were many weapons available in Phola Park, particularly AK-47s, which witnesses said came from Mozambique via a source in nearby Daveyton township.

## Aggressive

It found that on no occasion did the local SDU play a defensive role for the community it claimed to represent. Instead, there were a number of incidents "both within Thokoza and beyond in which the SDU or members of the SDU played a very aggressive and outright criminal role".

The commission said there was no evidence at all that Umkhonto we Sizwe was in any way involved in the SDU.

The report said that political organisations bore a heavy responsibility toward SDUs that adopted them.

"Either they must publicly distance themselves from, and disown, such units if the units act criminally or violently, or the national organisation or party must accept responsibility for those criminal and violent acts. They cannot have it both ways."

# PAC is ready to sit down and negotiate

ST Times 22/11/92

**THE Pan Africanist Congress is ready to take its place at the negotiation table.**

**State President de Klerk and the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, plan to meet by the third week of January to arrange the PAC's participation in multi-party negotiations, the Sunday Times has established.**

**The PAC will insist that Codesa be replaced by a forum of another name but that it will not object to the presence of any of the Codesa One and Two participants.**

**It is more interested in the agenda for multi-party talks which it believes should be structured to ensure swift movement towards the holding of non-racial, one-person-one-vote elections.**

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

**Sources say the PAC would also want a UN Security Council type of veto power vested in the main political parties at the forum to avoid block voting by minority parties on the basis of "sufficient consensus", which the PAC rejects.**

**The last time the government held bilateral talks with the PAC was on November 11 in Pretoria.**

**This was a follow-up to a meeting between the government and the PAC in Gaborone, Botswana, on October 24.**

**At the Pretoria meeting it was agreed to have another round of bilateral talks with the PAC on December 9, sources disclosed yesterday.**

**The December meeting will focus on two important issues:**

- **The creation of a "more representative negotiation forum" in the place of Codesa;**
- **The drawing up of an agenda for a bilateral summit between President de Klerk and Mr Makwetu in late January.**

**At the November 11 meeting the government was represented by Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Tertius Delport.**

**The PAC was represented by its secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim, and legal affairs secretary Mr Willie Seriti.**

**Mr Kriel is understood to have made clear to the PAC that the government was aware that members of Apla (the PAC's armed wing) were being trained in Transkei and claimed that a number of attacks were being carried out from there.**

# Banker turns to bibles

By CHARIS PERKINS

ABSA vice-chairman and deputy chief executive Piet Liebenberg took early retirement this week to devote his attention to raising money for bibles.

Mr Liebenberg, 59, was due to retire from his post in September next year, but decided to leave early after discussions with Absa.

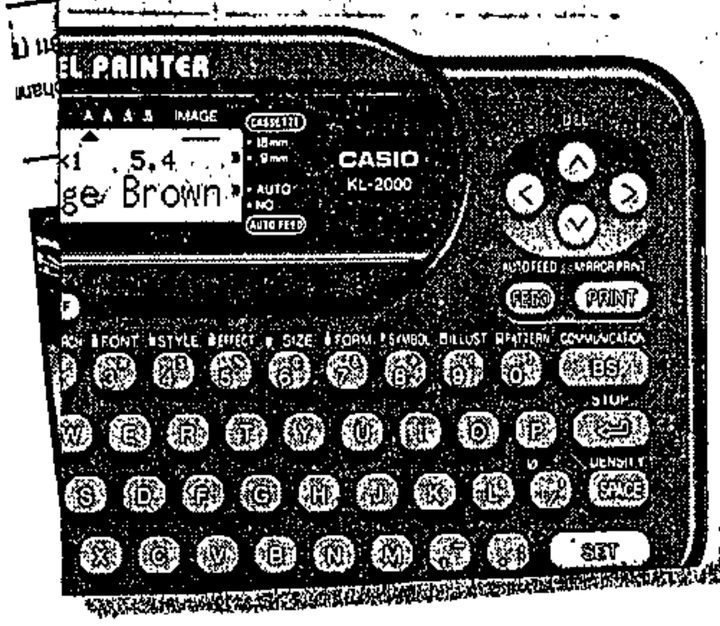
No one has been appointed to take over his post as vice-chairman and deputy chief executive, but chief executive Mr P Badenhorst will take over his role


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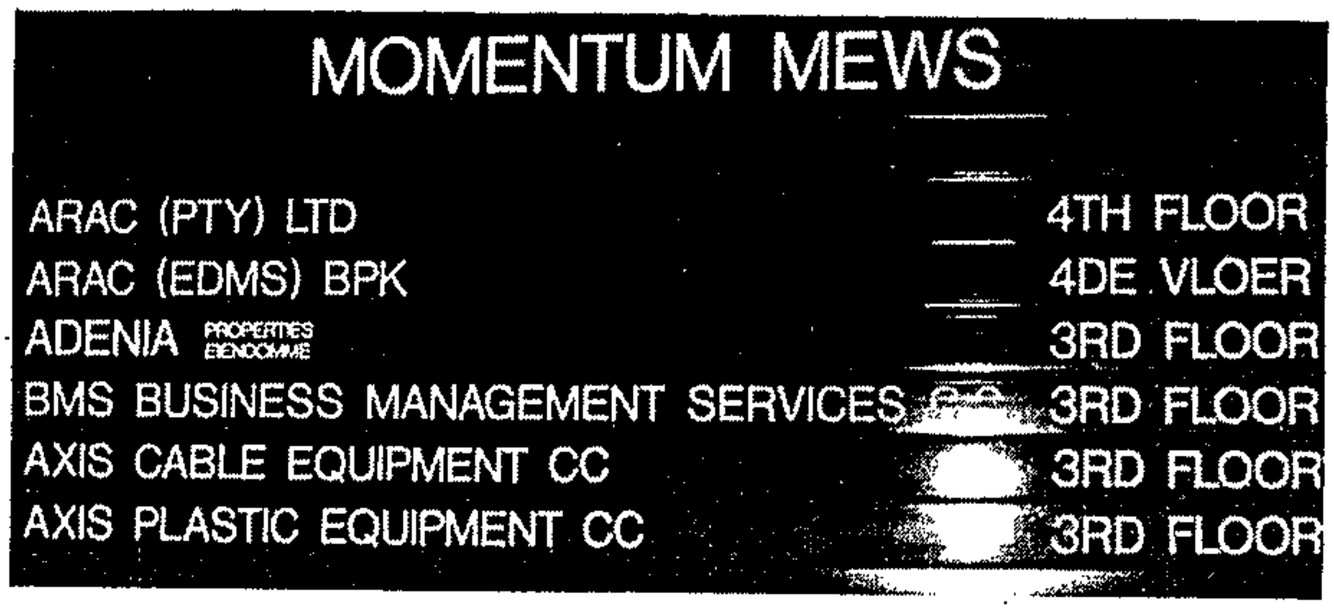
R OWN BEST SELLER

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# SIGN OF THE CRIMES: TELLING IT LIKE IT ISN'T




**THE POLISHED FACADE ... showing the way to Military Intelligence's dirty-tricks department on the fourth floor**

# Just another office full of businessmen

ST Times 22/11/92 (327)

**By JOCELYN MAKER, DE WET POTGIETER and WISEMAN KHUZWAYO**

**MOST of the tenants in the tastefully modern Momentum Mews building in Pretoria thought the people on the fourth and fifth floors were just very busy businessmen.**

**They worked long hours, seemed always to be popping in and out, and, although they flirted with the girls, seemed rather vague about what they did.**

**Nobody guessed the building housed the most secret and controversial unit in the military — the Directorate of Covert Collections — under whose command fell spies and criminals.**

**Hiding under the innocuous name of Africa Risk Analysis Consultants, the unit has conducted intelligence work since 1988. In the wake of the Goldstone commission's revelations this week they stand suspected of having launched a campaign of intimidation, extortion and blackmail against senior members of the ANC.**

## Attorneys

Records in the offices of the Registrar of Companies show Arac was registered on April 19 1988. Its sole director is Eric Johan Pelser, who gave the address of 16 Elardus, Boston Street, Elardus Park, Pretoria. A check by the Sunday Times this week established that nobody of that name had ever lived at the address.

Power of attorney, reflects the registration document, was granted to Jacob Echmont Knoll, Rene du Plessis, Gordon Keith Hay, Guy Neville Pudney and Daniel Barend Rudolph Badenhorst.

All except Mr Knoll are attorneys with the Pretoria firm of MacRobert De Villiers Lunnon and Tindall.

The activities of the intelligence unit were apparently widely defined, but at its most innocent consisted of gathering information on "subversives" here and abroad.

More sinisterly, the Goldstone files suggest, the unit engaged in active disinformation campaigns against the ANC, making extensive use of front companies.

The director of Covert Collection is Brigadier Tolletjie Botha, and among the senior officers are Colonel Gerrit Borman and a Terry Scallan.

The number two, it appears, is Colonel At Nel, seconded from National Intelligence Service.

About 40 to 50 people are based at the unit's HQ in Momentum Mews at any one time, but more than 200 agents are believed to be affiliated to the unit.

Among its members the unit counts Leon Flores and Pamela du Randt, both recently implicated in a Military Intelligence plot to discredit the ANC through linking it with the Irish Republican Army.

Other members include Anton Nieuwoudt, connected with a coterie of advisers who attached themselves to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei.

## Agents

Lieutenant-General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst, former head of Military Intelligence but now fighting to defend himself from accusations that he was aware of plans by the disbanded military unit, the CCB, to assassinate political activist David Webster, was often seen in the building. So, too, was dismissed former CCB chief Joe Verster.

A great number of agents working at the Mews, however, are ex-Rhodesian bush war veterans from the Selous Scouts and SAS. Not all are military personnel. There are a number of civilians.

A Sunday Times source who once worked at the directorate but left in disgust, claimed the unit was made up of "hard-core rightwing radicals" who bitterly resented the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and, particularly, the SA Communist Party.

But of this the tenants at Momentum Mews appeared largely unaware.

One of the building's staff said Arac seemed a "very secretive lot".

One worker in the building said: "I have only been on to the fourth and fifth floor when maintainance work was needed. They have a very expensive photographic lab on the fourth floor.

"There are always about 40 people on the two floors and I have never seen a black man go through their doors."

Arac employees also apparently look after their creature comforts. They have an attractive canteen on the fourth floor, as well as a dart board and a bar.

A member of the building staff said: "Once I was invited to join them for a drink, but refused. I live in the penthouse on the top of the building and am aware that they have parties late into the night."

Arac employees occupy 40 of the 60 parking bays on the ground and first floor. They drive a number of Opels and Toyotas. There are four-wheel-drives and MD Jack Botha owns a Mercedes.

This week, the Sunday Times tried to visit Arac, but did not get far.

A stern-looking woman turned reporter Jocelyn Maker away when she asked to see Mr Leon Flores: "Who are you? I cannot tell you anything unless you identify yourself. Mr Verster and Mr Flores are not here."

On Wednesday, the Sunday Times went back. A number of people gathered at one of the windows when they spotted the photographer. The white window blinds in the blue framed windows were then shut one after the other. Two men playing darts also moved quickly to close the blinds.

## Quieter

By Friday, however, Arac seemed to have undergone a change. When reporter Wiseman Khuzwayo asked at the fourth floor reception for Mr Flores, Mr Verster or Mr Botha, he was told the three worked on the third floor.

The fourth floor, said the receptionist, contained the "legit" Arac and the others belonged to the third floor.

It is much quieter now in Momentum Mews. The fifth floor appears largely deserted.

And, said one of the woman tenants, the people on the fourth and fifth floor do not flirt quite as much as before.

# Barnard asked lover to set sex trap for ANC

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

SADF secret agent Ferdi Barnard recruited a former lover to help him set up a vice ring to snare black politicians.

The sex plot was uncovered this week in the Goldstone commission's raid on a Military Intelligence undercover unit.

But the link between convicted killer Barnard and former callgirl Carol Ann Burton, a slip of a woman with large, staring eyes and a drug habit which she fed by prostitution, was first exposed a year ago.

That's when Burton and her current lover, Christopher Human, appeared in court charged with the illegal possession of an Uzi machinegun. They named Ferdi Barnard as the owner of the weapon and told the magistrate that Barnard was working for Military Intelligence.

Although denied by the SADF then, the surprise raid by the Goldstone commission on the secret SADF unit uncovered documents proving the truth of the claim.

## Sleaze

The files also showed that Barnard had proposed to Military Intelligence that he be allowed to use prostitutes, homosexuals, shebeen owners and drug dealers to compromise ANC figures.

Among the first people he approached with the plan, it now appears, was Burton and her drug-addict boyfriend, Human.

At their latest court hearing on November 4, the defence gave notice that the couple wanted to apply for indemnity under the Amnesty Act — an indication they might have indeed joined Barnard's sleaze cell.

The couple have moved out of their Berea flat and [illegible] somewhere

The investigating officer on their case, Detective-Sergeant Johan Bothma, said they were "complying with their bail requirements". He confirmed that the couple had moved to a secret address.

## Affections

In an interview after their first court appearance a year ago, Burton told how she had been Barnard's part-time lover for five months, a role she shared with a woman she named only as Brenda.

She had been introduced to Ferdi by a mutual friend, Mark Francis, in the Summit Club in Hillbrow in January 1991 and soon Ferdi supplanted Mark in her affections.

At the time, Burton's long-term lover, Human, was serving a jail sentence. When he was released he and Barnard resolved that Human should live with Burton, but that Barnard would "take care" of them both financially.

Somewhere between March and August 1991, Ferdi left an Uzi automatic weapon in Human's care. Police discovered the weapon when they burst into

□ To Page 4

# Barnard asked lover to set trap for ANC

□ From Page 1

the couple's Berea flat.

Burton claimed she knew nothing of the presence of the gun. All that Barnard had told her was that she should try to find white prostitutes who were prepared to sleep with black men.

She was asked to take down the registration numbers of luxury cars which Barnard said he would check by cross-referencing them on a computer and finding out who owned them.

She was also told to report the car numbers of people who visited the "merchant" or drug dealer.

Both she and Human said Barnard had promised them indemnity if they co-operated with him. If they agreed to work for him, they would be protected if they got into trouble with the law. All they had to do was to phone a certain number, supply a code word and the police would drop charges.

It was this broken promise that particularly annoyed Human who, at the time, expressed anger that the police had broken down his front door "without even knocking first".

Ferdi Barnard is currently living with Amor Swanepoel, one-time manageress and part-owner of Karin's Escort Agency in Johannesburg.

A resident in the townhouse complex said he had seen Barnard removing "huge wads" of R50 notes from his car and taking them into the flat about two weeks ago.

"They seem to have a lot of visitors, most of them driving luxury cars like Mercs, BMWs and even a black Porsche," said the man.

Her husband, [illegible] former vice and [illegible] policeman, went [illegible] September for the [illegible] of her lover, ex-[illegible] policeman Dirk Wilken.

Barnard moved [illegible] luxury townhouse [illegible] tevreden Park, [illegible] poort, with the [illegible] blonde and her son, Shaun, [illegible] 4, about a month ago.

# Barnard's gang of whores and killers

Sunday Times Reporters

CONVICTED murderer Ferdi Barnard recreated a cell of desperadoes in military intelligence less than a year after his previous army unit, the sinister CCB, had ostensibly been disbanded by the government.

The astonishing details of Barnard's new dirty tricks unit — comprising convicted murderers, police informers, prostitutes and Mozambican refugees — came to light this week after a surprise raid by the Goldstone commission on a highly secret military intelligence group.

Barnard's cell, the Sunday Times can reveal, operated in military intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collection. Its task: to find embarrassing information on ANC leaders and use that to blackmail them into becoming informers.

A secondary mission was to infiltrate criminal elements into the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, thus creating further embarrassment to the ANC.

## Madcap

Although the SADF now denies it ever gave permission for Barnard to undertake the campaign when he worked for it between May and December last year, the Sunday Times has established that Barnard did in fact set about recruiting a team for this madcap plan to cripple the ANC.

A file seized by the Goldstone commission this week showed that on June 20 last year Barnard, having been re-employed by military intelligence despite his central role in the disgraced and disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau, submitted a plan to military intelligence for a task force which would use "prostitutes, homosexuals, shebeen owners and drug dealers" to compromise members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Six weeks later, on August 1, Barnard was appointed to military intelligence permanently on the recommendation of General Rudolph Witkop Badenhorst, then head of military intelligence.

The files seized by the Goldstone commission also show that as late as August 23 Barnard reported on follow-up operations and referred to a "support agent network" of "prostitutes, homosexuals, night club managers and criminal elements".

Barnard — currently under suspicion for killing anti-apartheid activist David Webster — was fired from military intelligence on December 31 last year after being named in a criminal case as a military intelligence agent.

This week Barnard claimed his unit comprised a former white policeman, a coloured man and two black people.

From documents, files and its own research, the Sunday Times this week established the names of the unit's members. Barnard was the chief agent. Under him fell two sub-agents. They handled other informers.

The members of the Barnard cell were:

- Eugene Riley, a former drug squad policeman with a checkered past in which violence features. He was Barnard's subagent.

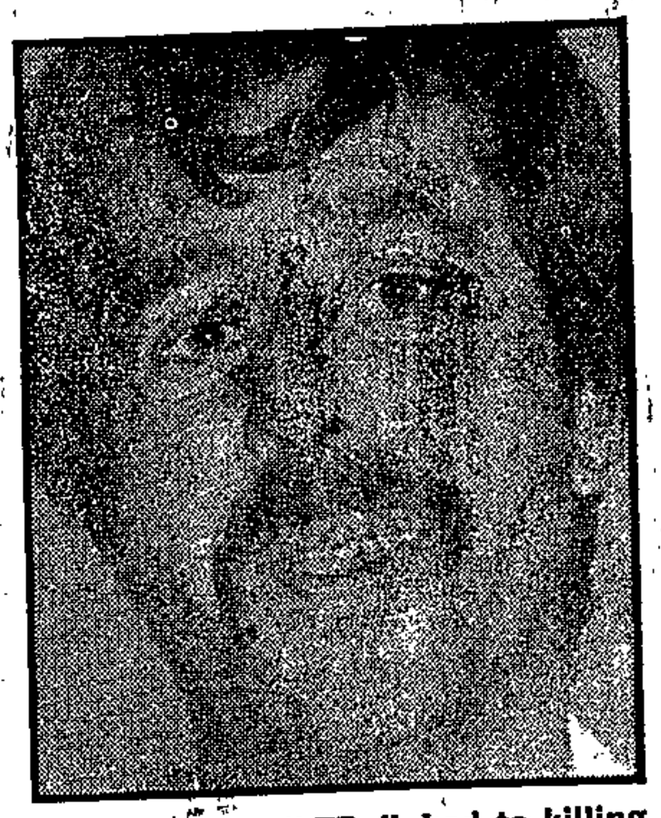
He first sprang to public prominence during the celebrated trial of Captain Jack la Grange, former commander of the East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad, and Detective Sergeant Robert van der Merwe of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad. The men were convicted of murdering two well-known drug dealers in what is assumed to be a contract hit.

In a complicated case, Riley emerged as a shady figure, having apparently been present when two of the drug dealers went to reconnoitre the home of a third drug dealer shortly before he was killed — allegedly by La Grange and Van der Merwe.

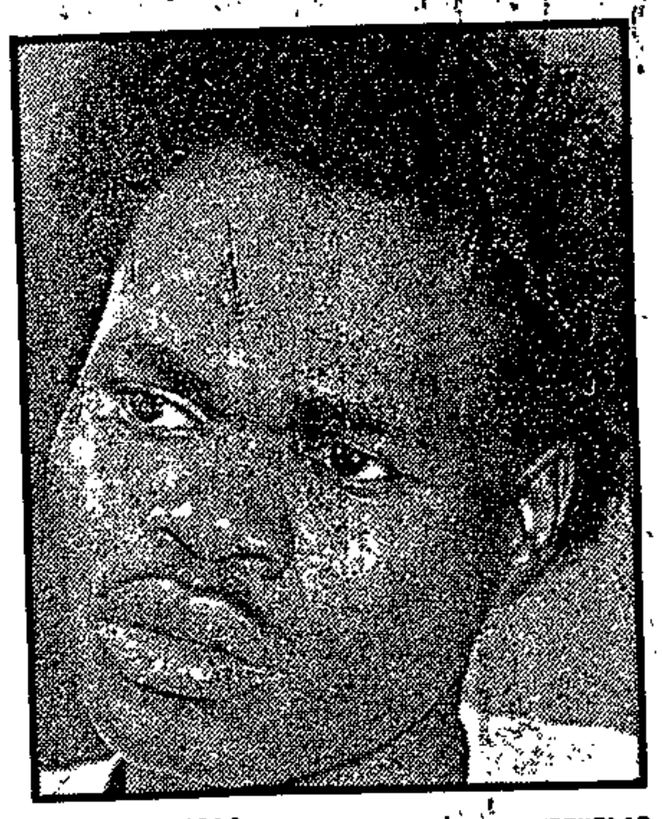
Riley's name cropped up again in late 1989 when he and an alleged diamond handler, Daniel Mocumi, were involved in a shoot out in Bophuthatswana. Both were wounded.

Riley and accomplice Mark Francis, a drug addict, were arrested on charges of attempted murder. Two other men present at the shooting escaped. It was suggested at the time one was Barnard.

Francis later made a statement incriminating both Riley and Barnard with complicity in the attempted murder. Soon afterwards, Francis was found beaten to death at a drug rehabilitation centre in Johannesburg. Riley was later acquitted of attempting to murder Mo-



HAROLD SCHULTZ: linked to killing



JOAO CUNA

Picture: VRYE WEEKBLAD



Picture: VRYE WEEKBLAD

**FERDI BARNARD: recruited a cell of desperadoes in an attempt to blackmail ANC leaders into becoming informers**

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At the Webster inquest on October 28, a witness identified Riley from an identikit of one of the alleged murderers of the anti-apartheid activist. The same witness identified the second alleged assassin — Ferdie Barnard.

Riley's attorney yesterday declined to respond to the allegations on behalf of his client. It is known the Goldstone commission seized Riley's file during its raid on the Directorate of Covert Collection.

● Harold Norman "Booi" or "Boy" Schultz.

He and his father Joseph run a small cafe and entertainment centre in Jeppe. Although Schultz denies adamantly that he is a policeman, his father says he is. A spokesman at John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg described him as a "reservist".

This week Schultz told the Sunday Times he knew both Riley and Barnard, but had not seen them for some time. Both used to come to the cafe and he sometimes used to visit Riley at home.

A pistol-packing Schultz threatened to break the Sunday Times reporters' kneecaps if he was misreported.

● Joao Alberto Cuna, alias Malefetsane Johanne Mokoena, deserted from the Mozambican army in 1987 and entered South Africa illegally. He found work in a cafe in Jeppe and then with Schultz, working in the family's entertainment centre. He lived with them in Maddison Road, Jeppe.

Cuna claims he took part in the assassination of ANC members in Durban in March or April this year on the instigation of Schultz and another white main he calls "Boer", but who goes by the alias "Smith". It is understood the Goldstone commission is investigating the possibility that "Smith" might be Riley or even Barnard.

The SADF admitted this week that Cuna was utilised "as a casual source by the SA Defence Force for the collection of information on the smuggling of weapons and arms caches for a short period in July and August 1991".

Schultz denies having anything to do with the assassination.

## Mistress

At present Cuna is under the custody of the Goldstone commission at a Durban Hotel.

● Carol Ann Burton, 30, who was Ferdi Barnard's mistress for five months, and Christopher Human, 30.

Both Burton and Human were recently charged with illegal possession of an Uzi submachinegun. They said in their court appearance on December 18 last year that the weapon belonged to Barnard. They said he had admitted to being a member of military intelligence and had attempted to recruit them as agents in August last year — shortly after Barnard's permanent appointment to military intelligence.

Burton, a former prostitute, claims Barnard wanted her to recruit white prostitutes who would be prepared to sleep with black men.

# A slip of paper . . .

## HOW THE UNTOUCHABLES TRACKED DOWN A MILITARY INTELLIGENCE



MAN IN CHARGE: Richard Goldstone's commision caused a political furore with its findings

**THEY swooped at lunchtime. A red minibus with half a dozen men inside pulled up in front of Momentum Mews, an ordinary office block in Pretoria's Lynwood Ridge.**

**The Goldstone commission's investigators — including two foreign policemen — did not know it then, but they were about to break into the headquarters of the army's most secret unit, and unleash a political furore.**

**This week the Sunday Times followed in the footsteps of Goldstone's "untouchables" to uncover the details of the army's illegal tricks department.**

By MIKE ROBERTSON, CHARLENE SMITH and JOCELYN MAKER

A credit card receipt in the records of the Hilton Hotel, a mere slip of paper, was the key that led the Goldstone commission to the heart of military intelligence's dirty tricks.

It confirmed the incredible tale of a Mozambican army deserter who claimed he had been recruited by military intelligence to spy on, and perhaps even kill, top ANC officials.

It also exposed the continued existence of a unit of military intelligence, staffed by murderers, prostitutes and drug addicts, whose purpose was almost certainly to blackmail top ANC officials.

The remarkable tale of how Goldstone's untouchables penetrated Momentum Mews begins three weeks ago when an illegal Mozambican immigrant, Joao Alberto Cuna, claimed he had murdered seven ANC members in a Durban township on the instructions of the SA Police.

The police, stung by the charge, interrogated Cuna and then handed him over to the Goldstone Commission, satisfied that he had lied on all counts. It was a mistake on their part.

Cuna, who had eked out an existence in Johannesburg since his arrival in 1987 by working in an amusement arcade and informing for the police, was given to the commission. It was Torie Pretorius, a law masters graduate from London University and a former advocate in the Transvaal attorney-general's office, who questioned an increasingly restless Cuna for the whole of Wednesday, November 4.

Speaking in Portuguese — his words carefully interpreted by Victor Atunes, a Portuguese policeman seconded by his government to serve as one of Goldstone's investigators — Cuna told how he had been taken to Maritzburg in March or April this year by somebody called Joseph Schultz and a "Boer".

There he had been booked into a "big hotel". The next day he had been driven to a Durban township by Schultz and the "Boer", where he and another black man had slain ANC members.

Under Pretorius's persistant questioning, gaps began appearing in Cuna's tale. There was, for example, no record of any massacre in Durban townships on the dates he mentioned. The investigators began to despair. Were the police perhaps right? Was this flotsam of the Mozambican wars a liar?

The break came almost by accident.

Cuna mentioned in passing that one of the men in the hotel had paid the account at the Hilton Hotel with a Diner's Club card. Pretorius and Atunes exchanged quick glances. This titbit, they knew, was crucial.

Next day a fully briefed Colonel Henk Heslinga, a former Koevoet officer and now chief investigator for the Goldstone Commission, was on his way to Natal with Cuna.

The Mozambican unerringly directed him to the tranquil Hilton Hotel.

A mock Tudor building located a few hundreds metres away from the point where the N3 highway begins its steep descent into Maritzburg, it is an establishment frequented mainly by busloads of foreign tourists embarking on the Midlands meander and well-heeled parents visiting

□ To Page 5

# and a nest of spies

S Times 22/11/92

## UNIT STAFFED BY MURDERERS, PROSTITUTES AND DRUG ADDICTS



THE KEY . . . the Hilton Hotel yielded the credit card slip that cracked the case

their sons at the R24 000-a-year Hilton College or their daughters at R21 000-a-year St Annes.

It was in this unlikely setting that the key to the untouchables' search lay.

Hotel staff recall the arrival of the untouchables — four men in a white BMW. They were headed by Heslinga (he considerately left a card), another white official who spoke with a South African accent, a dark-skinned man with a moustache who spoke with a Portuguese accent and Cuna. They asked to look at the records for May this year as well as May, June, July and August of last year.

They searched through the hotel's counterfoils of Standard Bank credit card payments but drew a blank. Then they turned to the American Express and Diners Club counterfoils which are kept in a separate pile.

They found what they were looking for — a Diners Club counterfoil signed by a "Mr Smith".

He had paid for three rooms — Rooms 33,34,35 — after checking in on August 2 last year and departing on August 3 — not in March or April as Cuna had previously claimed.

### Record

Smith had paid for three telephone calls — for R10, R2 and eighty cents. Unfortunately for the investigators, the hotel at that time did not have a switchboard which records the numbers dialled.

The team rushed off to the Hilton Post Office to see if they could find a record of the numbers dialled there. Soon afterwards they returned to the Hilton — they had left behind the all-important Diners Club counterfoil — with the crucial account number.

In the absence of a name or address on the counterfoil, it was this account number, 16 smudgy numbers on a piece of paper, that was the commission's only link to the men who had brought Cuna to the Hilton.

The next day Heslinga contacted Diners Club and requested the name of the person in whose name the card was issued and — just as important — an address.

Diners Club at first refused to provide the information. Heslinga, now spurred on by his success at the Hilton, went straight to Judge Richard Goldstone. The judge telephoned Diners Club attorneys Edward Nathan and insisted he be given the details.

Hugh Peatling, managing director of Diners Club International, South Africa, later telephoned Judge Goldstone and gave permission for the information to be released.

At 9.45pm on Tuesday, November 10, Pretorius, waiting impatiently at home, received the call from Diners Club.

The account, he was told, was a corporate one which meant that cards had been issued to a number of people who then bought on the same account. Forty-eight people had cards, Pretorius learnt, and the amount spent daily by all the card holders was about R25 000.

Pretorius was astonished. What had begun as the search for one man now began to look like a conspiracy. Could there be a connection between "Mr Smith" and the 48 other card-holders?

The company in whose name the cards were issued was called Africa Risk Analysis Consultancy Pty Ltd, or Arac. Its address: Momentum Mews, Lynwood Ridge, Pretoria.

It was an elated group of untouchables who gathered early on Wednesday in the commission's spartan offices in Pretoria's Visagie Street.

### Expert

Present was Pretorius; Heslinga; a seconded British policeman, Detective Superintendent Tom Laidlaw; a Dutch policeman, Floris Bouma; the commission's advocate, Bill Sceales; attorney Piet Botbijl and a policeman, Sergeant PM van der Merwe. They also had a computer expert on standby and attempted to get an auditor from auditor-general Peter Wronsley's department but he was unable to provide somebody in time.

The untouchables knew they were on to something big. None of them, however, ever dreamt that within 20 minutes they would crack the army's deepest secret — its eccentrically named Directorate of Covert Collection and the dirty tricks operations carried out in its name.

The untouchables arrived at the brown-bricked building housing the unit in a red minibus.

On the fourth floor the group was confronted by a glass security door controlled by a push-button system. Behind it was a reception area.

"We are investigators with the Goldstone Commission," said the leader of the group to the startled man who opened the door. "We have a warrant to search for certain documents which could help our inquiries."

Once inside, Heslinga presented his credentials and warrant to the most senior person present. It is uncertain who was more stunned — the director of Covert Collection, Brigadier Tolletjie Botha, or Heslinga when he suddenly discovered that he and his team had stumbled into the nerve centre of military intelligence.

Botha, a former Free State rugby player, is the registered leaseholder for Arac's premises, under the name Jack Botes.

When confronted by the commission, he offered his full co-operation.

The telephone lines to the centre were immediately cut by Heslinga, the staff of about 50 searched and then, confronted by thousands of files, the long and arduous business of sifting began.

The first four files sought by the commission were found in half an hour.

Then began a seven-hour search for the fifth, elusive file. The difficulty, the investigators rapidly found, was that files were not left on the desks of MI personnel. They were kept in a safe lettered with code numbers — sometimes decipherable only to a specific handler who also allotted separate code names to his informants and who was often known to them by a pseudonym. If the handler needed was not available, it took even longer to find the files.

Between 5pm and 6pm most personnel, except for 12, were allowed to leave the premises. They were again searched: the indignity clearly apparent in the faces of the intelligence officers.

After hours of searching

the team was becomi
desperate. A name, a lir
crucial information w
still needed. It was so
afterwards that the fi
file was found. Its numb
was 02-082, the agen
code name Baboon. H
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The rest of Momentu
building was quiet
10.30pm when the untouc
ables finally left. On th
fourth and fifth floors th
lights still burnt, the row
of files now returned to th
care of military intell
gence. It had been a lor
day for the investigator
An even longer 10 da
were to follow.

"We did not know wh
they were," one of th
security guards at Mome
tum Mews recalled late
"but the moment the
arrived we knew there wa
trouble on the way."

# Police tried to infiltrate our region - ANC

Sowetan 23/11/92

## ■ IDENTITY REVEALED Woman involved could be the one police are looking for: 327

POLICE were yesterday searching for a woman suspected of stealing police identity documents. The ANC alleges that a female member of the security forces made an attempt to infiltrate their Northern Transvaal region.

The SAP, however, claim that she is not a security force employee and that certain identity documents were stolen from a police sergeant.

Police yesterday rejected as "ridiculous" allegations that security force elements were trying to infiltrate the ANC Northern Transvaal region.

"The whole thing is a load of hogwash. We are not interested in the ANC. The ANC is a lawful organisation and not considered to be the enemy," said SAP spokesman Lt-Colonel Ray Harrald.

The ANC branch, in an earlier statement, claimed a woman had approached them on Oct 21, requesting to join the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The ANC claimed the woman was a sergeant in the police force and had been in contact with "askaris" - ANC cadres "turned" by State agents.

The ANC region said its investigations "revealed" the woman was a sergeant in the SAP. The statement gave her alleged force number and claimed she was appointed a sergeant on December 1 1990, in Pretoria North. She provided the ANC with false addresses.

Harrald yesterday said police were looking for the woman mentioned by the ANC in connection with a theft charge as they suspected she stole police identity documents.

The police said the woman was an acquaintance of a police sergeant, who had provided her with accommodation.

The sergeant last saw her on October 4, whereafter she discovered that her appointment documents were missing.

The colonel confirmed that the police force number belonged to the sergeant. - *Sapa*

**NEWS** Claim that De Klerk is hostage to the military ● N

# Pressure mounts on FW

Sowetan 23/11/92

## ■ Evidence by CCB chief at Webster inquest spurs demands for an interim government:

THE Government, under fire over damning accusations about security force dirty tricks, is facing increasing pressure to make way for an interim elected administration, political leaders and analysts say.

"There have now been sufficient crises for the Government to lose status as a credible negotiating partner. It now has to make way for an elected interim government with joint control over security forces," Mr Brian Currin, director of Lawyers for Human Rights, said yesterday.

Dealing the latest blow to State President FW de Klerk, the chief of the Civil Cooperation Bureau, Mr Joe Verster, said he was told by De Klerk there would be no witch-hunt over security force dirty tricks.

Verster told a closed inquest into the murder of anti-apartheid activist David Webster that a former head of the SADF told him the Government accepted everything the CCB did "was in good faith", according to newspaper reports.

The allegation follows disclosures by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that there was evidence senior military intelligence officers hired a twice-convicted murderer to discredit the ANC.

A Government spokesman said yesterday that De Klerk, as Commander-in-Chief, had a special duty to protect the SADF from "orchestrated attempts to undermine its legitimate functions and...good reputation..."

He said the State President's approach to the CCB and "similar questions," was "a matter of record".

"It has been his (De Klerk's) position that allegations of wrong-doing should be established and that anybody guilty of offences should be charged and punished," the Government spokesman said.

The Democratic Party spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, said there was circumstantial evidence that De Klerk was hostage to the military.

### Acting in concert

"Elements within the security forces are either undermining the Government or acting in concert with the Government according to a hidden agenda. Either option is dangerous. There is now an urgent need for a deal on an interim government," Leon said.

Mr Rocky Williams, a military analyst, said "securocrats" were holding a gun to De Klerk's apartheid reforms.

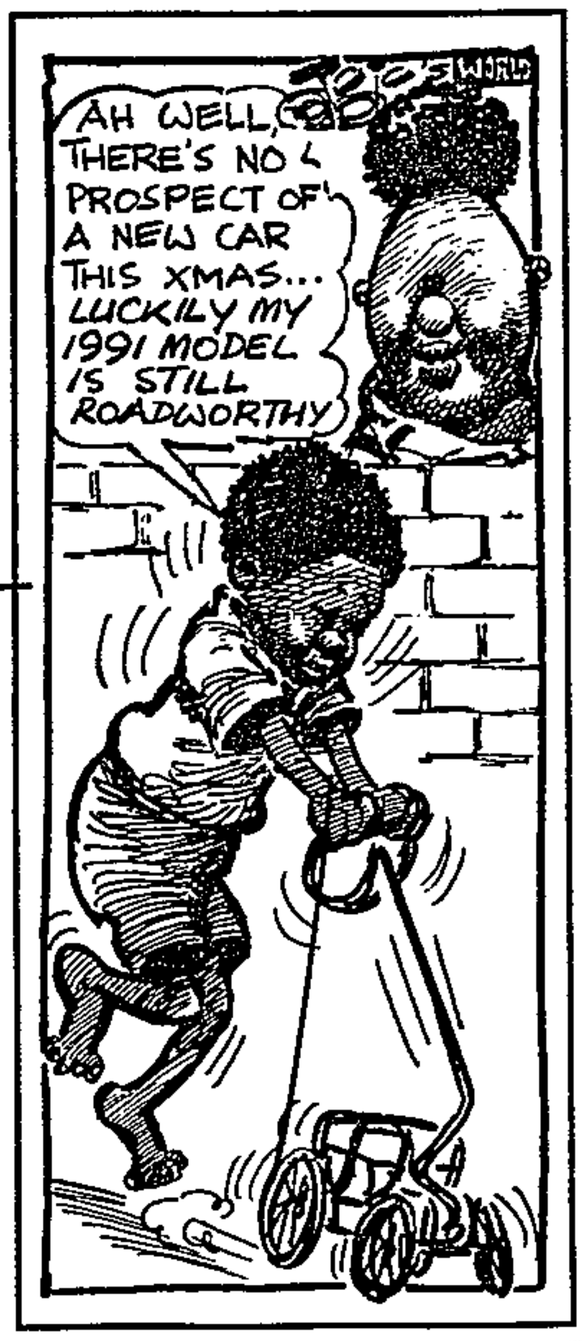
"The problem is that he (De Klerk) is in a process of transition and you do not cut off options when negotiating.

"He may need to fall back on their assistance and therefore has no alternative but to live with them," Williams said.

Goldstone asked for more powers and resources to investigate wrongdoing by all armed forces of the Government, the black opposition and rightwing groups. De Klerk offered extra police investigators but said the Commission already had sufficient legal powers.

Signalling a tough line ahead of a Government-ANC summit to be held soon, ANC president Nelson Mandela has threatened to abandon bilateral talks with the Government unless there was an agreement soon on a date for the installation of an all-race interim goverment.

In response to Mandela's threat, Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said Pretoria had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected transitional government as soon as negotiations with all political parties had been completed. - *Sapa-Reuter.*




# New venture for teenagers

Sowetan 23/11/92

## ■ New paper out tomorrow:

A JOINT *Sowetan/Star* venture has come up with a new and exciting newspaper specifically tailored for the teenage market.

The newspaper, to be launched tomorrow, has been born out of a realisation that there is a gap in the market, demonstrated by the popular teenage response to *Sowetan's* column "Gloria's Youth"

A board of editors, comprising six black and six white teenagers, will write stories. Each group will contain the same number of males and females.

Investigative stories, special features, including some written by Gloria and her white counterpart Cathy, are just some of the items to be offered by *The Newspaper With No Name*, as it will be called on its first launch.

A competition will be run and a computer awarded to the person who comes up with the most appropriate name.

The newspaper will be inserted into *Sowetan* and *The Star* and will come out once a month.

# Hit squad probe to look into military intelligence links

(282) (289) (327) By CHARLENE SMITH ST Times 22/11/92.

THE Goldstone commission will begin hearings on Thursday into allegations of military intelligence involvement in hit squad activity.

Judge Richard Goldstone is also expected to meet Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, who has been appointed by the government to investigate the SADF's Directorate of Covert Collections. The two men will discuss ways to co-ordinate their investigations.

Early last week, Judge Goldstone revealed the existence of a plot by the DCC to smear the African National Congress's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, by linking it with the criminal underworld.

The new inquiry and the talks between Lieutenant-General Steyn and Judge Goldstone were announced after a two-hour meeting between the judge, President FW de Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday.

The meeting followed a request by Judge Goldstone for his commission's powers to be broadened to encompass scrutiny of the SA security force establishment, including military intelligence, the police and army. This request was turned down.

## Harsh

The Democratic Party and the ANC have condemned the government decision not to allow the commission wider powers.

Judge Goldstone said he was satisfied with the outcome of the meeting, but would not comment further.

While the commission faced harsh criticism from the security arms of the government this week for releasing the information it uncovered, it has received strong international support, in particular from the United Nations.

New American ambassador Princeton Lyman travelled to Bloemfontein this week to visit Judge Goldstone and express his support for the commission's work.

It has been reliably learnt that the commission wanted an all-South African task force to begin investigations not only into the SA security forces, but also into the KwaZulu Police, the military wings of the ANC and PAC, as well as other private armies.

## Opposed

The only group that has agreed to such an investigation, which was first mooted earlier this year and endorsed by the United Nations, has been the ANC.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said his organisation was opposed to an blanket investigation of the KZP, and the PAC has also resisted any efforts to investigate its army, APLA.

The commission is loathe to investigate one security establishment without studying all.

A statement by the State President after his meeting with Judge Goldstone said the SA Police would provide sufficient personnel "to assist the commission to proceed with its pending investigations of all other bodies and organisations alleged to be involved in violence".

## Codes

Half an hour before Judge Goldstone's 4.30pm meeting with the State President on Friday, a bogus press release purporting to come from the judge was sent to some newspapers and news agencies.

The press release was typed on a similar typewriter to that used by the commission, with similar codes at the top, but it was clear from a fax with no identifying marks.

It claimed the judge was now apologising to the military and retracting the "false" information revealed at the commission's press conference on Monday.

# Arms found in cave

Sowetan 24/11/92.

**■ Owner of farm charged with explosion at Sabie magistrate's office:**

POLICE have seized an arms cache hidden in a cave on the Eastern Transvaal farm of a man charged in connection with bomb explosions in the region.

Another man, aged 39, from Nelspruit was arrested on Saturday in connection with the cache and is held under the Internal Security Act, Eastern Transvaal regional police commissioner Major-General J J van Zyl said yesterday. (327)

No charges were laid against the owner of the farm Rosenaugh, Mr P J Kruger. His trial in connection with the bomb explosions at the Sabie magistrate's office and Lowveld High School in Nelspruit late last year and early this year has been postponed to February.

Van Zyl said some of the weapons were used in a murder after they were removed from the cave by two black men.

The men discovered the cave. They sold some of the weapons to someone in Lebowa.

After the murder Lebowa police confiscated four AK-47 assault rifles; two R1 rifles; 800 grams of TNT; 4 000 grams of Exploxel; two kilograms plastic explosives; about 3 000 rounds of R1 ammunition and 223 rounds of other ammunition.

Police found the remainder of the cache, consisting of a red teargas grenade, a teargas spray-can and about 1 300 AK-47 rounds. - *Sapa*

# Eight die in Natal unrest

Sowetan 24/11/92.

**■ More deaths in strife-torn KwaMakhutha:**

AT least eight people died in political violence in KwaZulu and Natal at the weekend.

KwaZulu police spokesman Colonel Moses Khanyile said Mr Siphiwe Mncube (35) and Mr Msizi Mkhize (38) were killed in strife-torn KwaMakhutha on Friday night. In nearby Umbumbulu Mr Bhekezakhe Maphumulo (30) and Mr Zamo Ndlovu were found dead with gunshot wounds.

An unidentified man was burnt to death at Umlazi on Sunday and in KwaMashu, Mr Themba Ngubane (53) was shot dead. - *Sapa*

6 WAY STRAW HATS
BUY FROM THE FACTORY

## Deserter lied to newspaper

A MOZAMBICAN army deserter was instigated by unknown "persons" to make a false report about SAP involvement in political violence to the Vrye Weekblad, the Goldstone commission said yesterday.

The commission has established a one-man committee to inquire into allegations by Joao Cuna, who has told the commission's counsel he gave false information to the newspaper, commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said in a statement.

The newspaper published a report on October 30 quoting Cuna as saying he had been approached by a policeman to attack ANC campaigners in Durban. During the attack, a number of people were killed.

But Cuna told the commission he had been instigated by "certain persons" to make the false report to the newspaper.

The one-man inquiry of advocate R M Wise will begin its investigation on November 26. — Sapa.

# Judge thinks twice about 'speaking out'

BILLY PADDOCK

JUDGE Richard Goldstone said yesterday he had become "terrified" of speaking out in public because of the extensive publicity being accorded his commission of inquiry into violence.

This follows weekend confusion over conflicting news reports concerning the outcome of Goldstone's talks with President F W de Klerk on Friday regarding his commission's powers.

Sapa reports that after Goldstone met French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman at Bloemfontein's JBM Hertzog Airport yesterday, both men declined to comment on their discussion.

Goldstone said he was "just terrified" to say anything without deep consideration.

His caution comes in the wake of his dramatic disclosures last week of an SADF military intelligence plot to discredit the ANC and the involvement of convicted murderer and former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard.

Following the ensuing outcry and calls for strong action to be taken, De Klerk and the Cabinet issued veiled criticism of Goldstone's method of disclosing damaging information.

It is known that Goldstone informed the President's office he was about to make the Barnard disclosures because he was afraid of the information leaking out in an uncontrolled manner.

Last week Goldstone was reported extensively as having called for greater powers for his commission of inquiry.

However, after his meeting with De Klerk the judge corrected the reports, saying the "empowerment" he was requesting was not further legal power but greater manpower. De Klerk has authorised more manpower for the Goldstone commission.

At last Monday's news conference Goldstone was asked: "Do you not already have sufficiently wide powers as was reported in the UN secretary-general's report?" Goldstone replied there was some dispute about this and there were differing interpretations of his brief.

It has now been confirmed by government and commission sources that Goldstone will investigate all security forces and private armies.

The internal SADF inquiry appointed by the Cabinet to look into the ANC smear plot will also continue its investigations.

## Labour Party faces metamorphosis

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Labour Party is set to cease being an independent political entity when its party congress takes place in Port Elizabeth next month.

Party sources say Labour has two options: it can either join another party or dissolve and form a new centrist party with other smaller parties such as the DP.

The prevailing view within the caucus is that Labour should retain its identity but enter into an alliance with another party such as the ANC on the same basis as the Natal Indian Congress or the SACP.

None of the top sources spoken to believed that it was feasible to continue as an independent party.

According to another source, there are two schools of thought: one pressing to join the ANC and the other wanting to form a centrist party.

However, the overriding compromise option that appears to be taking root is that congress will probably decide to go into an alliance with the ANC.

If this happens, members who favour the centrist option could defect to the DP, which they consider to be in the middle of the political spectrum.

The crisis in Labour arose earlier this year when a number of its MPs crossed the floor to join the NP and the DP.

## Verster denies news report

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE Attorney-General is to investigate a complaint made on behalf of former CCB MD Joe Verster that the Sunday Times published a "substantially inaccurate" report of his evidence to the Webster inquest last week.

Judge M Stegmann referred the matter to the Attorney-General after Verster's counsel complained yesterday.

The Sunday Times re-

**NEWS** Claim that Buthelezi tries to use ethnicity to turn people against the ANC

# Barnard linked to Inner Circle

Sowetan 24/11/92 327

## ■ Newspaper claims unit threatened De Klerk and three Cabinet Ministers:

SINISTER links have been drawn between Ferdi Barnard's Military Intelligence (MI) operation and the so-called "Binnekring" (Inner Circle) which threatened top Cabinet Ministers and President de Klerk earlier this year.

*The Star* revealed in May this year that President de Klerk and at least three senior Cabinet Ministers had received threatening letters from an organisation calling itself the "Binnekring" and claiming to be a formal covert group made up of former security officials.



**Justice Richard Goldstone**

The letters called on the top National Party politicians to "turn back" from Codesa or face the consequences. In the letters the Inner Circle claimed to be a well-structured group of former members of the SADF, MI, Special Forces, SAP Task Force, security police and of the National Intelligence Service.

On Sunday an Afrikaans paper claimed it had information indicating that the secret organisation and Barnard's MI unit - exposed by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry - were "one and the same thing".

Johannesburg escort Carol Ann Burton told *Rapport* Barnard had said the secret unit he was involved in put him in a position to monitor and "tap" black radicals for information.

This unit would be known as the Binnekring/ Inner Circle, she said.

According to Burton the Inner Circle had been in existence since July last year.

"Ferdi told me it consisted of the elite of disillusioned security force members," said Burton.

She said Barnard had also told her that there was an "Outer Circle" which stood around the elite and collected information for the Inner Circle, and, through achievement, could aim for the Inner Circle.

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# Goniwe trial set for March?

CT 24/11/92

PORT ELIZABETH. — It is unlikely that proceedings will begin before March next year in the reopened inquest into the deaths of the Goniwe four. (327) (354)

Assistant attorney-general Mr Mike Hodgen said yesterday he was getting in touch with "all the parties concerned" about setting a date for the inquest to begin.

"At this stage the parties include representatives for the army, the SA Police, and representatives from Legal Resources who are acting for the families."

# Information withheld from police — Verster

BIDAM 25/11/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

FORMER CCB MD Joe Verster told then Defence Minister Magnus Malan, and an SADF internal inquiry, of claims that Ferdi Barnard had gunned down David Webster, the Webster inquest was told yesterday.

However, the SAP investigation team into the 1989 murder had not been not told of these claims implicating the former CCB operative in the killing, Verster said.

A typed transcript of Verster's earlier testimony, given in camera to protect his identity, states that on a question by State advocate Jannie van Vuuren about what information was supplied to Malan on July 13 1990, Verster replied: "That I think it is, that we think it is Barnard, because he said so, but it is hearsay and I have no facts to base it on."

## Suspicion

He said repeatedly during his testimony that he was "talking under correction".

He told Judge M Stegmann that after the Webster murder he had a faint suspicion that Barnard, then dismissed from the CCB, could have been involved in the killing. This suspicion was passed on to Gen Jaap Joubert of the SAP.

"Gen Joubert told me to keep in mind that Barnard was one of our own people and that Barnard was a good person. His father was in the police," Verster said.

Information of Barnard's alleged involvement that was received later — in the form of Barnard's confession to his CCB handler Lafras Luitingh and an anonymous telephone call to Verster — was not passed on to the police, Verster testified.

"I did disclose this information, in terms of the Defence Act procedures, to a (internal) board of inquiry," he said.

Verster, who personally dismissed Barnard from the CCB after a breach of security, said in spite of several pointers, he believed Barnard's alleged involvement in the Webster murder was "nonsense".

Before Verster started his testimony behind closed doors last Friday, his advocate J J Wessels told the inquest: "It is our brief that Verster will answer all questions regarding his knowledge of the murder of Webster.

"However, Verster is not prepared to answer any questions regarding the CCB, because any answer could possibly incriminate him.

"Our brief is that Verster stresses that the activities of the CCB at all times were aimed at the enemies of SA and that the activities at all times were approved by the superior hierarchy.

"Because of changing politics and the continued existence of Umkontho we Sizwe, Verster is currently in the position of not being able to rely on the support of his former superiors and has to look after his own interests and therefore cannot talk freely. Even indemnity will not guarantee his personal safety," Wessels said.

The judge has been asked by representatives of the Webster Trust to consider the subpoena of Malan, now Water Affairs and Forestry Minister, to testify at the inquest.


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# Farmers 'exploiting cross-border workers'

BIDAM 25/11/92

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Northern Transvaal farmers were illegally employing Zimbabwean "border jumpers" and handing them to the SA Police when they asked for wages, Harare's Daily Gazette newspaper reported yesterday.

Vincent Zulu said he was recently deported from SA and knew of many others who were victimised by miserly commercial farmers.

"In my case, I was working at a farm but when I demanded my salary I was handed over to police who detained me for a week while I waited for the next truck home," Zulu said in Plumtree, western Matabeleland.

An average of 50 people are deported back to Zimbabwe each week from the Transvaal, but most return immediately "because they find the prospects of securing jobs locally next to zero", said the newspaper. SA and Botswana have jointly deported 3 685 people from southern Matabeleland since August, police statistics show.

With Christmas only a month away, the number of Zimbabweans seeking to cross legally to SA has soared. The queue outside the SA trade mission in central Harare for visas for "shopping trips" reached record lengths yesterday, extending 400m into the street.

"I cannot be expected to sit at home and wait for something to happen," said Zulu, announcing his intention to try to infiltrate back into the Transvaal via Botswana. "I need to eat, but there is no food at home. We really do not mind what we do there as long as we get something to keep us going."

The Daily Gazette yesterday quoted an official of Zimbabwe's Domestic and Allied Workers' Union, Adams Verenga, who said 90% of black Zimbabwean employers paid less than the government's R81 a month minimum wage for domestic servants.

# 'Trojan Horse' trial will not be reopened

BLOEMFONTEIN — Evidence not heard in the "Trojan Horse" trial might well have influenced the conduct of the defence case, the Appeal Court found yesterday.

Judge Corbett found that evidence given by police Lt Douw Gerbrand Prins Vermeulen at the criminal prosecution that arose from stone-throwing in Thornton Road, Athlone, on October 15, 1985, would have made a considerable evidential impact.

However, the judge ordered against a new trial.

Corbett said the evidence should have been admitted at the private prosecution of Vermeulen and 12 other officers and men, as a result of the deaths of Shaun Magmoed, 16, and two others shot by security force members concealed in a railways truck.

The private prosecution was brought by Martin Magmoed, father of the dead boy, after the Cape attorney-general declined to prosecute.

The 13 policemen and security force members were all acquitted of charges of culpable homicide in the Cape Supreme Court by Judge D M Williamson, who refused to reserve six questions of law raised by the prosecution.

In the Appeal Court only four of the questions were applied for by Magmoed.

The court found that there were sound reasons to hold that the evidence in question was admissible and that it should have been admitted.

The court foundthat the only relief it was empowered to grant was to set aside the acquittal of Vermeulen and to order a new trial before another judge and assessors.

Corbett said although the charges preferred against Vermeulen were very serious, there were factors that persuaded him to exercise the court's discretion against ordering a new trial.

The original trial was a complex and lengthy one. The events with which the case was concerned occurred about seven years ago and recollections of witnesses "must by now have dimmed considerably". This applied to Vermeulen as well.

Corbett said that, during the appeal, he had not gained the impression that the prosecution was keen to have a new trial. It was suggested by counsel that the court could order the case be re-opened so that excluded evidence could be admitted and respondents be given opportunity to lead further evidence, if so advised.

A new trial would involve only Vermeulen, and there was no certainty the trial would result in a conviction.

In view of those circumstances, the judge said the discretion of the court should be exercised against an order for a new trial.

Accordingly, the judge said, there was no need to set aside Vermeulen's acquittal. — Sapa.

# Bop refuses request for monitors at SACC march

RAY HARTLEY

BOPHUTHATSWANA yesterday turned down a request by the national peace secretariat to allow international observers to monitor today's SACC march through Mmabatho, secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday. B/DAY 26/11/92

He said he was negotiating with Bophuthatswana government officials in an effort to reverse their decision.

Both the SACC and Bophuthatswana seemed determined to avoid confrontation at the march.

SACC spokesman Bernard Spong said local ministers involved in convening the march were going out of their way to "make it the gentlest of possible protests".

It is believed Bophuthatswana security forces have been given orders to deal with the protesters with kidgloves in order to avoid an international incident which would lead to sympathy for the SACC.

A government spokesman said the march had not been banned officially, but was considered illegal by the authorities.

Spong said the march would go ahead, even if the possibility of violence existed. "We believe the Bophuthatswana government does not have the right to stop us from marching," he said.

# New look at hostel fences

B/DAY 26/11/92 WILSON ZWANE

THE record of understanding's provisions for security at hostels were being revised, the ANC has said.

ANC officials met Local Government Minister Leon Wessels on Tuesday to reassess the provisions, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said. The meeting focused on how guidelines for fencing hostels identified as sources of violence could be implemented.

Niehaus said adjustments were being made to the agreement between government and the ANC, because some hostels no longer needed to be fenced as they were now peaceful.

Local Government Department spokesman Francois Jacobs said Tuesday's meeting was part of a process to prepare for a follow-up meeting with the ANC to discuss implementation of the record of understanding.

# Woman disrupts inquest

B/DAY 26/11/92

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE evidence of former CCB MD Joe Verster, who is testifying in camera at the Webster inquest, was interrupted briefly twice yesterday by former women's rights campaigner Adele van der Spuy.

Van der Spuy arrived at the Rand Supreme Court stating that she wanted to testify at the inquest.

She was twice escorted out of the courtroom where Verster was testifying behind closed doors in order to protect his identity.

Van der Spuy, who said she was the ex-wife of a former judge, told lawyers and reporters there had been two attempts on her life. She accused the CCB of being responsible and claimed she could name the leaders of the "third force".

Van der Spuy left after speaking to lawyers representing various parties at the inquest. 327

Verster will be followed by former CCB co-ordinator Lafras Luitingh, who is to be recalled for cross-examination by P Coetzee SC, representing the SADF.

# Verster's testimony 'explosive'

STAR 26/11/92

327

By Susan Smuts

The cross-examination of CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster has become a "free-for-all fireworks display", according to lawyers at the David Webster inquest at the Rand Supreme Court.

But the lawyers are keeping mum about what aspect of Verster's evidence sparked the fire.

Verster takes the witness stand behind closed doors for the fifth time today, but his testimony will be kept secret until the transcripts are made available later this week or early next week.

Some light relief was supplied by Adele Pretorius (nee van der Spuy), founder of the Merit Party and the Bond Party, who burst into the court yesterday.

Outside, she demanded to speak to Eberhardt Bertelsmann, SC, appearing for the David Webster Trust.

She claimed the CCB had made an attack on her life.

Pretorius agreed to wait for a tea adjournment to speak to Bertelsmann, but disappeared shortly afterwards.

The hearing continues.

● Challenge to court reporters — Page 23

# In camera rulings challenge our court reporters

By Bronwyn Wilkinson and Susan Smuts

Lawyers are desperately hunting for a compromise to the in camera issue which has kept reporters out of the inquest into the death of David Webster for at least five key testimonies in as many weeks.

On Monday, attorneys representing the Webster Trust suggested hospital screens could protect the identity of sensitive witnesses while still allowing reporters to hear their testimony.

Hospital screens were brought into court to surround the witness box in which stood former Civil Co-operation Bureau managing director Joe Verster.

But Verster opposed the screens on the grounds that they did not obscure him completely from the public gallery. And Mr Justice Michael Stegmann found the screens interfered with the visual communication between counsel and witness.

## Loudspeakers

On Tuesday, State Advocate Jannie van Vuuren suggested that loudspeakers be installed outside the court so the press could hear the testimony instead of waiting for transcripts.

It is not yet clear whether the proposal will be accepted.

The inquest has given rise to a new breed of court reporter.

The skills of court reporting — attention to detail and a nose for sniffing out the noteworthy in drawn-out testimony — do not apply here.

Instead, reporters loiter outside court 4F at the Rand Supreme Court, waiting for tea and lunch breaks which bring lawyers out of the sealed courtroom. Reporters then eagerly descend on counsel for crumbs of the day's testimony.

While court is in session, reporters usually converge on the ground floor press room (at least five of them have learned to play bridge during this inquest) or cajole the transcript typists into releasing transcripts or tapes.

At 4 pm, there is a rush from the fourth floor of the court building to the advocates chambers, where ever-hopeful reporters clamour for any measly piece of information that counsel might leak.

Failing that, they wait for the transcripts of the evidence (invariably at least four days out of date) to be made available.

Except for two reporters from the Sunday papers — Sunday Star's Jacques Pauw and Sunday Times' Charles Leonard — who managed to listen to the tapes on a Saturday morning before they were published, reporters are not given access to typed records until the news is overtaken.

## Persuade

Attempts to persuade Datavyf, which holds the copyright to the court records, have been unsuccessful. Reporters who have asked to listen to the tapes during lunch breaks have been rebuffed and told that the arrangement between the typist and the Sunday reporters had nothing to do with Datavyf.

Van Vuuren has told reporters complaining about the number of hours spent on hard benches outside the court: "Rather the truth comes out in camera than not at all."

But the transcripts, when they do become available, are faint copies which are often confusing.

Until a solution is found that allows reporters to hear testimony for themselves, court 4F remains sealed, with "Court in camera — no entry" notices on both doors and reporters continue to practise their card games and sleuthing techniques.

# Probe into claim of SAP violence link

A one-man commission of inquiry into a Mozambican army deserter's allegations of SAP involvement in political violence will begin its investigation today.

The committee was appointed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Monday to probe claims made by Joao Cuna to Vrye Weekblad about SAP involvement in violence.

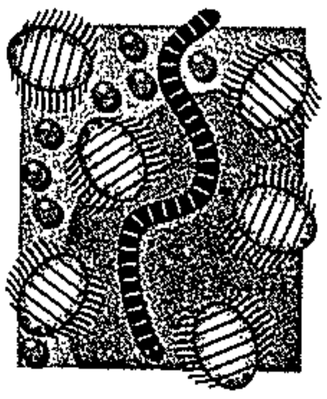
When the Commission began probing Cuna's allegations, they discovered a link to the SADF's Military Intelligence (MI) and when they raided a MI operations centre two weeks ago they confiscated files which showed the SADF had planned to subvert Umkhonto we Sizwe. — Sapa.

THE PRESIDENCY

# Guilty until proved innocent

FM 27/11/92

## Despite his commitment to reform, De Klerk risks becoming SA's Nixon



**Does President** F W de Klerk really want to clean up his administration? Or is he being forced into a position where his past associations are weighing more heavily than moral convictions?

Following his response to Justice Richard Goldstone's statement about files confiscated from Military Intelligence (MI), De Klerk — for the first time since he took office — no longer gets the automatic benefit of the doubt; evidence that there might be more behind his stance than mere inaction is mounting.

The MI files indicated that Ferdi Barnard, a former agent in the notorious Civil Cooperation Bureau and a convicted murderer, was employed by MI's Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) from May 1991 until December 1991. Apparently he had been recommended to the DCC by the SADF intelligence chief, Lt-General Witkop Badenhorst.

Barnard drew up a detailed plan to undermine the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, using an underworld network. The plan, says the Goldstone statement, "was submitted to senior members of MI and thereafter he was employed as a chief agent." Though the plan may not in fact have been implemented, or not fully so, MI evidently thought Barnard worth keeping on.

In July 1991, during the period that Barnard was employed, the government was shaken by the revelation (after earlier denials) that the SA Police had funded the IFP. De Klerk gave the assurance that secret activities of this nature had been suspended and appointed a committee to evaluate all secret operations. In August 1991, Ministers Adriaan Vlok (police) and Magnus Malan (SADF) were relieved of their portfolios after sustained pressure from the ANC, amid allegations of secret agendas and a "third force."

In December 1991, a *Beeld* report carried an allegation that Barnard was employed by the military. This was denied by an army spokesman, but, says Goldstone, "that denial was false." Ten days later, Barnard's employment with MI was terminated, according to the confiscated files, "upon instructions from the Minister." In January 1992, Barnard's MI handler also wrote that Barnard was sacked "on instructions of the Minister of Defence."

The Minister of Defence at the time was Roelf Meyer, now in charge of constitutional negotiations. He has denied that he knew anything about Barnard.

It is hardly likely that the MI files — seized in a surprise raid — are part of an elaborate forgery. We must assume they are genuine. Yet even if one accepts that the SADF hired Barnard for the kind of black diplomacy most military elites engage in from time to time, the country is still entitled to know:

- ☐ Why Barnard was encouraged to draw up plans to undermine the ANC — particularly at a time of extreme political sensitivity and in the face of apparently misleading assurances by De Klerk;
- ☐ How Meyer can claim ignorance if Barnard was dismissed "on instructions from the Minister";
- ☐ Why, if Meyer knew nothing, did he not make it his business to ensure that such covert programmes were halted; and
- ☐ Whether the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, and any other senior officers outside MI, knew what was going on.

De Klerk's response to Judge Goldstone's remarks was grudging and enigmatic: they were "issued in the form of a press statement and did not constitute an official report ... many of the aspects contained in the statement have thus far not been tested within the framework of the normal procedures applied by a judicial commission."

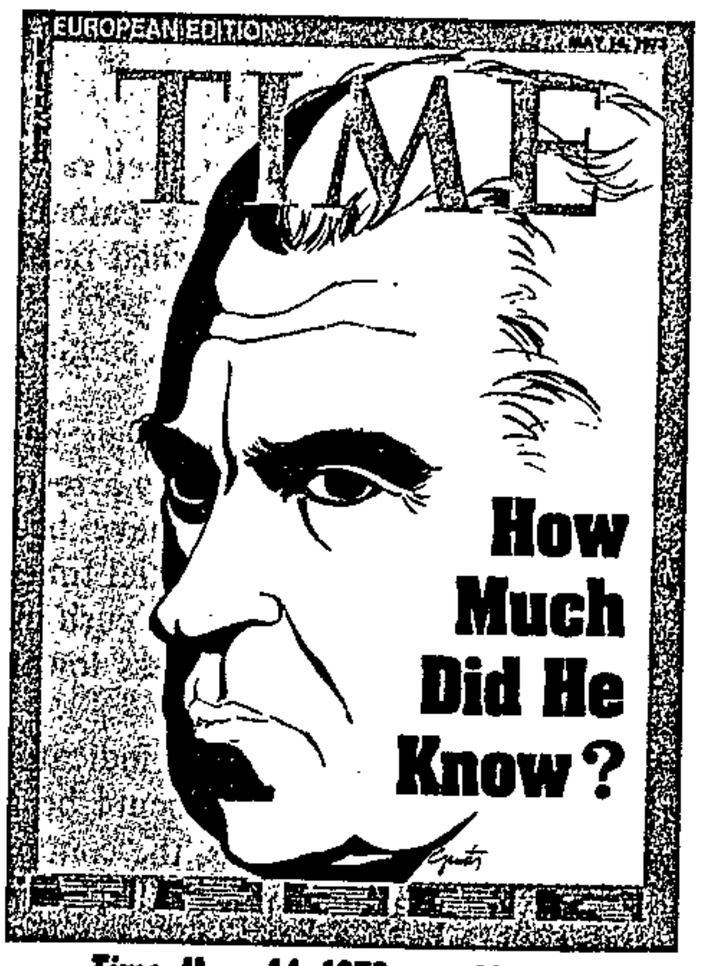
Yet Judge Goldstone made no untested conclusions. He merely raised questions, while noting the evidence that MI had employed "a person with a serious criminal record involving crimes of violence and dishonesty;" that the SADF had lied about Barnard's employment; that a senior officer had recommended the illegal arming of Barnard with an SADF weapon; and that 48 DCC members operated credit cards and had spent hundreds of thousands of rands.

There are no military secrets here; the security of the State is not remotely at stake. The obvious and natural response from De Klerk would have been to instruct the Goldstone Commission to investigate the other MI files and report to him in due course. Instead, De Klerk has ordered an in-house investigation — which makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that government itself has something to hide.



**Judge Goldstone**

Former Leader of the Opposition Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert believes that De Klerk's response is consistent in that his government "has always thought that it can maintain stability with a highly controverisal security establishment. The Nats think, 'It is our system.' "




***Time* May 14 1973** ... *Nixon's point of no return*

For the first time, perhaps, De Klerk has realised that it is not "his" system any more — and Slabbert detects panic in his reaction. "De Klerk is on the back foot. When he took office he distanced himself from the tricameral system — and then used its most disreputable feature, P W Botha's worst weapon, the President's Council, to force through the Indemnity Bill. He has been a bit shaky."

De Klerk would be well advised to take note of recent political history. We have the example of Watergate in the US as well as our own Info scandal. In both cases, the discovery of corruption happened almost by chance. In both cases, after months of tenacious judicial work in the face of executive lies and stonewalling, the rot was revealed to go right to the top — President Richard Nixon and Prime Minister John Vorster.

De Klerk has asked Lt-General Pierre Steyn, appointed earlier this year as Chief of Defence Force Staff, to take command of all intelligence functions of the SADF. He is to provide De Klerk with "a complete and comprehensive analysis of all of the SADF's intelligence activities ... and to report to me as soon as possible on the advisibility of restructuring these functions."

Steyn will be helped by Police General Alwyn Conradie in analysing the files of the DCC "to ascertain whether any activities have taken place which might be in contra-

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SECURITY FORCES

# Hard men

**Military Intelligence** (MI) chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen will not quit in the face of allegations about his unit (see cover story) and is convinced that his men acted correctly. In an interview published on Sunday with *Rapport* newspaper columnist Hanlie Retief (recorded before the appointment of air force Gen Pierre Steyn to take charge of MI), Van der Westhuizen brazened out calls for his dismissal.

"I see no reason why I or any member of my organisation should now resign as a result of this onslaught or investigation. If anyone contravened (the law) he should be punished, but I am convinced that we acted correctly."

He is not worried about a Nuremburg-type trial in future: "I have no problem testifying about my so-called involvement with the Hammer unit (an alleged MI operation in the eastern Cape) or the Goniwe murders or with anything else attributed to me. I know what I've done and what I have not done."

Van der Westhuizen defended MI's use of Ferdi Barnard, the convicted killer and former CCB agent, in spite of his "unacceptable" background. "Any intelligence organisation uses sources; the character and integrity of sources is not an issue. (All that matters) is whether they can provide the information. Their characters are no reflection on the organisation."

He said it was "understandable" if Roelf Meyer, as Defence Minister, was unaware that Barnard was linked to MI (as Meyer has claimed). "Not even the generals knew. An informer comes into contact only with his handler."

References in files confiscated by Goldstone investigators linking Meyer to Barnard were probably due to an overzealous MI official, said Van der Westhuizen. "We have discovered that the head of Covert Collection (an MI directorate) decided no longer to use Barnard. The handler was informed and told the order came from the top. The handler interpreted 'the top' as being the Minister and wrote that particular sentence on his own initiative to give more weight to his decision."

In spite of evidence to the contrary — including references in MI's files of plans to smear ANC leaders — Van der Westhuizen said MI was merely an intelligence gathering unit. It processed and interpreted information, then made recommendations. It did not undertake operations.

"We will investigate any violent activity in the country. And if MK comes under discussion, it is purely a military investigation. We are not interested in their political activities. We have not even used the word ANC."

Van der Westhuizen denied any links between MI and the CCB, in spite of allegations that former MI chief Gen Witkop Badenhorst was aware of CCB plans to murder David Webster and reports that former CCB chief Joe Verster was often seen at the Pretoria offices used by Covert Collection.

Van der Westhuizen added his voice to complaints from the NP establishment that Goldstone's foreign investigators should not be allowed access to military secrets. "No other intelligence organisation in the world would allow it." However, he supported Goldstone's right to investigate and pledged MI's full co-operation.

He agreed that "more skeletons might come out of the cupboard" but believed MI had an image problem more than anything else.

He said the unit's training and discipline were good and, in spite of what was being said, integrity was high.

Van der Westhuizen said that, as an intelligence man, he was "very worried" that SA was "disturbingly close" to total anarchy. There were cracks in the economy, security was deteriorating and SA faced serious socio-economic problems. The situation created tension among politicians.

"If the system topples without a democratic process such as an election, we have the potential for total anarchy." ■


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# PAC demands expulsion of 'foreign mercenaries'

THE PAC yesterday demanded the expulsion under UN supervision of foreign mercenaries it said were fomenting township violence.

But it suggested it would not allow independent scrutiny of its own armed wing, Apla, which has claimed responsibility for a string of killings of policemen.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who recently returned from a visit to the UN and Norway, said he wanted the UN to press Pretoria to expel or confine mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, working in the SA security forces.

"Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated."

He said members of 32 and 31 Battalions, Koevoet members, Mozambican Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in SA.

He said Judge Richard Goldstone should investigate the actions of mercenaries "and not witch-hunt against those not responsible for the violence".

Goldstone has said he wants to probe all the armed forces, including those of government, the black opposition groups and right-wingers.

A PAC spokesman said the organisation had not yet decided whether to allow the Goldstone commission to investigate Apla.

"We don't know what Goldstone wants from Apla. Goldstone is studying a specific form of violence and Apla is engaged in a different form of struggle. The matter is still pending," he said. — Reuter.

UNIQUE
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# Mlangeni inquest told of bungling

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE police investigation into the murder of attorney Bheki Mlangeni was fatally flawed from the start, a Rand Supreme Court inquest was told yesterday.

Presiding Judge B O'Donovan reserved his findings.

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when a Walkman casette player with explosives in the headphones, intended for former police captain Dirk Coetzee, exploded when he attempted to listen to a tape recording.

All the parties represented at the inquest — the family of the deceased, the police, the SADF and the State — said in closing argument that on the totality of the evidence, no finding could be made as to who was responsible for killing Mlangeni.

"It is submitted that had a proper investigation been conducted, the findings could have been dramatically different and public confidence and satisfaction could have been promoted," counsel for the Mlangeni family Gys Rautenbach argued.

He called for an admonition of the SAP and the manner in which they conducted the whole investigation.

Rautenbach said deficiencies in the investigation included the fact that it took police 15 months to apply their minds to the investigation of suspects.

Herman Broodryk, for the State, submitted that no factual finding as to the complicity of members of the SAP could be made on the evidence at the inquest.

He told the court that a great deal of time and money had been involved in the police investigation and that no expense had been deemed too costly.

"If the SAP themselves were involved, they would hardly have gone to all this effort and expense," Broodryk said.

Ettienne du Toit, representing the SAP and individual policemen, agreed with Broodryk that "nothing whatsoever in facts or in allegations" before the court implicated any of his clients.

Evidence about the SADF Military Intelligence project Echoes — the visit of Capt Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores to the UK to determine the extent of the activities between ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the IRA — was irrelevant to the inquest, the court heard.

"To determine whether Flores had any hidden agenda or whether the police were involved in monitoring Dirk Coetzee after the death of Mlangeni would not bring the court any closer to fixing legal responsibility for the death," Du Toit argued.

Anton Mostert SC, representing the SADF, argued that no room existed for linking Mlangeni's death with the SADF.

"In the circumstances, the court is asked to exonerate the SADF," he said.

# Mozambican denies affidavit on killings

TIM COHEN

**PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna yesterday effectively denied he had participated in the killing of ANC members in a Durban township last year before abruptly cutting short his evidence before the Goldstone commission.**

**Giving evidence before a one-man commission, Cuna substantially contradicted the contents of an affidavit which formed the basis for a recent report in Vrye Weekblad. In the affidavit, he claimed to have participated in the shooting of between seven and nine people with AK-47 rifles together with a black man and a white man.**

**He told the inquiry that during the trip to Durban, he, and men he said were policemen, had collected AK-47s from the home of a Portuguese speaker. Nothing else of significance had happened during the trip, he said.**

**Cuna substantiated other elements of the affidavit, confirming the logistical details of the trip, including the places were the group had stayed and met.**

**He confirmed that he had provided a Johannesburg lawyer with a statement, but claimed that it was not read back to him.**

**After giving evidence for about two hours, Cuna hung his head and did not respond to questions being asked by the lawyer for the commission.**

**After granting an adjournment, commission chairman Rob Wise said he had been informed that Cuna was extremely afraid and had declined to provide further evidence as part of an open hearing.**

**The chairman adjourned the hearing in order to ascertain by means of a personal interview whether Cuna's fears were justified.**

**Wise said however undesirable it might be in principle, it could become necessary for Cuna to give evidence in the absence of the public and legal representatives if this was the only alternative.**

# Probe into Mlangeni death 'poor'

By Susan Smuts

The "unforgivably lethargic attitude" of the police investigating the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni had effectively sabotaged the possibility of his murderers being brought to account, an inquest at the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mlangeni died in February last year when a portable cassette player intended for former Vlakplaas policeman Dirk Coetzee exploded.

In their closing arguments, advocates appearing for the Mlangeni family, the SADF, the SAP and the State argued before Mr Justice B O'Donovan that the court had to find his death was caused by an unknown person or persons.

Gys Rautenbach, appearing for the Mlangeni family, asked the judge to admonish the police for their poor investigation. A proper investigation could have led to different findings, he said.

Rautenbach said the arrest of former Vlakplaas policeman Leon Flores in London in April this year on suspicion of plotting to murder Coetzee, fuelled the theory that Coetzee had been an assassination target.

Etienne du Toit, SC, for the Minister of Law and Order, said the documents suggesting Vlakplaas policemen might have been involved were not admissible since they were not affidavits.

The State, represented by H Broodryk and J Neveling, said "no expense was deemed too costly" in the police investigation.

Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, asked the judge to exonerate the SADF.

Judgment was reserved.

# Goldstone witness changes his story, then clams up

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

STAR 27/11/92

Joao Cuna, the former Mozambican soldier who sparked the Goldstone Commission's raid on a Military Intelligence building, fell silent during his testimony to a Goldstone committee yesterday, revealing later that he felt threatened.

The committee of inquiry, held under Mr Justice R Wise, was called after Cuna told the commission he had lied to Vrye Weekblad newspaper about his activities in 1991.

Cuna yesterday gave an entirely different version of events to those he disclosed to Vrye Weekblad, but clammed up when asked who he had been to see before going to the newspaper. Last week Cuna disclosed that "certain persons instigated his conduct in making the report" to the paper.

In the Vrye Weekblad of October 30, Cuna claimed he was hired by a policeman called "Boy" Schults to conduct a shooting spree on ANC supporters in a house in Natal in 1991. He denied this yesterday, although he said he had gone to Natal with a policeman called "Reilly" and a man called "Frank".

When he lapsed into silence, the committee was adjourned and, minutes later, Judge Wise returned to say a "number of serious problems" had arisen.

"He (Cuna) is extremely afraid to the extent that he no longer wants to give evidence in an open forum," Mr Justice Wise said. Cuna is to make an application today to have his testimony heard in private.

● Startling evidence at Webster inquest

● R100-m network planned

# CCB chief 'warned' FW

(327) STAR 27/11/92

By Jacques Pauw

**Civil Co-operation Bureau managing director Joe Verster recently approached Ferdi Barnard with a plan to set up a series of front companies — each with its own security force — to act against a future government, according to startling testimony heard at the David Webster inquest this week.**

Verster allegedly said R100 million was available for the project.

In evidence, it was also claimed that on October 6 Verster wrote to President de Klerk warning him of serious discontent among members and former members of the security forces.

Should these members join together, Verster wrote, they would be vastly superior to Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In another letter to De Klerk, dated May 5 this year, Verster alleged that four generals, including SADF Chief General Kat Liebenberg, had influenced their subordinates in the CCB to make CCB documentation "change" and "disappear".

These and other dramatic allegations emerged during the in-camera cross-examination of Verster by counsel for Barnard, a convicted murderer and former CCB operative.

Verster denied approaching Barnard, but admitted he met him at the Transvaal Snake Park in Halfway House a few months ago. He said they discussed private matters.

Verster also admitted he recently met the commander of the SAP's former counter-insurgency force at Vlakplaas, Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene de Kock. They also discussed private matters.

It is not known whether the letters, parts of which were read into the court record, were received by the Office of the State President and whether he responded.

This week's testimony in Court 4F of the Rand Supreme Court constitutes the first evidence to be given by a senior officer to the effect that discontented former members of the security forces may form the core of a future destabilising force.

In the October letter to De Klerk, Verster said the disrespect with which he and other former agents were being treated was unacceptable.

He wrote that the group on whose behalf he was speaking included members of the CCB, Military Intelligence (MI), the National Intelligence Service, the parachute battalions, Special Forces, 32 Battalion, the SA Police, Koevoet and former Rhodesian special forces.

Verster said the link between these people could not be broken by politicians.

Counsel for Barnard, Piet du Plessis, put it to Verster that Barnard claimed the meeting at Halfway House had been requested by Verster. Verster denied this.

Barnard would testify, Du Plessis stated, that Verster said R100 million was available and that each South African company in a proposed network would be provided with its own security personnel, which could, if necessary, act against a future government.

Barnard said Verster had requested him to set up the meeting with De Kock.

De Kock has been implicated in various Vlakplaas police "death squad" activities. His name has also been linked with the visit to London by MI agent Leon Flores, allegedly to arrange for the assassination of former Vlakplaas police officer Dirk Coetzee.

The allegations contained in Verster's second letter to De Klerk are the first suggestion that the Chief of the SADF and three of his generals were personally involved in the disappearance of CCB files during the Harms Commission.

Verster testified at the Harms Commission that an emergency plan had been activated which led to the disappearance of the files, to protect CCB members.

# Mlangeni case flawed - lawyer

(327)

**■ STARTLING EVIDENCE** Serious deficiencies in police investigation into the assassination:

Sowetan 27/11/92

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**

POLICE investigations into the death of African National Congress lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni was flawed from the beginning, a family lawyer said yesterday.

Mr Guys Rautenbach, counsel for the Mlangeni family, told the Rand Supreme Court in his closing argument during the inquest into the death that the evidence of two SA Defence Force agents and another person "was startling to say the least".

### Explosives in headphones

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when a Walkman cassette device with explosives in the headphones exploded when he attempted to listen to a tape recording.

Attacking the police investigation, Rautenbach said evidence or information of a subsequent conspiracy to kill police Captain Dirk Coetzee only strengthened the Mlangeni family's complaint in regard to a proper investigation.

Rautenbach said the evidence of SADF agents Captain Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores, as well as that of John Imrie, was "startling to say the least".

He told Mr Justice B O'Donovan that there were serious deficiencies in the police investigation.

He said the police investigation was lacking in that:

- Investigators only visited Vlakplaas on May 24 1991, more than three months after the event;
- A Captain Kritzinger and the investigating team, despite being aware of a possible motive by people stationed at Vlakplaas, never compiled a list of people stationed there, who could have had such a motive;

### Suspect investigation

- Very little suspect investigation was done and only after the intervention of this Court, were proper handwriting specimens and fingerprints taken.

"The whole investigation demanded a thorough forensic investigation," he said.

- It took the police 15 months to apply their minds to the investigation of suspects.
- The first visit by the investigating team to Vlakplaas took place only three months after the death of Mlangeni.

# Cuna 'too afraid to testify

W|Mail 27|11 - 7|12|92.

By PAUL STOBER

EVIDENCE by former Military Intelligence operative Joao Cuna before the Goldstone Commission yesterday forged another intriguing link with notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard.

Cuna's allegations, carried in the *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper a month ago, led to the recent raid by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on an MI operations centre and the discovery of a plot by Barnard to smear the African National Congress' armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

Cuna claimed to the *Vrye Weekblad* that in the company of masked whites he had taken part in an attack in the Durban area in which ANC activists had been killed. In evidence before Goldstone yesterday, he denied involvement in an attack or killings, but said he had been taken by two men to collect AK-47 rifles.

One of these was a certain Reilly. *The Weekly Mail* understands that this is Eugene Reilly, a former Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad member and close associate of Barnard's. Evidence has been led in the Webster inquest that Reilly was in Barnard's car when the latter shot academic David Webster.

Yesterday's Goldstone proceedings ground to a halt when a distressed Cuna refused to testify further, saying he was afraid to do so.

His confused testimony beforehand in many cases contradicted the report of his activities which appeared in the *Vrye Weekblad*.

He admitted travelling to Pietermaritzburg with two men he identified as Reilly and "Frank". According to Cuna, they went to the Hilton Hotel near the city. The following day they travelled to Durban where they met two men who took them to a house in a nearby "location". (32D).

Cuna said they visited a large house where "Frank" was given a parcel of three AK-47 rifles. The three then returned to Pietermaritzburg via Durban and spent the night in the Hilton Hotel. The following day they returned to Johannesburg.

Cuna made no mention of any attack on ANC targets and denied any involvement in killings. He claims he was dropped off at home and had no further knowledge of what happened to the AK-47s.

In other contradictions with his original account:

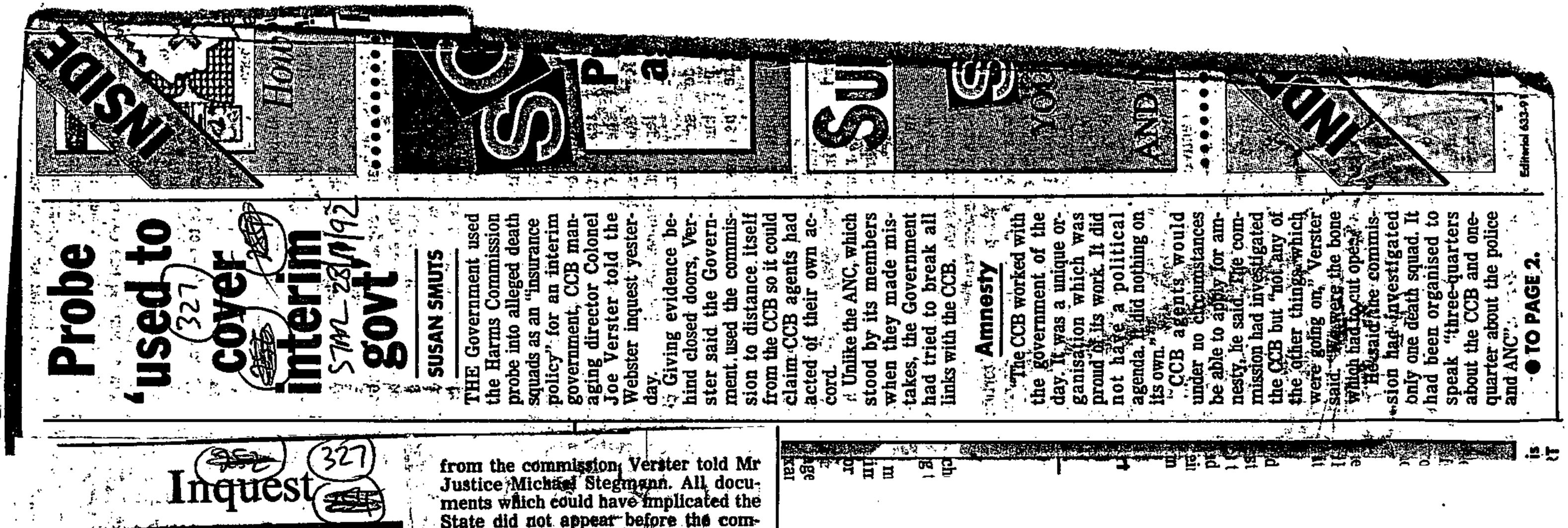
- He denied being promised a micro-recorder to tape meetings with ANC activists.
- He refused to say whom he had been asked to spy on. In *Vrye Weekblad*, he stated he had been asked to spy on ANC members.

Relating how the affidavit on which the newspaper based its story was drawn up, he said "I told the same story I am telling now... there was no talk of me killing anybody".

Cuna refused to answer questions put to him by a commission lawyer, Tobie Pretorius. During a recess, he told Pretorius that he was too scared to testify further.

Advocate Robert Wise, who is heading the commission inquiry, then agreed to hear an application for Cuna to give evidence to him in private.

C




# Probe 'used to cover interim govt'

SUSAN SMUTS

THE Government used the Harms Commission probe into alleged death squads as an "insurance policy" for an interim government, CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster told the Webster inquest yesterday.

Giving evidence behind closed doors, Verster said the Government used the commission to distance itself from the CCB so it could claim CCB agents had acted of their own accord.

Unlike the ANC, which stood by its members when they made mistakes, the Government had tried to break all links with the CCB.

## Amnesty

The CCB worked with the government of the day. It was a unique organisation which was proud of its work. It did not have a political agenda. It did nothing on its own.

CCB agents would under no circumstances be able to apply for amnesty, he said. The commission had investigated the CCB but "not any of the other things which were going on," Verster said. "Whatever the bone which had to cut open."

He said the commission had investigated only one death squad. It had been organised to speak "three-quarters about the CCB and one-quarter about the police and ANC".

● TO PAGE 2.

Editorial 633-91

# Inquest

● FROM PAGE 1.

Verster claimed that SADF generals Eddie Webb, Joep Joubert, Kat Liebenberg and Witkop Badenhorst had tried to influence the evidence given by their subordinates in the CCB. They wanted to change evidence regarding the aims of the CCB, and gave instructions for files to disappear and documents to be altered.

He denied that the CCB was involved in assassinating Webster on May 1 1989. Rumours that former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had confessed to the murder had been passed on to CID chief General Jaap Joubert and an SADF internal inquiry conducted by Badenhorst and SAP Brigadier Krappies Engelbrecht.

However, this information was kept from the commission, Verster told Mr Justice Michael Stegmann. All documents which could have implicated the State did not appear before the commission.

Referring to a letter written to the State President on October 7, five days before the inquest started, Verster said he did not want to be represented by SADF counsel for fear of "intimidation" and because he and other CCB agents were embroiled in a dispute with the SADF over their pensions.

"The police, the ANC and the whole of the State is against us. We must defend ourselves. We know we had nothing to do with the Webster matter," Verster said.

He refused to answer a question from State advocate Jannie van Vuuren about whether CCB agents had been promised indemnity for CCB activities, on the grounds it could incriminate him.

The hearing continues.

# Goldstone to assist SADF inquiry

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE Goldstone commission will actively participate in investigations into SA Defence Force intelligence activities headed by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn.

At a top-level meeting in Pretoria on Friday, Judge Richard Goldstone met with General Steyn, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, Defence Minister Gene Louw and the Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, to work out the extent of the commission's co-operation.

In a statement issued by the State President's office after the meeting, it was noted that the commission's interest in the investigation by General Steyn "relates to its mandate — the investigation of political violence and intimidation".

Advocate Torie Pretorius, a member of the Goldstone commission's staff who participated in the raid on a Military Intelligence operations centre in Pretoria a fortnight ago — which revealed covert plans to destabilise the ANC's military wing — will work with General Steyn.

His appointment is to ensure the commission will be party to all relevant information gleaned as a result of investigations.

Judge Goldstone reiterated that his commission was not seeking extra legal powers.

"I emphasised in my statement of November 16 1992 that, from its inception, the commission has enjoyed the widest legal powers to enable it to perform its mandate."

However, at a meeting 10 days ago, President FW de Klerk granted a request by the judge for more manpower and resources to enable it to carry out those investigations.

## Staff

It is believed that the commission wants to expand its small, overstretched full-time staff and needs bigger quarters than the cramped offices it now occupies in Pretoria.

Judge Goldstone said he had sought the active cooperation of all relevant parties to enable the commission to investigate the activities of public and private armies and other agencies alleged to be involved in public violence and intimidation.

Judge Goldstone hoped other "relevant non-governmental parties will also give their active cooperation to the commission."

# Mother arrested for crossing a road

South - 28/11-2/12/92 (327)

By Quentin Wilson

IS IT illegal to cross a public road to climb into your car?

Earlier this month, a disbelieving Claremont resident found this was the law as applied to black people when she was arrested and charged with loitering while crossing Newlands Main Road to reach her car.

On her way to pick up her eight-year-old son from his Plumstead school, Mrs Gloria Hubert (not her real name) was instead taken to the Claremont police station where she was held for just under seven hours.

She alleges that she was prevented from making a telephone call to arrange a lift for her waiting son.

Although she doesn't want her real name disclosed, fearing that her son would be teased at school about his mother's arrest, Hubert agreed to tell SOUTH of her ordeal:

"I had just finished visiting my cousin who works in Newlands, and I was crossing the road to get to the car-park outside the public swimming pool," she said.

"Before I could get to my car, a Constable Janse van Rensburg, who was seated in a white kombi on the side of the road, told me to get inside.

"I explained to them that I was going to fetch my son from school. The policemen said he would have to spend the night at school because I would be in jail."

Hubert also alleges that she was assaulted by Janse van Rensburg.

She said she was made to sit on the floor of the kombi and a few minutes later the policemen left the vehicle to arrest two women who were walking on the pavement.

"While they were chasing those women, I sat on a seat but Janse van Rensburg kicked me on my hip, telling me I had to sit on the floor," Hubert claimed.

"All the time I was thinking about my son who was waiting outside his school for me He could have been hurt or killed becau... he is still very young."

Her son waited six hours for his mother to fetch him. At 8pm he eventually accepted a lift from a schoolfriend's father who helped him trace his mother to the Claremont police station.

Hubert believes she was arrested because she is black.

"The police would never treat a white woman the same way," she said, "They would also never allow a white schoolboy to be left for six hours for his mother to pick him up.

Hubert said she intended to press charges against the policemen. She was reluctant to do so at first, but decided to go ahead when Janse van Rensburg refused to apologise after she asked him to.

"If he had said he was sorry, then I would have dropped the whole thing. He has left me with no choice, I will go to the courts and let them punish him," she said.

Mr Jan van Eck, ANC member and Claremont MP, said that the arrest was "absolutely disgraceful and unbelievable".

"It is clear that there are elements within the police force who are doing everything they can to keep Africans out of traditionally white suburbs," he said.

"These elements must either change their attitudes or be rooted out of the police - they are a disgrace."

Police spokesperson, Major Denise Brand, said Hubert had been warned earlier in the day not to loiter in the area.

"As the case is sub judice, it would be unfair to comment any further," Brand added.

# Inquiry told that FW was warned

327

C/Pres 29/11/92

By CP Correspondent

STATE President FW de Klerk was informed in a letter, from two former CCB members, of orders to destroy evidence about the death of Dr David Webster, the inquest into the academic's death was told this week.

Col Joe Verster, former managing director of the CCB, was questioned about the letters which were sent to the State President earlier this year by himself and Wessel Huyser, former CCB personnel manager.

The letters were not submitted as evidence. Advocate Jannie van Vuuren, who leads the evidence at the inquiry, only put certain paragraphs to Verster for his comment.

■ The following excerpt from a letter dated October 15 1991, and written by Huyser, was read out to Verster: "... Giving evidence which was deliberately not investigated in the past and which implicates members of the Cabinet."

Verster said he supported this statement in the sense that "we felt that things were being covered up".

In an explanation Verster referred to information about Ferdi Bernard's confession to his handler, Lafras Luitingh, that he had killed Webster.

At an earlier stage Verster alleged that this information was passed on to the team which investigated the CCB and its activities internally. The team consisted of Lt-Gen Witkop Badenhorst, Chief of Military Intelligence, and Brig Krappies Engelbrecht of the SAP.

However, nothing was mentioned about this to the Harms Commission and Verster denied it.

The name of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan was also mentioned in this regard. An "offer" was made to him, but details were not clarified.

Verster had testified that Malan was informed of Barnard's pronouncements, but he denied it at a later stage.

■ Another excerpt from a letter dated October 15: "... Giving evidence on instructions to destroy files and documents".

According to Verster "there were circumstances about which the generals said: 'Now make sure that those things disappear.' (sorg dat daardie goed wegkom)".

■ Verster's attention was drawn to a paragraph in a letter he had written, dated May 6 1992: "During the period before the Harms Commission, SADF generals (Eddie) Webb (Chief of Special Forces), (Joep) Joubert, (Kat) Liebenberg (who was appointed Chief of the army close to the completion of the Harms Commission's investigations) and (Witkop) Badenhorst, tried to influence their subordinates in the SADF to change the aims of the CCB, to ensure the disappearance of documents and to change documents."

Later, in reply to a question by Van Vuuren, Verster testified he did not think this "cover-up" had anything to do with the Webster case.

The inquest, presided over by Judge MS Stegmann, continues.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya; headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

# Former spy 'Tokare bid to take his own

# Chose a pill overdose over a life in cells

CP News 29/11/92.

(327)

By JOHAN RETIEF

RONALD "Tokarev" Bezuidenhout, ex-member of Vlakplaas police base and wanted for fraud, attempted suicide on Tuesday evening by drinking about 200 anti-depressants before turning himself in to the police.

Bezuidenhout was hospitalised and he expected to be discharged – and arrested – yesterday.

"I lost heart. It was too much to bear. I wanted to end it all," Bezuidenhout said on Friday from the hospital.

City Press reported last week Bezuidenhout was scared he would "disappear" while in police custody because of his previous activities and his "intimate knowledge of the workings of Vlakplaas".

According to an affidavit he made, Bezuidenhout infiltrated Umkhonto weSizwe as a member of Military Intelligence and was involved in various covert activities on both sides.

Bezuidenhout went into hiding after warrants for his arrest were issued in 1991 by the Springs and the Boksburg police stations. The police were unable to trace him.

The ex-spy eventually decided to turn himself in to the police, but not before "telling it all" to City Press.

However, when Bezuidenhout went to the Springs police station on Tuesday evening he was told charges against him had been dropped. He had been charged with stealing petrol at Makro in September 1991, while he was working there as a security officer.

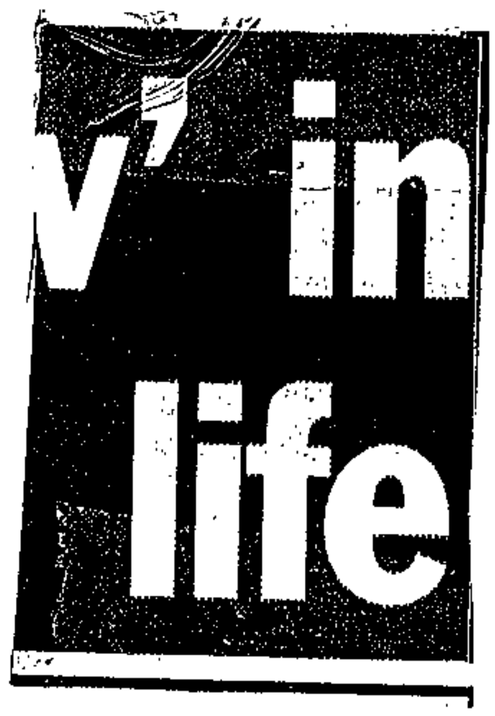
Later that night his ex-wife Marilyn noticed Bezuidenhout had a dazed look in his eyes and his condition was deteriorating quickly.

"I slapped him in the face to try and wake him up, but without success. I called an ambulance and he was rushed to the Far East Rand Hospital," she said.

A hospital spokesman said his stomach was immediately emptied, but he slept for 24 hours without interruption.

The Boksburg police station still has a warrant out for Bezuidenhout's arrest. He was expected to be discharged and arrested yesterday.

Bezuidenhout and his ex-wife said they would remarry "as soon as everything is over".



# 'ANC house used for media report'

Cpress 29/11/92

MOZAMBICAN army deserter Joao Cuna has claimed the *Vrye Weekblad* report, in which he alleged SAP involvement in the deaths of ANC activists, was planned at a house in Johannesburg.

SAP Col Henk Heslinga, a Goldstone investigator, told a Commission sitting in Pretoria on Friday that Cuna had said this to him.

Heslinga also revealed that Cuna had been an informant for the Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collection.

He said he had conducted extensive investigations into Cuna's allegations, in the course of which he had discovered the DCC link.

Its offices were later raided and five files were seized, which led to the disclosure that MI had conspired to subvert the ANC.

Heslinga said Cuna had shown him a house in Yeoville where "he attended several ANC meetings and where the *Vrye Weekblad* reports of 30 October had allegedly been planned".

The *Vrye Weekblad* report quoted Cuna as saying that he had been ordered, and paid, by security force members to kill ANC activists based outside Durban.

On Thursday Cuna denied that in the statement he had made and on which the *Vrye Weekblad* report was based, that there was "any talk of me killing anybody".

On Friday an investigating officer of the Goldstone Commission, Maj Frank Dutton, said he could not trace any attack in which ANC members had been killed, as stated in Cuna's "report". – Sapa

grenade attack on Saturday night killed four people.

Picture: AP

# Hostel residents and ANC sign agreement

BIDAY 1/12/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

GOVERNMENT hostel initiatives should be suspended immediately and transferred to the National Housing Forum, representatives of the ANC's PWV region and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association said yesterday.

In a joint agreement signed yesterday, the ANC and the hostel association expressed mutual dissatisfaction with government's handling of the hostels crisis.

The two parties objected to the use of Black Local Authorities for the upgrading and maintenance of hostels, said the process of consultation undertaken by the Transvaal Provincial Administration had been insufficiently inclusive and rejected the "extensive and costly" use of private sector consultants.

They also said the R326m set aside by government for the upgrading of hostels had not been disbursed satisfactorily.

"Government should immediately undertake to suspend all their initiatives at hostels where agreements have not been finalised and contracts signed by 30 November 1992," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the pact, the first of its kind between hostel dwellers and the ANC, did not contradict September's record of understanding between government and the ANC.

Hostel dwellers, who said recently they would tear down any fences erected as a result of the record, consented yesterday to five hostels in the PWV being fenced.

The joint agreement stated that if certain hostel areas were not fenced, "upgrading, integration and development will not be possible".

The Madala and Nobuhle hostels in Alexandra, the Meadowlands and Dobsonville hostels in Soweto and the Ratanda hostel in Heidelberg all required "immediate stabilising measures", the agreement stated.

These measures include the walling or fencing off of the hostels, a 24-hour police presence, random searches of grounds and dwellers and a constant monitoring of all access points into and out of the hostels.

# Attorney-general to decide on Ceba's arrest

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THEO RAWANA

THE police informer which the Goldstone commission found had organised two attacks which claimed 19 lives in Thokoza last year would be arrested only if the attorney-general found sufficient grounds, police said yesterday.

BIDAY 1/12/92

An inquiry found that Mncugi Ceba, posing as an ANC self-defence unit head, ambushed a march by hostel residents in September last year, killing 16 and injuring 13.

He had also led a violent coup in the Phola Park Residents' Committee, of which three members were subsequently assassinated.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the commission usually directed its findings to the attorney-general, after which they would be sent to the police.

In the morning edition

# Defence Act silences Staal Burger

B1DM 1/12/92

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER CCB member Staal Burger told the Webster inquest yesterday he was "limited" by legislation from saying whether he was still connected to the SADF.

Burger was being cross-examined by counsel for the Webster family, E Bertelsmann SC.

(327)

Asked what his present occupation was, Burger said he had his own business and managed a hotel.

"So you are no longer connected to the SADF," Bertelsmann said.

"My lord, I'm limited by certain legislation (from) answering that question," Burger replied.

The former police colonel and regional manager of the CCB's cell 6 was the first witness to testify in open court for almost two weeks. Burger, Chappie Maree, Slang van Zyl and Calla Botha were all members of the CCB's region 6 cell which operated within the borders of SA.

When Burger took the stand yesterday,

To Page 2

## Burger

B1DM 1/12/92

(327)

From Page 1

his counsel, Peet Coetzee SC, who is also representing the SADF at the inquiry, told the court the Protection of Information and Defence Acts precluded his client from answering certain questions.

Burger was also not obliged to answer questions that could incriminate him.

He said he was not aware of the existence of the CCB when he approached Col Joe Verster in June 1988 and applied for a job with the SADF's Special Forces. He had approached Verster because they had known each other at school.

The chief task of region 6, he said, was to collect information about identified enemies of the state and infiltrate their networks inside the country for possible actions against them outside SA.

Burger said two or three days after David Webster's murder in May 1989, Verster had questioned him about the shooting. Verster, he said, had asked him who Webster was and whether region 6 knew what the motive could have been.

Burger said he thought Verster had described the killing as a "senseless murder".

State counsel Jannie van Vuuren asked him why Verster would have described the murder as senseless if he had not known who Webster was. Burger replied that he had said this under correction and it was possible Verster used the term at a second meeting where the killing was discussed.

He had not been aware that Verster suspected region 6 involvement.

Cross-examined by Bertelsmann, Burger said his legal costs incurred at the inquest were being paid by the SADF.

Burger said when he and other members left the CCB, they were told their legal costs arising out of cases connected to CCB activities during their period of employment would be paid.

Judge M Stegmann yesterday also granted an application by attorney Piet du Plessis to have former MI chief Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst recalled.

The judge has also given the go-ahead to have Brig Krappies Engelbrecht subpoenaed to testify. Engelbrecht was a member of the police team which investigated the Webster murder, including allegations of possible CCB involvement in the shooting.

Du Plessis is acting for Calla Botha, Ferdi Barnard and Slang van Zyl.

# Worried Goldstone witness threatens suicide

By Helen Grange (327)
Pretoria Bureau

STAR 11/2/92

Joao Cuna, the former Mozambican soldier who sparked the recent Goldstone Commission raid on a Military Intelligence base, told a Goldstone committee yesterday he would kill himself before he was killed.

In a day of baffling evidence, a distressed Cuna said an "Indian member of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)" had promised him payment if he told a false story to the Afrikaans newspaper Vrye Weekblad about his shadowy activities in 1991.

Two newspapers, which at the weekend implicated the ANC's Mac Maharaj, were told yesterday by commissioner Rob Wise that steps needed to be taken against them as Maharaj's name had at no stage been mentioned to his committee.

Wise instructed the media on Thursday last week not to publish Cuna's first mention of an "Indian man", as it would prejudice the hearing.

Maharaj said at the weekend he wanted a day before the committee to refute Cuna's allegations.

Cuna further detailed his contact with the "Indian man" yesterday, but said he could not remember the man's name.

He knew he belonged to MK, was tall, bearded and had "whitish hair".

He told the Goldstone committee he had been taken to the man's house by two men — one a policeman named Riley and the other a man he knew only as "Frank".

Riley is understood to be former policeman Eugene Riley, named in the David Webster inquest as a member of Ferdi Barnard's Military Intelligence cell, formed last year to infiltrate MK.

At the house the Indian man, in the company of Riley and Frank, had told Cuna to relate a false story to Vrye Weekblad, implicating the SAP in a Natal massacre. He would be paid to tell the lie.

Vrye Weekblad, on October 30, published allegations by Cuna that he had been recruited by a policeman, "Boy" Schults, to shoot ANC members near Maritzburg.

Cuna subsequently told the Goldstone Commission that the published allegations were lies and that he had actually gone to Maritzburg with Riley and Frank, where AK—47 rifles were collected at a house.

Confusion has now arisen due to Cuna's testimony yesterday that he told this "true" version to Vrye Weekblad despite the Indian man's offer of money to tell lies, but that the false version was published in the newspaper.

Breaking down during questioning at one point, Cuna said: "Now that man (the Indian man) sits in his house and I sit here with all these problems. He put me in this problem and now he is trying to kill me. I am first going to kill myself."

In earlier testimony yesterday, Pearlie Joubert of the Vrye Weekblad said that as far as she knew, Cuna was to have met an ANC representative before seeing a newspaper with his story, but that the ANC representative had failed to arrive.

Joubert denied having been told a different version to what was published.

Riley is expected to testify before the committee today.

# Verster's seven days in court

Sowetan 1/12/92 (327)

## ■ WEBSTER KILLING Evidence in camera involves former Defence Minister Malan:

CROSS-EXAMINATION of former Civil Co-operation Bureau managing director Colonel Joe Verster ended yesterday after seven days at the inquest into Dr David Webster's death in the Rand Supreme Court.

According to transcripts of his evidence, which was heard in camera, Verster told the inquest last week he had told the then Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, in July 1990 that ex-CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had allegedly confessed to the May 1 1989 killing.

### Presiding judge

As a result of this evidence, the Webster Trust's lawyers have asked the presiding judge at the inquest, Mr Justice Michael Stegmann, to subpoena Malan.

Verster denied allegations put to him during the inquest that he recently approached Barnard to set up a series of front companies, each with its own security force, to act against a future government. It was alleged that R100 million had been set aside for this purpose.

It was also alleged that on October 6 Verster had written to State President FW de Klerk warning him of serious discontent among members and former members of the SA Defence Force.

### Army generals

In another letter to De Klerk Verster had also alleged that four army generals, including SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg, had influenced their subordinates in the CCB to make CCB documentation "change" and "disappear".

CCB agent Lafras Luitingh was also cross-examined in camera yesterday morning.

Luitingh earlier told the court Barnard had confessed to killing Webster with a view to winning another contract with the CCB.

The former head of the CCB's region six, Staal Burger, was expected to give evidence yesterday afternoon. - *Sapa.*

# Riley 'paid Cuna's rent'

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Military Intelligence agent Joao Cuna had his monthly rental paid by Eugene Riley, the man identified in the Webster inquest as a member of Ferdi Barnard's cell, a Goldstone committee heard yesterday.

On his third day testifying before the committee, Cuna broke down several times.

The committee of inquiry, held under Mr Justice R Wise, was called after Cuna told the Goldstone Commission that he had lied to the Afrikaans newspaper Vrye Weekblad about his activities last year.

On Monday, Cuna told the committee that an "Indian man" who was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe had offered to pay him money to tell a false story to Vrye Weekblad concerning his shadowy activities in 1991.

Cuna has told the committee that he is under serious threat, and has threatened to kill himself before he is killed.

Riley, who made friends with Cuna shortly after Cuna arrived in South Africa from Mozambique, is understood to be Eugene Riley, a member of Barnard's secret Military Intelligence cell.

Cuna yesterday said Riley had promised him money for "dangerous work" he was to do.

Riley denied this. He said he had become involved with Cuna through "Boy" Schults to help him trace illegal weapons.

Cuna first said Riley had wanted him to get weapons but, despite tough questioning from the ANC's counsel, Azhar Cachalia, concerning the type of work he was to do, refused to elaborate.

The hearing continues.

Sowetan 2/12/92

# 'Weapons to blame'

A LACK of control over the possession and use of traditional and automatic weapons contributed to the ongoing violence in Natal, Legal Resources Centre spokesman Mr Howard Varney said yesterday.

Testifying before the Goldstone Commission inquiry into the ongoing bloodshed in the province, Varney said the use of automatic assault weapons such as AK-47 rifles and G3s had reached alarming proportions. He conceded that the carrying of traditional weapons had become highly politicised and that this had "gone too far". - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

~~326~~ 327

# 'Free witness for Winnie trial'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has appealed to Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to spare no effort to secure the release of Kaliza Cebekhulu — a key witness in the assault and kidnapping trial of Winnie Mandela.

He has been held without trial in a Zambian prison for nearly two years.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon has written to Botha pointing out that Cebekhulu's continued detention was criticised in Amnesty International's recent report on torture and executions in ANC camps.

The Amnesty report said Cebekhulu secretly left SA in February 1991. In May 1991 he gave a press interview and was put in a Lusaka prison.

Leon said it had been alleged that Cebekhulu had been removed from South Africa to prevent his giving evidence against Mandela.

Botha's spokesman said last night that the Government was in constant contact with the Zambian government about the Cebekhulu case and was "doing its utmost".

Leon has also written to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee urging them to offer witness protection to ANC dissidents who are being threatened.

Leon said the Amnesty report had noted that former ANC prisoners who had returned to SA feared for their safety in view of attacks by ANC supporters in the townships.

The report said Nwezi Twali, leader of the Returned Exiles co-ordinating Committee (RECOC) had received frequent death threats and had gone into hiding.

Two other former ANC prisoners and RECOC members — Bongani Ntshangase and Sipho Phungulwa — had been assassinated.

Leon said Kriel should offer former ANC detainees protection under the new witness protection scheme to encourage them to come forward and testify about deaths and abuses in ANC camps.

# Newspapers 'ignored ruling'

Two newspapers are alleged to have contravened a section of the Public Violence and Intimidation Act of 1991, a Goldstone Commission committee has found.

Mr Justice R Wise, chairman of the committee investigating Joao Cuna's claims in the Vrye Weekblad, ruled that certain information relating to Cuna's testimony that day should not be published.

He said reports in the Citizen and the Sunday Times constituted a *prima facie* case of contempt of the ruling.

# ...told to co-operate

Sfm 2/12/92

By Susan Smuts

Civil Co-operation Bureau managing director Colonel Joe Verster told former agent Ferdi Barnard during a debriefing before the Harms Commission probe into alleged death squads to "co-operate or else", the David Webster inquest heard yesterday.

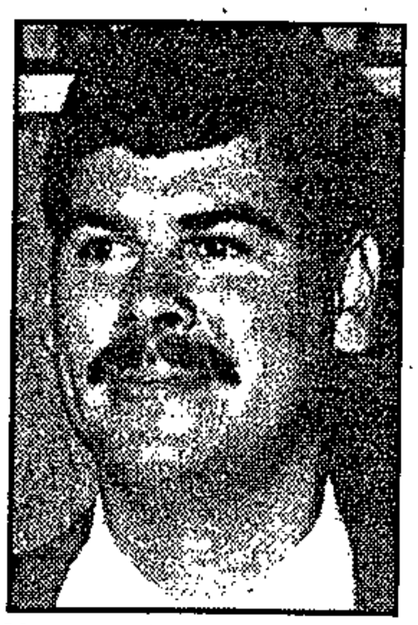
After the commission, Barnard told investigating officer Warrant-Officer Wessel Rousseauw that the CCB used its agents' deeds in the line of duty "as a sword over their heads" to make them give tame evidence to the commission.

"Obviously if you have been in the game you have done certain things. They say straight to your face that you must co-operate or you're in s..."

Barnard told Mr Justice Michael Stegmann that during the debriefing, Verster had obliquely warned him to co-operate with the CCB.

He said CCB agent Slang van Zyl had been harassed after giving frank testimony to the commission. A notice had been placed in a newspaper advertising a large white sow and a small white piglet (referring to Van Zyl's wife and child) with Van Zyl's telephone number.

Barnard denied murdering Webster and said he had not confessed or boasted to anyone that he had taken part in the assassination. His handler, Lafras Luitingh, earlier told the court Barnard had confessed to him.



Harassed . . . CCB agent Slang van Zyl, allegedly a victim of intimidation.

Barnard told the inquest that Verster had approached him earlier this year to set up a security company to act as a front against a future government.

He admitted helping CCB agent Calla Botha to monitor activist Roland White and advocate Dullah Omar, and helping Van Zyl to nail a monkey foetus to a tree at Archbishop Tutu's home

Former Military Intelligence chief General Witkop Badenhorst, who was recalled to give evidence, said he did not think it was necessary to testify earlier that Barnard had been employed by MI this year.

Badenhorst previously told the inquest that Barnard had not been employed by MI between 1989 and 1990.

Yesterday he told the inquest he could not see how the information could be important.

He denied it could have any bearing on the possible involvement of Barnard or MI in Webster's death.

MI was not involved in the murder and Barnard had been employed merely as a source of information.

He also denied he had tried to cover up the extent of the CCB's activities during the Harms Commission.

Verster had told the inquest that four SADF generals had ordered CCB files to disappear, and that rumours that Barnard had been involved in Webster's murder had not reached the commission.

Verster, Luitingh and CCB information officer Derrick Louw (an alias) told the court earlier that they had told Badenhorst that Barnard had confessed to Luitingh about Webster's murder.

Badenhorst said the information had been presented as a rumour and not a confession. He had passed it to Verster and CCB chairman General Eddie Webb for feedback.

The hearing continues.

# Natal unrest linked to lack of control over weapons

DURBAN — A lack of control over the possession and use of traditional and automatic weapons contributed to the ongoing violence in Natal, Legal Resources Centre spokesman Howard Varney said yesterday.

Testifying to the Goldstone Commission inquiry into the ongoing bloodshed in the province, Varney said the use of automatic assault weapons such as AK-47 rifles and G3s had reached alarming proportions.

Varney conceded that the carrying of traditional weapons had become highly politicised and that this had "gone too far".

But he proposed that prior notice be given of traditional Zulu events, in order that control be enforced on the carrying of such weapons.

Varney also said elements within the security forces appeared to be fuelling violence in order to derail peace negotiations. He suggested that a Supreme Court judge be appointed to assist the commission in its investigations. — Sapa.

# I was framed for Webster murder, says Barnard

Star 3/12/92. (327)

By Susan Smuts

Ferdi Barnard had been framed by the CCB for the assassination of Dr David Webster, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

A confident and sometimes jocular Barnard named CCB managing director Joe Verster as leader of the conspiracy.

He said Verster's false evidence was supported by Lafras Luitingh (Barnard's former handler) and CCB information officer Derrick Louw (an alias).

These men earlier told the Webster inquest that Barnard confessed to Luitingh that he had murdered Webster. This evidence did not emerge during the Harms Commission into alleged police death squads.

Denying the allegation, Barnard told Mr Justice Michael Stegmann he found it

● To Page 3

# I was framed, says Barnard

(327)

Star 3/12/92.

● From Page 1

strange the allegation was made after CCB chairman General Eddie Webb gave testimony which incriminated Verster. Webb had told the inquest that Verster had authorised the "elimination" of activist Roland White and advocate Dullah Omar in contravention of CCB procedures which required Webb to authorise eliminations.

"I find it funny that Verster suddenly lays this on the table after Webb incriminated him. It is a mockery of justice," Barnard said.

He found it strange that Louw was part of the conspiracy because he did not know him.

Barnard claimed his legal costs at the Harms Commission were paid by the CCB — but only after the CCB's lawyers had deleted parts of his statement referring to specific projects. He said Verster and CCB counsel Flip Hattingh had made him take out references to the nailing of a monkey foetus to a tree in Archbishop Desmond Tutu's home, and the monitoring of Nambian advocate Anton Lubowski a few months before he was shot dead.

He was unhappy about this because he would not be granted indemnity if the State proved he had taken part in the projects.

● In an in camera sitting before the court convened, the judge found Verster had not been in contempt of court when he did not arrive to give evidence on the date for which he was subpoenaed. In an affidavit, Verster said he had to wind up CCB projects before pension payments to its former members could be made.

The hearing continues.

# Cuna's evidence 'laughable'

STAR 3/12/92

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Former Mozambican soldier Joao Cuna was described yesterday as a good source of information concerning the smuggling of weapons from Mozambique to South Africa, but his stories implicating the security forces in a Natal massacre were called "laughable".

Giving evidence before a Goldstone committee yesterday, policeman Eugene Riley said Cuna had been paid for his information, and that money came from Ferdi Barnard's "budget" for his intelligence cell.

Riley told the committee that his only dealing with Cuna was being his handler.

Cuna this week told the committee that an Indian man in Umkhonto we Sizwe had offered him money to tell a lie to Vrye Weekblad about his shadowy activities.

Riley said he became a member of Barnard's cell after being suspended from the police's Narcotics Bureau in 1988. His job was to investigate weapons-smuggling, particularly by the ANC and PAC.

He was introduced to Cuna by another Military Intelligence agent, "Boy" Schults, and Cuna had shown him five or six houses where arms smuggling was supposed to be taking place.

Riley said he, Cuna and a man named "Frans" had gone to Maritzburg in July last year so that Cuna could identify another house.

He had stayed behind in the Hilton Hotel while Cuna and "Frans" unsuccessfully searched for the house.

Riley said yesterday that Cuna's allegations to the Vrye Weekblad "were absurd and laughable". Asked by the ANC's counsel, Azhar Cachalia, why he had gone with Cuna to Maritzburg, Riley said it was to reinforce the trust relationship.

The hearing will resume on January 11.

# News in brief

Sowetan 3/12/92

## Pageant picket protest

ABOUT 30 people held placard demonstrations outside three foreign embassies in Pretoria yesterday to protest against the participation of their beauty queens in the Miss World pageant at the Lost City.

The picketers were accompanied by United Nations observers and representatives of the National Peace Secretariat during the demonstrations at the Japanese, Israeli and US embassies. A small picket was also held outside the Bophuthatswana embassy.

## Lighting up could cost you!

A CIGARETTE could cost up to R2 000 in Johannesburg - if one lights up on a bus. The city council has banned smoking on all its buses and offenders will face a fine of up to R2 000. Sowetan

The council said yesterday a survey conducted in July had found that 76 percent of all passengers were totally opposed to smoking, compared with a survey in May last year in which 62 percent supported the prohibition of smoking. 3/12/92

"The change in opinion is seen to be in line with a general increased awareness of the dangers of smoking and its unacceptability in confined spaces," said a spokesman.

## 'Kei, Ciskei at loggerheads

TRANSKEI yesterday lashed out at Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for proposing the creation of an autonomous republic embracing Ciskei, the Border and the Eastern Cape.

Gqozo told a summit on regionalism on Tuesday the envisaged republic would exclude Transkei for what he said were historical and political reasons.

The Transkei Military Council in Umtata yesterday dismissed Gqozo's address as "rantings and ravings" and said it had "a hollow ring of political bankruptcy". Sowetan 3/12/92

## Sasol workers want jobs

ABOUT 5 000 members of the SA Chemical Workers' Union will march on the offices of Sasol 1 in Sasolburg tomorrow to demand that they be reinstated. Sowetan 3/12/92

Most of the workers were dismissed in 1987 during a legal strike while others were sacked during the past five years. The march will begin from AECI at 3pm and proceed to the offices of Sasol 1 where a memorandum will be presented.

Four whites die and the word terrorist surfaces, observes **Mathata Tshedu**

# Our prejudices come shining through

STAR 3/12/92.

THE racism of the South African police, Government and the media is sickening. In a country where the deaths of 10 people does not warrant a page one story in any newspaper any more, it is surprising how the death of four whites in King Williams Town has stirred the emotions of the media.

As if by a turn of a switch, we have now seen the return of the word terrorist. Terrorist because the victims of this particular attack were white.

Whatever happened to the usual "unknown gunmen" who have been blamed for spraying equally innocent black people at night vigils, birthday parties and other innocuous gatherings with bullets?

Let let us look at what happens when four whites at a golf club are shot as they eat dessert after a wine tasting ceremony.

The police launch a huge manhunt, which never happens when the killings are at Folweni.

We are told of how the unexploded petrol bombs resemble those found at previous Apla attacks. We are told of strong leads. Of imminent arrests. Of rewards of R50 000.

Does anyone remember how the killings in Sebokeng, Boipatong or Folweni resemble any other attack and thus maybe Inkatha or the ANC or whoever else is the prime suspect?

It is this sort of racism of the media, police and regime, the PAC's Benny Alexandra said, that led many people to believe that the violence would stop soon enough if it spread to white areas and left some whites dead.

The manner in which the deaths of black people are treated by the police and the media is really appalling. No details, no names, just the bare allegations that are recorded for historial purposes.

The racism embedded in the psyche of South Africans over centuries will be hard to eradicate. One would understand perhaps the reaction of individuals touched by the incident.

But for organised institutions such as television, newspaper and the police force to allow the prejudices to shine through like at a time when they are telling u of a new South Africa is total unacceptable. In fact, the who selective uproar over the killing is enough to drive one into syn pathising with the killers, and n the victims of the King carnage.

And unless we stand up ar decry the selective and raci reactions of both the Governme and the media, it will continu We need to cultivate a philosoph that looks at life as life, and not a white life and therefore deservir more attention than black life. □

*Mathata Tshedu is Investiga tions Editor of The Sowetan.*

# Covert operations defended

COVERT police operations had proved more successful than conventional methods in uncovering arms smuggling networks and these operations could be extended in the future, the Goldstone Commission heard this week.

The full Commission is hearing submissions in Cape Town on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in SA.

WL Wepener, for the SA Police, said covert intelligence and infiltration operations were "absolutely essential" to combat the import and distribution of weapons.

# News in brief

Sowetan 3/12/92

## Pageant picket protest

327

ABOUT 30 people held placard demonstrations outside three foreign embassies in Pretoria yesterday to protest against the participation of their beauty queens in the Miss World pageant at the Lost City.

The picketers were accompanied by United Nations observers and representatives of the National Peace Secretariat during the demonstrations at the Japanese, Israeli and US embassies. A small picket was also held outside the Bophuthatswana embassy.

# Govt may refuse to meet PAC following massacre

# Judge to take Goldstone's aim at Apla

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday called on the United Nations and the international community to help him launch an urgent inquiry into the Azanian People's Liberation Army, saying it had a "policy of terrorism based on racist criteria, and an intention to extend the unacceptable violence".

In a statement Mr Justice Goldstone said: "The policy of Apla demonstrates the necessity of a full investigation into that organisation by the commission.

"To that end the commission calls upon the international community, and in particular the UN, to take the necessary steps to enable the commission to hold a full inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla outside SA and to report fully thereon in relation to political violence and intimidation in SA."

The PAC yesterday repeated its view that it would not allow Apla, its military wing, to be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Justice Goldstone's statement came in the aftermath of the weekend golf club killings in King William's Town, for which some Apla spokesmen have claimed responsibility.

In a separate move, the Government yesterday warned that its talks with the PAC, scheduled for next week, were in jeopardy because of the alleged involvement of Apla in the killings.

There is still confusion about Apla's involvement, with contradictory statements being made by "spokesmen" in telephone interviews.

The PAC has announced an emergency meeting of its executive for tomorrow.

The Government and PAC have met twice recently to finalise a meeting between President F W de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Government sources yesterday confirmed that the planned meeting with the PAC on December 9 would not go ahead unless the organisation gave a satisfactory clarification of its relationship with Apla.

But PAC director of information and publicity Waters Toboti said yesterday it was the "regime's own indaba if they withdraw from talks".

He noted that in two previous meetings with the Government, "nothing was discussed about Apla and no undertakings were made regarding the issue".

The Government sources said they were shocked by PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander's statement that the Government was upset only by the death of whites.

They denied this and said that in an earlier statement condemning the King William's Town killings, the Government had also expressed its shock at several weekend deaths in townships.

● To Page 3

## Goldstone takes aim at Apla

■ From Page 1

Mr Justice Goldstone said the ANC had agreed to an investigation into its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The commission had not yet received a response from the KwaZulu government on an investigation into the KwaZulu Police.

ANC executive member and former intelligence chief Patrick Lekota said the suggestion that the King William's Town attack was staged by the PAC was ridiculous.

Lekota said that for anyone to carry out the attack, they would have needed "abundance of intelligence on the planning and programme of the occasion, both before and during the occasion", and that the R-1 and R-4 weapons used were "standard SADF and police issue".

● Eastern Cape police said yesterday they suspected that those responsible for the attack had once worked as caddies at the golf club.

# South Africa knew of plans to train MK in Uganda

W/May 4/12-10/12/92

*The South African authorities have known for months of the ANC's military training in Uganda — and have implicitly agreed, reports*

**ARTHUR GAVSHON** *in London*

~~[illegible]~~ 327

**SOMETHING of a fake furore has blown up in South Africa over African National Congress arrangements for the training of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres in foreign lands in friendly Commonwealth lands.**

**These arrangements were under way more than a year ago, with the full knowledge of the South African government, in order to integrate MK personnel into a new, unified and non-racial South African Defence Force — but only after the emergence of a democratically-elected paliament under a renegotiated constitution.**

**In early September 1991 this correspondent was told by Foreign Officials here that their diplomats in Pretoria at the time were informally discussing the moves with ANC leaders as part of a general aid programme for post-apartheid South Africa. The informats, at the time, were at pains to emphasise South African state authorities had been made fully aware of the British initiative. The initiative, they said then, included other forms of help for political groupings other than those linked with the ANC. Inkatha was one of those groupings but because Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi was claiming Inkatha had no military wing it was assumed they would not qualify for military training facilities.**

**British authorities have reported that discussions still are proceeding on a programme for the retraining in this country of South Africa police, both black and white, and representative of all South African groupings.**

**British officials made clear that their embassy in Pretoria had kept South Africa state authorities informed of their informal exchanges with the ANC leadership. The possibility was mentioned by one official that the South African government may well have raised some objections to the idea of Britain providing military facilities and training for MK personnel and, he added, this could have led to a change in the British proposal — providing police rather than military training.**

**Around the time this development was reported more that 13 months ago, Chris Hani, the MK chief of staff, said in a published interview the ANC also was seeking professional military training facilities from India, Pakistan, Canada, Australia and Uganda among other countries. The idea was to develop MK personnel to officer level. If any objections were raised by South African state authorities they certainly were not publicised at that time. In fact defence minister Roelf Meyer told an interviewer on Britain's Independent Television network in early September 1991, that the process of intergrating blacks into the SADF already was taking place.**

**The British have, for years, focused on helping their ertswhile colonies to build up their security forces along the lines of Britain's own national system. In recent times they have extended this policy to non-Commonwealth countries like Mozambique which sends its promising military personnel here for education in modern military technology, organisation, weaponry, discipline. Namibia and Zimbabwe also make use of these facilities. Indeed up until the Gulf war Iraqi soldiers, sailors and airmen were benefitting from Britain's experience.**

**One byproduct of this British system has been, through example, to spread the most acceptable elements of Britain's values.**

**In the aftermath of the King William's Town affair, a phoney furore built up when some political groups, not excluding state spokesmen, called attention to ANC military training arrangements for its MK cadres in foreign lands.**

**These were potrayed as sinister developments with implicit suggestions that, that somehow, they could be linked with the eastern Cape killings.**

# Report gives new twist to Webster murder

w/mail 4/12 – 10/12/92 (327)

By EDDIE KOCH

MEMBERS of the South African Defence Force trained Renamo rebels at a concealed military base in kwaZulu's Tembe Elephant Park near Kosi Bay in 1989, according to an official intelligence report leaked to *The Weekly Mail*.

Lawyers for the David Webster Trust have examined the document to see if it can throw any light on why the human rights academic was gunned down outside his home in May 1989.

Webster was investigating Renamo activities in the Kosi Bay district of kwaZulu, which straddles the border of southern Mozambique. He was assassinated a week before he was due to travel to the region on a research expedition.

The homeland's conservation authorities have confirmed that SADF personnel conducted a paramilitary course in Tembe during the early part of 1989, but they insist only game rangers employed by the homeland's conservation department were trained.

"On one occasion in 1989 we had a protective training course in Tembe. Military guys taught our rangers defensive tactics because armed militias from both Frelimo and Renamo were crossing the border into the park. At no stage were Renamo members trained in the reserve," said kwaZulu Bureau for Natural Resources (KBNR) director Nick Steele.

The intelligence report says the military programme inside Tembe included training in the use of 60mm mortars. Steele denies this.

"We would never allow mortars to be used in a game reserve," he said. "Rifles were used in that course, which took place in February 1989, and the military also did a demo which involved detonating a land mine."

The Mozambican armed forces flew a Soviet-made helicopter over the Kosi Bay region in early 1989, with Cuban intelligence officers on board who were looking for evidence of Renamo bases in the area, the intelligence report says.

The surveillance caused a considerable amount of alarm among members of the South African military operating in the area. The author of the report says this should be investigated as a possible reason for Military Intelligence's intense interest in monitoring the activities of Webster.

There has been consistent speculation in human rights circles that Webster was killed because he was investigating covert SADF operations in northern Natal. The intelligence report is the first indication that members of the security establishment have also considered this as a possible motive for the assassination.

The report says some of the officials who work for the kwaZulu conservation body have strong links with MI.

"It is not impossible that individuals in the KBNR might be working for Military Intelligence," said Steele. "But it is not my policy, or the policy of the KBNR, to do this. We swap information with the military, but this is only to ensure the protection of my staff and the game reserve."

Steele added that his organisation had no interest in supporting Renamo or other military operations in the area.

Investigators for the David Webster Trust are looking into the report, but generally believe that Webster's work with the End Conscription Campaign and other pro-African National Congress organisations provided a stronger motive for his murder.

**NEWS** Investigating team tardy, says judge ● Soweto toasts *Charles Glass* again

# No finding on lawyer's death

**Explosive device killed Bheki Mlangeni:**

THE Rand Supreme Court was yesterday unable to make a finding on who was responsible for the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan said available evidence fell short of pin-pointing who was to blame.

"Statements placed before the court do not provide an acceptable basis for a finding and therefore should be ignored," he said.

However, the court might have come to a different finding had the investigating team acted with greater promptness.

"The investigating team which was constituted to collect information with regard to the explosion did not visit Vlakplaas until three months after the explosion.

"The delay has not facilitated the collection of evidence," he said.

Mlangeni was killed in February last year when a Walkman device with explosives in the headphones exploded when he attempted to listen to a tape recording.

The device was wrapped in a parcel addressed to DJ Coetzee, a former Vlakplaas police captain who had been living in Lusaka since 1990.

# Beer drought over

**■ SAB products boycott is suspended after a meeting with taverners:**

**By Mzimkulu Malunga**

THE five-day boycott of South African Breweries by taverners in Soweto and other areas is over.

At a meeting yesterday with SAB management lasting four hours at SAB headquarters in Sandton, Johannesburg, taverners decided to halt the action.

The two major associations whose members were involved in the boycott, the National Taverners Association and the South African Taverners Association, said the action was suspended pending a report-back to their grassroots members.

Both SAB and the taverners said they had reached "common ground" on problems facing the liquor industry, but could not give details.

A full announcement will be made in due course, probably next week, after the NTA and Sata had reported back to their members.

"Some of the things are very sensitive, so releasing them to the media before informing our membership will be counter-productive," said the NTA's national chairman, Mr David Mokoena.

A seven-member task force consisting of four representatives from the taverners and three from SAB was charged with the responsibility of exploring short to medium-term, as well as long-term solutions to the problems in the industry.

"We are delighted that the boycott is off. We think it is in the interests of the associations, SAB and the community at large, particularly at this time of the year," said SAB public affairs head, Mr Adrian Botha.

The boycott had started in Soweto and spread to other areas, especially in the Free State.



# 'Top torturer' helps Goldstone

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE (327)

A NOTORIOUS security police interrogator, Nic Deetlefs, resurfaced recently when he assisted the Goldstone Commission in the investigation of alleged Third Force activities exposed by Mozambican citizen Joao Cuna. wlmail 4/12 -10/12/92

Deetlefs was implicated in the torture and interrogation of numerous activists in the early 1980s and was named in various damages claims brought against the police by detainees.

"He was part of the notorious police team that pounced on the left," says attorney David Dison.

Deetlefs, a South African Police investigator on the Cuna case, accompanied Goldstone Commission investigators to the Hilton Hotel near Pietermaritzburg. There, they found credit card slips verifying Cuna's claims that he had been to the hotel with two policemen. The credit card was traced to the shadowy Directorate of Covert Collections which was raided by the Goldstone Commission and a number of sensational files seized.

Deetlefs was named as one of the interrogators of trade unionist Neil Aggett prior to his death in 1982, although he denied this at the inquest into Aggett's death.

However, he interrogated trade unionist Monty Narsoo and student leader Auret van Heerden, both of whom brought damages claims against the police after their detention, alleging they were tortured.

Narsoo, whose claim was successful, claimed that Deetlefs continually "threatened and swore at him" during detention.

Van Heerden's claim failed on a technicality, although the judge ruled that he had been tortured.

Keith Coleman, an anti-apartheid activist, was also interrogated by Deetlefs; so were Barbara Hogan, Cedric Mason and Jabu Ngwenya. Mason left the country after his detention.

In Hogan's application, she alleged that Deetlefs had been her chief interrogator and that she had been "continuously assaulted" throughout her detention.

During the inquest into Aggett's death, fellow detainees testified that he had been beaten while naked, made to do strenuous exercises and subjected to 60-hour interrogation sessions.

Other detainees testified that the same interrogation team, including Deetlefs, had tortured them. Their methods included sleep deprivation, electric shock treatment, suffocation and being interrogated while completely naked or with a canvas bag placed over their heads.

van said.

# Rent boycotts to continue

WILSON ZWANE

THE time was not yet ripe for the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) to advise its members to suspend rent and services boycotts, Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said yesterday.

He said in an interview that Sanco did not want to "encourage the culture of non-payment of services".

However, a number of things had to happen before Sanco advised its constituencies to suspend the boycotts. These included "sufficient movement towards the democratisation of government — at both local and national levels", the scrapping of the Interim Measures for Local Government Act and the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Act and the forging of a single tax base for towns and their neighbouring townships.

Mayekiso said while negotiations were continuing in the Local Government Negotiating Committee — which comprised government and civics — authorities should not "penalise our people by cutting services".

Former Local Government Minister Leon Wessels said recently government was prepared to suspend the Interim Measures for Local Government Act and the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Act if boycotts of rent and services were lifted.

In another development, a working group of the Local Government Negotiating Committee met this week to finalise a draft document on the establishment of a local government forum.

The document would be submitted to the committee in the new year for discussion.

The document, which Sanco has circulated to its regions, contains three options for local government:

- ☐ The inclusion of extra-parliamentary groups in the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs;
- ☐ The scaling down of this council to make it more cost-effective and less unwieldy; and
- ☐ The establishment of a completely new forum for local government.

It is understood Sanco will push for acceptance of the third option.

# PAC to seek black businessmen's help

WILSON ZWANE

THE PAC is asking black business and the black professional community to work with it in finding solutions to the country's political and economic problems.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday his organisation believed business and professional people's contribution to current political debates was vital to SA's future stability and prosperity.

A two-day conference attracting around 250 people would be held at Midrand at the weekend "to explore and develop possible synergies" between the PAC and black businessmen, Makwetu said.

Key speakers will include PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, Nafcoc president Archie Nkonyeni and National Sorghum Brewery executive chairman Mohale Mahanyele.

# Witness fails to recall events

SUSAN RUSSELL

**POLICEMAN Eugene Riley, identified by two witnesses at the Webster inquest from an identikit of a suspect in the murder of Wits academic David Webster, testified yesterday he could not remember what he had done on May 1 1989, the day of the murder.**

**Riley said the date had no special significance for him.**

**The police counter-insurgency unit member told the court he and former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had been friends since 1981.**

**Riley said after his suspension from the police force — he had been charged with attempted murder and robbery in Bophuthatswana — Barnard had hired him as an informant for MI last year. Barnard worked for MI from May to December last year.**

**Riley said Barnard had paid him for his services until August last year.**

**Earlier yesterday Judge M Stegmann refused an application by counsel for the Webster family, E Bertelsmann SC, for an order compelling the investigating officer to identify a source who approached him during the first week after the murder and suggested he direct his investigation towards CCB MD Joe Verster.**

**The judge said there was nothing to suggest that the source could offer information that was not already before the court.**

**The court adjourned until January 19 when counsel will present their closing arguments.**

# Apla violence condemned

STAR 4/12/92

By Hugh Roberton
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The international community, led by African countries, is ready to take strong and concerted action to put a stop to acts of violence by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), according to diplomats in Washington and at the UN today.

They were commenting on an appeal from Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for help in conducting an urgent investigation of Apla.

African diplomats particularly are critical of statements attributed to Apla and to the organisation's political counterpart, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), following the King William's Town golf club killings.

At the UN, diplomats revealed that the Africa Group — in effect the UN caucus of the OAU — had already warned the PAC against any attempt to resolve South Africa's problems outside the framework of peaceful multiparty negotiations.

They insist it was their pressure on the PAC delegation, led by Clarence Makwetu, at this year's UN Security Council debate on the Boipatong massacre, which led to the PAC's belated and grudging decision to join negotiations.

And they said today they were ready to exert whatever pressure they could on the PAC and Apla to abandon violence as a means of achieving political ends.

Western diplomats said there could be no doubt about their stand against violence.

"It surely goes without saying. It is an unnecessary question," said a European diplomat.

A senior African official in Washington said: "Africa has been exhausted and devastated by violence, and as a continent we are solidly behind peaceful negotiations to resolve South Africa's problems."

## ...t finding ...onclusive

SUSAN RUSSELL

THERE was insufficient evidence to identify those responsible for the murder of ANC attorney Bheki Mlangeni, who was killed by a parcel bomb meant for renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee on May 15 last year, the inquest judge has found.

Judge O' Donovan handed down his findings in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

He said the court had been unable to identify who was responsible for the murder.

"The investigating team which was constituted to collect information with regard to the explosion did not visit Vlakplaas until three months after the explosion."

The sole issue the court had to consider was who sent the parcel bomb to Coetzee or arranged for it to be done.

"In this respect the available evidence falls lamentably short of the proof required, even on the basis of mere probability," O' Donovan said.

# Mykonos buyers did 'phantom' deals

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Malpractices in the operation of the Club Mykonos share block scheme meant some purchasers bought non-existent shares, which gave them rights to non-existent land, from non-existent sellers, the Nel commission of inquiry into the collapse of the Masterbond group was told yesterday.

Buyers, also, were not told about existing bonds over the properties.

Some of the sales contracts were deficient in not correctly identifying the land which was bought. In some cases the land did not exist, and in one case a bond over the property amounting to R55m was not disclosed, attorney and shareblock adviser Mildred Curr told the commission.

Curr said the effect was that the owners concerned did not own anything.

Also, she said, bonds valued at R171m had been registered over land leased to the Club Mykonos shareblock company, thereby eroding the shareblock owners' title to the land and making it improbable that they would be able to secure their rights.

There had been deficiencies in the articles of association of the shareblock company in that it did not comply in all respects with the Share Blocks Control Act. This, also, had the effect of undermining the rights of shareblock owners.

Curr said that by October 22 1990, Club Mykonos Langebaan (CML) owned 29,0679ha of land which had registered bonds over the whole or portions of the land for a total capital amount of R201m.

When the land was originally acquired by CML, it had measured 1 047,6671ha and had been bonded for R5m.

The commission has adjourned its hearings until further notice.

☐ The question whether the Masterbond curators were entitled to call up bonds held over Fancourt Holdings — which owns lodges, land and a golf course outside George — was in dispute in the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday.

The Masterbond curators have applied for the provisional liquidation of Fancourt Holdings, claiming it has total debts of R117m, R97m of which is to Masterbond investors.

On Wednesday Fancourt Properties, which owns the Fancourt Hotel, was provisionally wound up.

Fancourt chairman Andre Pieterse said that a moratorium agreement reached in January prevented the curators calling up the bonds in the event of an act of insolvency by Fancourt.

The hearing continues today.

# 'Barnard employed me at DCC'

By Susan Smuts STAR 4/12/92

A policeman suspected of taking part in Dr David Webster's assassination told an inquest at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he had been employed by former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard in Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC).

Eugene Riley, whom two witnesses have identified from an identikit drawn up after the May 1 1989 murder, said he had never worked for the CCB.

The court has heard that Barnard confessed and boasted to several people that he had taken part in the murder.

Barnard allegedly described to his former employer, Willie Smit, and Smit's mother, Johanna, how Webster's body had flown through the air after he had been shot. Smit retracted this evidence, but his mother said she had heard Barnard give the same description.

She identified Barnard from an identikit, and Smit's brother-in-law, Andrew Voster, identified Riley from another. Both identikits were drawn up by a witness to the murder.

Riley said he had approached Barnard for a job when he had been suspended from the SAP counter-insurgency unit pending an attempted murder trial.

The inquest has been postponed to January 12.

# Swedes keep silent about charges against rightwinger

By Julienne du Toit (326) STAR 4/12/92

Swedish policemen in South Africa to investigate murder and robbery charges against a Swedish rightwinger refused to divulge their findings when they announced the end of their visit yesterday.

The suspect, John Alexander Ausfonius (39), faces one charge of murder and 10 charges of attempted murder in Sweden.

Weapons of South African origin were allegedly used in the crimes.

Ausfonius, who was arrested in Stockholm on June 12, also faces charges in connection with at least 10 bank robberies, chief investigator and State prosecutor Ulf Engberg said.

When Ausfonius was arrested, police found an address book in his possession allegedly containing names and numbers of South African rightwingers.

Aufsonius was in South Africa in 1991 and this year, and left at the end of May.

The money he stole was "for the good life in South Africa",

# No finding on Mlangeni's killer

By Philip Zoio (327) STAR 4/12/92 (255)

The Rand Supreme Court was yesterday unable to make a finding on who was responsible for the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni (32), who was killed by an explosive device intended for renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee.

"Had the investigating team acted with greater promptness, this may well have led to a different finding," said Mr Justice Brian O'Donovan,

February 15 last year, when he tried to listen to a tape recording on a Walkman which had been posted, addressed to Coetzee, who was staying in Zambia.

The headphones of the Walkman exploded when the machine was turned on and Mlangeni died of mutilation of the brain.

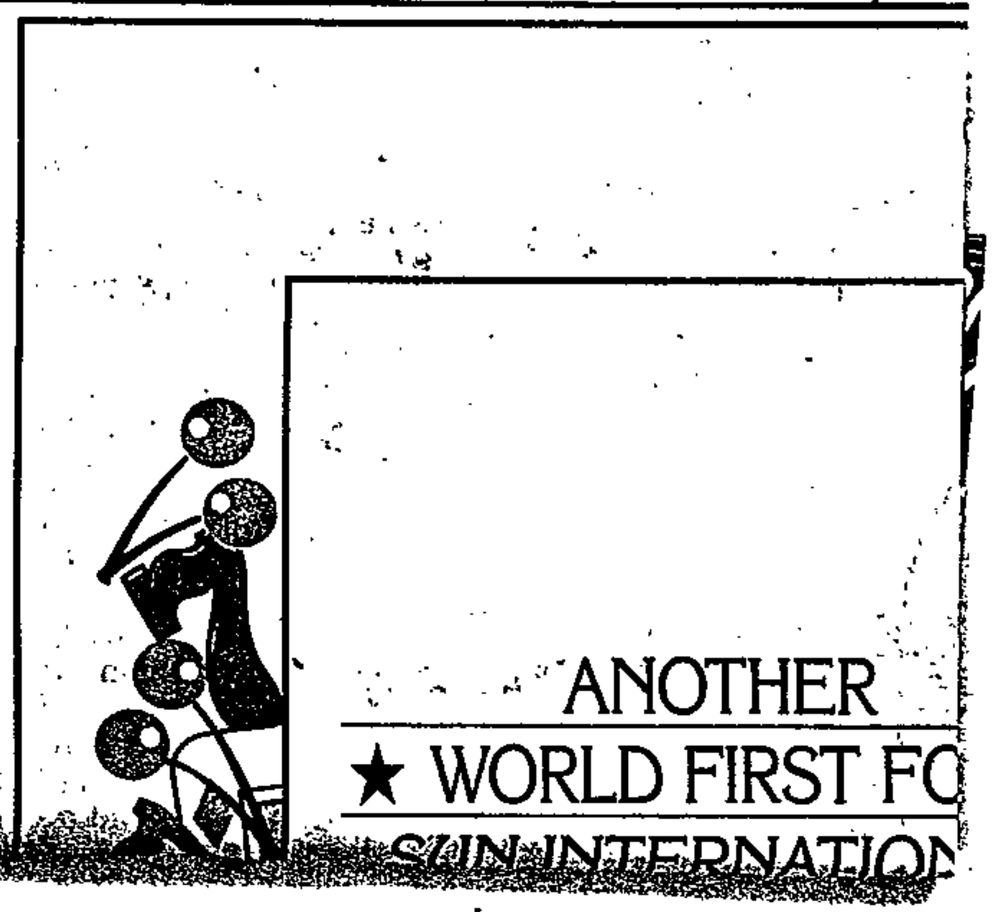
The judge said the point was taken by counsel for Mlangeni's family that investigators had been lethargic — they had visited Vlakplaas, an

base, only three months after Mlangeni died.

But he said investigating officer Captain A Kritzinger subsequently spared no effort in trying to assist the court to arrive at the truth.

The judge nevertheless found that no evidence in court could establish the identity of the person who sent the parcel.

"In this respect, the available evidence falls lamentably short of the proof required, even on the basis of mere proba-



# Smear attempt predictable — Gluckman

STAR 5/12/92

**A LEAKED report says prisoners alleged to have died at the hands of police are still alive, Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN writes.**

DR JONATHAN Gluckman is not surprised at reports that the police response to his claims of brutality in cells — still to be released officially — will charge that some of the prisoners the pathologist alleges were murdered are still alive.

"I expected an attempt to discredit me," said Gluckman, who caused a storm in July by publicly charging that police were responsible for 90 percent of the deaths he was required to investigate through post-mortems. "But the crucial issue remains the same. It has just gone on and on and on after the revelations."

After Gluckman's disclosures, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel ordered an investigation into all deaths in police custody since January 1991. The report has been submitted to Kriel.

Leaked details of the report's contents were published in Rapport last Sunday. The newspaper said the report would show that some of those who allegedly died in police custody were still alive and that others had died of natural causes, including heart failure.

Gluckman this week said police had sent a constable to his office to copy his files, initially removed for safekeeping. "I had all my files in the Biko case stolen and I didn't want to lose any more," Gluckman said.

"I do the odd consultation case on people who are still alive. My secretary pointed out to the constable which ones were irrelevant, but she contacted the investigating officer who said 'take the lot'. I don't know what was included, but what strikes me is that they never called me back to seek clarification on this."

The officer supervising the examination of Gluckman's files, Colonel J F de Beer, was unavailable for comment. Law and Order Ministry representatives were still "formulating our response".

Kriel's tardiness in responding to the allegations — made when Gluckman first met the Minister in February — has sparked criticism.

In August, Kriel appeared to pre-empt the findings of the investigation, saying: "My own opinion is that any death in custody is regrettable. But to come to the conclusion that these deaths are through police brutality, that I am not prepared to accept."

Until the report is published it will be impossible to test the police verdict of "natural causes" for most of the deaths — save in the instance of a detainee who "drowned in a swimming pool".

This case clearly refers to Bethuel Maphumulo who, in December 1990, heard he was a suspect in a robbery case and gave himself up for questioning.

Police said Maphumulo had tried to escape while handcuffed, and in an ensuing struggle had fallen into the swimming pool at Protea police station and drowned. Gluckman's post-mortem found that the cause of death was "multiple injuries ... The demonstration of fracture of the hyoid bone is highly suggestive of manual strangulation".

An inquest on Maphumulo's death will be held on January 14. It has already been the subject of a dispute between the Department of Justice and the family's lawyers, who unsuccessfully challenged the decision to hold the inquest in front of a magistrate. They argued that Kriel's promise to submit all custody deaths to a "judicial inquest" required the matter to be heard by a judge.

# on Stai

# Skulduggery

# Light shed

Star 5/12/92.

**THE inquests on the deaths of two leftists, Dr David Webster and Bheki Mlangeni has revealed a world of duplicity and dirty tricks, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.**

WHILE the occupants of Court 4F in the Rand Supreme Court sat waiting for the last witness to testify in the inquest on the death of Dr David Webster, the judge in Court 4E next door was delivering his finding that no one could be held responsible for the death of human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

Webster was blasted with a shotgun at close range outside his home on May 1 1989. Mlangeni died in February last year when the headphones of a tape-player, sent through the post, blew up when he switched it on.

Mr Justice B O'Donovan, who presided over the Mlangeni inquest, found that "death was brought about by an unlawful act by an unknown person or persons". Mr Justice Michael Stegmann, who has heard seven weeks of testimony on the death of Webster, has until January 18, when the hearing resumes, to mull over evidence. Irrespective of what he concludes, the inquest — like the Mlangeni one — has exposed a great deal about covert operations against "enemies of the State" and the men who carried them out.

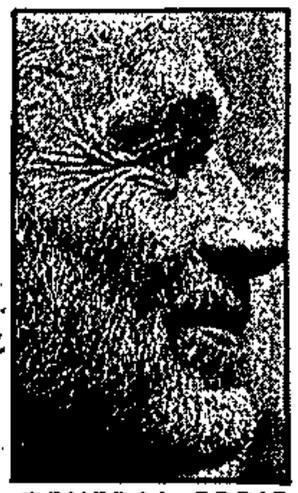
Key points that emerged are:

- Senior police and army officers may have taken steps to inhibit the investigation into Webster's death.
- Highly placed army officers lied to the Harms Commission.
- The Civil Co-operation Bureau conducted an extensive campaign to disrupt Swapo activities in Namibia's elections, and may have been involved in the murder of Swapo member Anton Lubowski.
- Senior CCB members authorised the assassination of activists within South Africa.

A number of people have come under the spotlight

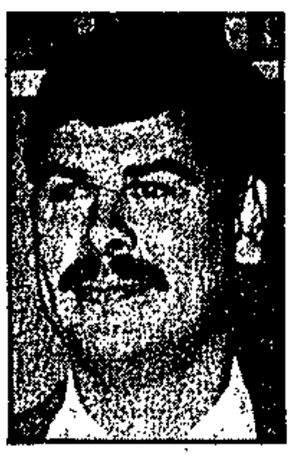


THE VICTIM: Wits academic Dr David Webster death.



GENERAL EDDIE WEBB: CCB chief admitted he lied.







GENERAL RUDOLPH BADENHORST: (Top left) Former head of MI, probed CCB. (Top right) ABRAM "SLANG" VAN ZYL: Testified that CCB members were told that they need not fear prosecution. (Left) FERDI BARNARD: Much of the testimony has focused on this former CCB agent.

## INVESTIGATORS

**Warrant-Officer Wessel Rousseauw** — A member of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, he was the officer investigating Webster's death. He told the court it would be impossible to establish whether the CCB had been involved in the killing because the organisation's files had either vanished or been destroyed in "an emergency operation".

Rousseauw said the documents had been taken from him by the investigating team of the Harms Commission — set up in 1990 to investigate political murders — and had never been returned.

Other limits placed on his investigation were:

- CCB agents Abram "Slang" van Zyl and Calla Botha both claimed they had been warned not to talk about Webster's killing by Krappies Engelbrecht, an SAP brigadier investigating the CCB.
- General Jaap Joubert, head of the team investigating the murder, had told him to drop all questioning of CCB operatives as the Harms Commission was in progress.
- CCB agents detained by Rousseauw were released on the orders of the Minister of Law and Order, while police were still "getting information from them".
- CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster refused to answer Rousseauw's questions.
- Rousseauw said he had not examined Military Intelligence (MI) files on Webster. Joubert later told the court that the SAP had never asked for access to these.

**Major-General Krappies Engelbrecht** — Engelbrecht, then a brigadier, was joint head of a high-level investigation into the CCB. Both Rousseauw and Joubert testified that Engelbrecht had ordered detained CCB operatives to keep quiet. Engelbrecht, a member of the Crime Information Service, was recently promoted to major-general.

**General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst** — A former head of MI, Badenhorst was Engelbrecht's partner in the CCB probe. Under cross-examination, he conceded that while he knew of CCB orders to kill lawyer Dullah Omar and journalist Gavin Evans, he did not try to establish who they had come from. CCB operative Lafras Luitingh later told the court that Badenhorst had threatened to beat him up if he continued to speak about the alleged involvement of CCB agent Ferdi Barnard in Webster's killing.

Verster told the court that Badenhorst had assaulted him. He said the general had been told of the allegations about Barnard and had actively tried to cover this up. Badenhorst testified to the Harms Commission, but did not mention the allegations about Barnard. It was later revealed that Badenhorst had appointed Barnard to MI, but failed to tell the inquest this before it was revealed by the Goldstone Commission.

**Colonel Jan Smit** — Smit, Namibia's Deputy Commissioner of Police, told the court that CCB operative Van Zyl had made a statement implicating Burger, head of the CCB's region 6, and CCB operative Calla Botha in the planning of the murder of Lubowski, who was shot dead four months after Webster. Joubert told the court that Badenhorst and CCB chairman General Eddie Webb had both informed him that Lubowski's murder was a CCB project. Defence counsel for the SADF denied this.

## THE CCB

**General Eddie Webb** — Webb, chairman of the CCB, admitted to the court that he had lied to the Harms Commission in denying knowledge of plans to murder Omar and Evans. He said these assassinations had been approved by Verster, contrary to procedure, which required Webb's sanction for any hits — indicating that Verster had also lied to the Harms probe.

**Colonel Joe Verster** — Verster, former managing director of the CCB, successfully applied to testify in camera, then failed to appear. Mr Justice Stegmann issued a warrant for his arrest, but subsequently accepted Verster's explanation for his absence — that he was overseas winding up CCB projects.

Verster's testimony contained startling allegations. He said the chief of the SADF had told him that President de Klerk had given an assurance that the CCB would not be subjected to a "witch-hunt". He testified further that he had plans and R100 million to set up front companies which could act against a new government. Verster said he had written a number of letters to De Klerk this year, one warning of serious discontent in the security forces and another alleging that four SADF generals, including SADF chief General "Kat" Liebenberg, had influenced CCB members to make CCB documentation "change" or "disappear".

**Wouter Basson** — Basson, the CCB's co-ordinator, was questioned at length on the contents of his 1989 diary, from which two pages — one for the day of Lubowski's shooting — had been torn. Notes from the diary made reference to planned disruption of Namibia's elections, including burning of buildings, attacks on rallies and spreading disease in Swapo camps.

**Abram "Slang" van Zyl** — Van Zyl, a CCB agent, testified that members of the bureau were told by their superiors that they need not fear prosecution for their actions, including killing.

**Ferdi Barnard** — Much of the testimony has focused on this former CCB agent. In December 1984 Barnard was convicted of murdering two drug dealers, of attempted murder and three car thefts. He was released on parole after just three years, and recruited into the CCB, which he served until 1989.

A number of witnesses said they had heard from others that Barnard had killed Webster. Other witnesses testified that Barnard himself told them he had shot Webster:

- Willie Smit, who gave Barnard a job when he came out of jail, told the court that Barnard had boasted of killing Webster, describing how the shotgun had blasted Webster into the air. Smit subsequently withdrew his testimony, following an incident outside the courtroom during a break in the hearing. Mr Justice Stegmann said there was no proof that Smit had been intimidated to do this.
- Smit's mother, Johanna Smit, subsequently testified that her son had been threatened outside the courtroom. She said she was also present when Barnard boasted about killing Webster.
- Lafras Luitingh, co-ordinator of CCB region 7, and Barnard's former handler, told the court Barnard had admitted to him that he killed Webster. Luitingh retracted testimony he gave to the Harms Commission.

Barnard has denied all allegations against him.

# Unrest areas declared

FIVE magistrial districts in the western Transvaal have been declared unrest areas, the police public relations division said yesterday.

The areas are Vryburg, Delareyville, Mariko, Rustenburg and Lichtenburg.

There was no official confirmation, but the decision appears to have been taken in view of fears of disruptions to this month's independence celebrations in Bophuthatswana.

It was earlier reported that Vryburg, in the northern Cape, had also been declared an unrest area. — Sapa.

# Good cop or bad cop?

South 5/12-9/12/92.

The policeman who solved the crossbow murder is to become a station commander. But he has a past as gruesome as the case he solved, say anti-apartheid activists.

**QUENTIN WILSON** reports:



**Jeff Benzien**

Detective Jeffrey Benzien has been praised in local mainstream newspapers for solving the gruesome crossbow murder of Mr Graham Chatburn.

But anti-apartheid activists paint a completely different picture of Detective Warrant Officer Benzien. They point to a gruesome police career which, they believe, rivals Mrs Louisa Chatburn's crossbow in its methods.

It was Benzien who shot and fatally wounded ANC guerilla Mr Ashley Kriel in July 1987 while allegedly trying to arrest him.

It was Benzien who earned a fearful reputation among anti-apartheid activists in the eighties for his alleged torture of detainees during interrogation.

And now Benzien is off to Stanford — a village near Hermanus — to become the station commander.

Mrs Ivy Kriel, Ashley's mother, said she was saddened by the praise given to Benzien during the crossbow trial.

"When I saw him being praised I thought, 'Good Heavens, and this is the one who killed my son'. But I don't want to say anymore, there is still too much hurt," Kriel said.

During the 1989 inquest into Kriel's death, court records show that Benzien admitted that it was his finger on the trigger when Kriel was shot in the back.

He also admitted that he had stuck a pamphlet with Kriel's photogaraph on his office wall after the shooting. Below the pamphlet's slogan, "Freedom or Death — Victory is Certain", Benzien had written, "Not for you".

Also scrawled on the pamphlet were the words, "One down, ... to go."

While the inquest magistrate, Mr G Hoffman, had described this piece of evidence as "tasteless, disgusting and disturbing", Benzien's version of the events leading to Kriel's death was accepted by the court.

While trying to arrest Kriel, who was allegedly concealing a gun, Benzien had struck a blow to his head and disarmed him. Thinking he was unconscious, Benzien's fellow arresting officer started handcuffing Kriel. It was then that Kriel supposedly tried to snatch at the gun.

According to Benzien, Kriel was accidentally shot in the back during the tussle for the firearm.

But ex-detainees who were interrogated by Benzien, allege that he "bragged about killing Ashley".

None of the ex-political prisoners who spoke to SOUTH wanted to have their names connected with their comments about Benzien for fear of harrassment.

"I found him to be really weird," said one.

"When he came into my cell, he would threaten to kill me and say things like: 'You ask Ashley Kriel about me. Unfortunately he is not here to tell you'.

"He would interrogate me with a gun lying on the table. Often he had this crazed look in his eyes.

"It was a very scary experience being interrogated by him. Apart from the constant verbal abuse, he often threatened to kill me.

"Once he told me: 'There is no person who does not talk when I ask questions. Either you speak or you die. Ask Ashley Forbes'. He would brag a lot about his interrogation of Ashley Forbes."



**Ivy Kriel**



**Ashley Kriel**

Forbes, who was sentenced to 15 years in December 1988 for ANC activities, was allegedly badly tortured by Benzien after his arrest in May 1987.

Benzien was alleged to have punched Forbes, stuck his fingers up his nose, subjected him to electrical shock treatment, strangled him as well as smothering his face with a wet towel causing suffocation.

Benzien flatly denied all allegations of torture, including a claim that he had said to Forbes: "I have not come to question you, I have come to kill you."

Also during the Yengeni trial, other details of Benzien's alleged torture techniques came to light.

The most notorious allegation was that Benzien smothered detainees by placing cloth bags soaked in water over their heads.

Court records show that Mr Bongani Jonas, who refused to give evidence implicating the trialists, alleged that Benzien stood and jumped on his leg while a bullet was lodged in his thigh.

Another ex-political prisoner said: "I didn't have that much contact with him, but once he came into my cell and questioned me about satanism.

"It was really strange. He seemed bent on the idea that my ANC work, as well as the entire anti-apartheid movement, was all part of a satanist plot."

In August 1990, the detective warrant officer was part of a job reshuffle when the Terrorism Detection Unit of the SAP was abolished.

When SOUTH asked Benzien for a photograph of himself, he said: "With all respect, I can imagine what kinds of things you will write in your story. Am I right or am I wrong?"

When told he was "probably right", Benzien said he "certainly did not have the time to help with the story in any way".

# Webster inquest exposes CCB lies

CIPress 6/12/92.

THE David Webster judicial inquest this week ground to a halt after a gruelling seven-week search for facts surrounding the assassination of the academic and anti-apartheid activist.

The last witness testified before the inquest on Thursday and the legal counsels have been given six weeks to consider and collate the evidence before drawing conclusions for their closing arguments which begin on January 18.

The Rand Supreme Court inquest into the shotgun killing of Webster outside his Troyeville home on May 1 1989, has revealed perjury, attempts at cover-up and blatant lies by members of Military Intelligence and the covert Civil Co-operation Bureau.

It heard from several witnesses how they misled, lied to or witheld information from the Harms Commission, which concluded in 1990 that the CCB could not be held responsible for Webster's murder.

Former CCB chairman Gen Eddie Webb admitted he had deliberately withheld from the commission information on plans to assassinate activists Gavin Evans and Dullah Omar.

Webb also implicated former CCB managing director Col Joe Verster, saying he had approved the projects to "exterminate" the two activists, but had lied to protect his "brothers in arms".

Former CCB agents Ferdi Barnard and Calla Botha were allegedly intimidated into withholding evidence from the Harms Commission.

Barnard testified that their lawyers told them their legal costs would not be met by the SADF unless they co-operated.

They then omitted to tell the commission anything about CCB participation in projects such as the bomb blast at the Early Learning Centre in Athlone and the monitoring of Namibian lawyer Anton Lubowski – who was later assassinated.

The court also heard from the CID deputy head Gen Jaap Joubert, who investigated the Webster killing, that Botha and Barnard had been warned by SA special branch chief Gen Krappies Engelbrecht not to say anything about the organisation's activities.

It also emerged that MI chief Gen Witkop Badenhorst withheld from the inquest the fact that Barnard had been a member of MI in 1991.

He had employed Barnard knowing he was a convicted double murderer and that his name had been linked to the Webster killing.

Joubert later testified that there was no doubt in his mind that the CCB was responsible for Lubowski's murder.

Allegations were also made about the CCB gun-running links with Renamo, which Webster had been aware of.

Many fingers pointed at Barnard as several witnesses said he had confessed to them that he killed Webster. Barnard denied this, claiming there was a conspiracy within the CCB to put the blame on him.

His former handler, Lafras Luitingh, told the inquest Barnard had admitted to the murder shortly after his services with the CCB had been terminated, saying he wished to prove to the organisation that he was worth re-employing.

Barnard admitted to the inquest that he had "tested" a friend's sawn off, double-barrelled shotgun a few weeks before the murder of Webster. He had commented at the time that the gun would prove accurate when fired from a moving vehicle.

Webster died after being shot from a moving car.

Judge Michael Stegmann will make his finding known before January 25. – Sapa

# Police close in on five areas

(327)

FIVE magisterial districts in the western Transvaal have been declared unrest areas, police said on Friday. C/Press 6/12/92

The areas are Vryburg, Delareyville, Marico, Rustenburg and Lichtenburg.

There was no official confirmation, but the decision may have been taken in view of fears of disruptions during this month's independence celebrations in Bophuthatswana.

# BUNGLE

● Terror plan known for two months

# BUNGLE

● General's alert did not reach public

# BUNGLE

● Tell Apla to take holiday, said Kriel

S/Times 6/12/92

(327)

## Angry Sun City golfers accept blame

By DAN RETIEF

TOP golf stars Nicky Price and Nick Faldo last night accepted the blame for breaking the rules and being disqualified from the Million Dollar tournament in a day of high drama.

But Price, the US PGA champion, delivered a stinging attack on the farcical situation which put him out of the tournament after he moved an advertising board, which was replaced.

A grim-faced Nick Faldo, the British Open champion, flew out last night after being disqualified for signing a wrongly marked scorecard.

At Jan Smuts airport, while he waited to board a

**LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and senior policemen knew more than two months ago that Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, planned to launch a terror campaign against white civilians.**

But instructions from police headquarters that target communities in the Border area be warned of the threat never reached the people on the ground.

They were thus unprepared for the murderous grenade and limpet mine attacks this week on a King William's Town golf club and a Queenstown steakhouse which left four people dead and scores injured.

This week outraged mayors of small towns throughout the Border region demanded to know why they had not been warned of Apla's murderous plans.

The Sunday Times has established that the SA Police were aware in early October that Apla was preparing to attack soft civilian targets in South Africa.

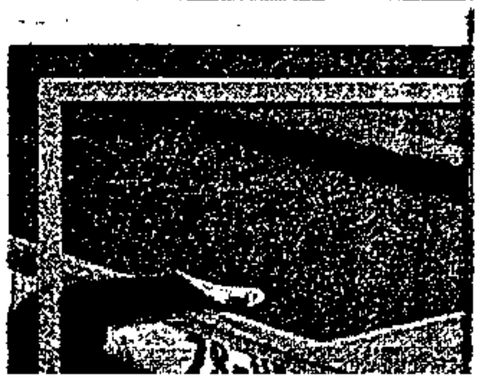
## Appeals

PAC minutes of a meeting on November 11 between Mr Hernus Kriel and the organisation also indicate that the minister had told the organisation that he knew Apla had a training base in the Transkei and was carrying out attacks from that territory.

Hernus Kriel expressed grave concern about APLA Attacks and other activities. he pointed out that they are aware that APLA has training programmes in Transkei and that a number of attacks are carried out from there. He indicated that he might [illegible] to and further indicated that he is under tremendous [illegible] to act against APLA. The PAC should make a gesture goodwill, and request APLA to suspend their attacks on security forces. he said APLA cadres should go on holiday for some few months. Kriel also indicated

**Extracts from PAC report of November 11 meeting with government attended by Hernus Kriel**

Report by DAWN BARKHUIZEN, DE WET POTGIETER, NORMAN WEST, JOCELYN MAKER, CHARMAIN NAIDOO and PETA KROST



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## Appeals

PAC minutes of a meeting on November 11 between Mr Hernus Kriel and the organisation also indicate that the minister had told the organisation that he knew Apla had a training base in the Transkei and was carrying out attacks from that territory.

The minutes, in the hands of the Sunday Times, indicate he had merely appealed to the PAC, as a gesture of goodwill, to send the Apla cadres "on a holiday for some months".

Yesterday, an SAP spokesman in Pretoria told the Sunday Times that early in October, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe had indeed issued a directive to all regional commissioners instructing them to inform the public about the threat.

He also ordered local police stations to liaise with community leaders and businessmen and warn them to be on the alert for suspicious looking people and objects.

## Schools

But Border SAP spokesman Lt-Col Christo Louw said yesterday that no specific instructions or warnings were received from headquarters regarding an Apla terror campaign.

"After the spate of attacks on police on the Reef and in other parts of the country a couple of months ago, we were told to warn our men to be on guard against attacks on policemen — but there was no mention of Apla or soft targets.

"We were not guarding schools or shops or anything like that. In fact, the first time we realised soft targets were being attacked was this week," said Lt-Col Louw.

Yesterday, Law and Order spokesman Captain-

□ To Page 2

out frontiers. He indicated that he might be forc
[illegible] and ne
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Craig Kotze confirmed that Mr Kriel had attended the meeting with the PAC on November 11, but said the minister "cannot comment on the contents of bilateral discussions".

He said it was "completely absurd to suggest the government and the SAP have been doing nothing, while in fact they have been doing their best to achieve a political solution, not only to the violence in general, but to the armed struggle of the PAC and Apla.

"We have been concentrating on expanding our intelligence, a largely invisible activity, rather than on building fortifications," said Capt Kotze.

The Apla terror plan was uncovered during interrogation of 20 youths belonging to the Pan Africanist Students Organisation who were arrested in connection with an early morning petrol-bomb attack on a house in Ficksburg on September 29.

Police said the youths were acting under orders from a senior Apla commander based in the Bloemfontein area but that the campaign was being masterminded from the Transkei by a man known as Sizwe.

Soft targets — including cinemas, sporting events, buses, schools and churches — in the Eastern Cape, Free State and Natal would be attacked over the festive season, said the police, who said construction of the petrol bombs used in



# Bunglers

S/Times 6/12/1987 (327)

□ From Page 1

attacks at Ficksburg and Fouriesburg showed that Apla was responsible.

But apart from deploying an additional 260 policemen along the Transkei border in the Eastern Cape and southern Natal and introducing roadblocks on some roads in the areas, the police appear to have taken few steps to warn the local community about Apla's plans.

Yesterday, a Sunday Times poll of towns identified as likely Apla targets, showed widespread ignorance of the Apla plan.

• QUEENSTOWN: Mayor Johnny Johnson said: "We were given no warning. We were not told of any dangers by the police."

• DORDRECHT: Mayor Clive Howell said: "They didn't say a word, but frankly, even if they had, we wouldn't rely on them to protect us — they are even too scared to go into the township."

• INDWE: Mayor Louis Pretorius said police had not told him about Apla's plans.

• UGIE: Town councillor Leonard Love said: "If the police had this kind of information they should have come into every town and discussed it with the authorities and special security plans should have been made. They didn't."

• MACLEAR: Mayoress Marti Scheppel said she was horrified. "It seems the police issued a warning through a newspaper. We don't get that newspaper here."

• CATHCART: Mayor Arthur Brandtok said the town had not been informed of Apla's campaign.

• KOMGA: Mayor Basil Day said he had heard "absolutely nothing".

• KEI ROAD: Mayor Peter Wewege was angry that he was not told and would do "everything in my power" to find out why.

• KING WILLIAM'S TOWN: Town clerk Hubert van der Spuy said: "Neither I nor any member of the council was warned about possible attacks."

This week, Mr Kriel announced plans to move SAP reinforcements from Pretoria to the Border, step up roadblocks, deploy policemen in civilian clothes at restaurants and other areas that could be "soft targets" and pay a R100 000 reward for information leading to the capture of Apla terrorists.

White residents have threatend to take up arms and "fight fire with fire" unless the government acts.

## Two kinds of smugglers

SMUGGLE just two mandrax tablets from the Transkei into South Africa and you would face certain imprisonment. But cross the border in a stolen car containing machine-guns, grenades, automatic pistols and several hundred rounds of ammunition, and you get off with a fine and a suspended jail sentence. SEE PAGE 25

# 'No clues' on weapons find

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

TWO weeks after weapons were found at Buyafuthi Hostel in Katlehong on the East Rand, police confirmed that no one has been arrested or questioned in connection with the large haul.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said police had "no clue" about the origin of the weapons found in a room at the hostel.

The cache included seven RPG rockets, 28 magazines for AK-47 rifles, 2 242 rounds of ammunition for AK-47 rifles, 431 rounds for a 6.65 pistol and 23 AK-47 rifles.

The discovery was a result of a joint operation conducted by the SADF and SAP personnel after a tip-off, police said.

Opperman said police were unable to arrest or question anyone as inmates of the hostel refused to talk to the police.

A Civic Associations of Southern Africa (Cast) statement said the discovery did not come as a surprise. It added that a number of hostels identified by residents as "harbouring killers and arms" have been left in peace by the security forces.

The organisation said it was not impressed by the discovery because in the past such weapons had been handed back to the warlords.

The discovery confirmed former Inkatha Codesa delegate Bruce Anderson's allegation that there was smuggling of military equipment and distribution among Inkatha's warlords.

"The main depot of arms in Roodeport has not been visited by the police," the Cast statement said, adding the arms were obtained from Renamo.

"Unless the security forces are under the control of an interim government, (President) De Klerk will continue to use them to further his political objectives."

# FERDI BARNARD WILL SOON KNOW HIS FATE

ST Times 6/12/92

By CHARLES LEONARD

BY THE end of January, Mr Justice Michael Stegmann will tell South Africa whether former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard was involved in the murder of Wits academic Dr David Webster.

For eight weeks, the burly ex-vice squad cop, who once served time for murder, has been a central figure in the inquest into the anthropologist's death on May 1 1989, outside his Troyeville home.

On Thursday, the final evidence was heard in the Rand Supreme Court — but it will not be until January 25 before the judge considers his verdict.

After 50 days of testimony — much of it behind closed doors — Ferdi Barnard has become a household name.

Identified by several witnesses as one of two men in the car from which the fatal shots were fired, he has also been a key figure in events leading to the Goldstone commission's raid on a top secret Military Intelligence installation in Pretoria.

The son of a retired policeman, Barnard served three years for the murder of two drug dealers, then went to work for West Rand businessman Willie Smit — chief executive of President Insurance, which was liquidated last month.

But Barnard found his duties as a claims assessor boring, and contacted a fellow former prisoner who had links with the military, to make inquiries about an "intelligence-gathering" job.

"That was a job that you as a man of action would enjoy?" asked Mr Eberhardt Bertelsmann for the Webster Trust.

"As a man who does not like office work," Barnard responded.

Thus he found himself one of the shadowy characters working for the CCB, becoming a full member in March 1988.

He was under no illusions that violence "which ranged from the breaking of a window to the killing of a person", would be used and that the focus of the CCB's Region Six was the PWV area.

But a year after joining the CCB, Barnard was fired because of a security breach on a Zimbabwean operation.

In April 1989 a man called George Mitchell, who had been introduced to Barnard by his long-time friend, Eugene Riley, lent the sacked agent a sawn-off shotgun.

"He showed me his shotgun," Barnard told the court. "It was unique; it was a beautiful little gun."

## BAKKIE

Mr Mitchell testified that Barnard said of the weapon: "It is so short, it will shoot nicely from a moving vehicle."

Barnard said he meant nothing more by this observation than "you can shoot guinea fowl when they fly up — just like out of a bakkie". He had, he said, taken the shotgun with him on a trip to Natal to test "whether it shoots nicely from a moving vehicle".

Mr Mitchell claimed that Barnard returned the shotgun to him before the date of Dr Webster's death.

Barnard's former employer, Mr Smit's mother, Johanna, and his brother-in-law, Andrew Voster, all said he had boasted to them about killing Dr Webster.

"I told him it was terrible that they are killing people like dogs in the street," testified Mrs Smit.

Barnard's response, according to Mrs Smit, was: "But he is a dog. Tannie, when Webster was shot the police said that Ferdi Barnard had shot him. Tannie, you should have seen how he flew through the air — five yards high."

Mrs Smit, her son and Mr Voster all said they recognised Barnard from a police identikit released at the start of the inquest.

Mr Smit and Mr Voster also identified a second identikit as resembling Eugene Riley — who subsequently turned out to be Barnard's brother-in-arms during MI's dirty tricks campaign against the ANC, exposed by the Goldstone commission.

Eyewitness Corrie du Plessis also identified Barnard as one of the men in the car from which Dr Webster was shot.

He did so in camera, after telling the judge: "When I walked into the building on the first day, I saw a group of three big men standing in the passage in front of court 4F. When I approached them I saw a fourth person, also heavily built, at the back of the courtroom. He had a two-way radio in his hand.

"I immediately recognised him as the person who on May 1 1989 sat in the back of the white Opel Ascona and who fired the fatal shot at Dr David Webster."

Barnard's CCB handler, Lafras Luitingh, told the court — also in camera — that Barnard confessed to the Webster murder three days after it happened.

"Ferdi Barnard paged me to go to see him. I expected that he was going to ask me for money ... but he communicated that he had killed Dr Webster. I asked whether it was a CCB project and he said no. Then I told him I was not interested in discussing the matter any further ..." Mr Luitingh testified.

CCB information officer Derrick Louw (an alias) confirmed that Mr Luitingh had given him this information.

Former CCB managing director Joe Verster said he went as far as former Defence Minister Magnus Malan with the information that he believed Barnard had killed Dr Webster.

## TESTED

Barnard told the court that after being sacked by the CCB in 1989, he carried out two monitoring assignments "as a freelance".

"I thought I was being tested to see whether I should be taken back into the CCB," he said.

Mr Verster said he believed Barnard had killed Dr Webster to prove his worth to the CCB so that he would be re-hired.

The question now is whether or not the judge believes that Barnard was involved in the murder.

If he does, the next step will be up to the Witwatersrand attorney-general, who will have to decide if there is enough evidence for a prosecution.



EUGENE RILEY... he lent Ferdi Barnard a shotgun

# AG to probe press reports

Sunday Times Reporter

THE Attorney-General is to investigate a complaint that the Sunday Times and Citizen newspapers were in breach of an order issued by the Goldstone commission.

Mr Rob Wise, appointed by the commission to investigate claims by a Mozambican that he was paid by the SA police to murder ANC members, this week accused the newspapers of a "prima facie and blatant breach" of an order he had issued on November 26.

The order prohibited the press from publishing information about a man who had allegedly instigated the Mozambican, Mr Joao Cuna, to plant a false story in the Vrye Weekblad newspaper.

Mr Wise claimed that articles published by the Sunday Times and the Citizen last weekend breached that order.

## Complained

He also noted that the articles had mentioned Mr Mac Maharaj, a prominent member of the ANC, in connection with the inquiry.

"At no stage during the hearings last week was Mr Maharaj's name mentioned in evidence, and prior to reading these articles in the Citizen and the Sunday Times the members of the commission were not aware of any allegations that Mr Maharaj might be involved in the matters being investigated," he said.

In a subsequent statement, Mr Wise confirmed that he had referred the matter to the Attorney-General.

● Attorneys representing the ANC, meanwhile, have complained that an editorial in the Sunday Times last week misrepresented the evidence that had been heard by the Goldstone commission and had made "wholly unfair and unwarranted conclusions based on this inaccurate information".

The editorial said the commission had heard evidence that the ANC or SACP may have carried out a classic disinformation operation by sending a Mozambican (Mr Cuna) to plant a false story in Vrye Weekblad.

## Hearsay

This, said the editorial, suggested the ANC was continuing a clandestine "dirty war".

The ANC's attorneys objected on the basis that the evidence before the commission was hearsay, the evidence by Mr Cuna had subsequently been challenged by another witness and the ANC's legal representatives would be placing on record that at no time had Mr Maharaj, or any other member of the ANC, met Mr Cuna.

"Your editorial therefore is extremely misleading when it suggests that it has been established as fact that the ANC or its SACP arm had sent a Mozambican agent to plant a false story in Vrye Weekblad," said the attorneys.

● *The Sunday Times at no point stated as a fact that the ANC or SACP had conspired to plant a story. It speculated on the possibility and its implications if true.*

STAR 7/12/92

# 'Free press, rights linked'

Staff Reporter 327

Human rights and a free press were described as the opposite sides of the same coin by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Friday night as he accepted The Indicator's Newsmaker of the Year award in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

Judge Goldstone said that though the worst human rights abuses occurred in countries with no free press, abuses also occurred in countries with a free press — with the difference that they became public in those countries.

He used the recent example of the brutal beatings by policemen of motorist Rodney King in Los Angeles, which turned out not to be a rare occurrence.

He said that even in the years of greatest oppression in South Africa, there was always a relatively vigorous press, except for areas specifically limited such as prisons and armaments. He conceded, though, that "there was a general chilling effect because of detentions and police activities".

He emphasised the need for the community to be able to trust newspaper articles to be accurate, in order to be trusted as a vigilant protector of human rights.

At the same function, former Azapo president Dr Saths Cooper said in a memorial lecture on peace that South Africa was a society where force had proved to be effective, especially since June 1976. It was time for citizens to exert force, Cooper said. Only then would democracy prevail.

STAR 7/12/92

# Call to probe ANC murders

The German-based International Society for Human Rights has called for a full investigation into murders and assassinations of opponents and critics of the ANC.

In a letter to President de Klerk, a copy of which was sent to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, ISHR secretary-general Robert Chamber said it was essential that a number of "unsolved assassinations and murders be thoroughly investigated". — Sapa.

sues." He said the Sunday Times re-
port was based on PAC minutes of the
lice will "fight fire with fire" against
celled," Alexander said.

# Absa suspends broker

ANDREW KRUMM

ABSA has suspended one of its United Insurance division brokers whose placement of investments in the Supreme Group had "required the most urgent attention", financial services MD Louw van Wyk said at the weekend.

The Durban-based broker's services had been suspended pending an investigation which could lead to a disciplinary hearing. Louw declined to disclose the amounts involved, but said they were not in the millions.

Six other Absa insurance brokers — four United insurance division employees, one Volkskas broker and a Bankorp employee — who had acted contrary to instructions, bank policy or their contracts, were also under investigation.

"It seems in these cases there was not too much money involved; most of the amounts were relatively small."

Last week First National Bank and the Standard said none of their brokers dealt with Supreme on behalf of clients with the exception of one Standard Bank employee, who had faced a disciplinary hearing in 1990.

However, First Bowring suspended four brokers last week for contravening their conditions of employment by placing funds in more than 30 deals with the Supreme Group. First Bowring director Patrick O'Flaherty said at the weekend investigations were continuing although no other employees had been suspended.

# Plan to discredit CCB alleged

A PLAN co-ordinated at ministerial level and involving sinister co-operation between the security police, Military Intelligence and senior Defence Force officers to discredit the Civil Co-operation Bureau and turn it into a scapegoat for all the sins of the security forces had been put in operation in 1989, former CCB MD Col Joe Verster has alleged.

According to transcripts of Verster's in-camera evidence to the Webster inquest, which were made public on Friday, the covert CCB had become an offering on the altar of future co-operation between government and the ANC.

Verster alleged a "strategic communication operation" known as a Stratcom had been developed to discredit the CCB. Stratcom involved the deliberate creation of a certain milieu and the influencing of public opinion through selective disclosures to the media and other means.

Verster told the inquest into the May 1 1989 murder of Wits University academic and anti-apartheid campaigner David Webster he could not say if Stratcom had the blessing of government, but according to information available to him certain senior Minsters had been involved. Verster named Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, former Minister of Defence Gen Magnus Malan and former Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis.

Verster said former MI chief Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst had also been involved in the project.

Badenhorst headed an internal investigation into the Webster killing in January 1990.

Verster said Badenhorst and former head of security police Gen Basie Smit worked together to make CCB members "fall guys".

Verster also alleged that people as senior as SADF head Gen Jannie Geldenhuys and then head of special forces Gen Kat Liebenberg not only knew about the creation of the CCB, but would have had to authorise it

He said he was unable to say whether Malan would have known, but said he had access to documentation about its 1986 creation.

It emerged during cross-examination of Verster that he had written a letter to President F W de Klerk in May this year alleging that during the Harms Commission of Inquiry into politically motivated crimes, then CCB chairman Gen Eddie Webb gave orders that certain documentation and CCB files be destroyed. Verster said none of the files had anything to do with the Webster incident.

Portions of the letter were read into the record.

The inquest was adjourned on Thursday until January when closing argument will be heard. Further transcripts of Verster's evidence have yet to be made public. — Sapa.

TOURISM Minister Org

# Military intelligence 'vital'

DURBAN — Every military organisation in the world had an information gathering capability, Chief of the Army Lt-Gen Georg Meiring said at a medal parade at the weekend.

Meiring said it was "an unfortunate reality" that the communication climate in SA was such that anything that smacked of intelligence-gathering was automatically viewed as "dirty tricks" or worse.

He said what many observers "seem to forget is that every military organisation in the world has a covert information collection capability which is neither sinister nor unusual".

Meiring said agents or spies were not normally recruited for their moral rectitude. "They are recruited for the information they can supply and are paid for the risks they take."

He said what was being applied now was a case of double standards.

"If any country in the world needs to collect information about the movement of weapons, who is smuggling the weapons, where they come from and where they go to, then it is SA.

"Every right-thinking South African condemns violence and wants it to stop. One way of stopping it is to gather sufficient accurate information and then to act on that information," Meiring said.

The SADF was left virtually defenceless because much of the information which had been made public arose directly from judicial hearings.

"These hearings are intended to establish the truth, which in the end I am confident they will do. In the interim, however, information is made available in cycles because this is the way open courts work and should work.

"It is, however, a pity that the SADF abides by the prohibitions required by law, while other individuals and organisations do not appear to be concerned about this legal and moral obligation."

Meiring said he and the army fully supported the rule of law. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 6

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DISPOSAL OF OPERATING SUBSIDIARIES

**Introduction**

... of 27 November 1992, FBSA Corporate Finance

# Police campaign against Apla terror 'extensive'

PRETORIA — Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze has denied a Sunday newspaper's claim that government and the SAP had done nothing about Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) plans to attack soft targets, reports Sapa.

The Sunday Times reported government knew two months ago about Apla's plans and that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had appealed to the PAC, as a gesture of goodwill, to send its armed wing's cadres "on a holiday for some months".

Kotze said yesterday: "The perception that nothing was or is being done could not be further from the truth.

"I can now deny categorically that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel suggested or said that Apla should go on holiday," he said in reaction to the report on the minutes of a meeting between the PAC and Kriel.

"This discussion (between Kriel and the PAC) was in fact a most serious dicussion about serious issues." He said the Sunday Times report was based on PAC minutes of the meeting "... and quite frankly the Minister said no such thing".

"We sincerely hope we are not dealing with a PAC disinformation exercise."

He said the fact that government had attempted to find a political solution to stopping Apla's activities did not mean it stood idly by.

"Extensive practical measures were taken from the outset and are still being taken by the SAP against Apla. These include a dramatic expansion of our intelligence capability in this regard and this is continuing; Apla members have been arrested and continue to be arrested; talks have been held about Apla activities between the Commissioner of the SAP, (Transkei leader) Gen Bantu Holomisa and the Transkei police commissioner; and a special combined task force comprising the SAP and Transkei Police has already been set up in this regard."

WILSON ZWANE reports that Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe has warned Apla that police will "fight fire with fire" against members of the organisation.

Speaking at a police passing out parade on Friday, Van der Merwe said Apla would not be treated with kid gloves.

"With regard to the recent atrocities allegedly committed by Apla, the SAP would like to warn Apla that we will meet fire with fire and any member of Apla who commits acts of aggression against the people of SA will be severely dealt with.

"Our track record shows that the SA Police can hunt these terrorists down, irrespective of where they may be hiding."

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander denied the organisation had called an emergency meeting to discuss the breakdown in talks between itself and government.

Kriel said last week government had suspended bilateral talks until there was clarity on the PAC's stand on Apla's acts of terror.

"As far as we are concerned, our meeting (with government) on December 9 has not been officially cancelled," Alexander said.

# Case focuses on SA's secret links with UK

STAR 7/12/92.

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — The shadowy world of co-operation between Britain and South Africa — countries which have no extradition agreement in common — seems about to be penetrated amid allegations here of officially sanctioned kidnap and fraud.

A case which has focused the attention of MPs, civil liberties organisations and unions involves a New Zealand pilot Paul Bennett, arrested in South Africa for alleged theft of a helicopter, detained there for nearly a month, then brought to Britain to be held without trial for nearly 22 months.

The allegations made by Bennett and his legal advisors involve kidnap, the issue of phoney travel documents, deception of immigration officials, and connivance between British and South African authorities.

It also draws attention to a public interest immunity certificate — essentially a gagging order — personally signed by Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke.

The lack of an extradition agreement with South Africa is often publicly bemoaned by British police and government agents. Privately, however, they acknowledge certain "agreements" which sometimes seem to achieve the same ends — an exchange of intelligence and bringing criminals to justice in whichever of the two countries they are sought.

However, the Bennett case has graver implications.

First, the 29-year-old pilot says, he is not an international criminal. The helicopter he was accused of taking has been recovered, and he has been in jail for a longer period than any sentence for deception would have imposed.

More disquieteningly, he claims he was brought against his will via Taiwan to Britain where he is now being held in top-security Belmarsh Prison in south London.

He has disclosed an emergency British passport which he claims he neither request ed nor signed. It states — incorrectly, he insists — that it was issued because his own passport was lost.

But most worrying of all is the public interest immunity certificate signed by the Home Secretary.

In reply to a letter from Labour home affairs spokesman Alun Michael, Clarke claims the gagging order was issued to prevent information about co-operation between national police forces from aiding criminals.

But both Michael and the Association of Probation Officers (APO) — which backs Bennett — remain unconvinced.

Harry Flecther, spokesman for the APO, says: "If there are national security implications they should be revealed to Mr Bennett and his advisers."

Michael says the details of the case appear "so extraordinary as to encourage flights of fantasy that would be more appropriate to a novel about international intrigue," and has pledged to continue pressing Clarke for an acceptable explanation.

to agree on the relationship between ... precision to determine a new formula ... of the transformation of our society.

# Drop in political deaths reported

POLITICALLY related deaths dropped to a nine-month low of 263 in November, according to the latest Human Rights Commission (HRC) report on repression.

HRC national director Safoora Sadek said the declining number of killings could be attributed to the increased presence of international observers at potential sites of conflict. BDay 8/12/92

She said there had been a noticeable shift in violence from the Transvaal to Natal and this trend could be reinforced by the return of Transvaal hostel dwellers to Natal over the festive season.

While the 114 people who had died in the PWV was below the 1992 monthly average of 161, a total of 132 had died in Natal, the report said.

Of the 263 killed in November, 140 had been victims of vigilante actions, while the security forces had killed three and injured 38, it added.

At least 3 324 people had been killed in

RAY HARTLEY (HT14)

violence during 1992 — about 38% more than this time last year, the report said.

A total of 17 security force members were killed in November and a further 12 were injured in 31 separate incidents, the HRC said.

Meanwhile, a total of 461 members of the police force have been killed since President F W de Klerk's February 1990 speech, police statistics show.

A police spokesman said yesterday the 1992 death toll of 209 policemen represented a 66% increase on last year's figure of 145 deaths, while the figure was almost double that for 1990, during which 107 policemen had been killed.

☐ Sapa reports from Durban that a man was killed in KwaMashu early yesterday, bringing to at least seven the number who had died violently in the greater Durban area at the weekend, police said.

# Policeman did kill ANC man

BDay 8/12/92

MARITZBURG — A police warrant officer, 30-year-old Hendrik Steyn, was convicted yesterday of murdering an ANC member and attempting to murder another, both reputed to belong to a self-defence unit.

In his judgment in the Maritzburg Supreme Court Judge Page sharply criticised Steyn's commanding officer, Capt Joseph Erasmus, for his conduct during the investigation. (482)

The judge said, "It is deplorable that a commanding officer of a unit, out of a misplaced loyalty towards one of his members who committed a crime, neglected his honesty and duty as a policeman to see that justice is done." (327)

Furthermore, he had doubts that the mishandling of the case was limited to the commanding officer, as the whole unit refused to stand at an identity parade.

The judge ordered that his remarks be forwarded to Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe for any action "he sees necessary". — Sapa. (24)

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz




Investec Holdings Limited

# Detained pilots 'abandoned by SA'

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE Foreign Affairs Department had abandoned the two SA pilots currently being detained by Angolan police in Luanda, a spokesman for the pilots' company said yesterday.

Theunis Steyn of Africa Air Cargo said the ANC, which still has a representative in Angola, Peter Tshikare, had been approached for assistance.

The pilots, AAC MD Manfred Brussow and Hendrik Lategan, were arrested by Angolan police following an unauthorised landing in Luena last week.

Angolan representative in Pretoria Manuel Augusto said the two pilots had not been in possession of current visas or travel documents as these were still at the Angolan embassy and had also affixed false Red Cross insignia to their six-seater Aztec aircraft.

A spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross confirmed that no application had been received for the ICRC's insignia to be used.

Steyn said the aircraft was on a mercy flight to Kinshasa with a doctor on board but that a fuel selector problem may have caused the emergency landing.

Augusto said, however, that the two men would be returned to SA in the interests of good relations.

Meanwhile, the ANC has confirmed it will send a representative to the emergency Frontline states meeting scheduled for Friday in Harare.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was possible ANC president Nelson Mandela would attend.

It is understood that the meeting, called by Frontline chairman Robert Mugabe, will discuss SA's alleged infringement of neighbouring countries' airspace.

Government has denied the claims.

# Maize belt faces disaster as follow-up rains hold off

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — High winds and temperatures in the mid-30s along most of the maize belt in the past 10 days have played havoc with early plantings and big rains were needed to prevent a disaster, Nampo said yesterday.

Nampo GM Giel van Zyl said: "Unless we get good rains before December 15, the situation will become extremely serious."

The optimum planting time had passed in the Transvaal, Free State and Natal and 1,2-million ha had not yet been planted.

In the western Transvaal and northern Free State, where about 60% of the total crop is normally grown, nearly half of the crop still has to be planted.

In the eastern Transvaal, highveld planting is about 90% complete but in Natal only 18 000 of the projected 70 000ha had been planted by the end of last week.

Van Zyl said much of the 2,2-million ha already planted was exposed to a big damage risk unless the rains came.

Maize planted late also faced the prospect of frost towards the end of the growing season. What appeared to be good rains at the start of summer made little if any difference to the critical moisture content of the soil.

"We don't want to cry wolf," Van Zyl said, "but the situation could become critical if we don't get immediate rains and if January and February are dry months."

Sapa reports that the Transvaal Agricultural Union said conditions were critical, particularly in the western Transvaal. The lack of follow-up rain in the past few days meant that many Transvaal farmers were facing bankruptcy.

About 70% of farmers planted crops soon after the first rains, but young maize plants have been scorched and virtually no grazing remains.

In the Tzaneen area, fruit trees are dying and a TAU spokesman said banana trees on some farms had been ruined.

Agricultural conditions in the eastern Transvaal are more promising, but follow-up rains are needed in the next 10 days to save crops.

Conditions have improved in the eastern Cape, but the interior remains dry.

Eastern Cape Agricultural Union president Tinus Hartman said good rains fell between Tsitsikamma and East London, and the outlook in coastal areas was promising.

# Water for all by Christmas, says govt

RAY HARTLEY

ALL South Africans would have an adequate supply of water this Christmas with relief efforts in drought stricken areas continuing throughout the festive season, Water Affairs spokesman Lucinda Scholtz said yesterday.

Although borehole drilling would be halted a week before Christmas, emergency supply operations would continue, she said.

Water Affairs, Forestry and Agricultural Development along with the Consultative Forum on Drought (CFD) were coordinating relief efforts to ensure an adequate water supply, she added.

A CFD spokesman said the situation was deteriorating in certain areas of Venda and Lebowa.

Water Affairs said restrictions were not expected for the PWV area next year following an improvement in the level of the Bloemhof dam and the halting of releases from the Sterkfontein dam.

Scholtz said it was too early to say the drought had been broken generally.

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# Detained pilots 'abandoned by SA'

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# Police seize arms, cars in Vosloorus

STAR 9/12/92

By Charlotte James (321)

East Rand police seized firearms, ammunition and two stolen cars when they swooped on two houses in Vosloorus on Monday afternoon. Six men and a woman were arrested.

An SAP spokesman said police from the Motor Vehicle Theft Unit swooped on the houses where they found a Browning pistol, an AK-47 rifle and ammunition. (328)

A stolen Mercedes-Benz and a Toyota Corolla were discovered on the scene. Police also found police camouflage clothes, including two shirts, a pair of trousers, a cap and a belt.

An investigating officer said the probe would continue because the police were on to "something big".

# National agreements 'have not helped quell violence'

Citizen 9/12/92.

RAY HARTLEY

THE national peace accord, the Codesa declaration of intent and five bilateral accords between the ANC and government had failed to reverse the growth of violence, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

The country was going through its second worst year of political violence to date, with 2 924 people having died in political killings by the end of November, the institute said.

This represented an 18% increase on the 1991 number, institute figures showed.

The Human Rights Commission earlier this week said political deaths had dropped to a nine-month "low" of 263 for November — well above the 1991 monthly average of 215 deaths a month.

Institute spokesman Paul Pereira said SA's worst year of violence remained 1990, when 3 699 people were killed.

The institute said fatalities in political violence since September 1984, when political killings started on a large scale, would probably reach more than 15 000 by the end of 1992.

"Nearly two-thirds of all deaths in political violence occurred in 1990, 1991 and 1992," the institute said.

Pereira said the institute believed violence would be combated more effectively if the national peace accord was amended to prohibit "peoples' war" and the struggle to make the country ungovernable.

He said other steps that could be taken included:

☐ The renunciation by churches of the Lusaka Declaration in which SA churches said liberation movements had been compelled to use force to fight apartheid;

☐ Enforcing ruthlessly the ban on weapons including those displayed in public;

☐ A decision by the state to respect the rights of both boycotters and non-boycotters during stayaway actions;

☐ Public commitment from political leaders supporting the right of people to participate in or abstain from political actions;

☐ The replacement of the R1 rifle used by the SAP's Internal Stability Unit (ISU) with a less lethal weapon;

☐ Increasing the minimum age of ISU members from 21 to 25.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that a man was shot dead by unknown assailants at the KwaMashu hostel on Monday evening.

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▲ MPA 993

# Hearings on arms smuggling

LLOYD COUTTS

THE Goldstone commission would hold public hearings tomorrow and on Friday on ways to curb the illegal importation of automatic weapons into SA, the commission said yesterday.

The hearings will be held at the Breakwater campus of the University of Cape Town.

A police spokesman said most AK-47s were brought into SA from Mozambique and Swaziland. Most of the weapons, often sold by former Frelimo soldiers, ended up in Natal, the eastern Transvaal and the PWV fetching between R500 and R1 500.

Citizen 9/12/92.

A liaison forum for the SAP and Mozambican government officials had been established for high-level contact on the issue of arms smuggling.

Police had confiscated 7 238 illegal firearms up to October 10, including 2 854 rifles (with AK-47s), 2 227 pistols and 2 157 revolvers. The confiscated weapons were destroyed, the police spokesman added.


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# Next Goldstone probe targets arms

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Goldstone Commission's next inquiry is into the illegal importation and distribution of automatic weapons and their use in South Africa in the furtherance of political violence.

These hearings are to be held at the University of Cape Town tomorrow and on Friday.

The commission has just completed hearings in Pietersburg concerning the taxi wars in Alexandra and is to resume a final hearing in Durban on Monday into the causes of violence in Natal.

This will wrap up the hearings of the Goldstone Commission this year.

The team will get the ball rolling again on January 4.

An inquiry into the truth of allegations made to a weekly newspaper by Joao Cuna, a former member of Ferdi Barnard's Civil Co-operation Bureau cell, will continue next year.

9/12/92 STAR 327

STAR 9/12/92

# Court seeks policeman

A warrant for the arrest of a policeman allegedly involved in the killing of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre Itumeleng Samuel Padi (24) last year was issued in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Daniel Knoester, one of the six policemen who attacked Padi's home in Phiri, Soweto, on May 19 last year, failed to appear, and magistrate Mr J W Botha issued a warrant for his arrest.

Padi and his girlfriend Nokuzola Ncalo (22) died in a pre-dawn raid on his backyard home when police fired 33 shots after Padi allegedly pulled out the pin of a grenade.

A policeman told the inquest yesterday that his evidence-in-chief differed from a statement made after the shooting.

Under cross-examination by Gys Rautenbach, for the Padi and Ncalo families, Sergeant Rudolph Moagi said that he had made a hand-written statement which was later taken to a typist.

When the inquest started in September, Rautenbach produced press reports to challenge the SAP version of the shooting. He quoted from a report of the shooting in The Star in which a police spokesman gave a different account of the raid.

The hearing continues today. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent.

# ANC leaks: woman jailed

STAR 10/12/92

MASERU — A Lesotho woman was sentenced yesterday to five years in jail for contravening the Official Secrets Act.

She was found guilty of passing on classified information about the African National Congress and other liberation movements to a South African intelligence officer.

Masehloho Kao (32) pleaded guilty to contravening the Act.

The prosecution said Kao had leaked a secret government file in March from the Ministry of Information, where she worked as a telex operator, to a South African officer identified as Michael Jantjie.

The court heard that Jantjie was based at Ladybrand, near the Lesotho border. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# 'Hunters use slugs that killed MK man'

By Rochelle Gosling-Hughes

The shotgun slugs that killed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadre Itumeleng Padi (24) in May last year were not usually used to shoot people, a ballistics expert from the SAP forensic department in Pretoria told a Johannesburg Inquest Court yesterday.

Colonel Jacobus du Plessis said the slugs were usually used by special task forces in specific situations, and that hunters also used the ammunition.

Padi and his girlfriend Nokuzola Ncalo (22) died in a pre-dawn raid on his home in Phiri, Soweto, on May 19 when police allegedly fired 33 shots after Padi allegedly pulled the pin on a grenade.

Du Plessis said he had checked whether a slug could penetrate a body and exit it without merely lodging inside, by shooting pigs and checking the effect of the bullets on them.

Dr Russell Johnston, who performed the autopsies on the two bodies on May 23 and 24, said Padi had died of multiple shotgun wounds and a gunshot wound to the head.

Ncalo also died of shotgun wounds to the chest and abdomen, and the destruction of her left hand was consistent with a shotgun wound.

The court also heard yesterday that Daniel Knoester, one of the six policemen who attacked Padi's home and who was called to testify on Tuesday, had not been found.

State advocate P Louw, appearing for the police, said Knoester's house had been found locked.

The hearing continues.

'82 murder recalled by **Margaret Calhoun**

# Ghost of Hlapane haunts the ANC

Star 10/12/92 327

DECEMBER 16 marks the 10th anniversary of the unsolved and mysterious slaying of former senior ANC and SACP member Bartholomew Hlapane. Who is he, and what does a 10-year-old murder have to do with the present political crisis in South Africa?

Revisiting and redressing the case of Hlapane and other less-renowned dissidents may reflect the difference between the ANC prepared to play its part in a democratic South Africa, or an ANC that lacks the integrity to punish transgressors.

Hlapane, a man of high ideals, predicted that he would be assassinated for his testimony in March of 1982 against the ANC/SACP before a US Senate investigatory committee. Just pior to his public statement, he quietly told Senator Jeremiah Denton, who organised the hearing, that he would be killed for talking.

He went forward bravely, believing that his disclosure was essential for the long-term good of South Africa.

Hlapane was brutally gunned down in a hail of AK-47 gunfire in his home in Soweto, along with his wife, only nine months after his return from Washington, DC. One daughter, left for dead, survived to become a paraplegic. Another daughter escaped the attack.

Senator Denton's staff, filled with remorse and compassion, organised a trust fund to educate Hlapane's children at an American university.

Sixteen years before his US debut, Hlapane had turned State's evidence to expose Abraham Fischer's fundraising efforts for the SA Communist Party and his activity with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Hlapane was murdered for spreading his message to the international community — for testifying publicly before the US Congress — a dangerous precedent and one which if successful in exposing the ANC/SACP alliance and its secret financing, would have done immeasurable damage to the cultivated democratic, image of South Africa's foremost anti-apartheid institution.

Born in the Free State, Hlapane joined the ANC in 1948. In 1955, Joe Slovo recruited Hlapane into the elite ranks of the SACP and by 1962 he had been co-opted into the Central Committee of the party, a position of power and privilege.

Hlapane quit the ANC after his arrests in 1963 and 1964. His alienation arose from what he regarded as ANC/SACP readiness to betray its members, not warning them of imminent arrests and not caring, as they had promised, for the bereft families.

Hlapane's testimony was compelling, especially to Americans who imagined the ANC was solely a democratic, grass-roots organisation opposed to apartheid.

As Hlapane testified, "no major decisions could be taken by the ANC without the concurrence and approval of the Central Committee of the SACP".

MK, he explained, "was the brainchild of the SACP and after the decision to create it had been taken, Joe Slovo and J B Marks were sent by the Central Committee of the SACP to Moscow to organise arms and ammunition and to raise funds for Umkhonto".

Hlapane and his wife's brutal murder, and the attempted killing of his daughter, may be regarded by some of the ANC as fitting punishment for a collaborator.

To others, he may be seen, in the tradition of more recent ANC dissidents, like Mwezi Twala, a heroic figure drawn to the party by its professed noble ideals, but repulsed by its tactics.

Hlapane's murder must be resolved, as must the murder, disappearances, and torture of other ANC members at the hands of its leadership. If the ANC seeks to govern in the future, it must confess, overcome, and compensate for the wrongs of the past. □

*Margaret Calhoun is Senior Africa Analyst of the International Freedom Foundation in Washington, DC.*

# SADF closes door on Apla

STAR 10/12/92

(327)

**Pretoria Correspondent**

The SADF is open to all South Africans irrespective of sex, race or political belief — except members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

In a strong-worded warning to Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, General Kat Liebenberg, Chief of the Defence Force, said no Apla member would be welcome in the SADF.

"Apla is waging war against the country at this stage and will not be allowed to join the SADF," he said in Pretoria yesterday.

Liebenberg said the SADF was taking the threat of terrorist action by Apla very seriously.

"While Apla has not got a very great capacity and is a lot smaller than MK, even 10 terrorists in a big city can cause problems," the general said.

He said the Apla threat was particularly dangerous because its members were spread throughout the country and the attacks were aimed at soft targets.

Liebenberg said any attacks on suspected Apla bases in Transkei or South Africa would have to be approved by the Cabinet.

# ANC, IFP link in arrests

STATZ 10/12/92

DURBAN — Two suspects arrested yesterday in Newtown, Inanda, for possession of illegal firearms were found to have dual membership of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, said police.

When police searched the men's room they found a Stechin machine-pistol and ammunition.

In a separate incident, an Inkatha township councillor was arrested at the KwaMashu men's hostel in possession of an AK-47 and ammunition.

Moses Jabulani Sishi, who is also the head of the hostel, was released on R750 bail yesterday. — Own Correspondent.

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# UN to back Goldstone

STAR 10/12/92

The UN would give Mr Justice Goldstone every assistance in investigating activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), Tom Vraalsen, special envoy to the UN secretary-general, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Justice Goldstone called on the international community last week to help him launch an inquiry into Apla activities.

Vraalsen said such an investigation would be broadened to include Umkhonto we Sizwe, the security forces and homelands police. — Staff Reporter.

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● Interview — Page 23

— press

The project is one of four [illegible]

# Quest for truth in David Webster's murder

B/DAY 10/12/92

SUSAN RUSSELL

WHEN the inquest into the murder of Wits academic David Webster was adjourned last week it had heard 50 days of evidence from an assortment of witnesses including ex-convicts, businessmen, active and retired members of the security establishment as well as former secret agents and freelance spies.

The inquest was adjourned until January 18 when Judge M Stegmann will hear final submissions from the various parties' counsel.

In the attempt to establish who was responsible for Webster's assassination outside his Troyeville home on May 1 1989, much of the evidence focused on the activities of the SADF's now disbanded CCB.

Since the existence of the unit became known, there was suspicion that Webster's murder and the assassination of Swapo lawyer Anton Lubowski had been CCB projects.

Of all the witnesses called to testify, it was ex-vice squad policeman, former CCB agent and convicted murderer Ferdi Barnard who dominated proceedings.

Barnard, a large and imposing figure whether dressed in jeans and leather jacket or a suit, was implicated in the murder by a number of witnesses.

The former agent, fired from the CCB by MD Joe Verster as a security risk in March 1989, allegedly told a number of witnesses that he had shot Webster. Barnard, however, denied telling anyone he killed Webster.

He claimed that evidence by his former handler Laffras Luitingh, CCB information officer Derrick Louw and Verster himself, was a conspiracy to frame him as a scapegoat.

He also dismissed as lies evidence by businessman Willie Smit and Smit's mother Johanna that he told them he was involved.

Smit, his mother and brother-in-law Andrew Vorster also claimed that Barnard resembled an identikit of one of the murder suspects.

Vorster and Smit identified a second identikit as that of policeman Eugene Riley, a friend of Barnard's.

The two identikits, drawn up with the aid of a witness who saw the car from which the assassin fired at Webster, lay in police files for three years until submitted to the inquest.

The identikits were never made public. Those that were, were drawn up by a witness who later admitted to police he had been lying.

According to police evidence at the inquest, their investigating team had concluded the only possible motive was political, but they had been unable to establish CCB involvement.

Investigating officer Wessel Rousseau told the inquest the release of Barnard and other CCB operatives from detention in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act to enable them to testify at the Harms commission in 1990, had hampered police investigations.

Rousseau said the investigation had also been hampered by the seizure of CCB documents by Harms commission officials which were never returned.

Verster, the shadowy former MD of the CCB, who testified in camera to protect his identity, denied that the murder had been a CCB project.

Former members of the CCB's internal region 6 cell, Calla Botha, Slang van Zyl and Staal Burger also denied any knowledge of a project to assassinate Webster.

The court heard, however, that Verster had told members of the joint police and SADF team investigating possible CCB involvement that he believed Barnard had shot the activist to win his way back into the covert unit.

Barnard's former handler, Laffras Luitingh, testified that days after the murder Barnard admitted to him he had killed Webster.

Louw said Luitingh had told him what Barnard had said, but during his evidence and cross-examination, Barnard repeatedly denied any involvement in the murder.

In a transcript of a conversation between Rousseau and Barnard in July 1990, which was recorded by the police officer, the former agent claimed he and other operatives had been intimidated by Verster into lying to the Harms commission.

He claimed that financial pressure had been used to induce them to deny their involvement in various CCB projects.

During his evidence Barnard said Verster had also approached him earlier this year about a plan to establish a series of front companies, each with its own security force, which would act against a future government.

Verster told him R100m was available for the project. Verster admitted meeting Barnard, but denied this had been discussed. They had discussed private matters.

During the inquest a raid by the Goldstone commission on the offices of another covert SADF unit, the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC), revealed that Barnard had not been cold-shouldered by the security establishment after his dismissal from the CCB.

Barnard was in fact hired by the DCC in May last year after he approached former MI chief Gen Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst for a job.

Files confiscated by the Goldstone commission showed Barnard worked for DCC until his dismissal in December last year.

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JONSSONS

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# Police find Transkei arms smuggling route

LLOYD COUTTS

POLICE say they have discovered a new arms smuggling route from the Transkei into SA, complementing the two most commonly used passages from Mozambique and Swaziland. BIDM 10/9/92

SAP spokesman Capt Pieter Brandt said the Transkei route was used regularly, but would not elaborate.

He said arms were carried either directly from Mozambique or through Swaziland into Natal, the eastern Transvaal, the PWV and Soweto.

Brandt said cordial relationships had been developed with Mozambican authorities through a liaison forum to combat the smuggling of arms, a large proportion of which came from former Frelimo soldiers.

"The liaison forum is a great thing. From the Mozambican side they are doing their best to curtail (smuggling) and information is exchanged on a regular basis."

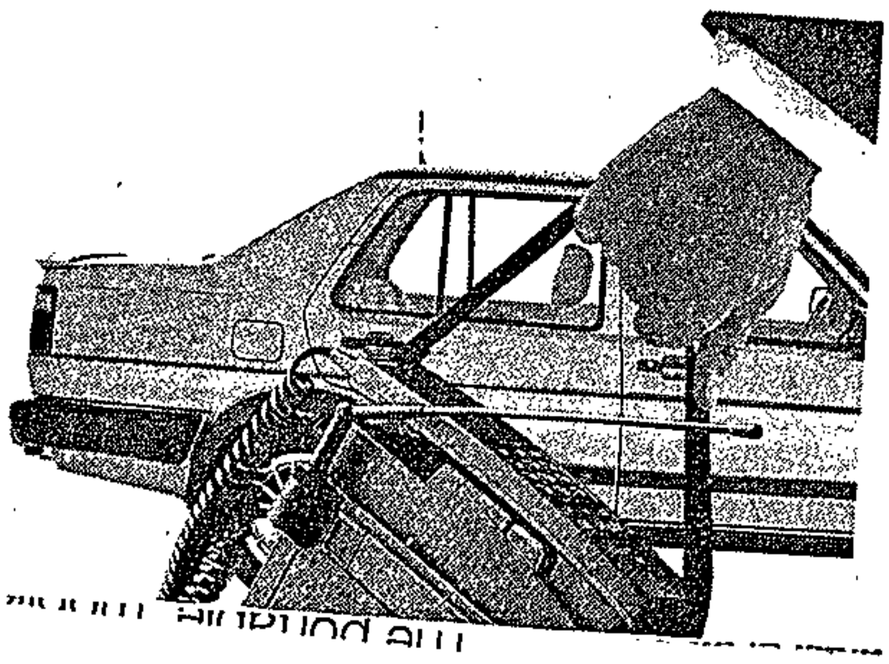
Brandt said police had paid R541 736 for the recovery of 6 448 illegal weapons recovered between January 1 and November 19 this year. This included 746 AK-47 assault rifles, 12 light machine guns and 2 215 pistols.

The cost of AK-47s on the black market was between R500 and R1 500 but prices could be reduced dramatically depending on circumstances, he said.

Police paid up to R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK-47, and up to R2 500 for a carbine. However, the transaction was subject to investigation.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said payment for the recovery of arms was part of a multidimensional strategy to remove illegal arms from the streets.

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# Gluckman's offices bugged

Political Staff

The offices of top Johannesburg pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman — whom Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel criticised yesterday — were recently found to have been extensively bugged with sophisticated equipment, Gluckman confirmed this morning.

Gluckman, who had to call in technical experts because he suspected he had been placed under surveillance, received numerous anonymous death threats after he had made dramatic allegations five months ago that police were killing prisoners in their custody.

He said bugs were found on his private line and in the main switchboard at the office, and others were in the ceiling, in the lights and in the skirting boards.

Yesterday, responding to Gluckman's allegations, Kriel criticised the Johannesburg pathologist and released statistics showing only a handful of cases in which the police could be implicated.

Kriel provided a detailed police report with a breakdown of 118 cases obtained from files at Gluckman's offices, and said only 34 of these people had died in police custody.

According to Kriel:

- In two cases SAP members were found guilty of criminal actions, and in two cases they were not guilty; two cases were still pending; six cases were suicides, according to inquests, and eight cases were still under investigation.
- There were 14 cases in which inquests had already been finalised and in which the police had not been found responsible by the courts.
- In another 14 cases, the named people were not dead.

In his reaction yesterday, Gluckman accused Kriel of trying to discredit him, and said his implication that he had performed autopsies on 14 people who were still alive was "the most bizarre charge" ever levelled at him in a long career.

He said the allegation repeated by Kriel yesterday had first been made in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper on November 29. Since he had spent most of yesterday giving evidence in a murder case, he had not been able to ascertain the full extent of Kriel's remarks.

Gluckman said a woman police constable who had arrived at his office had collected records of consultations from his files which had nothing to do with the deaths in custody.

"I await, with interest, details of the rest of the Minister's statements, as well as the report on which they were presumably based, all of which I assume his office will supply to me in time.

"In the meantime, I con-

● To Page 3

# Gluckman's offices were bugged

● From Page 1

tinue to nurse the concerns that prompted me to write to the State President: that almost every week people die while in the custody of those whose duty it is to protect life," Gluckman said.

Although he said the perception that detainees in police custody were murdered or were dying in large numbers were false, Kriel also announced measures to prevent deaths in custody, including the formation of a Board — to be chaired by a judge — which would investigate suspected criminal actions.

He said even one death in detention due to criminal behaviour was one too many, and that it was for this reason that 20 retired generals had been appointed to conduct surprise visits to police stations.

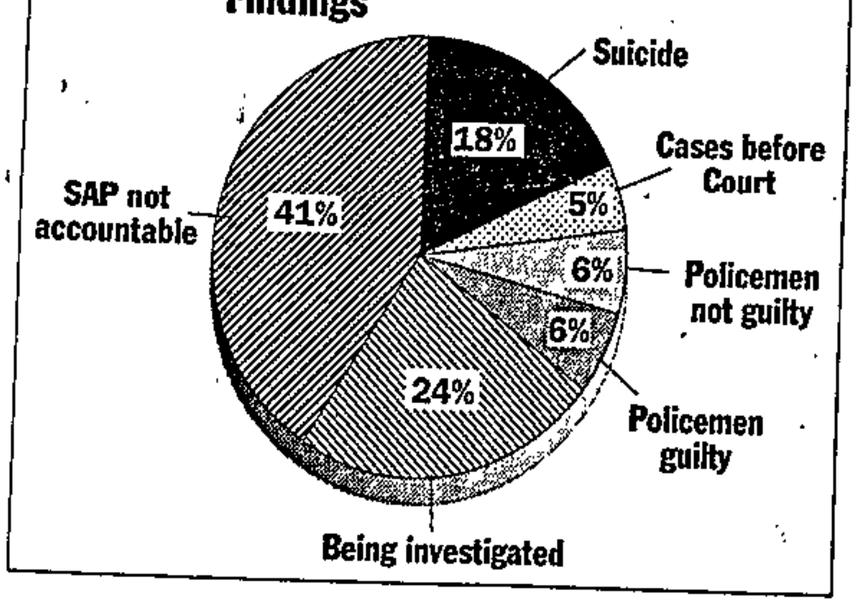
In addition, 12 retired magistrates were acting as inspectors of people in custody.

Kriel said the International Red Cross had also been given permission to visit prisoners without prior warning, and that an investigation was being conducted to see how suicides could be prevented.

Police would also consider going through police cells to remove any object which could be used to carry out a suicide, the Minister said.

Gluckman, who believed he was on the receiving end of a campaign by the police and the Government to discredit him, said the bugging seemed "to fit in well" with on-going attempts to discredit him.

Apart from confirming the bugging, Gluckman declined to comment further or answer any other question this morning.




Breakdown . . . how the SAP classifies the Gluckman cases.

## Govt threat to Apla draws angry response

# Hot-pursuit warning

Star 11/12/92.

(327)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has not ruled out the option of conducting cross-border raids into neighbouring states against military bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel revealed this yesterday at a Pretoria press conference, answering questions about Apla's alleged campaign of terror against whites.

He stressed, however, that the Government would undertake such raids only as a last resort and only if the Government were in possession of hard facts.

He said: "We are not looking for trouble with our neighbours. But we have a duty to protect our citizens."

Kriel stated categorically that Apla had training bases in Zimbabwe and Transkei. Asked whether this meant the governments of those countries were lying because they had denied hosting Apla bases, Kriel said he did not know whether they were lying, but they did have their facts wrong.

He welcomed the Zimbabwe government announcement that Apla should stop making claims about its "criminal activities" from Zimbabwean soil.

But he added that he did not think the "brigadier from Transkei" (an apparent reference to Major-General Bantu Holomisa) had made a similar statement.

Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said one would not find Apla training bases if one looked for conventional military institutions with flags waving and platoons marching.

Only three or four people were being trained at each base, they said.

Kriel said the SAP estimated that Apla had 120 trained fighters inside and outside the country. He would not say which countries were funding Apla or the PAC, as the matter was still under investigation.

Those countries funding Apla and the PAC would be contacted through the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He would not comment on the arrest and later release on Wednesday of three ANC members on suspicion of involvement in the King William's Town golf club attack, for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

Kriel said if it was true that the PAC had said it would not suspend the armed struggle until an interim government had been installed, then it had effectively excluded itself from the negotiations for an interim government.

● The ANC and the Transkei administration yesterday reacted angrily to Kriel's statements.

The ANC said the threatened military action against Transkei and Zimbabwe "is totally unacceptable ... irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories".

The ANC added that its president, Nelson Mandela, would raise these matters at a special emergency meeting of Frontline states in Harare today.

In a separate statement, Holomisa said Apla had no bases in Transkei. He warned Pretoria not to harm innocent citizens in cross-border raids.

Church leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with the PAC and Apla.

The SA Council of Churches said yesterday the leaders were concerned about Apla's activities and the PAC's response.

held at home at 10am and the cortege proceeds to the cemetery for burial at noon.

## Beauty contest

CONTINENTALS Amateur Football Club will hold a beauty pageant for the 10 to 15-year age group

been invited as speakers.

Project co-ordinator Mr Peter Gallens said the event was started in 1979 and "attendance grows every year".

He said everybody in the community was invited. He also appealed to graduates to wear their academic regalia. -*Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

# Police planned killing, says dad

**MK cadre was allegedly threatened by cops before they gunned him down:** Sowetan 11/2/92 327

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**

POLICE intended killing his son long before they finally shot him dead, Mr Isaac Padi, father of an MK cadre, Mr Itumeleng Padi, told an inquest court yesterday.

In an affidavit submitted to the court, Padi said police threatened to kill his son if he did not hand himself over.

Padi said police took him to Protea police station on February 7 and, during interrogation, Sergeant Johannes Schoeman told him anything could happen to his children and family if he refused to divulge the whereabouts of his son. "During the course of the interrogation I was told by Schoeman that if my son did not hand himself over, the police would shoot him when they found him." Padi was killed in his home in Phiri, Soweto on May 19 last year when police fired 33 shots after he allegedly resisted arrest. The inquest court adjourned yesterday and will resume on January 6 when the court will hold an inquiry into the absence of a police witness, Lieutenant Daniel Knoester, who failed to appear in court. A warrant for his arrest was issued on Tuesday.

# Can a Bill of Rights survive an emergency?

By JOHN GROGAN

SURPRISINGLY little attention has been given to the question of what becomes of a Bill of Rights if — as might well happen — the future democratically elected state is seriously threatened by forces trying to overthrow it.

Bills of Rights are designed for societies in which both state and subjects respect and abide by the law. When either the power-holders or the opposition disregard the basic rules of democracy, their fragility is exposed.

There can be little doubt that the first government of a post-apartheid South Africa will experience militant opposition as it seeks to consolidate power. Whether it will be able to maintain order by purely democratic means during the period of transition is far from certain.

Like it or not, the point may well arrive when a future government may have to ask for additional emergency powers to deal with crises. What form should they take? And can they be reconciled with a Bill of Rights?

Under the current law, the government can give itself emergency powers over all or part of the country. By definition, emergency rule entails the suspension of human rights like freedom of speech, the press, assembly and movement, and of due process. The extent to which the government can trample on these liberties under emergency rule became apparent during the emergency of the 1980s. It is not inconceivable that a future government might try to follow that example.

After this country's experience with emergency rule, constitution-makers should think hard about how to handle a national emergency with as little damage as possible to the values enshrined in the Bill of Rights.

There is no easy answer to this problem. But, if emergency powers are not to be abused again, there must be a mechanism to ensure that they are invoked only in cases of dire threat to the existence of the state itself, that they are used only for so long as the threat persists, and that the measures taken are commensurate with the threat they are designed to avert.

These are clearly difficult tests to apply. But, if anything can be learned from our earlier experience of emergency rule, it is that the political authorities (both legislature and executive) cannot be relied upon to apply them.

Emergency measures must, therefore, be brought under the effective control of the courts — ideally, a special constitutional court designed to handle such matters. And with a Bill of Rights in place, the standard against which all emergency measures must be tested will be: do the circumstances and objectives of the particular emergency measure justify the extent to which entrenched rights are violated?

Idealists may object that any provision conferring emergency powers on the executive is by definition subversive of the values enshrined in a Bill of Rights.

But realism, I believe, indicates that strict controls on such powers are preferable to the alternative so often experienced in Africa. This is for the government to suspend the constitution entirely — at best until it has handled the crisis in its own way, at worst in perpetuity.

**●John Grogan is professor of law at Rhodes University**

# Getting justice for workers

An advice bureau which assists workers in their battles with employers faces closure through lack of funds. By **GAYE DAVIS**

DUMISANI MBELE'S train to work was late. Hot and sweaty from rushing to get there, he took a key to the storeroom so that he could have a shower. An enraged foreman assaulted him for his presumption, but when Mbele complained, he was fired and the foreman stayed.

Jobless and angry, Mbele heard about an office in Athlone where there were people who knew the law and could help him. He duly arrived at the General Workers' Advice Service and, after a conciliation board hearing, Mbele won the justice he deserved.

The three full-time staffers at the advice office can tell hundreds of stories like Mbele's, of people lacking the knowledge or the language skills to fight cases of unfair dismissals and other labour-related problems.

For people like Mbele, there are few avenues for legal assistance in battles with employers. If the advice office were to close, there would be even fewer.

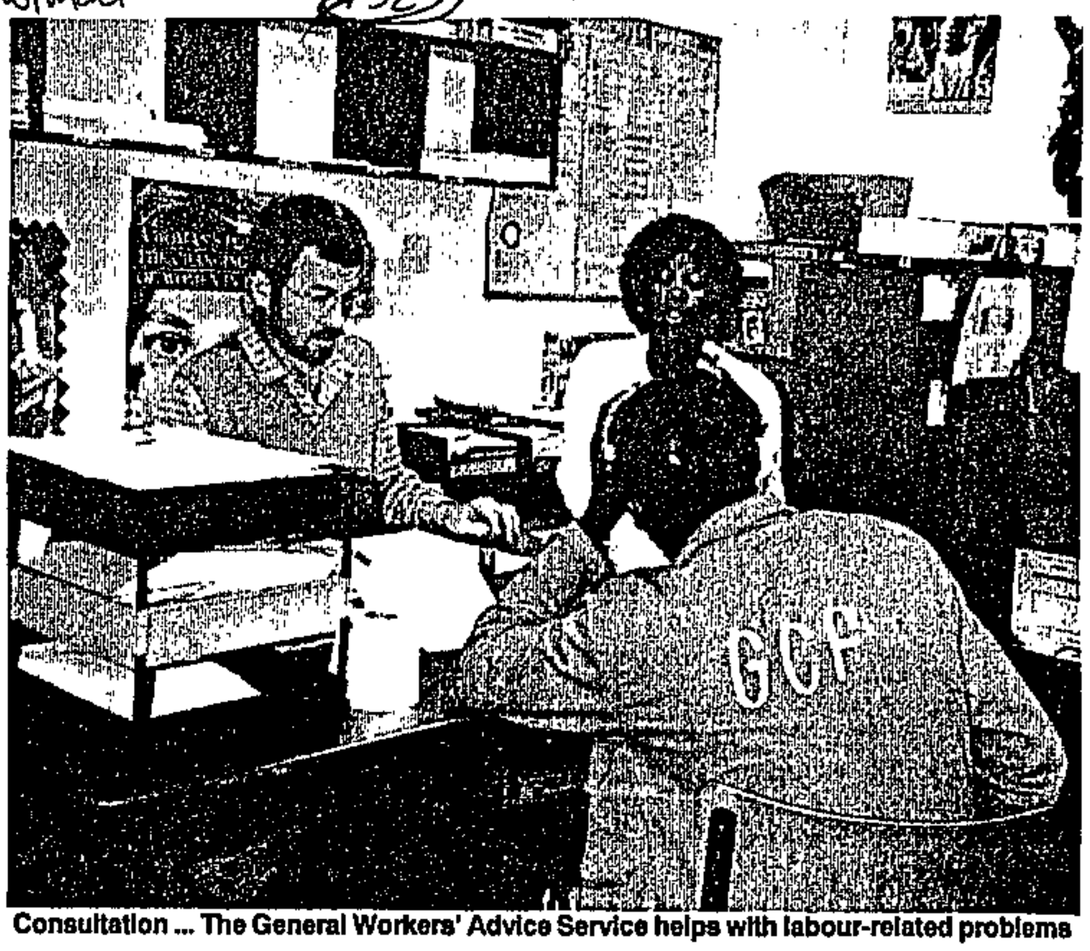
But a funding crisis could close the office in six months, according to staffers Jane Connolly and Simon Williams.

Cuts by donors mean the office has to find R22 000 to meet a budget shortfall for 1993; it is already battling to meet this year's shortfall and December salaries are under threat.

"If the office were to close, where would all these people go? The Department of Manpower, industrial councils, the Legal Aid Board and unions all refer cases to us," says Williams. "As the recession worsens, the need for a place like this increases.

"We're servicing the needs of workers not represented by unions, although we do get referrals from unions.

"The office deals exclusively with labour-related issues, including health and welfare as far as the workplace is concerned. Our main brief is dealing with unfair dismissals and labour practices."



**Consultation ... The General Workers' Advice Service helps with labour-related problems**

"We provide not only a watchdog function, ensuring basic labour law requirements are met, but also an educative one."

Says Connolly: "We do a lot of work the legal fraternity won't touch. Each month we get about 250 people walking in and take up between 100 and 150 cases. It's tiring, emotionally draining, time-consuming work but we're dealing with the poorest of the poor who would otherwise have nowhere to go."

Most of the workers who approach the advice office earn between R400 and R600 a month — below the minimum wage at its 1990 level of R709. Usually by the time they arrive at the advice office they have already been dismissed, which means they're without income until they find another job — not an easy task in a depressed economy.

Volunteer workers — currently about 40 — are drawn largely from university students. Each year the office runs a training course for paralegals and trade union staff. "We're about the only organisation training people in advice office labour law skills," says Williams.

Closure would thus diminish access to justice for those who most need it — and would also mean the loss of a valuable training system.

"By June next year we must have new funders," says Connolly. "If we don't, we will have to close.

"There are workers out there who need us. It's tiring, draining work with people who are desperate. We don't need to be panicking and worrying about the future of the service."


**Where to jol!**

A special focus on holidays in Durban and Cape Town - in The Weekly Mail next week



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***ADVANCING HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA***
**Albie Sachs**
*R34,99*

Albie Sachs, lawyer and writer, looks at federalism, and the question of regional government. He examines the controversial issue of socio-economic rights and deals extensively with the theory and practice of affirmative action.

Albie Sachs is the author of several other books including *Protecting Human Rights in a New South Africa*, published by Oxford University Press in 1990.

***THE SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND LABOUR LAW YEARBOOK***
**Michael Robertson (ed.)**
*R89,99*

This volume describes how laws and legal institutions are developing, notes the growing movement towards tripartite negotiations involving business, labour, and the state, and points to the enormous social and legal changes which are still necessary before South Africa can regard itself as an upholder of internationally acceptable standards of human rights

that most hostels need upgrading

# Policeman skips MK inquest

W|Mail 11/12 - 17/12/92

BY ROSALEE TELELA

A POLICEMAN allegedly involved in the killing of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) member Tumi Padi again failed to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Despite the issuing of a warrant for his arrest by magistrate JW Botha on Monday, Lieutenant Daniel Knoester's whereabouts are still not known. The case has been adjourned until January 6, when an inquiry will be held into the non-appearance of the policeman.

Knoester was supposed to be a prime witness during this week's inquest hearing into the death of MK member Padi and his girlfriend Nokuzola Ncalo, killed during a raid by police in the early hours of May 19 last year. Police say Padi was shot and killed when he attempted to throw a hand grenade at them. Ncalo, who was in the same room as Padi, was shot when she allegedly "stormed" the police.

Pathologist Russell Johnston testified that Padi had died of shotgun wounds and a head wound from a gunshot, either from a R1 or R5 that the police carried during the raid. He said Ncalo's death was caused by sustained shotgun wounds to the chest and abdomen.

Two policemen, Constable Harry Mhlanga and Sergeant Moeledi Moagi, who were present during the shooting, told the court they could not recall whether they were present when affidavit stamps were put on their statements.

During cross-examination it emerged that both witnesses had given their statements to a policeman who had also been present during the shooting, and not the investigating officer in the case.

The investigating officer, Detective Constable Ncele, declined to answer most questions put to him by defence counsel Gys Rautenbach. He confessed, however, that at times he stamped statements in the absence of those who made them and that it was possible he had done the same with the statements of Moagi and Mhlanga.

Testimony by a forensic expert, Dr David Klatzow, contradicted the police claim that Padi had been sitting on the right side of the bed when police entered the room. He argued that it was more probable that he was on the left side, basing his deduction on the fact that there were no signs of massive bleeding on the right side and the manner in which blood had splattered on the ceiling.

Department specialist in [illegible] Citizen transi-

# Police planned killing, says dad

## MK cadre was allegedly threatened by cops before they gunned him down:

Sowetan 11/2/92 327

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**

POLICE intended killing his son long before they finally shot him dead, Mr Isaac Padi, father of an MK cadre, Mr Itumeleng Padi, told an inquest court yesterday.

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# Judgment reserved in squatter row

Pretoria Correspondent

Judgment has been reserved in the matter between the Diepsloot Landowners' Association (DLA) and the Transvaal Provincial Administration in which the DLA is trying to stop the TPA resettling Zevenfontein squatters at Diepsloot.

Mr Justice McCreath said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday he was aware this was an urgent matter and hoped to make a final judgment before Christmas.

DLA counsel H H Steyn said in papers before court that the TPA could move the more than 650 families to an area near Alexandra where they would not interfere with others' rights.

Steyn said evidence that the Zevenfontein squatters did not want to go to Alexandra did not hold water.

"They have no right to make any demands and should accept any arrangements made for them."

TPA counsel Dave Preiss said the squatters could not be accommodated in Alexandra as the area was overpopulated.

# Police 'harass' advocate's family

By Philip Zoio

Three Randburg policemen have been accused of behaving like "aggressive animals" after they allegedly broke down the front door of the home of a Johannesburg advocate, harassed his wife and tried to arrest the couple on false charges.

Advocate Gerrie Meyer's wife, Karin, was at home with her three children in Fairland when the policemen arrived at about 1 pm yesterday. They jumped over the gate and shouted at her to open the front door, she said.

She said she would not let them in because she was afraid they could be criminals. At no stage did they offer to identify themselves. She told them that her husband was on his way home, and pleaded with them not to kick down the front door.

She then locked herself, her twin daughters (5) and her 1½-year-old baby girl in the study. Within minutes the policemen had broken down the front door. They threatened to arrest her if she did not open the study door, she said.

John Caplan, a Johannesburg advocate who spoke to her on the telephone while her husband drove home, said he heard "complete terror in her voice".

When her husband arrived, the policemen tried to arrest him. Meyer said he told them to leave. He was shown an arrest warrant for someone else on a charge of non-payment of taxes.

Meyer said the police continued to threaten him, even after he told them he was an advocate. According to Meyer, one sergeant said: "I'm not afraid of any advocate, any attorney or any court in this country."

The policemen finally left after he told his wife to phone his father, attorney Piet Meye and make arrangements for bail application.

Piet Meyer said: "If this ha pens to an advocate, what ha pens when they go to houses black people?"

The Meyers laid a charge malicious damage to propert with district commissione Brigadier Jac de Vries.

De Vries said detectives had completed their investigatio and a docket could be submitte to the Attorney-General today.

He said it did happen that po licemen abused their power, al though he did not think such in stances were common. H placed high emphasis on police acting within the law, by using minimum force. Policemen wh contravened this principl would be brought to book.

De Vries nevertheless appealed to members of the public to co-operate with police.

# English tourist dies on Table Mount

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The body of an English tourist, who fell 40 m to her death down Table Mountain was found last night.

At 11.15 pm, 20 Mountain Club members and Metro rescue personnel stretchered down Blinkwater Ravine the body of Sharon Webb (34), of Cumberworth, Lincolnshire.

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they intended to rely upon the aforementioned scheme to spread rights onto Stand 50 Rosebank when, in fact, it was previously claimed that Stand 50 had no other potential than parking", the investigation report said.

The management committee agreed to request the Administrator to rectify a 1980 Provincial Gazette notice stating that the intent of the developer's application was only to approve an additional 5 000m² of retail space and not an additional 31 181m² of office space.

Veale confirmed the possibility that, under certain circumstances, and after a court order had been obtained, the building might have to be demolished.

J H Isaacs could not be reached for comment last night.



Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel responds to a question at a news conference held in Pretoria yesterday.

Picture: SUE KRAMER

# Govt does not discount cross-border raids on Apla

B/Day 11/12/92

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Government would not rule out cross-border pre-emptive raids to combat Apla actions against SA civilians, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told a media conference yesterday.

He estimated the size of Apla to be about 120 people and said it had bases in Transkei and Zimbabwe.

He said government was not "looking for trouble" with its neighbours, but had a responsibility to protect its citizens.

A cross-border raid would be the last resort and government would not do it unless it possessed hard facts.

He said he was pleased by the Zimbabwean government statement ordering Apla to stop making claims regarding its criminal actions from Zimbabwean soil.

Kriel noted that Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa had not made a similar statement.

The ANC, in a statement yesterday, said threats of cross border military action were "totally unacceptable".

"It is irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories.

"These misgivings are reinforced by the raid conducted by the SAP on the ANC regional office in East London, ostensibly looking for Apla members, and the unwarranted arrest of three ANC members.

"An attack against Zimbabwe would destabilise the entire southern African region, including the delicate peace process in Mozambique," it said.

It said ANC president Nelson Mandela would raise the matter at the special emergency meeting of the Frontline states in Harare today.

Meanwhile, an Apla commander, Vuma Ntikinca, said in Umtata yesterday that Apla had several bases in SA, particularly in the PWV area. He said attacks launched by Apla on the Reef, including the deaths of several policemen, proved the army had bases in the PWV area.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the PAC said after a meeting with the DP in Johannesburg yesterday it recognised the destructive effect of violence and "in particular the killing of innocent civilians", but adamantly refused to distance itself from the attacks on soft targets in King William's Town and Queenstown.

# Five killed in townships

B/Day 11/12/92

DURBAN — Five people were killed in separate incidents in KwaZulu townships on Wednesday and yesterday morning.

KwaZulu police said two people died and one was seriously injured when a "powerful device" exploded at a house in Esikhawini yesterday.

The bodies of two children — who were shot dead — were found near Kwamakhutha on Wednesday.

A 14-year-old youth was also shot dead at Sawpits near Umbumbulu.

In Johannesburg, four people were injured on Wednesday and yesterday in incidents on or near railway properties in the Germiston area, police said.

And taxi driver Maria Molefe was shot dead by a passenger in Roodepoort on Wednesday — Sapa.

Goldstone told of disciplinary action | ANC official

# Covert action best arms smuggler trap

STAR 11/12/92

CAPE TOWN — Covert police operations had proved more successful than conventional methods in uncovering arms smuggling networks and these operations could be extended in the future, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

The full commission, chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone, is hearing submissions in Cape Town on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in South Africa.

W L Wepener, for the South African Police, said covert intelligence and infiltration operations were "absolutely essential" to combat the import and distribution of weapons. Eleven covert anti-crime units were already operating countrywide.

He recommended the establishment of a special unit to infiltrate and expose weapon smuggling networks from the source to the destination. Arms smugglers who were linked to several transactions could be given heavier sentences.

Wepener said problems relating to the use of illegal firearms for political purposes could only be effectively addressed through a political settlement.

However, effective control over African National Congress arms caches inside the country was needed in the interim to prevent the distribution of illegal weapons. "We are not asking that the ANC's arms caches be placed immediately under police control.

## Searches

"But we believe the ANC should, as a start, make available to this commission all information which it has regarding the illegal import and distribution of firearms," he said.

Improved co-operation with neighbouring states, particularly Transkei, increased penalties for offenders and legislation regulating the packing of freight to facilitate police searches at international borders were also recommended.

The commission heard that 711 people had been killed and 809 injured by AK-47 assault rifles alone during incidents of political violence from July 1 1991 to November 30 this year.

In 1991, illegal weapons confiscated included a total of 1 090 AK-47s, 2 150 pistols, 1 075 revolvers, 632 home-made rifles and 1 600 kg of explosives.

Wepener said weapons were "freely available" in Mozambique and were smuggled by organised syndicates to Natal and the Witwatersrand.

Conflict between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, taxi wars, train violence, faction fights and the increase in crime due to deteriorating economic conditions all helped to create a demand.

The commission also heard police had uncovered weapons smuggling networks in hostels on the Witwatersrand.

Police infiltrated such a hostel network and "bought" arms from smugglers.

A similar network, selling illegal Mozambican firearms to buyers in the Kruger National Park area, was also uncovered in August. — Sapa.

# Bop to cut sentences of prisoners

STAR 11/12/92

More than 1 500 prisoners in Bophuthatswana will be affected by a general amnesty announced by President Lucas Mangope during the homeland's 15th anniversary independence celebrations last week, it was confirmed yesterday.

A Bophuthatswana government spokesman said the number of prisoners in the territory as of Wednesday stood at 1 561, and all, including long-term inmates, would have up to 18 months cut from their sentences. Those serving six months or less would be freed.

He said although the number of prisoners serving sentences of six months or less was not available, hundreds would be released by the end of the week.

He could not confirm if former Bophuthatswana Defence Force member Warrant-Officer Timothy Phiri, one of the leaders of the aborted coup against Mangope's government in February 1988, was classified as a political prisoner or not.

Political organisations in the homeland, including the ANC, have been demanding the release of Phiri and Chris Makgala. — Sapa.

# Police to probe torture claims

STAAL 12/12/92.

POLICE will thoroughly investigate allegations made in the Weekly Mail newspaper yesterday that Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad detectives routinely tortured detainees to extract information, police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

The newspaper reported that detainees were tortured in a "waarheidskamer" (truth room) in the squad's headquarters in Brixton, Johannesburg, in spite of police pledges that illegal investigation methods would not be tolerated.

It quoted police sources and lawyers as saying confessions were extracted from detainees by giving them electric shocks, hanging them from their wrists and beating them.

Opperman said in a statement yesterday the SAP had never condoned or tolerated misconduct by its members, especially unlawful killings and torture.

In the near future an independent police board would investigate serious complaints and allegations, he added.

The Weekly Mail report said torture had always been standard practice at Brixton and reached a peak during the 1980s, when the Murder and Robbery Squad was headed by former Civil Co-operation Bureau section leader Staal Burger. — Sapa.

# Ball back in Gluckman's court

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

IF LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel is feeling a little aggrieved this morning, he may well be justified. Yesterday's newspaper headlines were dominated by news that the offices of pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman had been bugged and by Kriel's statement that the Government would consider cross-border raids to curb the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Kriel made his statement on Apla in response to a question at a press conference in the Union Buildings called to present the Minister's response to allegations of police brutality made by Gluckman in July. The real business of the press conference, Kriel's riposte to Gluckman, ended up relegated to secondary significance.

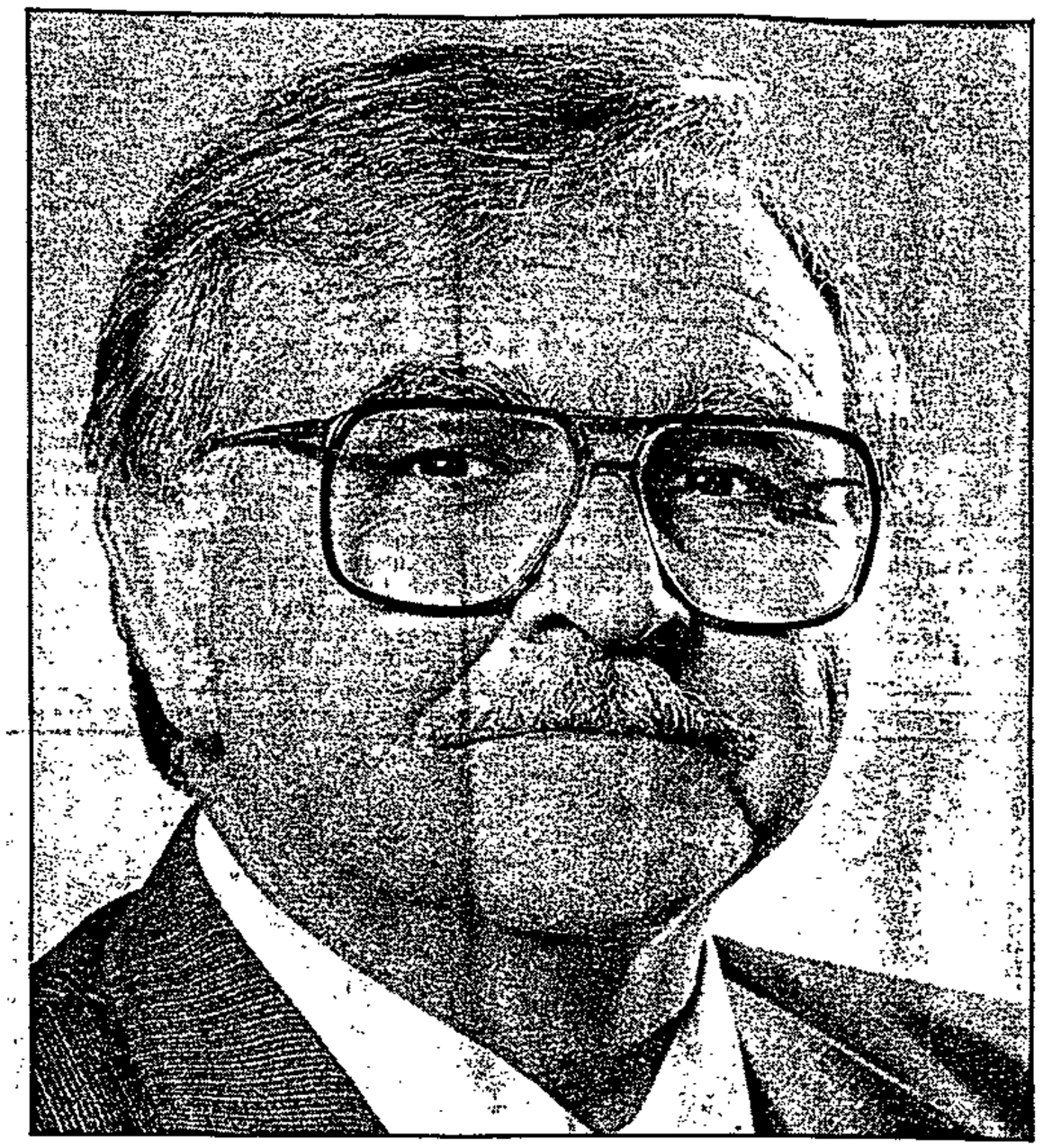
## Document

The Ministry of Law and Order has compiled an 81-page document based on an examination of 118 cases obtained from Gluckman's records. Gluckman had charged that he had more than 200 files on post-mortems he had performed on prisoners, 90 percent of whom "I am convinced were killed by the police".

Kriel said Gluckman handed over just 130 names to his investigator, Colonel Jan de Beer, and was able to provide files for only 119 cases. In one of these cases, police were unable to find any information.

The ministry's investigation reached the following conclusion: 14 cases concerned people who were still alive, seven died "outside South African jurisdiction", 29 died in cases that had "absolutely nothing to do with the South African Police", 26 died "as a result of police action outside of custody", six died while in prison and two as a result of South African Defence Force action.

Kriel said 34 people, 29 percent of the cases from Gluckman's files, died while in police custody. Of these, six committed suicide — Gluckman's findings agreed with those of the State pathologist — 14



HERNUS KRIEL: The perception that prisoners are dying in large numbers because of criminal actions by police "is false".




DR JONATHAN GLUCKMAN: Claimed that 90 percent of more than 200 post-mortem cases were a result of killings by the police.

# Minister's detailed report defends SAP on cell murder claims

had been the subject of inquests which had not found the police responsible, eight were still being investigated and six had led to prosecutions. Convictions were secured in two of these cases, two led to verdicts of not guilty and two cases were still pending.

Based on these findings, Kriel said the "perception that detainees in police custody are murdered or are dying in large numbers because of the criminal actions of members of the South African Police is false".

Kriel also levelled criticism at the press: "Newspapers may be reminded that, in a volatile situation, they should not cry 'fire' in a crowded theatre."

Gluckman initially responded to Kriel's report by defending his basic contention: "Almost every week, people die while in the custody of those whose duty it is to protect life," he said.

But yesterday he refused to offer any comment on Kriel's findings which offer a strong challenge to the pathologist's allegations. Gluckman charged that bugs had been placed on his private line and in the main switchboard at his office as well as in the ceiling, in the lights and in the skirting boards. He said this was part of "the general campaign aimed at discrediting me".

Kriel's report, however, is a detailed document which will not easily be dismissed. Gluckman has already responded to the contention that 14 of the people were still alive. Last week he said police investigators had been told not to include these cases in the files they photocopied.

The seven cases which Kriel describes as "outside South African jurisdiction" include one death in Lesotho, two in Bophuthatswana, one in Venda, two in Lebowa and one in KwaNdebele. In three of these, Gluckman found evidence of chemical poisoning. None of the deaths, Kriel said, occurred whi the deceased was in police custody.

Kriel found that 26 people died the course of police action and riot custody. Eight of these were deat "where the SAP cannot be held l gally accountable" and include thr people "killed while fleeing aft having committed a crime" a three killed "during unrest inc dents". Inquest proceedings fou police not accountable in a furth seven cases and police have be prosecuted for another three.

A further eight cases are st being investigated, some of whi raise questions about the speed wi which police act on allegatio against them. One shooting incide in which three men died while fle ing a suspected robbery, took pla in December 1990.

## Suicide

Regarding the 34 deaths in cu tody, Kriel found that six of the pri oners committed suicide, all b hanging themselves. Another were the subjects of inquests, all which found the SAP not accoun able. One of these, Themba Molot had various bruise and scrat marks on his body "which had alle edly been sustained before his a rest".

Another drowned in a river ne Klerksdorp while pointing out dagga stash to the police. A thir Johannes Ngalo, died of internal i juries. Ngalo was arrested after robbery attempt, in which he h fought with the shopowner. Eye-wi nesses claimed they saw Nga being assaulted by the police well, but the inquest magistra found no one responsible.

The eight cases still under inves gation also raise questions abo delays in these cases. One death o curred in December 1989 and a other in January 1990. In one ca Gluckman's report directly contr dicts the official police explanati of the death. In the other, an inque was held without Gluckman's tes mony and without the deceased lawyers.

There are some nagging questio that remain unanswered by Krie report. But the Minister was ask to respond to Gluckman's alleg tions and he has done so in dep The ball is now back in the docto court.

Goldstone gets blessing from all sides of political spectrum

# Moves to muzzle gunmen

STAR 12/12/92

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone Commission is to appoint a committee to urgently investigate methods of fighting the importation, possession, distribution and use of weapons and explosives in South Africa.

This step had the blessing of the SADF, ANC, SA Police, the KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the commission said in a statement yesterday.

## Casualties

They had also "agreed to co-operate fully with the committee".

The commission appealed to all other involved parties or groups to assist the committee. Their assistance would enable the commission to recommend steps aimed at reducing the high casualties and damage to property caused by the weapons.

The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice R Goldstone, yesterday ended a preliminary hearing during which it received "helpful" submissions from the SADF, ANC, SAP, KwaZulu government and IFP.

In a related development, the IFP is reportedly not happy to hear that the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association (THRA) has, without informing it, reached an agreement with the ANC "aimed at promoting peace in the PWV region".

IFP spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu strongly rejected the agreement's proposals, which include fencing around certain "problem" hostels, 24-hour police presence around them, and surveillance of hostel members by random searches.

These are to "prevent the movement of arms and dangerous weapons and implements".

**OWN CORRESPONDENT and STAFF REPORTER**

Ndlovu said hostel residents should not be treated like animals, with "police and other people looking in at them through fences".

He said all parties should be consulted when such agreements were reached, if the peace process was to be effective.

He complained that even though Chief Minister Buthelezi had been in the PWV area in October to support a march against the fencing of hostels, the hostel residents themselves were entering into agreements that made provision for fencing to be erected.

Wesley Dlamini, speaking on behalf of the THRA, made it clear that he thought the object of the agreement had been confused by certain members of the media.

"The agreement is not about fences and police presence," he said, "but about speeding up the upgrading of hostels and the integration of hostel residents into surrounding communities. The fences are only proposed as a stabilising measure for hostels where a developmental approach would not be suitable."

About the THRA's relationship with the IFP he said: "The IFP have always been our friends, and we understand their position in terms of the confusion of issues."

Dlamini told the Saturday Star that the THRA wanted to depoliticise the hostels dispute, but that the agreement did make allowance for liaison with all relevant parties — including the IFP.

But he said that for progress to be made in the reconstruction process, the THRA needed to talk to those parties with whom it had been at loggerheads.

The Government's upgrading initiative (R326 million, administered by the Transvaal Provincial Administration) has been criticised by all parties involved.

## Funds

Ndlovu said the TPA was not doing enough in its efforts to upgrade the hostels, while the agreement between the ANC and the THRA stated that "both parties are generally dissatisfied with the manner in which these funds are being disbursed."

It further stated that the TPA did not devote enough effort to consulting local interests, and that "black local authorities are inappropriate structures for the ownership, upgrading, management and upgrading of hostels".

# Top cops meet over Buthelezi allegations

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

WITWATERSRAND deputy Attorney-General J Humans has revealed that A-G Klaus von Lieres held a meeting with senior police officers last month concerning investigations involving Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Contrary to police reports that the Buthelezi docket had been handed to the A-G for his decision whether to prosecute or not, Human said he was not aware the docket had been handed to the office, adding his senior would have informed him.

However, police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman told City Press he was certain investigations had been completed and the docket handed to the A-G.

The A-G could not be reached for comment as he is on leave until January.

In October Buthelezi defiantly led two marches in central Johannesburg and Durban protesting against the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and fencing off of Reef hostels.

SAP regional commissioner Gen Gerrit Erasmus had turned down a request by march organisers to carry weapons in public. Buthelezi defied the ban and led the 20 000-strong march.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

# Massacre victims relive the horror

C/Press 13/12/92

(327)

By S'BU MNGADI

AT 1 am on December 9 1982, Maseru was held captive by the moon. It was a beautiful, clear, moonlit night as only the mountain kingdom of Lesotho produces.

Ironically, the SADF commandos were assisted by the moonlight in their seek-and-destroy raid that night. The following morning, 30 SA refugees and 12 Basotho – including five women and three children – lay dead.

In a media statement later, the then SADF chief, Gen Constand Viljoen said: "Elements of the SADF launched a successful attack on 12 targets in Maseru, Lesotho this morning. A total of about 30 terrorists were killed in the attack and a quantity of arms, explosives and documents were seized."

Viljoen alleged the targets served as planning, control headquarters and springboards for the ANC's "terrorist action" against SA, Transkei and Ciskei.

In Durban this week, massacre survivors, their families and friends attended a book launch to commemorate the bloody night.

Entitled *Le Rona Re Batho* (We are also people), the book is written by former exiled Durban lawyer Phyllis Naidoo, who survived the attack.

Naidoo recalls the last few hours before the raid.

She wrote that she had gone to bed at midnight after attending a dinner party at a comrade's home. Hearing explosions thereafter, she jumped to the floor but her flat was left unscathed.

At the supper host's house, Jo was about to join two fellow refugees who were sleeping when he heard explosions in the distance. The explosions soon drew nearer.

Looking through the window, he saw a black man at the kitchen door. He realised something was wrong and dashed for a window.

As he was about to jump out of the window, shooting began. He was wounded in the head but managed to hide under a tree, watching the raiders from a safe distance.

Although the shooting subsided an hour later, the killers did not leave till 3.30 am. His two friends were dead.

Cuba House, home to 10 refugees, was reduced to a shell and the eight occupants were also murdered.

Santo, a Cuba House survivor, takes up the story ...

"Vido and I were joined on the double bed by Arrah and Vasta. The other six were asleep on the floor on foam mattresses.

"An explosion woke me. We rolled off the bed as the bullets flew by.

"After five minutes it was all quiet. They were possibly waiting for us to return the fire. But we were not armed.

"As the door was being opened Arrah kicked it closed. But an SADF member put his hand through the broken board and started firing.

"We had no lights. One SADF came in with a torch. The explosions continued outside.

"The first man shot me in the shoulder and I rolled into the corner with my head under the bed. I covered myself with the clothing we had removed earlier. Arrah got up to fight, but he was shot down.

"Two comrades had jumped out of the window. I was too afraid to move. The SADF picked up the bed to remove the suitcases. One searched while the other stood shouting: "Die freedom fighters!"

Santu added that when there was a lull, he and Cecil jumped out of the window and hid in the hedges behind Cuba House.

"We checked to see if we were being followed and ran behind a car. We realised that the whole yard would be checked, so we decided to jump over the fence. But Cecil could not jump and while trying to help him, an explosion lit up the yard. The boers spotted us and one SADF called out to another with a machinegun. As the two came towards us, I decided to run.

"For as long as I live I shall not forget Cecil pleading with the boers: 'Please sir, save my life'. They fired at me and I was wounded in the knee. I fell, and got up hopping away slowly, distancing myself.

"I looked back at Cuba House and saw six to eight jubilant boers, their black polished faces lit up by the burning fires," Santu recalled.

Speaking at the book launch this week, ex-Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said the attackers went to Kuena Flats, housing many expatriate aid workers.

Hani, who had lived in Lesotho since 1974, was away in Zambia that day and had left his wife Limpho and two children behind.

The SADF commandos shouted for 12 minutes for Hani to surrender.

A frightened night watchman had identified the flat he thought belonged to Hani. The flat, in fact, belonged to University of Roma librarian Matum Ralebitso's friend Gene, whom she was visiting.

Ralebitso, daughter of a former Lesotho minister of state and then ambassador to Mozambique, jumped from two stories up but a black SADF member peppered her body with bullets.

Gene, an SA exile who lived in a flat vacated by Hani, also jumped but broke his leg. He was later found dead with 30 bullet wounds.

Four South Africans killed at a house opposite the US embassy included a young Maritzburg medical practitioner Dr Ncipe Bantwini. Bantwini and his girlfriend had come to Lesotho legally through the Maseru border post to celebrate a friend's new-born baby.

Also killed was Jackson Trom alias Gazi, responsible for buying and distributing food to ANC refugees.

Gazi, his wife Albertina and three children were awakened by the door being blown apart.

Albertina looked out of the window and saw the house was surrounded.

Albertina fled the burning house with her three children.

As they ran away they saw Gazi with his underpants removed being tortured by several soldiers. He was being interrogated in Xhosa.

When the mayhem had subsided, Gazi was found dead.

The then ANC president Oliver Tambo defied threats on his life and flew to Maseru in former Mozambique president Samora Machel's plane to attend the mass funeral.

■ *Le Rona Re Batho* by Phyllis Naidoo is on sale at selected bookshops and libraries at R25 a copy.



**THE FALLEN ... Ten years ago this week, the SADF raided a Lesotho town killing 30 ANC refugees including women and children in what is now described as the Maseru raid. The tragedy is commemorated in a new book.**

## New book throws light on Maseru raid

# ANC slams raid on Border offices

THE Border ANC has described the police raid on its offices this week as part of a campaign to harass ANC members and criminalise the organisation.

At least 20 policemen and two police dogs filled the ANC offices at about 8.30 am, while at least eight police vehicles, police dogs and a number of riot squad units sealed off the building.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said police took away several used cartridges, spent teargas canisters and an empty R-1 magazine which were handed over about a month ago by members of the public whose homes were attacked, allegedly by Ciskei security forces.

# Police 'lose' records of major arms haul

ST Times 13/12/92

BY CHARLENE SMITH

POLICE cannot find records of a major arms smuggling "bust" presented by their lawyers to the Goldstone commission in Cape Town this week.

Police counsel told the commission that undercover policemen had discovered weapons-smuggling networks at East Rand hostels. They gave as an example an incident where they recovered 40 AK-47s, a Makarov pistol, a 9mm pistol and a RGD5 handgrenade. Mr WL Wepener, for the police, said several people, including an alleged chief distributor, were arrested.

## Legal

However, police in Pretoria, Johannesburg and the East Rand and their legal counsel in Cape Town were unable to obtain further details of the case.

Both Major Reuben Bloomberg and Captain Peter Brandt of the police public relations directorate in Pretoria said that despite numerous inquiries they could not trace documents about the case.

Brigadier Stef du Toit, the SAP legal officer who helped compile the submission presented to the Goldstone commission by Mr Wepener, was also unable to give further details of the case.

He referred the Sunday Times back to the public relations directorate which conducted further inquiries. The head of the Central Investigation Services in Germiston, Captain Steenkamp, also could not recall or find details of such a case which, he said, would have been memorable because of the "arrest" of an alleged "chief distributor".

Expressing concern about the prevalence of illegal weapons, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said on Friday that his commission would establish a new committee to investigate ways of curbing the illegal importation, possession, distribution and use of firearms and explosive devices in South Africa.

Legal teams representing the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, Kwazulu government, SA Defence Force and the police agreed to the formation of the committee and its terms of reference.

## Firearms

Mr Wepener recommended that arms smugglers receive heavier sentences.

He called for the ANC to make available its information regarding the illegal import and distribution of firearms and for better co-operation with neighbouring states.

Police figures showed that 711 people were killed and 809 injured in AK-47 attacks from July 1, 1991, to November 30 this year. Last year police confiscated a number of illegal weapons including 1 090 AK-47s, 2 150 pistols, 1 075 revolvers, 632 home-made rifles and 1 597 kilograms of explosives.

● Tomorrow the Goldstone commission moves to Durban for a further one-day preliminary hearing into violence in Natal.

# The year (some of) the truth came out

STAR 14/12/92.

**It has been a shaky year for South Africa's security establishment, but a successful one for the new age pioneers of truth. HELEN GRANGE plots the events in 1992 which brought past and recent evils bubbling to the surface.**

THE POWER of independent, unhampered scrutiny of State security forces made itself realised in South Africa this year. It effected a purging of past apartheid evils at the timeous juncture between the old and new political dispensations.

A proliferation of dirty tricks was exposed by the Goldstone Commission hearings, the David Webster inquest and other independent, judicial investigations.

These embarrassing remembrances may have damaged the credibility of certain political parties, particularly the NP, but political observers believe they went a long way towards cleaning the slate and levelling the political playing field.

The ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and other political concerns also received a wrist-slapping over revelations of weapons smuggling, secret military training projects, and gross political irresponsibility.

Some would say that evidence in various court cases, and revelations by the Goldstone Commission and newspapers, finally established the existence of a Government "third force".

At the very least, it emerged that rogue elements in the State's security establishment had been involved in the destabilisation of left-wing opposition parties, and possibly more serious crimes, as recently as last year.

The Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), as the Goldstone Commission and Webster inquest discovered, was far from disbanded or wound down as President de Klerk had promised in 1990.

This was confirmed when, on the basis of information from a former Military Intelligence (MI) agent, the Goldstone Commission raided an MI base in Pretoria and found documents proving that former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had been employed by MI last year to head a cell for discrediting and "criminally compromising" Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

It later emerged that the Goldstone Commission's MI informant, Joao Cuna, was a member of Barnard's cell, along with a policeman called Eugene Riley. Cuna's allegations to Vrye Weekblad regarding the cell's activities last year are being tested for their truthfulness by a Goldstone committee, which resumes hearings next year.

Further truths about Barnard and the CCB — which effectively proved that the 1990 Harms Commission managed to scratch only the surface — emerged in the Webster inquest.

Former CCB managing director Joe Verster told the inquest that during the Harms Commission, four generals had ordered that CCB files should "disappear". They were Eddie Webb, Joep Joubert, Kat Liebenberg and Witkop Badenhorst.

It was also revealed that former Defence Minister Magnus Malan had been informed by Verster that Barnard had confessed to murdering Webster, a Wits social anthropologist and anti-apartheid activist. This information was withheld from the Harms Commission.

Riley was implicated at the inquest as a suspect in Webster's murder.

The CCB tale of intrigue took another turn when Verster failed to arrive to testify at the inquest, sending a message that he was wrapping up CCB front companies abroad.

It became clear during the past year that the CCB has extensive business interests and assets. The Saturday Star revealed that its front companies were getting loans approved by the Pretoria Bank, and the organisation owned a R2,5 million "spy" ship, the Margit Rye.

A few other security-related scandals occurred this year:

- In April, after accusations by the ANC that the SADF's 32 Battalion took part in a raid on Phola Park squatter camp, on the East Rand, the controversial unit was withdrawn.
- Project Echoes, an SADF plot to discredit the ANC abroad by showing up its links with the Irish Republican Army, was exposed. Responding to information that two SADF agents in London had hatched a plot to kill renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee, the SADF promptly denied it had authorised this.
- In November, Pretoria businessman Abel Rudman revealed to the Weekly Mail that he was head of a Government-sponsored project to spread international disinformation about the ANC.

The Goldstone Commission has been presented with a mass of allegations against the security forces, some of which have been proved fallacious.

Most notable was the Weekly Mail allegation that police were using secret bases from which to launch violence. To the embarrassment of the newspaper, and delight of the SAP, the commission labelled the report untrue.

The findings of other inquiries the Goldstone Commission held during the year did not please the ANC and IFP. Far from establishing the existence of a Government "third force" in the Tokoza violence, the committee found the bloodshed boiled down to simple political rivalry between the ANC and IFP.

The ANC also faced criticism from the commission after an inquiry into the Bisho massacre in September, when ANC supporters were gunned down by Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) members. The decision by the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils to run out of the Bisho stadium was roundly condemned, but the CDF response was found inexcusable.

In its search for the causes of violence, the commission has spread its tentacles to a number of issues in the past year. Its current hearings on the Natal violence will continue next year. Evidence has already emerged that the ANC is receiving weapons through Transkei, and that intolerant IFP supporters have politicised the use of traditional weapons.

It is widely anticipated that, next year, the Goldstone Commission will make visible headway in its task of addressing violence and its causes.

Mr Justice Goldstone has been given Government sanction to inquire into the activities of all security forces and private armies, and he wants to start with a probe into the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

With the assistance of his four teams of "untouchables", who make up the special investigative teams, the commission is likely to make vital discoveries, and the threads of inquiries held this year will begin to come together to form a more comprehensive picture.

Further revelations are likely next year when the Matthew Goniwe inquest begins. It has already been alleged that the SADF's notorious "Hammer" unit, headed by current MI chief of staff Joffel van der Westhuizen, was implicated.

Several former CCB operatives will be suing the Government for better pension packages in February, threatening to unveil more embarrassing facts. □




**On the spot . . . In a particularly busy year, the Goldstone Commission was on location in Vereeniging in May, probing the violence in the Vaal Triangle.**

# 2 Daveyton ANC men shot dead

Crime Reporter

The ANC's deputy chairman of the Daveyton branch on the East Rand, Wiseman Cebisa, and another branch member were shot dead at 2 am yesterday.

The ANC PWV region said in a statement it was shocked by the "cold-blooded murder" of Cebisa and Themba Dlabongo.

East Rand police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel confirmed the killings. She said their bodies had been found in the veld at the Chris Hani informal settlement. Five AK-47 cartridges were found at the scene. Police are investigating, Van Zweel said.

According to Daveyton ANC branch officials, the two were dragged from their shacks by unknown men. Both had bullet wounds in the head.

The motive for the murder has not yet been established.

The ANC PWV region condemned "the continued murder of ANC activists by faceless forces whose primary aim is the destabilisation of our communities". The organisation called on the authorities to investigate the murder urgently.

# Inkatha rallies around high food prices

W/Mail 18/12-22/12/92

By CARMEL RICKARD

**INKATHA starts a national programme of "mass action" tomorrow, targeting food prices.**

**Official Ed Tillett said the new campaign would begin this Saturday with pickets in shopping centres in and around Durban.**

**Control boards' "fixing" of market prices will be a target of Inkatha's campaign, entitled "Food for the people". Due to escalate in the new year, it will focus on government intervention in the market, the fact that so few foods are exempt from VAT and the statutory powers given to so many agricultural control boards.**

**Inkatha has often criticised the African National Congress and its allies for programmes of mass action, saying they are intimidatory and are not the correct means to achieve the aims of the alliance, however praiseworthy these objectives may be.**

**However, in the last few months the Inkatha Freedom Party has launched catchy drives of its own including the "Disband MK" programme. This campaign, so far more notable for the picture opportunities it presents than for the numbers involved, has seen women dressed in black, accompanied by children, staging protests outside the homes of people alleged to have links to MK or to be in a position to influence the organisation.**

**There have also been large-scale marches in Johannesburg and Durban with themes such as the unenforceability of a ban on carrying "cultural weapons". Officially some of these have been labelled "marches of the Zulu nation", but this nice distinction appears to elude most people inside and outside Inkatha and to exist more in the minds of top organisers than anywhere else.**

# Mlangeni killers are still free

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

THE ANC has vowed not to rest until Bheki Mlangeni's killers are brought to book, says spokesman Saki Macozoma.

He says the ANC will ask the Minister of Law and Order to re-open the inquest and all the relevent papers be handed to an independent team of detectives.

Macozoma told City Press that his organisation had no quarrel with Judge O'Donovan's handling of the case, but were angry about the police cover-up and their sluggishness.

Mlangeni died from head injuries in March last year when an explosive in the headphones of a Walkman cassette player detonated when he pushed the play button.

Mlangeni was chairman of the ANC Jabulani branch and was working for a firm of lawyers while studying at Wits.

Former police captain Dirk Coetzee, who fled to London after making allegations about hit-squad activities, claimed that Mlangeni was killed by his former Vlakpaas colleagues.

Despite the allegation of a Vlaplaas-based hit-squad, the investigating team took its time.

Investigating officer Captain Andre Kritzinger admitted to going to Vlakplaas three months after the allegations and agreed that fresh evidence could have been found had he gone earlier.

# De Klerk's plan hailed

## ■ UN observer mission impressed:

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's determination to weed out illegal activities in the SADF was on Saturday welcomed by the United Nations observer mission in South Africa.

In a statement in Johannesburg it said: "Unomsa is gratified at the speed with which the inquiry of Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn's investigation has proceeded so far.

"It further welcomes the State President's decision to make available relevant information to the Goldstone Commission.

"The international community concurs that any individual or organisation which fans violence or promotes conflict, is standing in the path of the overwhelming majority of all South Africans." - *Sapa.*

**NEWS** ANC wants full disclosures

# Revelations could create crisis in talks

Sowetan 21/12/92

**■ Proof that third force was real:**

PRESIDENT De Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SA Defence force were involved in serious malpractice and illegal activities had created a crisis in the negotiation process, the ANC has said.

While commending De Klerk on his revelations, senior African National Congress NEC member, Mr Mac Maharaj, said attempts at cover-ups would be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans and would have serious implications.

Although reticent on what the serious implications would be, Maharaj sounded a clear warning to De Klerk to be open about the matter.

Maharaj said De Klerk's announcement on Saturday morning was a step in the right direction but "not nearly enough".

"There should be full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilisation. The names of those members involved, the acts committed together with the units involved, must be made public immediately."

De Klerk had also acknowledged that some of the activities included attempts to undermine negotiations.

Maharaj demanded that disciplinary steps be taken against security force members involved.

● The Pan Africanist Congress has said the axing of top SADF members by De Klerk was an acceptance by the Government of the existence of a Third Force within its ranks, reports **Sonti Maseko.**

The organisation's National Executive Committee member, Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya, said the measures against the top military men on suspicions of involvement in dirty tricks, aimed at derailing the negotiations process, was also a demonstration that the Government had the capacity to stop and start the violence in the black townships.

"The fact that there are now generals implicated in the violence puts a big question mark on the SADF and the police.

"We cannot rely on them, we cannot have a stable political environment where free and fair elections can take place," said Madzunya.

STAR 21/12/92

# Pointers to third force

(327)

**Among those purged from the defence force is believed to be Brigadier Tolletjie Botha, head of the Directorate of Covert Collection. MICHAEL SPARKS looks at this sinister organisation.**

FEW people had heard of the secretive organisation known as the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) until little more than a month ago.

Its activities were revealed in mid-November when the Goldstone Commission raided the headquarters of this branch of Military Intelligence, removing five files which detailed information on the unit and some of its activities.

While a clear picture of its activities has not yet emerged, they are known to include a project run by convicted murderer and former member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, Ferdi Barnard.

This project was aimed at discrediting the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

According to the report of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, this would be done by discovering any involvement of MK members in crime and their "relationship with criminal syndicates".

If none was apparent, further attempts would be made to implicate them and compromise them within their own ranks.

Some observers have said the discovery of the DCC confirmed the existence of a third force to foment violence in the black communities and to derail negotiations.

The announcement by President de Klerk on Saturday of the involvement of top SADF officers in political killings and attempts to derail political negotiations appears to be further confirmation that a third force of some kind exists. □

# Van Wyk associates fall under suspicion

STAR 21/1/1992.

The Star learnt yesterday that two associates of Director of Army Communications Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk, Colonel Tobie Vermaak and Colonel Connie van Rensburg, were probably also involved in waging a dirty tricks campaign against Government opponents.

During Namibia's independence election in 1989, Vermaak operated as a businessman in Namibia as part of Van Wyk's campaign to discredit Swapo.

Van Rensburg has been described as Van Wyk's "man on the ground". In 1989, he was allegedly involved in sending false signals to the UN peace-keeping force, Untag, about an impending Swapo invasion into Namibia. Van Rensburg was also the senior army officer predicting an election victory for the DTA.

Earlier this month, he was suddenly transferred to Wits Command.

The chief of the clandestine Directorate of Covert Collection, Brigadier Tolletjie Botha, who is also suspected of being axed, was named by Mr Justice Goldstone for employing former CCB operative Ferdi Barnard to launch a campaign against the ANC.

A military source said many of the MI officers were not aware of the existence of the DCC. — Politicial Staff.

Right-wing threats of revenge

# Govt steps up pressure over border raids

B1 DMY 22/12/92.

GOVERNMENT handed a formal protest note to Transkei and stepped up diplomatic pressure on Lesotho yesterday as right-wingers threatened to take the law into their own hands and strike at Apla bases in the two countries.

The CP has vowed to take unilateral action against the alleged bases unless government implements strong measures against the PAC's armed wing within a week.

The weekend slaying of a 14-year-old girl in Ficksburg, near the Lesotho border, has also prompted threats of arbitrary revenge attacks on blacks by right-wing extremists in the area.

While the CP has welcomed the deployment of policemen on the 200 farms along the SA border with Lesotho, it has urged that hot pursuit operations be authorised into the country. "Mere statements of co-operation with the Lesotho police are not enough," the CP said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the "fullest co-operation" was being received from Lesotho, where the girl's killers fled.

Another source said the attack was probably launched from within SA, and not from bases in Lesotho. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has mentioned Transkei and Zimbabwe as possible sites for Apla bases.

Foreign Affairs said the diplomatic protest to Transkei demanded strong action against gunmen who attacked SA vehicles on a section of the Queenstown-Dordrecht road which passes through Transkei.

Tonight, Ficksburg farmers, police, army and AWB officials plan to hold a meeting to discuss the spate of attacks against residents in the area. Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — who is also the Free State leader of the NP — are expected to attend the meeting.

RAY HARTLEY
and DIRK HARTFORD

At the same time, Sapa reports the Lesotho government has called a special meeting to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the border.

Two more deaths occurred on a Free State farm yesterday, but police suspected the motive for the attack was robbery. Koos Ward, 70, and his 34-year-old daughter [illegible] were found dead by an intruder on their [illegible] Theunissen yesterday.

Foreign Affairs and police spokesmen have expressed fear that right-wing action might upset delicate operations, in co-operation with other governments, to stop the killings. "While channels between the governments of SA, Transkei and Lesotho remain open, we believe any unilateral action by groups will be unfortunate," the Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

Government wished to decide on a joint strategy with Transkei to counter the attacks, but would first evaluate the homeland's response to the protest note, he said.

Police spokesman Col Louis Botha said heightened security, including additional Internal Stability Unit bases, permanent and mobile roadblocks, farm patrols and spot checks on vehicles, were being implemented. He said it was clear the perpetrators of incidents in the Border region were

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## Border raids

☐ From Page 1

coming from Transkei and returning there afterwards, "frustrating" police who could operate only in SA.

Individuals were being advised at border roadblocks not to travel through Transkei, and Transkei police had begun escorting vehicles in some areas.

Police would testify about the size and nature of Apla forces before a Goldstone commission hearing today and early in January, he said, adding that Apla was "not a very large grouping" which confined its attacks to within a couple of kilometres of the Transkei border.

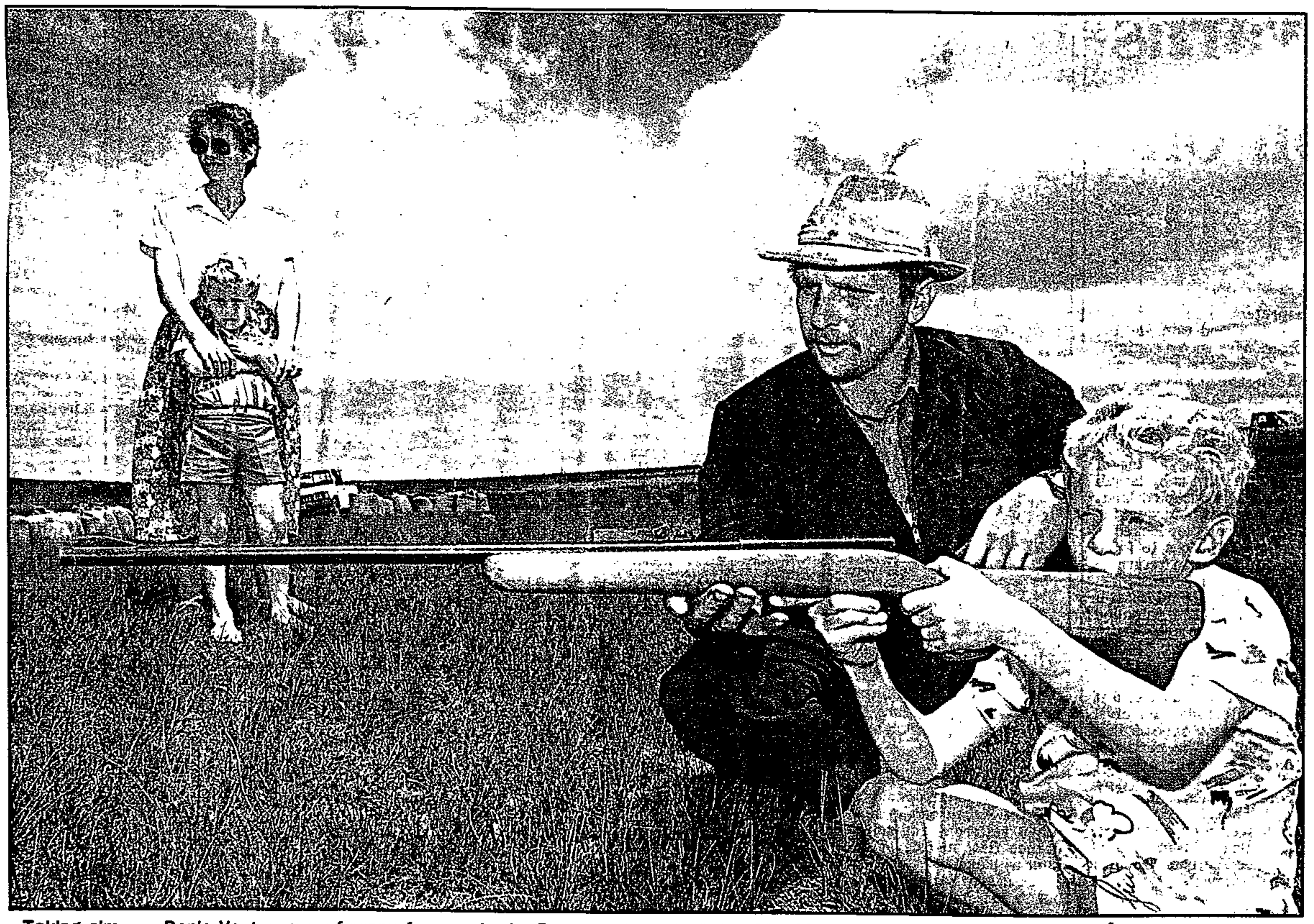
The latest attacks showed that slow-moving vehicles on isolated roads were being targeted.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said right-wing organisations were co-ordinating efforts to defend SA's borders with Lesotho and Transkei. An undisclosed number of right-wing commandos were moving into the border areas, he said.

Sapa reports that the Boere Weerstandsbeweging has warned its supporters to prepare for civil war. The organisation said it had deployed a platoon of its military wing on the SA border with Transkei.

Van Tonder said the time had come for people to defend themselves. Urging the police and SADF to intervene before this happened, he insisted there were Apla bases in both Lesotho and Transkei, and that plans were being orchestrated there to get farmers off their land.

Sapa reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said the union had confidential information that attacks on Free State and Cape farms could spread to the Transvaal at the weekend. He called on government to use the SADF to restore law and order.



Taking aim . . . Danie Venter, one of many farmers in the Border region who is teaching his son to shoot. The area has been tense since five whites were killed in two attacks for which the Azanian People's Liberation Army has claimed responsibility.

Picture: Joao Silva

# We'll raid Apla bases in Lesotho, warns CP

The Conservative Party's Home Guards will launch retribution raids against Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Lesotho unless the SA Government neutralises and destroys these bases, CP MP for Ladybrand Charl Hertzog said yesterday.

Hertzog said that in the light of the latest attack on white farmers in the Ficksburg area, in which a 14-year-old girl was killed on Saturday night, the role of his party's Home Guards "is ready to be changed from a defensive one to an aggressive one".

"The CP in Ficksburg will be forced to activate retribution raids on Apla bases in Lesotho should the Government fail to act within seven days to neutralise and destroy Apla bases in this neighbouring country.

"The CP is not prepared to allow Apla or any other terrorist organisation to ruthlessly murder innocent people with impunity," Hertzog said.

Earlier yesterday, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said he had requested the assistance of the Lesotho government to track down the people responsible for Saturday's hand grenade and gun attack.

Police launched a massive hunt after the attack — the second on white farmers in the Ficksburg area in less than 10 days. — Sapa.

# Police dispute threats against PAC member

Sowetan 22/12/92 (327)

■ **FORMER SPY** 'Problems' started when he refused go to King William's Town:

**By Josias Charle**

A MEMBER OF THE the PAC who was engaged as a spy for the police has claimed they are out to kill him because he failed to provide them with information.

Mr Peter Masango (22) of KwaNdebele told *Sowetan* he was asked to become a spy for the SAP after being arrested for possessing dagga and police paid his R50 fine.

Police have denied that Masango, an active member of the PAC, was threatened and said he asked to be recruited as an informer.

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch said Masango provided "crime information" from September to December, when he was "suspended" after he had asked for higher fees "although the information did not justify higher fees".

Masango said he was arrested in September while on duty as a security guard when police confiscated some PAC documents.

He said a sergeant gave him R160 and later R400 for transport and other operational costs.

Masango's brief was to attend PAC meetings and note speakers and statements made at such meetings. He was also given a camera to film proceedings.

He said problems started after the King William's Town killings. His handler asked him to go to the town to gather information on the killers. He was promised R50 000.

"I refused to take the job and I was then threatened with death. They also threatened to turn the PAC against me, so I decided to go

# 'Immoral' toy AK-47s removed from shelves after public outcry

Star 23/12/92

By Charlotte James

(327)

After an outcry from the Housewives' League and the public, toy AK-47 rifles imported from the Far East were taken off OK Bazaars shelves yesterday.

The AK-47 — one of South Africa's most infamous deadly weapons — was being sold alongside fluffy toys and games.

Housewives' League president Jean Tatham said it was "totally immoral to sell any toy weapon which could be mistaken for the genuine article".

OK Bazaars marketing director Arthur Solomon said: "Due to the sensitivity surrounding the sale of this controversial toy, we have reacted to our consumers' requests by removing all stock from our stores immediately."

Tatham said she would write to the Minister of Trade and Industry to request that the AK-47s and other toy imports representing genuine guns be prohibited.

"It is wicked in any society to perpetuate the gun myth, but in our particular time it is criminal," she said.

Parents choosing Christmas presents should be wary of toy guns because children were incapable of distinguishing between the toy and the real thing. This could cause tragedies, she said.

The Daisy pellet rifle, also sold in toyshops, was "heavy enough to kill a man with its weight alone", Tatham said.

Checkers/Shoprite spokesman Surita van Wyk said the store did not carry the toy AK-47s.

Highgate Hyper general manager Gerald Berndt said he had seen "nothing of the sort" in any Pick 'n Pay store.

# SADF purge 'hits at heart of third force'

wlmail 23/12 - 29/12/92 (327)

*This week's purge of the army's top brass strikes at the 'third force' and creates conditions for the merging of the SADF and Umkhonto weSizwe.*

*By* **EDDIE KOCH** *and* **PAUL STOBER**

FW DE KLERK'S sudden counter-coup this week — a purge in which 23 senior military officers along with an undisclosed number of civilian agents were axed — has struck at the heart of a "third force" operating within the ranks of the South African Defence Force, according to a military source.

"The president has hit at the core of the third force inside the military. You can be sure that there are other SADF members who were involved in dirty tricks campaigns but now that their command structure is now gone they have been dealt a serious blow," the source said.

Another officer, one of those sacked by the military recently, said a number of policemen, including officers from the SAP's counter-insurgency unit at Vlakplaas, were expecting De Klerk's next move to be aimed at clandestine operations within the police.

"These guys (the police) know that they are also on the line. They have been doing sensitive work and if De Klerk moved against the guys in the military then it is just a matter of time before he follows with a move against the police."

The source said at least 70 percent of the officers put on compulsory retirement or suspension, the largest clean-up to take place in the South African military since a group of rightwingers staged a rebellion during World War I, were from army intelligence.

"And the number of people fired is far greater than the 23 announced by De Klerk. There is a large number of civilian agents who have been axed. Their names are not included in the list of 23 and they have played a significant role in the covert activities of military and army intelligence. The public will be astounded when their names come out."

De Klerk announced the purge on Saturday after being briefed on the preliminary findings of Lieutenant General Pierre Steyn who was appointed recently by the government to investigate the activities of the army's intelligence units.



**Lieutenant General Pierre Steyn**

Steyn's appointment was made after a team of police investigators working for Justice Richard Goldstone raided secret offices of the Department of Military Intelligence (MI) last month, seizing files showing that former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agents had been working with MI's Department of Covert Collection on a plot to infiltrate the African National Congress with the aid of drug dealers and prostitutes.

De Klerk said Steyn's preliminary findings indicated maverick military men had been involved in serious efforts, possibly including murder, to undermine South Africa's peace process. De Klerk said this was, however, not evidence of an official third force in the military.

Both sources said they were convinced the purge had been planned in advance and was timed to take place during the Christmas break when the army officers were on leave and dispersed around the country, making it difficult for them to organise a coherent counter-response.

The sources say those who have been axed believe De Klerk's counter-coup on Saturday was planned long in advance as part of a deal that has been struck with the ANC to allow joint control of the security forces and for Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) members to be enrolled in a new national army.

This claim is based on the following indications that the government has been planning for some time to clamp down on securocrats in the military and police by forcing officers who could threaten the negotiation process into premature retirement.

●The purge of 19 police generals in August as part of a drive to bring the police in line with the negotiations process. The clean-up followed a report by the British policing expert Peter Waddington which advised that the "high command" of the South African Police should be gradually purged as part of the country's negotitated settlement.

●The Further Indemnity Act which was pushed through parliament in October by the government despite heated opposition from all other political parties and international condemnation.

It is believed De Klerk needed the power to grant many of his officers an amnesty for political crimes committed in the past in order to help ease conservatives out of the security forces.

The law also makes it difficult for civil claims to be filed against the government in connection with covert operations conducted in the past.

●The sources say it is unlikely that Joao Cuna, a small-time police informer, would have been able to pinpoint the MI base raided by Goldstone's investigators as officially stated by the commission.

They believe information about the base was provided by more senior intelligence forces and that Cuna was used as an official excuse to stage the raid in order to provide a pretext for setting up the probe, headed by Steyn, which led to this week's purge.

●A top-level meeting between the senior officials of MK and the SADF, whose delegation was led by MI chief General CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, was brokered by the National Intelligence Service in early August this year. The NIS generally carries out the will of the cabinet.

●Recent "rationalisation" measures announced by Defence Force chief General AJ "Kat" Liebenberg will result in 6 000 permanent force members being retrenched and replaced by 6 000 volunteers.

●Defence Minister Gene Louw this week called for the effective restructuring of the SADF saying: "The most effective and improved restructuring of the defence force's intelligence-gathering in its totality will have to be looked into immediately." The minister's statement made it clear that further axings were imminent.

This opens the way for the government to weed out elements in the SADF who may obstruct the negotiations process and for members of MK to be absorbed into what would effectively be a new national army.

Claims that the government and the ANC have struck a deal to restructure the armed forces in advance of an interim government were bolstered by a statement from MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda this week.

He praised De Klerk for getting rid of officers who were hampering South Africa's quest for democracy and said the president was probably preparing for joint control of the army by the government and the ANC.

ANC president Nelson Mandela told Agence France Press earlier this month that he envisaged MK officers in SADF command posts by the first half of next year, in terms of a multi-party super-cabinet De Klerk has said will operate in tandem with the existing government.

Nyanda said: "It may facilitate that process if De Klerk removes those generals who will have to be removed under a future government. I think it will have the effect of smoothing the process."

In its official reaction, the ANC said the purge was "clearly only the tip of the iceberg" and Nyanda said the ANC was still calling for the dismissal of Van der Westhuizen, who has been implicated in the 1985 murder of activist Matthew Goniwe.

"If there's a purge that's going to happen in future it will be in MI. We think that's where the whole trouble, the destabilisation, is being cooked," said Nyanda.

"There are other forces that have been involved, but the main force of the destabilisation process and the undermining of the National Party government is to be found in MI."

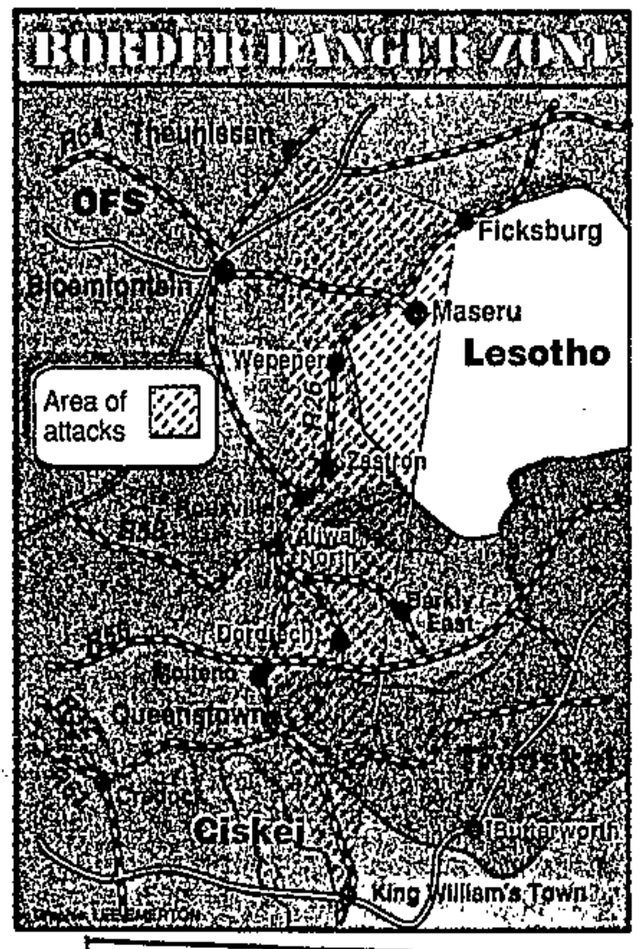
Kriel declares 23 unrest areas

# Irate farmers boo Ministers over security

B|DAY 23/12/92.

ANGRY Free State farmers and right-wingers booed and heckled Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday at a meeting in Ficksburg to discuss the deteriorating security situation.

Kriel said government had taken secur-




RAY HARTLEY

ity measures, including the declaration of 23 places along the Lesotho and Transkei borders as unrest areas.

He also announced that three people had been arrested for the murder of a Theunissen farmer and his daughter, Sapa reports.

Reacting to Kriel's announcement, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said President F W de Klerk would have to act with equal vigour against armed right-wing militia if he wished to be seen as sincerely trying to end violence in the area.

"De Klerk is showing us that in SA he will allow the armed wings of white political organisations, while calling for the disbanding of others like Umkhonto we Sizwe," Holomisa said.

Security measures announced by Kriel included:

- ☐ The deployment of police on farms;
- ☐ Stepped up roadblocks in border areas; and
- ☐ Increased security force patrolling of affected areas.

An army spokesman said troops would be deployed alongside policemen to secure isolated farms along the borders.

Speakers from the Free State Agricultural Union security committee, which convened the meeting, called for the appli-

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## Farmers

B|DAY 23/12/92

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cation of the death penalty and said security force members should conduct cross-border raids against Apla bases.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche earlier called on government to distribute automatic weapons to farmers in affected areas. He also wanted government to provide electric fencing and two-way radios. The Afrikaner Volksunie called for a state of emergency to be imposed.

Holomisa denied Apla had bases inside Transkei and said the whole matter was "becoming a laughing exercise".

A diplomatic protest note delivered by SA officials on Monday had been "mild", and was answered with assurances that Transkei police would co-operate fully with their SA counterparts, he added.

He said Transkeian and SA police were working around the clock to apprehend the perpetrators of recent attacks allegedly launched from Transkei soil. No arrests had been made.

Holomisa said the lack of progress in investigations raised the possibility that the attacks were being orchestrated or exaggerated by "elements within the securocrats and Cabinet Ministers playing on the fears of whites to disillusion them with the present government".

It was "common cause" that the SA Cabinet was divided between hard-liners, such as Kriel and Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan, and negotiators such as Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he said.

The Lesotho government yesterday gave an assurance that it would not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against its neighbours, saying it reserved the right to act against lawlessness on its SA border.

● Comment: Page 4

# Angry farmers call for beefed-up security

By Monica Oosterbroek

Hundreds of angry Free State farmers and their frightened families yesterday flocked to the Ficksburg Town Hall to voice their concern about the spate of murders in the area.

Women, clutching their childen closely to their sides, said it had become nerve-racking living on remote farms, and that they were very concerned about the safety of their children.

## Agreed

Worried farmers who had gathered around bakkies lining the streets told The Star the situation had become very dangerous, and that extreme measures had to be taken.

Most agreed they had to adopt the "agric-alert" system used by Rhodesian farmers during the bush war, when farmers formed a radio network. They said this would allow them to keep in constant contact with neighbours, check up on each other regularly and communicate easily with the police.

Farmers also want each household to be issued with an automatic weapon.

Laura Naude, who lives with her husband and five young children about 5 km from the farm on which 14-year-old Leonie Pretorius was killed a few days ago, said: "We have farmed here all our lives and we will just have to adapt to these violent times."

Naude, who supports no political organisation, said she carried her gun everywhere. But, she said, it would be useless against terrorists armed with automatic rifles.

Naude said farmers were responsible for protecting their workers, who were also terrified by the recent attacks.

She said she fretted constantly about the safety of her elderly parents-in-law, whom she did not want to name for security reasons.

They lived alone on a farm outside Clocolan, and their nearest neighbours lived more than 6 km away.

Their immediate neighbours were bludgeoned to death in August.

More than 200 policemen, who were deployed in the Ficksburg area at the weekend, surrounded the hall during the lively meeting, and police barricaded surrounding roads.

When the farmers ended the four-hour meeting, they marched to the police station to call for better co-operation between police and farmers.

In the volatile atmosphere, heavily armed local Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members seized the opportunity to recruit new members.

## Carried

They carried flags saying: "It could be your child" and "FW has blood on his hands".

While farmers returned to their farms, uniformed AWB members gathered outside the town hall, chatting and cleaning their guns before wandering across the road to a pub.

The heavy police presence prevented any violence when a rightwinger claimed that a black, standing safely behind two policemen, had threatened to kill him "very slowly".

# Police patrol border farms

RAY HARTLEY

POLICE moved quickly to secure farms and towns on the Transkei and Lesotho borders yesterday, after the declaration of 23 unrest areas in the region by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Additional police had been moved in and new Internal Stability Unit bases were being established yesterday, police spokesman Capt Lisbe Vermeulen said.

Security operations would continue on Christmas day and through the rest of the festive season. Police said they had not ruled out attacks on isolated farms and towns on Christmas day.

Tensions in the area remained high yesterday after two stormy farmers' meetings on Tuesday at which Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee were heckled and booed. Farmers and right-wingers demanded greater security measures and cross-border raids against Apla gunmen, the alleged perpetrators of attacks on whites in the border areas.

The white Mineworkers' Union came out in support of the farmers' demands, with a spokesman saying violence against defenceless whites on farms and in towns would not be tolerated.

Pretoria police spokesman Capt Piet Brandt said police would "treat fire with fire" and act with equal vigour against armed right-wingers and Apla gangs, if they broke the law. He added, however, that the AWB and other right-wing groups had not "taken the lives of innocent people", as Apla allegedly had.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has accused the police of threatening to take drastic action against black guerrilla movements, while allowing white right-wingers to move about carrying heavy arms openly.

Holomisa yesterday called for an "indaba" early next year to address the deployment of AWB members along Transkei's borders with SA.

Ficksburg schoolgirl Leonie Pretorius, who was shot dead last week, was buried at an emotional service in the town yesterday, Sapa reports.

Free State ANC spokesman Dirk du Toit

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# Patrols

From Page 1

said yesterday Apla's attacks were contributing to the culture of violence that was tearing SA apart. He said the police and SADF no longer had the manpower to prevent violence and suggested that Umkhonto we Sizwe assist under the discipline of a government of national unity.

The CP said its Ladybrand MP, Charl Hertzog, would meet the Lesotho police commissioner in Maseru today to discuss the recent violence.

"We will reiterate our standpoint that any terrorist base must be neutralised (within seven days).

The CP welcomed assurances by the Lesotho government that it would not permit Apla to operate from its soil, but it wanted details on how Lesotho would neutralise a terrorist threat.

It would also seek assurances that Umkhonto was not allowed to operate from Lesotho. "The CP is not taken in by the ANC 'threats' against Apla," the party said. It saw both organisations as responsible for the current wave of terror against white South Africans.

# ANC condemns hot pursuit threats by govt

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday vehemently condemned government sources threatening hot pursuit raids into Transkei, claiming these would be used to harass the local community and disrupt the organisation's activities in the region.

And Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday warned President F W de Klerk against cross-border raids.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus was reacting to a report in the Sunday Star that an unnamed government source had threatened that SA security personnel would not honour any border protocols in tracking down alleged Apla members attacking whites in the eastern Cape.

He said the ANC "absolutely and in no uncertain terms" opposed any suggestions of cross-border raids.

Holomisa said yesterday an inquiry would investigate all claims that came before it.

He called on Newsweek magazine to provide such an inquiry with the agreement it reported between the Transkei Defence Force and Apla, in which the latter was allegedly given permission to use Transkei as a launching pad for attacks on whites in SA.

"I do not know about any agreement and until it has been investigated, and there is either proof or otherwise, I'm not prepared to discuss it," Holomisa said.

He said the SA government was welcome to go ahead with cross-border raids and he would "cross that bridge" when he came to it.

Holomisa said it was up to De Klerk to state clearly where he, as head of government, stood on the issue of cross-border raids.

"I want to warn De Klerk that we have many agreements that we have signed and if there is a violation of our border he will have to answer to that."

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that the NUM has accused SA security forces deployed on the Lesotho and Transkei borders of harassing and intimidating black miners.

NUM president James Motlatsi said in a statement that mineworkers were being subjected to searches, intimidation and harassment at roadblocks under the pretext of maintaining law and order in areas affected by the violence.

"While we understand the need to maintain law and order, we are however concerned when this is used in a manner which suggests that all blacks are criminals or offenders simply because of the colour of their skins," he said.

"The silence of the Lesotho government on this critical issue affecting people who are mainly responsible for the contribution to their economy is deafening."

Motlatsi added that the deployment of white mineworkers as police reservists to harass fellow black employees would damage relations between the two groups.

## Zimbabweans lose cars in sales scam

**NEWS** Man discovers arsenal on Christmas Day ● Top US neuro-surgeon back home

# Arms cache in Sandton

Sowetan 28/12/92

**SEARCH LAUNCHED** Police are looking for a former SADF member:

327

By Alinah Dube

POLICE HAVE discovered an arms cache believed to have been smuggled from the South African Defence Force.

This was disclosed by Major Andrew Lesch, Press liaison officer for the Northern Transvaal police, during a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

He said the haul was found in Buccleuch, Sandton, on Christmas Day.

Two suspects, one a former member of the SADF, were being sought in connection with the arms cache, said Lesch.

**Tip-off launches investigations**

Police launched investigations after a tip-off by a man whose name is being withheld.

The man allegedly found a trunk full of weapons and took it to his house.

When police went to investigate he showed them a military bag containing more arms.

These included pistol parts, an R1 rifle, three Uzi rifles, tearsmoke, magazines, explosive devices and detonating fuses.

Lesch said it had been found that most weapons were stolen from the Defence Force and some had their numbers filed off.

Although no arrests had so far been made, the case involved two suspects who were presently overseas.

One of the men was a former SADF member, Lesch said.

Of the man who made the discovery, police said he had "no criminal link".

They regard the act as theft and the possibility of political motivation had also been ruled out.

**Ivor Sarakinsky** examines De Klerk's purge in the context of similar activities in Algeria

# Blocking road to democracy

STAR 28/12/92

PRESIDENT de Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SADF have engaged in illegal activities designed to hinder the transition to democracy confirms what many have for some time suspected.

Subterranean networks within the security services, set up during the reign of P W Botha and his inner-circle of Total Strategists, pursued a private agenda in a changed national and international political environment.

The Algerian experience sheds some light on these revelations. Its path to independence was the subject of intense analysis in South African military academies and strategic studies institutes. Also, the formulation of the Total Strategy doctrine owes much to the French military and the events surrounding the struggle for independence.

Coincidentally, in the late 1950s, Magnus Malan and Nelson Mandela were in Algeria — the former training with the French forces under General Beaufre while the latter was canvassing the Algerian National Liberational Front for support.

More importantly, the similarities between the path to Algeria's independence and South Africa's passage to democracy are startling. In both cases, a white elite with European settler origins attempted to maintain its political dominance and economic privilege over the indigenous population, resulting in protracted wars.

Furthermore, negotiated settlements unexpectedly emerged as the means for the resolution of these bitter conflicts.

The Goldstone Commission's uncovering of the Directorate of Covert Collection as well as the exposure of Project Echoes, authorised by the Chief of the Army, General Meiring, to compromise the ANC, marked the opening of a Pandora's box of dirty tricks.

After swift investigations, De Klerk announced that a number of high-ranking SADF officers as well as associated civilians were engaged in illegal activities aimed at "delaying a new dispensation" while "promoting conflict".

In Algeria, when it became clear that the French authorities had begun negotiating with representatives from the FLN, the military mounted a major rear-guard action. As it had increasingly been drawn into the governing of Algeria during the conflict, it resented being sidelined. Coups were plotted to seize control from the politicians and when they failed, numerous underground movements emerged. The first meeting between the French authorities and the FLN was overshadowed by a concerted campaign of reactionary urban sabotage.

The most infamous of these groups was the Organisation Armée Secreête. It comprised former paratroop commanders and high-ranking officers all trained in covert warfare. In the words of Alistair Horne, author of "A Savage War of Peace" — a definitive account of Algeria's struggle for independence — the OAS used their collective skills to "render peace talks impossible by killing off the remaining men of good will, the moderates of both sides, and by random outrages against the Muslim population which would create an atmosphere in which neither negotiation nor compromise could exist".

As the politicians moved closer to granting Algeria independence, the OAS began to attack civilians and elements within the French Army in Algeria and France. It was only through decisive action that the authorities were able to decapitate the movement.

Ironically, the activities of the OAS accelerated the pace of change as both parties soon realised that the costs of delaying a settlement were too high. Many OAS members were never captured and sporadic acts of violence in Algeria and France continued for some time after Algeria became independent.

The covert tentacles of the SADF units and their civilian accomplices were set in place in 1988 (CCB) and (DCC). At the peak of the state of emergency, these units had carte blanche to act against those that they defined as enemies of the state.

The institutions associated with the National Security Management System were engaged primarily in co-ordinating security and resources for township upgrading to win the hearts and minds of residents. This same strategy influenced military thinking in Algeria after the armed wing of the FLN was destroyed.

In South Africa, the political changes that came during and after 1990 did not penetrate the covert forces. Brought up on Total Strategy, they could not accept an accord with their enemies, and identified with the right wing.

Whereas the OAS raised its funds through official channels and bank heists, the covert networks in South Africa, according to former managing director of the CCB, Colonel Joe Verster, had access to R100 million from secret defence accounts to destabilise a future government.

Covert action over a two-year period had already strained the negotiation process. Mandela's attack on De Klerk at Codesa for not controlling the security forces shattered their personal relationship and almost caused the collapse of the first phase of negotiations. Continuing allegations have partially bedevilled talks since then and now, finally, it appears as if a major stumbling block in the way of negotiations has been removed.

Violence, fomented by covert action, has exacerbated the economic recession and reduced South Africa's appeal as a centre for international investment. With unemployment and crime at record highs, a sense of realism has permeated the minds of the politicians and there is consensus on the need for a speedy settlement.

In revealing the existence of, and acting against, illegal activities within the SADF, De Klerk has, at one level, been able to nip in the bud plots to abort democracy in South Africa.

Whether the covert forces have been able to establish viable and self-supporting front companies so that they can continue their destabilisation campaigns remains to be seen. □

in Berea, Johannesburg, to cool down after a hot summer's

Picture: Gary Bernard

# Arms cache: two sought

STAR 28/12/92

Two men, one a former SADF gunsmith, are being sought in connection with the discovery of an arms cache near Johannesburg, police said yesterday.

The suspects, one of whom is believed to be still employed by the SADF, are overseas. (327)

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch said a tip-off from a Verwoerdburg man on Christmas Day led police to a small arms cache in Buccleuch, outside Sandton.

Lesch said police were called to a smallholding in Mnandi, Verwoerdburg, at 8 pm on Christmas Day. They found a drum with three Uzi machineguns, magazines and over 200 rounds of ammunition. 254

They then went to a house in Buccleuch where they found 150 7.62 mm cartridges, an R-1 rifle, explosives and about 227 m of detonating fuse.

Other items included SADF binoculars and parts of weapons. All materials were apparently stolen from the SADF. — Crime Staff.



# Cache tip-off: SAP assault alleged

327 STAR 29/12/92

By Charmeela Bhagowat
Crime Reporter

Two Verwoerdburg men, whose tip-off resulted in the confiscation of a small arms cache in Buccleuch, near Sandton, on Christmas Day, have alleged that the police assaulted them after receiving the information.

Robert Bardsley (23) — a former policeman and the owner of a security company called Max Security — and Lance Haefliger (32) have laid charges of assault against the police.

According to Haefliger, Bardsley tipped off the police and told them he had taken the weapons to his offices, where he said the police could collect them.

Bardsley said he initially refused to tell the police where he found the weapons because he knew the people involved.

When he did say where he had found the weapons, the policemen drove him away in a minibus and assaulted him.

"They then returned to the offices and assaulted Haefliger. I directed them to the house where I found the weapons," said Bardsley.

In addition to three Uzi machine-guns, magazines and ammunition which police found at Bardsley's office, they found an R-1 rifle, explosives and other ammunition at the house in Buccleuch, police said.

"I was taken to the police station, where I met Lance who had to be treated for his wounds," said Bardsley.

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch confirmed that charges of assault had been laid against the police and said an investigation would be conducted.

He said the case would be taken to the Attorney-General after investigations were completed for a decision on whether to prosecute.

# The judge who has striven for peace is not finished yet

STAR 29/12/92 (327)

**In a year of violence and moral turpitude in South Africa, one man has emerged as a pioneer of integrity — Mr Justice Richard Goldstone. More than that, however, the prominent judge has become one of the country's major political figures. HELEN GRANGE reviews the events that made him one of the men of the year.**



Mr Justice Goldstone . . . has exposed ugly truths.

THINK of the personalities who have influenced politics most in South Africa this year and you'll undoubtedly settle on President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

But high on the list must be a man who has never been a politician and has never stood for an election. Mr Justice Goldstone has become a household name with the best of the politicos, his position synonymous with judicial integrity in the face of political adversity.

## Catapulted

This quality had been the hallmark of his legal career, but his credibility as a judge of notable moral conscience catapulted him to the status of national figurehead at the end of 1991, when he became head of a team probing the key obstacle to national reconciliation: violence.

As chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, the judge has since arguably become the most important judge in South Africa's history.

During this year, he frequently transcended the political battle field to expose ugly truths wherever they lay, encouraging South Africans on all sides of the political spectrum to recognise the fruits — and responsibilities — of fair play.

Before the well publicised October 1990 inquiry into the Sebokeng shootings of 11 protesters in March the same year, few outside the legal fraternity knew much about him.

He had been quietly performing his tasks as a judge in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, a job he still does.

Some will remember his precedent-setting judgments as a judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court in the 1980s. One of his most celebrated was the 1981 Gladys Govender ruling, which effectively put an end to Group Areas prosecutions.

Others will remember him for his first commission of inquiry in early 1990, the one-man probe into the death in custody of Clayton Sithole, reportedly a boyfriend of Zinzi Mandela, who was found to have hanged himself in his cell.

But *everybody* will remember him for his astonishing role this year. Mr Justice Goldstone boldly plunged his new commission's tentacles into a variety of controversies and political hotbeds, coming up with reverberating revelations, the latest of which is still rippling through the Government's security establishment.

The commission inquired into several incidences of violence, including the Bisho and Boipatong massacres, the bloodshed in Tokoza and Alexandra, violence between hostel dwellers and ANC residents in Mooi River, train violence and taxi feuds in the Cape and on the Reef.

Allegations were tested, including the Weekly Mail claim that police were using safe houses to launch attacks on the Reef, and their allegation that 200 KwaZulu men were trained by the SADF in the Caprivi.

Controversies were probed, including the role of hostels in violence and ways to prevent mass action from turning violent.

Interim reports were made by Mr Justice Goldstone on the findings of some of the inquiries, and each time, he came up against a barrage of criticism from one or other dissatisfied political camp.

Many of the Goldstone Commission's findings pointed to ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party rivalry, and in the case of taxi wars intolerance between competing taxi associations. A number of allegations were found to be fallacious.

But the latest, most daring Goldstone Commission investigation has heavily indicted the SA Defence Force's Military Intelligence unit, fuelling suggestions that a state sponsored "third force" may be more than fiction.

This was the result of the commission's raid on an MI base in Pretoria last month, and its subsequent discovery from documents seized that former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard was being employed to discredit the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

Although it has been impossible for Mr Justice Goldstone to be an integral part of the Commission's every inquiry and investigation, his hand-picked teams are closely guarded by him, and his guidance is crucial.

He has demonstrated a courageous but cautious style, which was most apparent when he launched the five special investigative units in September.

Numerous discussions and interviews preceded his decision on who was to be co-opted, and once the teams were operational, he gave them strict orders to keep a low media profile in order not to jeopardise their highly sensitive work.

The Goldstone Commission's expansion this year to its current size is perhaps reflective of its increasing importance in bringing to book the detractors and corruptors of peace and stability.

To this end, Mr Justice Goldstone has seen out the year with a stinging announcement — that he will probe the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) as well as certain activities of both the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He also announced this month that his Cape Town team will be inquiring into the illegal importation and distribution of automatic weapons.

## Unearthing

Both these issues are burning ones in the minds of reformist-minded South Africans, and there could be no better man for the job of unearthing the truth than Mr Justice Goldstone.

From being a Supreme Court judge with a bent for human rights, Mr Justice Goldstone has forged for himself a reputation this year as South Africa's moral guardian. □

# Head of MI accused of destabilising eastern Cape

**Political Staff**

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he had proof that the head of South African Military Intelligence (MI), General Joffel van der Westhuizen, was involved in the destabilisation of the eastern Cape.

Speaking at the Labour Party conference in Port Elizabeth, Holomisa said he would present his evidence to a judicial commission of inquiry into the activities of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), in the new year. Van der Westhuizen would be "witness number one" at the inquiry, Holomisa said.

On Sunday, the Transkei ruler confirmed he was lending weapons to Apla and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe for the protection of their leaders in Transkei.

Responding to claims that there were Apla training camps in his homeland, Holomisa said yesterday: "If Apla's and Umkhonto we Sizwe's presence in Transkei is classified as 'bases', then I argue that the same is happening in South Africa."

He called on President de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to "show us the bases from which our people are being killed in the townships" and to disclose the source of illegal weapons circulating in the country. He urged the South African Government to present evidence of Apla training camps in Transkei to his commission of inquiry.

He said the South African Government should resume talks with the PAC and draw up a code of conduct for its armed forces during the transition.

The Government should also formalise the operation of military bases of the various military wings, including the SADF, where conventional training could be conducted.

# SA 'will follow hot pursuit doctrine'

STAR 29/12/92.

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

South African security forces would raid Transkei if intelligence proved the existence of Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in the homeland, Government spokesman Dave Steward confirmed yesterday.

In the first official confirmation of rumours that the SADF would raid the homeland to destroy Apla bases, he said: "Should intelligence confirm the existence of terrorist bases in Transkei, the Government will take whatever diplomatic and other action may be necessary for the elimination of such bases."

He confirmed to The Star that "other action" included military raids.

He stressed, however, that this would not necessarily be the first option. But he said the security forces would apply the doctrine of "hot pursuit" to cross borders in order to follow the perpetrators of terrorist acts.

The Government was urgently and systematically investigating the reliability and authenticity of all reports relating to Apla, particularly those relating to the possible assistance the Transkei government may have given it.

"It is nationally and internationally unacceptable for a state to make its territory available for attacks against citizens of other states or to provide material or moral assistance to terrorists."

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed at the weekend that his government had been supplying weapons to Apla and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "for the protection of their leaders" in Transkei. He said these "loans" would continue, even in the face of a raid on his territory.

● In a statement to Sapa yesterday, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander emphatically denied Apla was militarily active in Transkei.

But, he warned, the PAC would not tolerate a South African strike on the territory.

● More reports — Page 6

# Deaf-mute woman gang-raped

Crime Reporter

A man forced a 28-year-old deaf-mute woman to drink a bottle of liquor, and then he and three friends raped her, the police said yesterday.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said the man met the woman at the Summit Club in Hillbrow on Sunday, before luring her away on the pretext of taking her to another club.

In the car he made her drink the alcohol and drove her to a house where the fouur raped her.

Paramedics found the woman wandering in a Hillbrow street early yesterday morning, said Pieke.

A sign language expert was called in to help her tell police what had happened.

● An 18-year-old woman was raped by a Johannesburg Hospital security guard on Sunday afternoon.

Police said the man had raped the woman on hospital premises.

He has been arrested and is due to appear in court soon.

# Strydom unlikely to get gun licence

Star 29/12/92

By Charmeela Bhagowat

Wit Wolf Barend Strydom's chances of being granted a firearm licence are slim, police said today.

Strydom applied for a licence after a display of posters in Brits showing a masked man carrrying a picture of his head and sporting the slogan "Fascists beware — crush the AWB".

Lieutenant Brahm du Preez said: "The most important criterion for getting a firearm licence is a person's past criminal record and this could rule Strydom out as a future holder of a firearm."

The Department of Correctional Services said Strydom's release conditions did not stipulate that he could not apply for a firearm for a licence, only that he should not get involved in criminal activities or leave the Brits area.

Lieutenant-Colonel Barry Eksteen said the police would have to decide whether Strydom gets the licence, but the chances were slim.

Strydom said he had earlier applied for a firearm licence for self-defence purposes, but the application was turned down.

He apparently re-applied for the licence in fear for his life after seeing the posters pinned up on a number of Brits shop windows and in the light of recent Apla attacks.

The posters were reportedly displayed in the ANC's Brits office and Strydom has asked the organisation to remove them or face the consequences.

Strydom has made a written appeal to Kriel, saying he needed the licence to protect himself as he had received a number of death threats.

Strydom's father Nic told The Star there was no reason for the authorities to deny his son a firearm licence.

"He should be able to carry a firearm. The fact that he has no licence does not mean that he cannot repeat his actions in Strijdom Square where he killed those people. It is just a matter of self-defence. He needs the gun," his father said.

# Holomisa challenges FW

PORT ELIZABETH — Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday called on President F W de Klerk to "show us the bases from which our people are being killed in the townships" and to disclose the source of weapons circulating in the country.

Holomisa's statement to the Labour Party's annual congress came as a war of words between SA and Transkei continued unabated.

Yesterday, government spokesman Dave Steward warned that the SA security forces would continue their "relentless efforts to track down, apprehend and punish those responsible for terrorist atrocities, wherever they may be found". He said the security forces would, if necessary, apply the doctrine of hot pursuit and "will consequently follow the perpetrators of any terrorist acts across international borders".

Government, he said was "deeply concerned" about news reports relating to possible assistance which the military government of Transkei might have given to the PAC's armed wing Apla.

In his speech to the Labour Party, Holomisa also called on SA to "formalise" all existing armed bases inside SA during constitutional talks, saying this would allow conventional training and accountability.

He called on De Klerk to present his evidence of Apla activities in Transkei to a commission of inquiry to be appointed by his government in the new year.

Holomisa also launched a stinging attack on Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel; accusing him of "belligerent posturing and sabre-rattling". Kriel, he said, was "completely out of touch with the spirt of change sweeping SA.

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Political Staff

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# Holomisa

☐ From Page 1

"One wonders whether SA in this hour of its historical march needs the likes of Hernus Kriel and other similar minded cronies in public office. The Minister has no reputation of trying to heal wounds; instead he is always sowing discord, suspicion, distrust and hatred."

Holomisa said Kriel's threat to launch raids into Transkei, and his decision to close the border, appeared to be "a ploy to destabilise the entire area, with the view to driving white Nat supporters into the fold of the ultra-conservative right wing".

Steward said Foreign Minister Pik Botha had made it clear last week that if, as reported, Holomisa had signed an accord with Apla, it could have "serious implications and grave consequences".

Steward said if intelligence confirmed the existence of terrorist bases in Transkei, government would take whatever diplomatic and other action might be necessary for their elimination.

Government was urgently investigating the reliability and authenticity of all reports relating to Apla, he said.

Holomisa told Sapa yesterday his government had been issuing pistols to the military wings of the ANC and PAC, to protect their leaders in the homeland, since 1990. He said the issuing of pistols to Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres would continue and was solely aimed at the protection of ANC and PAC leaders on visits to the homeland.

Holomisa said strict control was exercised over the weapons — pistols were signed for and had to be returned at the culmination of each visit.

Part of the reason for the issuing of pistols was that Transkei authorities wanted to avoid Apla and Umkhonto cadres bringing their own "big guns" into Transkei, Holomisa added.

The PAC yesterday "categorically" denied that Apla had been militarily active in Transkei. In a statement to Sapa, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander warned of action if Transkei was attacked. "Any attack on Transkei will be an attack on unarmed civilians.... Should such an attack occur we will not fold our arms. We are not afraid of attack. We are ready and waiting."

# The political hot potatoes

(327)

STAR 30/12/92

Political Staff

THE past 12 months will certainly be remembered as the year of the great South African scandal.

These are some of the major political hot potatoes in a year that was full of them:

● The De Meyer Commission exposed gross corruption, incompetence, fraud and neglect in Lebowa.

● The Parsons Commission disclosed serious mismanagement, malpractice and irregularities in the KwaNdebele Police.

● The SADF's secret Project Echoes, launched in April to discredit the ANC, was uncovered.

● SADF agents Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores were arrested in London by British intelligence, which suspected a mission to kill renegade former SAP captain Dirk Coetzee.

● The fourth Van den Heever Commission revealed severe incompetence and favouritism in awarding contracts in the Department of Education and Training.

● A Goldstone Commission raid exposed a Military Intelligence plan to discredit Umkhonto we Sizwe, and revealed the existence of the "Directorate of Covert Collection". Many high-ranking officers lost their jobs as a result.

● The ANC admitted torture in its Angolan camps but did not suspend or dismiss any of those implicated.

● Former senior Inkatha Freedom Party official Bruce Anderson said in an affidavit that he and a Renamo representatives smuggled arms and explosives from Renamo to the IFP.

● Former SAP agent Jennifer du Plessis said an elite undercover SADF unit, called "Hammer", killed eastern Province anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe.

● Mr Justice Pickard revealed that large amounts of tax — possibly billions of rands — were lost through fraud, corruption, bribery and maladministration in the defunct Department of Development Aid. □

# Pik lauds UN chief's stand on violence

STAR 30/12/92

Political Staff

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali did not seem to be fully aware of the complications that made the issues of hostels, dangerous weapons and notorious SADF Battalions 31, 32 and Koevoet difficult to resolve overnight, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Reacting to Boutros-Ghali's report to the UN Security Council last week, Botha said the Government was prepared to elucidate these matters with UN representatives.

Botha said he was pleased to note the recognition given by the UN secretary-general to the work of the Goldstone Commission. He urged foreign governments to note Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's comment in his third interim report that he would welcome assistance from the international community and the UN in securing the cooperation of governments which hosted training camps and bases of armed movements operating in South Africa.

Boutros-Ghali's call on all political leaders to actively discourage violence and to take part in meetings of signatories of the National Peace Accord was important, Botha said.

He said the Government had undertaken to carry out its share of this responsibility and was doing everything it could to curb violence.

He welcomed the guarded optimism in Boutros-Ghali's report, but noted the UN secretary-general's concern about violence and intimidation against women.

The Government shared Boutros-Ghali's aspirations concerning democratic parity for women in South Africa, and had signalled its intentions in this regard when President de Klerk announced in August that the Government had decided to sign three major international conventions relating to women and women's rights.

## 60 journalists killed

SIXTY journalists died in conflict areas around the world this year, according to a report compiled by the International Federation of Journalists in London. Ten journalists were killed in Turkey and Bosnia — named as the most dangerous areas.

REPORTS: Sapa-AFP-Reuter-AP, Own Correspondent.

# ANC seeks SADF probe

(327)

STAR 31/12/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The forced retirement of six top SADF intelligence officers who had been cleared of criminal acts smacked of a cover-up to protect politicians, the ANC said yesterday.

Defence Minister Gene Louw announced on Tuesday the names of six Military Intelligence (MI) officers who had been forcibly retired, although cleared of illegal activities.

Three other officers were put on compulsory leave pending an investigation into possible unauthorised criminal or illegal activities.

The ANC has called for an investigation by the Goldstone Commission into the SADF.

Said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus: "If they did nothing wrong or unauthorised, we have to accept that whatever they did was on orders from above."

DP defence spokesman Bob Rogers said: "The three being investigated were identified as possibly being involved in criminal acts. The other six were apparently identified as being ideologically right-wing and against reform."

Colonel At Nel, Colonel Chris Prinsloo and Commandant Stefan Snyders were placed on compulsory leave pending an investigation.

Investigations are still pending against one more PF member, believed to be a brigadier.

Nel was a top Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) officer reportedly in charge of a campaign to discredit the ANC using former Civil Co-Operation operative Ferdi Barnard.

Prinsloo and Snyders may be in Army Intelligence.

Brigadier Ferdie van Wyk, Brigadier Tolletjie Botha, Brigadier Oos van der Merwe, Major-General Hennie Roux, Major-General Chris Thirion and Commander Jack Widdowson have been absolved of any unauthorised criminal activity, but have been placed on compulsory retirement.

Van Wyk, Director of Army Communications and second-in-command at Army Intelligence, was reportedly in charge of the SADF's campaign to discredit Swapo before the 1989 Namibian elections.

Botha, chief of the DCC, was named by the Goldstone Commission as having employed Barnard to discredit the ANC.

Van der Merwe, the former director of Army Intelligence, recently took early retirement.

Thirion, second-in-command of MI, has said he never did anything criminal, but admitted he "may have made mistakes". He and Van der Merwe said the axed men had followed orders.

Roux, head of Army Intelligence, has reportedly been under suspicion for undermining the negotiations process.

Widdowson is believed to be from Naval Intelligence.