TOTALITARIANISM – GENERAL
1993

news in brief

Sowetan 7/7/93

50 held over invasion

FIFTY people have been arrested in connection with the violent rightwing invasion of the multiparty negotiations venue at Kempton Park on June 25.

Six of them have been released without being charged and at least 28 have appeared in court. A police spokesman said the other 16 had also been released but would appear in the Johannesburg Regional Court later this month.

The arrests were made in Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom, Nylstroom, Nelspruit and Middelburg. (327)

Transkei 'hit-squad' policemen linked to CCB witness

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH: East London

TRANSKEI policemen who fled prosecution for hit squad activities against African National Congress members in the homeland were later used by Civil Co-operation Bureau agents to inform on political organisations in Johannesburg.

A witness in the Umtata treason trial has provided new insights into links between South African security force members and Transkei dissidents, and into joint South African Police and Transkei Police hit-squad activity in the homeland in the late 1980s.

Former Transkei policeman Vulindlela Christopher Shologu has confessed to being a member of an assault force which bungled an attempt to overthrow the military government in 1990. Colonel Craig Duli died in the coup. Shologu is a state witness in the treason trial of 18 men accused of involvement in the attempt.

He told the court how, two years before the coup bid, he escaped from Transkei with Sergeant Pumelelo Gumengu, who was facing charges of murdering an ANC member, Sithembele Zokwe.

Gumengu had later offered him work in Johannesburg, where he said he was working for the South African "national intelligence service". Shologu had been asked to provide a CV outlining his activities in the police force, including the Zokwe affair. This was given to Gumengu's employers. The two then worked together, passing on information gathered at ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and Act-stop meetings in the region to Gumengu's "boss" — CCB operative "Chappie" Maree.

Gumengu and Shologu were later recruited by Duli, and participated in the abortive coup, Shologu testified.

He described how four white men in a minibus had accompanied the armed assault force to the Transkei border.

When the coup collapsed, Gumengu was arrested while Shologu escaped and briefed senior police officers — a Colonel Venter, a Colonel Badenhorst and a Captain Viljoen — in Pretoria.

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa has repeatedly asked the South African government to allow his police to question various people in connection with the coup bid, including Foreign Affairs officials, South African Defence Force members and police officers.

Shologu has also been linked to anti-ANC hit-squad activities. Since his detention late last year he has identified other former colleagues in the Transkei police implicated in two killings.

Gumengu and Sergeant Aron Tyani, of the Butterworth security police, allegedly killed Zokwe in early 1988. He had been targeted because "he had hidden arms in Butterworth and was a former ANC member". The two were charged but escaped in November 1988, two days before their trial was to begin.

Shologu himself had been "present" during an earlier unsuccessful attempt on Zokwe's life.

He also named Sergeant Bongani Wana as being involved in the killing of ANC guerrilla Lizo Macanda in Umtata in 1988. Sergeant Mpumelelo Madliwa, of the South African security police, confessed to having collaborated with Wana in the killing.

He later told an inquest court he was sent to Umtata to meet Wana. They changed number plates on their vehicle, were issued with an AK-47 and other weapons, and then gunned down Macanda and two other people. Madliwa was killed — allegedly by Umkhonto weSizwe cadres — in 1990.

After the coup attempt, Shologu, Wana and Tyani worked at various times for Ciskei's military intelligence agency.

Shologu was arrested in Transkei last November. The homeland's attorney general, Chris Nel, has confirmed he is awaiting the court decision on indemnity in return for testifying.

Tyani and Wana are lying low in the Border region, where Wana has survived two apparent attempts to abduct him to Transkei. — Ecna

Bid to hinder 'monster' autopsy – claim

W/Mail 16/7-22/7/93. (327)

A pathologist has alleged that attempts were made to derail his post-mortem examination of Victor Kheswa, the alleged assassin who died in police custody. By **STEPHEN LAUFER**

THE saga of the "Vaal monster", Victor Kheswa, took two bizarre twists yesterday when police claimed he had not died violently while in custody, and the pathologist who conducted the autopsy said attempts had been made to obstruct his work.

Arrested last Friday, Kheswa died several hours later in Sasolburg hospital. Inkatha and the African National Congress have alleged that he had intelligence links, and it has been suggested that he was killed by police to prevent him revealing a security force role in "third force" activities.

Sebokeng has been hit by a series of mysterious and suggestively similar drive-by killings. The most recent, in which 10 died, came last Monday night.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, deputy police commisioner for the Vaal, has been appointed to head an investigation into Kheswa's death. Because of the latter's political links, Mostert is to be assisted by Major General Piet du Toit of the Criminal Investigation Service.

The dead man, who lived in the notorious kwaMadala hostel, was an Inkatha member linked to several acts of violence in Sebokeng and Evaton, including the night vigil massacre in January 1991 when 45 people died and 50 were wounded.

According to Koos Vermeulen, head of the far-right World Preservist Movement, formerly the World Apartheid Movement (WPM), Kheswa was a member of his organisation. He also claimed that the man arrested with Kheswa, Henter Ndlovu, is a WPM member and had been tortured by police.

Ndlovu appeared in the Sebokeng Magistrate's Court this week in connection with 50 deaths.

Mostert told *The Weekly Mail:* "I am completely happy that Kheswa was not assaulted by the police. The autopsy revealed no evidence whatsoever of a fierce attack or assault. The suspension of the three officers involved was purely to show impartiality."

Kheswa, it appears, had been confronted by the police with an array of material evidence implicating him in several killings in the Vaal townships, and had agreed to co-operate. At his own suggestion, he was put in a police car and taken to the Free State, possibly to point out accomplices or weapons sources to investigating officers.

Said Mostert: "While in the car, he suddenly became ill, and the officers with him rushed him to the nearest hospital, where he died a short while later. OFS detectives were immediately called in, and they conducted forensic tests on the car. They have taken over the investigation and I am satisfied that they will report impartially."

A forensic pathologist from the Department of Health in Bloemfontein, a Dr Wagner, was called in to conduct the autopsy on Kheswa.

He told *The Weekly Mail* that he had subsequently received "manipulated" faxes apparently aimed at getting him to discontinue the post-mortem examination. He said he believed the faxes had "come from Kheswa's side", but was unable to specify whether he thought they came from the family, Inkatha, or Vermeulen's WPM.

Wagner is as yet unable to specify the cause of death, because tissue samples and blood specimens are still being analysed. But he is sure that Kheswa was neither poisoned nor drugged. "I cannot rule out the possibility that muti in one form or another was involved," he said. "Only exhaustive tests may show their long-term use".

Black Nat with a chequered past

W/Mail 16/7-22/7/93.

Patrick Hlongwane, information officer of the NP's Soweto branch and a former ANC detainee, claims to be an AWB member and is alleged to have been involved in the murder and abduction of ANC activists in the 1980s.

FAROUK CHOTHIA *reports*

AN alleged murderer, who claims to have ties with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and threatened to assassinate African National Congress leaders, is working for the National Party as an official in Soweto.

Patrick Hlongwane is now the information officer of the NP's Soweto branch — even though he was implicated in the murder and abduction of African National Congress activists in the 1980s.

After joining FW de Klerk's new-look party last month, Hlongwane attended the NP's Youth Congress in Durban last week. He joined the crowd in rapturous chants of "Viva De Klerk" when the NP leader addressed the conference on Saturday.

In buoyant mood, Hlongwane shook hands with De Klerk — and fired off a series of questions to him on constitutional issues and on the NP's election strategy.

In an interview, Hlongwane said he was not only an NP member — but also a member of the AWB.

He commented: "I'm a member of the AWB militarily. Politically, I'm NP. I honour president De Klerk as a man of integrity."

Hlongwane added that he had ties with the AWB because the NP did not have a military wing and if he ever needed "to go and kill" he could rely on the AWB to supply him with weapons.

Hlongwane said he joined the NP after discussions with its election co-ordinator for the Greater Johannesburg and Soweto region, David Chuenyane.

Chuenyane — a former member of the Pan Africanist Congress — said the NP accepted Hlongwane within its ranks because "it's an open party" and the NP thought "we could salvage someone like him".

Chuenyane said the NP had warned Hlongwane not to make "controversial statements" and the NP would consider "disciplinary action" against him for his comments to *The Weekly Mail*.

"He assured us: 'I'm a changed man. I want to work for peace'," Chuenyane added.

Hlongwane later telephoned *The Weekly Mail* and denied he still had ties with the AWB. "I was with the AWB. I'm no more with the AWB," he commented.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the NP's decision to give membership to Hlongwane proved that the NP could only win over blacks with "dubious records" and not "people of stature".

In 1991, Hlongwane returned to South Africa to make revelations of torture in ANC detention camps, severely embarrassing the organisation. With other alleged victims, he formed the Returned Exiles Committee and pressed for an independent inquiry to investigate their claims. Hlongwane also threatened to form a hit squad to assassinate ANC leaders he believed were responsible for the abuses.

The ANC hit back by claiming that Hlongwane was a police operative who assisted in the killing of ANC activists in Lesotho and in a security police plot to kidnap United Democratic Front and civic leaders. Hlongwane denied the charges.

Before joining the NP in Soweto, Hlongwane lived with alleged IFP warlord Thomas Mandla Shabalala in Lindelani, near Durban, but denied being a member of the IFP.

At its latest Commission of Inquiry into human rights abuses, chaired by businessman Sam Motsuenyane, the ANC presented a video tape early last month which showed Hlongwane confessing that he had helped the South African Defence Force kill exiled "comrades" in Lesotho in 1982.

In the video, Hlongwane said three comrades were killed after being lined up against a wall. He admitted killing at least one of them with an R1 rifle — which is a police issue weapon — and said he was paid R500.

According to *The Star* newspaper, Hlongwane was present at the commission hearing when the videotape was shown. When Motsuenyane asked him whether he had anything to say, he replied that the killings were carried out by "professionals".

Hlongwane later complained to *The Star* about its report, saying he had "long maintained that he was forced at gunpoint" to make the "untrue" confession.

He insisted he had never been an IFP member.

Arms and the man

W/Mail 16(7-22/7/93 (327)

By BULELWA PAYI
Grahamstown

POLICE swooped on a Grahamstown township house in an arms bust, but found only imitation rifles used as theatrical props for the National Arts Festival.

The police's Captain W Hackert, who was in command of the operation, said this week police had received information that there were weapons in the house of Sox Leleki, a leader of the South African National Civics Organisation.

"When we entered the house one of the occupants jumped up and tried to hide a firearm. But when we looked at it we found that it was a metal imitation firearm."

He said police found another three similar weapons while searching the house.

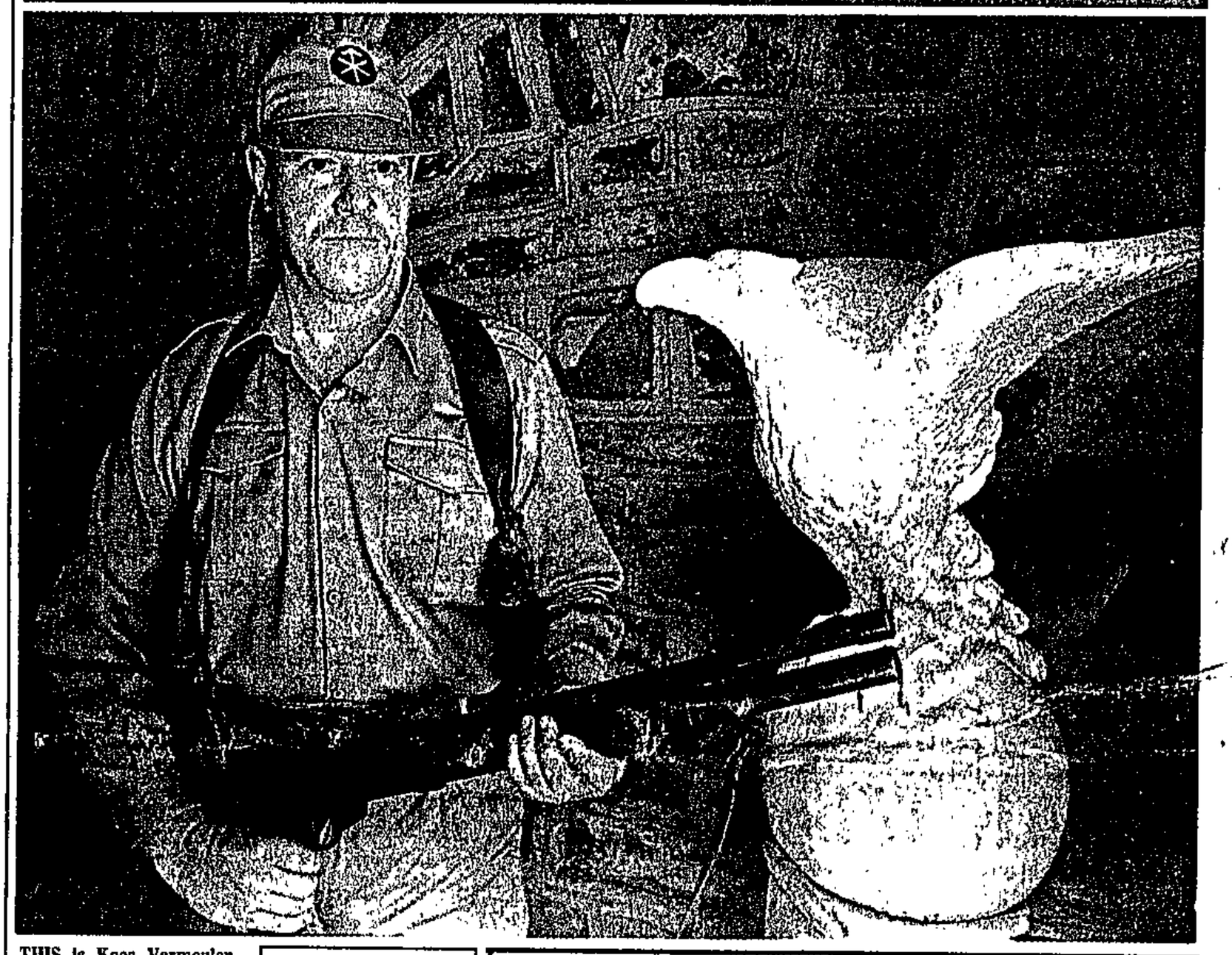
Hackert said people in the house said the weapons were being used as props in a play.

Leleki, also a fieldworker for the Albany Council of Churches and a member of the local peace committee, said he had not been at home during the raid. There had been about 20 members of a Johannesburg theatre group staying there at the time.

Leleki said he regarded it as an attempt to discrdit him. "All they are trying to do is to paint a picture of me as peace initiator during the day and somebody who plans violence at night."

Hackert said the raid was launched after a woman phoned the police to say there were firearms in the house. A man had also reported that his gun had been stolen. "Given that kind of information we had to raid the house," he said. — Ana

GOLDSTONE RAIDS HOME OF MYSTERY NEO-NAZI LEADER



THIS is Koos Vermeulen, the mysterious neo-Nazi leader of the World Preservatist Movement whose Pretoria home was raided by the Goldstone commission on Friday night.

By NICK OLIVARI and CHARLENE SMITH

SAP head of crime investigation and prevention Major-General Piet du Toit said the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, asked the commission's Transvaal investigation team to conduct the raid after the attorney-general said the police did not have sufficient grounds for a warrant to search Mr Vermeulen's home.

On Monday, Mr Vermeulen claimed that Victor Kheswa, who died in police custody last weekend while being questioned about his alleged role in a number of Vaal massacres, was a member of his organisation.

Other supporters of WPM and confidantes of Mr Vermeulen include Janus Waluz, alleged killer of SACP leader Chris Hani, and his alleged co-conspirators, Conservative Party leaders Clive and Gaye Derby-Lewis.

General du Toit said police questioned Mr Vermeulen about Mr Kheswa at his home on Wednesday, after which Mr Vermeulen submitted a sworn affidavit that Mr Kheswa had not belonged to his organisation.

"General van der Merwe was not satisfied and the matter was discussed with the attorney-general on Thursday afternoon with a view to obtaining a search warrant.

"The attorney-general said there were insufficient grounds for a search warrant and, in view of this, General van der Merwe approached the Goldstone commission."

Judge Richard Goldstone said from Durban that the raid did not fall into the ambit of existing Goldstone commission investigations. He confirmed that documents and records had been removed from Mr Vermeulen's home.

Mr Vermeulen's international links include the Ku Klux Klan, the National Front and neo-Nazi groups in Eastern Europe.

The walls of his home, on a plot outside Pretoria, are fortified. Geese patrol the grounds and dogs are kept indoors. There is an underground bunker.

When the Sunday Times visited his home on Friday evening, Mr Vermeulen arrived on the back of a bakkie. He was in a crouching position and his pistol was drawn. He leapt off, said he was granting no interviews to the press and claimed he had two murders to investigate.

It is believed Vermeulenhe was referring to a neighbour, Miss Caroline Hunter, 26, who was found dead in her car on Friday.

Police believe Miss Hunter was killed on Thursday night. Her body was discovered by her boyfriend, Mr Luke Loraine-Grews, at 2pm the next day. Miss Hunter died from two bullets to the chest. Police believe they were AK-47 rounds.

Police are investigating a possible link to the murder of a woman in Donkerhoek four months ago and other AK-47 attacks in the area.

Next week the Goldstone commission will consider whether it will take further action in relation to the Vermeulen raid.

Picture: GRAHAM WILLIAMS

The life and death of the SMILING MONSTER SEE PAGE 8

a's birthday

Mandela's estranged wife, was not present, and his ers, Zinzi Hlongwane and Zenmini-Mandela, are overseas, ne of his grandchildren were

international affairs director Mbeki was master of ceremond Mr Mandela was the only

SEE PAGE 15

IFP to probe role of Vaal party official

Star 19/7/93

(327)

Staff Reporters

The Inkatha Freedom Party is to investigate the background and status of Vaal IFP official Chris Theunissen who has made statements about "Vaal Monster" Victor "Khetisi" Kheswa on behalf of the party.

Theunissen confirmed to The Star last Monday that Kheswa had been a member of both the IFP and the World Preservatist Movement, formerly the World Apartheid Movement.

Goldtone commission investigators raided the home of WPM leader Koos Vermeulen on Friday night, confiscating files and documents after Vermeulen told the press that Kheswa was a WPM leader and later denied this statement to the police.

Police said SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe asked the commission's Transvaal investigation team to conduct the raid after the Attorney-General had told the police that there were insufficient grounds to issue a search warrant.

The controversy surrounding Kheswa's death deepened with Theunissen's statements on behalf of the IFP last week, followed by the organisation's denials of an IFP-WPM link.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that he had first heard of Theunissen last week.

Theunissen said last week that he had been one of the first called to view Kheswa's body in the Sasolburg Hospital after the notorious KwaMadala inmate died in custody.

According to reliable sources it was Theunissen who contacted WPM leader Koos Vermeulen last weekend to tell him of Kheswa's death.

Theunissen said he had acted on behalf of the IFP to establish the whereabouts of the three other KwaMadala inmates arrested with Kheswa.

He also claimed to have served on the local peace committee as an IFP representative. The chairman of the Vaal Triangle Local Peace Committee, Elise Cony, confirmed that Theunissen had attended one meeting, on June 7.

Sowetan 20/7/93

AWB slams raid by Goldstone

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday condemned the Goldstone Commission's raid on World Preservatist Movement leader Koos Vermeulen's home last week and accused the commission of being a "partisan, pro-ANC vigilante".

"This raid has now revealed what awesome powers Goldstone has unilaterally appropriated unto himself," said the AWB in a statement. The commission raided Vermeulen's home on Friday following his statement that "Vaal monster" Khetisi Kheswa was a member of the WPM, an ultra-rightwing organisation formerly known as the World Apartheid Movement. Kheswa was suspected of being involved in a number of killings in the Vaal Triangle and elsewhere. He was arrested by police and died in their custody two weeks ago.

The AWB said the raid on Vermeulen's home meant commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone could raid anyone's home at any time, even if the Attorney-General and the Police Commissioner did not believe there was sufficient reason to do so. Goldstone had become like the "thought police" in George Orwell's novel *1984*. — *Sapa*.

(327)

Inkatha official has home raided

SOW etcu 20/7/93

By Mathatha Tsedu (115)

SOLDIERS from the Tokoza base raided the home of a senior Inkatha Freedom Party official in the township on Sunday, allegedly looking for missiles.

Mrs Getrude Mzizi said the soldiers raided her home while she was in Ulundi attending the IFP annual conference. She said they had found her three children aged between 4 and 8. (327)

"They apparently told them they were looking for missiles and guns. My daughter, thinking that they were talking about measles, said only my four-year-old son had measles last December and had to be isolated.

"The soldiers apparently told them they were not talking about a disease but guns. I found my house in a shambles and R320, reading glasses and a watch that I bought for my husband missing," Mzizi said.

She said she had contacted the commander of the Tokoza base who initially denied the raid. But because someone had taken the registration numbers of the military trucks, he later confirmed the incident, she said.

A Lieutenant Thacher at the base said yesterday many houses were searched.

In the end, who wants to be a censor anyway?

C Press 25/7/93

(321)

To ban or not to ban, that is the very complicated question to be addressed in the *Weekly Mail's* imminent conference dealing with the matter of censorship in the new SA. What with religious fundamentalists, "dik tannie" brigades, fanatical fascists and all the other various belief systems that exist in the beloved country, the issue of censorship in a new SA must be one of the most complicated of all, argues playwright and theatre personality JOHN MATSHIKIZA in this, the latest of his irregular and irreverent columns for City Press.

THE *Weekly Mail* is hosting not one, but two film festivals this year.

The first, the *Weekly Mail* and *Guardian* Film Festival and the Anti-Censorship Action Group's Limits of Liberty Festival and Conference burst on to our startled eyeballs this week.

Why? The festival organisers say that, in the run-up to our first-ever proper election, censorship is a critical issue of the past, and will be a critical issue of the future.

The major political parties, they say, have not formulated any policies on this issue, and worse, "the artistic and creative communities have so far failed to articulate their views on what form, if any, censorship should take in a new South Africa".

So they hope to stimulate debate on this issue.

Of all the untangleable issues in this country's ridiculous history, censorship must be one of the worst.

What individual or committee can, or should, proscribe what is good for you and me to take in through our eyeballs, ears, or anywhere else?

"Tits and bums"

As it is South Africa is a world-beater in taking the question of censorship further than anyone thought of taking it before.

In the (not so) old days, censorship covered not only "tits and bums", as the gutter press might say, but more sensitive parts as well.

Censorship snuffed out people, for example, and ideas like freedom.

Can Themba, my dad Todd, and a host of others who wrote for easy-going journals like the old *Drum* fell under the South African censors' evil axe, and have only recently, long after their deaths, been allowed to emerge.

DEADLY TERMINATOR ... Does the screening of a violent Arnold Schwarzenegger movie lead to youngsters taking up violence?

Already, we have in place a host of new, self-appointed censors.

The ZCC has its own standards of decency, political parties from left and right have their peculiar sets of boundaries of taste, especially as regards how their leaders may or may not be represented in public. ET's green underpants may soon become a treasonable issue, for example.

Then there's the host of moral crusaders, ranging from the Muslim fundamentalists to the feminists to the Voortrekker youth.

The *Weekly Mail* seems to have taken on the whole world, fired by their phyrric victory at last year's film festival, when crusading Christian fundamentalists almost caused a riot over the attempted showing of *The Last Temptation of Christ*.

The *Weekly Mail* might even be in danger of setting itself up as a yet another guardian of standards of public taste.

Anyone who dares to take the high-ground on issues as tricky as these (like me, here in this column) risks falling into the same kind of trap. "The higher the monkey climbs up the tree," they say, "the more you see of its unmentionables".

And that kind of thing we all want to avoid.

But we all do have things we strongly object our children, or our spouses, or sometimes even ourselves being exposed to.

My pet hate is mindless violence, but what with Arnold Schwarzenegger and the general culture of Johannesburg, no censor stands a chance.

Yet somewhere, we do have to hit some moral bottom-line if we are somehow going to find a way to live together in the new dispensation.

The feminists and the Muslims and the Voortrkkkers do have to agree on something, otherwise we can never claim to be a meaningful society.

And that is where the censors come in.

But what is a "censor", and what should a "censor" do?

My dictionary gives the earliest reference to censorship to the Romans.

In the Roman Empire BC, a censor was "a magistrate who watched over the morals" of the citizens of the empire.

Later, this person's job was extended to "an official who examines books, papers, telegrams, letters, films etc with powers to delete material, or to forbid publication, delivery, or showing" of such things.

In the old South Africa, these powers were executed with unbending precision. The letter of the law overwhelmed the spirit of moral law.

And the spirit of moral law is, in the end, is what has to guide a society.

The Bible, say, gives a set of moral laws: thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not covet another's possessions and so on.

But the Bible is also littered with examples of people who killed each other, righteously.

Should a censor pass or ban a violent, bloodthirsty movie about cattle rustlers, or, for that matter, cowboys killing Indians?

I don't know.

Another moral code says you should avenge the rape of your mate or the murder of your child – an eye for an eye.

Holocaust

Does this mean a censor should give an unqualified "Yes" to Charles Bronson's personal holocaust in *Death Wish I* and *Death Wish II*?

If the censor gives an unqualified "yes", will this inspire a bunch of hideous "do-it-yourself" killings?

It gets much more complicated than that. Like this thing about nudity.

A lot of people on this planet still walk about without much clothing on their bodies – in the Kalahari, in the rainforests of Brazil, in Borneo.

But the moral codes we accept say that nakedness on the screen is immoral.

Should a censor in the new South Africa ban a sitcom set among the Khoisan? Where would we be then?

At the end of the day, who would want to be a censor, anyway?

But there will always be people eager to do the job, just like they'll always find a volunteer for the job of hangman.

It's interesting that the *Weekly Mail* is taking on this new moral crusade.

I just wonder what it will all come to, in the end.

I'll certainly be there, just to see what we've all been told we should be missing.

And that's always fun.

Sowetan 28/7/93.

Debate on censorship

By Victor Metsoamere

SCREENING of controversial films and speeches on censorship are the main items on the agenda of this year's *Weekly Mai-Guardian* Film Festival at the Wits Theatre in Braamfontein this week.

Issues raised at the Film Festival, organised in association with the Anti Censorship Group, include the legality of full frontal nudity, radio and television programmes that incite violence and censorship in South Africa and other parts of the world.

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Artists such as Maishe Maponya, Matthew Krouse and Pieter-Dirk Uys will take part in a panel discussion that will examine past and present censorship policies.

Films dealing with contentious issues such as censorship and pornography will be screened and discussed daily until Sunday.

Among the local experts who are expected to discuss issues raised in the various films are Director of Publications Dr Braam Coetzee, former chairman of the Publications Appeal Board Professor Kobus van Rooyen, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Representatives of political organisations expected at the conferences include Dr Pallo Jordan of the African National Congress and Jaki Seroke of the Pan Africanist Congress.

CP in bid to stop film being shown

Sowetan 29/7/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Conservative Party Youth Organisation has called on the *Weekly Mail* Film Festival to reconsider its plans to show the film *De Voortrekker*.

Claiming that the film attacked Afrikaner culture and denigrated Christianity, the CP youth said it would do all it could to stop the film from being shown.

The film is scheduled to be viewed at the weekend as part of the *Weekly Mail*'s "Limits of Liberty" Film Festival.

The organisers said, however, that the show would go on as planned.

Censorship

The festival, which aims to spotlight issues of censorship in South Africa, has become a lightning rod for controversy. (327)

Last week, protesters against the anti-Semitic film *Jew Suss*, were successful in forcing its withdrawal from the festival.

The film is a notorious Nazi propaganda piece and groups objected to its insensitive attack on German Jews.

Like the planned showing of *De Voortrekker*, the presentation of the anti-Semitic film was meant to be educational and a panel presentation was scheduled to follow the screening.

Sowetan 29/7/93

R11,9-m gift for Nafcoc branches

NATIONAL Sorghum Breweries is to donate R11,9 million to the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce and Industries.

The money will come in the form of 1 000 bursaries to all of Nafcoc's 15 regions and prize money for the businessman and businesswoman of the year competitions.

"Despite the fact that we are the only company in the corporate world that has met Nafcoc's proposed advancement plan, there are still some doubting Thomases about the capabilities of NSB," NSB executive director Mr Ephraim Skosana said at Nafcoc's annual conference at Sun City yesterday.

Success

NSB chief executive Mr Mohale Mahanyele thrilled the audience on Tuesday when he spoke of his company's success. "Time for irrelevant talk has passed, now it is time for action," Mhanyele said.

He said NSB had an annual turnover of over R500 million. "Despite these achievements we are still not recognised.

"Companies smaller than us on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange get bigger recognition than us because they are white.

"Some of these companies which come to conferences like these to give you small change do not have black directors on their boards," he said.

D-day only 4 days away

Sowetan 29/7/93

IT's only four days to go before the amnesty for possession of AK-47 rifles and other weapons of war expires — and a five to 25 year penalty for possession of the weapons comes into effect.

(327)

ANC man's home raided by police

Sowetan 3/8/93

(30)

By Lulama Luti

POLICE last night raided the Diepkloof, Soweto, home of ANC national executive committee member Mr Sydney Mufamadi, saying they were looking for arms.

Mufamadi said the police arrived at his house in three Casspirs around 7.30pm.

"They did not have a search warrant. They were extremely rude and said they had been acting on information that a kombi had been seen off-loading weapons into the house earlier on," said Mufamadi.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn confirmed the police search. He said police raided the house after receiving information from "a person in the neighbourhood".

Halgryn said no arms were found in the house. He added that they did not need to have a search warrant as "it would destroy your whole operation".

Mufamadi, whose house was petrol-bombed twice this year, said he had been expecting the police to contact him over the bombings.

PAC upset over police crackdown

Star 4/8/93.

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

At least 22 members of the Pan Africanist Congress were arrested — and later released — in connection with activities of the PAC's military wing, police confirmed yesterday.

The latest crackdown on PAC members took place in Soweto around 3 am on Monday, about three months after the SAP's countrywide swoop on the PAC.

Many of those arrested were released without being charged, and a few are still facing charges — mostly for illegal possession of arms.

Police spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said the 22 were detained in continuing investigations into the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

PAC West Rand regional leader Ntsundeni Madzunya called the raids a sign of an intensifying campaign against the PAC by "the South African illegitimate regime".

"Many of those taken in for alleged questioning were assaulted, the majority of whom are still in custody," he said. (327)

Police denied yesterday that any of the PAC members were still being held.

Pieke said charges should be laid if PAC members had been assaulted.

● PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Stowe Seroke (33) — arrested in May — appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of illegally possessing arms.

SOWETAN Wednesday August 4 1993

Sowetan 4/8/93

SAP raid slammed

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress has demanded an unconditional apology from the SAP for the police raid on Monday night on the Diepkloof, Soweto, home of ANC national executive committee member Mr Sydney Mufamadi.

Police said they searched the house after receiving information from "a person in the neighbourhood" that arms had been off-loaded there. No arms were found.

Mufamadi said the police arrived at his home in three Casspirs around 7.30pm.

(327)

"They did not have a search warrant. They were extremely rude and said they had been acting on information that a kombi had been seen off-loading weapons into the house earlier on," said Mufamadi.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn confirmed the police search. He said police raided the house after receiving information from "a person in the neighbourhood".

He said that they did not need to have a search warrant as "it could destroy your whole operation".

In a statement yesterday, the ANC charged that the police had been using "selective diligence" as they had not investigated two recent petrol bomb attacks on Mufamadi's house with the same enthusiasm with which they had reacted to the information from the person in the neighbourhood.

Referring to the raid as "entirely vindictive", the ANC demanded that the police involved be disciplined.

— *Sowetan Reporter.*

Cops raid activists

POLICE raided the homes of Pan Africanist Congress activists in Soweto on Monday night and arrested 22 in connection with the activities of the organisation's military wing. Sowetan 4/8/93

Police spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke yesterday confirmed the pre-dawn arrests and said the 22 were detained and released after questioning in continuing investigations into the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He said two of those released were rearrested yesterday in connection with criminal activities being investigated by police. (327)

In a crackdown in May, police arrested at least 70 leaders and members of the PAC in an action they said pre-empted armed attacks by Apla. — *Sapa*.

Police arrest 22 PAC members

B/Day 14/8/93

POLICE raided the homes of PAC members in Soweto on Monday and arrested 22 in connection with the activities of the organisation's military wing.

Sapa reports that police spokesman W/O Andy Pieke, confirming the pre-dawn arrests, said the 22 people were detained and released after questioning in continuing investigations into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Two of those released were rearrested yesterday in connection with alleged criminal activities. (327)

The PAC West Rand region said the arrest of a branch executive member and ordinary members was a sign of an intensifying campaign against it by the "illegitimate regime".

Regional leader Ntsundeni Madzunya said the region would instruct its negotiators at the constitutional talks in Kempton Park to raise the issue.

"Many of those taken in for alleged questioning were assaulted, the majority of whom are still in custody," he claimed.

Pieke said charges should be laid if any of the PAC members were assaulted.

THUNDI BOOI reports that the PAC PWV executive also said yesterday that it was concerned about the growing intimidation and harassment of its members by ANC supporters.

This follows an incident in which two PAC members were allegedly assaulted and robbed by ANC Youth League members armed with AK-47s at a Lenasia squatter camp yesterday morning.

PAC regional organiser Kgasi Mangope condemned attacks on members. He said ANC and PAC members in the area were due to meet last night to discuss the situation.

Gqozo 'not informed' that witness died

C/Press 8/8/93

CISKEI ruler Oupa Gqozo denied he had been informed about the death of a Ciskei soldier whose account of the shooting of two rebels at a roadblock differed from those of his colleagues.

Brig Gqozo was testifying in the Bisho Supreme Court for the fourth day on Friday at the inquest into the January 1991 deaths of dissidents Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana. (327)

The inquest has heard allegations that they were lured out of exile in Transkei into a roadblock trap in Ciskei as part of a Ciskei intelligence plot. Col Guzana died at the roadblock after being shot by Ciskei troops. Sebe escaped but was tracked down and shot the next day.

Gqozo has denied ordering their deaths. In court on Friday he also denied having been informed about the November 1991 death – reportedly in a road accident – of a young Ciskei Defence Force soldier, Rifleman Mzwekhaya Xotyeni.

Shortly before his death Xotyeni, who was present at the roadblock during the shooting, had told the inquest Sebe and Guzana were led to the roadblock by a Ciskei Defence Force vehicle with a blue light and that at the roadblock one of Gqozo's bodyguards had opened fire on their vehicle.

Ciskei alleged that the two fired first.

Counsel for the Sebe family, Advocate Marumo Moerane, told Judge Mike Claassens that it was reported Xotyeni had been driving an army vehicle at the time of the accident. – Veritas

'Security cops misled the public'

Sowetan 12/8/93

(325) 327

■ BOMB EXPERT Counsel claims police blew up a car to blame ANC:

THE PORT ELIZABETH SECURITY police were yesterday accused of blowing up a car, killing three policemen and an alleged informer, and then blaming the ANC for the attack.

Counsel for the South African Defence Force, Mr Anton Mostert, SC, made this claim at the reopened inquest into the death of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and three others at Bluewater Bay in July 1985.

He made the claim in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court while cross-examining Major Deon Niewoudt, a veteran security policeman and bomb expert.

Niewoudt denied the charge.

Mostert also accused the security police of providing misleading information on the type of bomb which caused the deaths of the four policemen on December 14 1989.

In an earlier submission, Mostert hinted that at least two of the four murdered policemen were poised to tell the ANC they allegedly knew of possible police complicity in the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

The court also heard that an inquest magistrate, the district surgeon and the public were misled into believing the blast was caused by a certain type of limpet mine.

Mostert said the security police, and not the ANC, had supplied the information which led a newspaper to report that the ANC had claimed responsibility for the incident.

The inquest continues today before Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman. - *Ecna.*

Video of bomb aftermath to be screened in camera

ARG 12/8/93 (327)

☐ Goniwe inquest warned some scenes too gruesome

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A gruesome video taken after an explosion that killed four people is to be shown in camera at the Goniwe inquest.

The video, made by police soon after the deaths of Amos Faku, Desmond Mapipa, Mbabalala Ngoduka, three policemen and informer Charles Jack on December 15, 1989, became the object of heated argument today when advocate P J de Bruyn, for the police, strongly objected to its screening.

Mr De Bruyn said parts were very gruesome and the video would generate emotion. This was not fair to Major Deon Nieuwoudt who had already received death threats.

Counsel for the army Anton Mostert SC said the video was of tremendous importance because it showed that the extensive damage caused in the Motherwell blast could not simply have been caused by a limpet mine.

Mr Justice Zietsman, who is presiding at the reopened inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawli, ruled the video would be shown in camera. Family members of the dead men could make a special application to see the video if they wished.

A video of damage caused to a police vehicle by a limpet mine was also shown in court.

After viewing the video, Mr Mostert put it to Major Nieuwoudt that the bomb that destroyed the car in Motherwell must have been at least 12 kg or more.

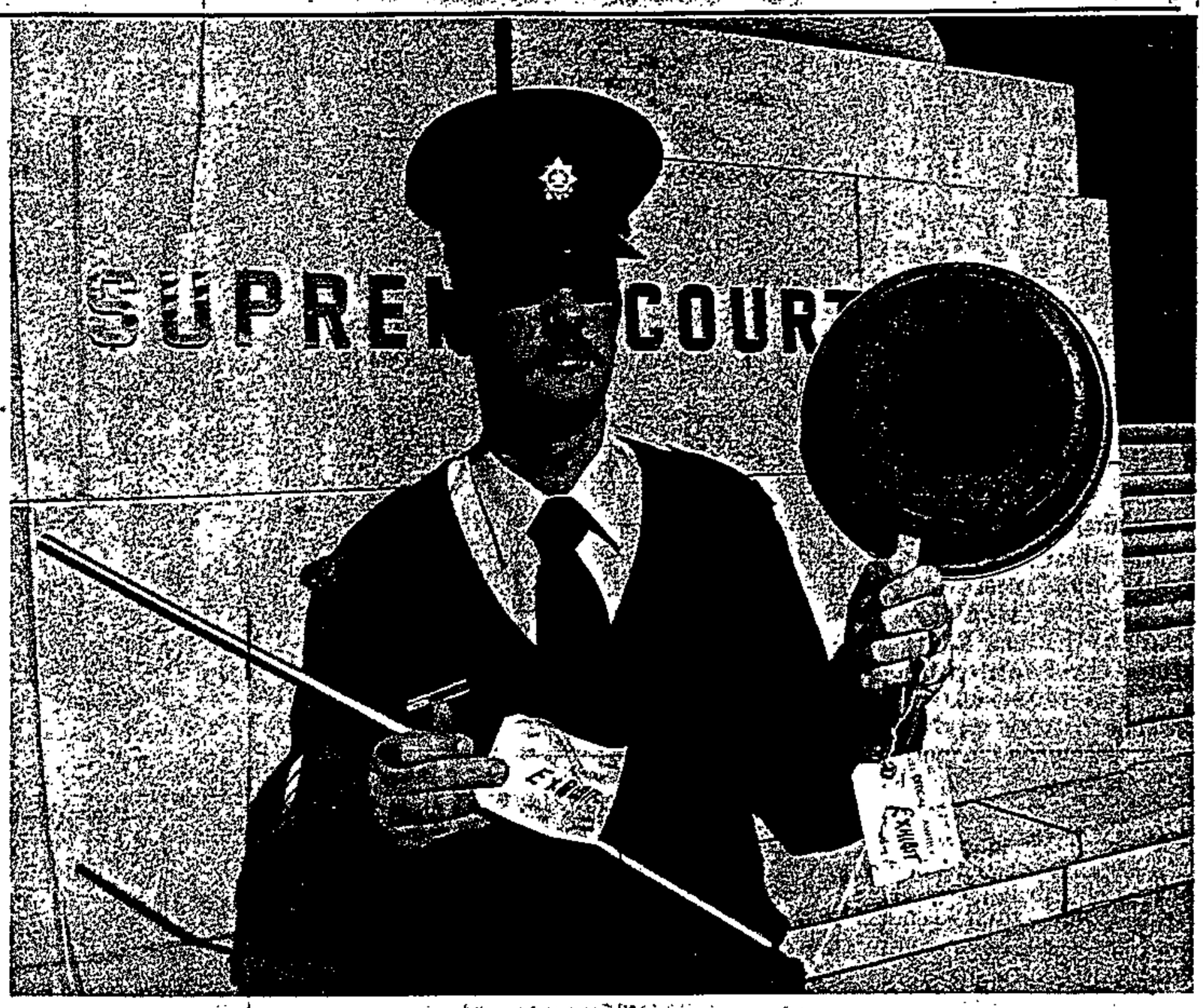
Major Nieuwoudt agreed.

It was then decided the court would have an inspection in loco of a Jetta car to view the rear axle and torsion bar.

The car, which was blown up in Motherwell, was a Jetta and at the earlier inquest on the four men it was maintained a limpet mine had been attached to the rear axle.

Mr Mostert maintained in court today that this was not possible.

(Proceeding)



TRIAL EXHIBITS: Police sergeant Arnold Wessels with the frying pan and metal rod used to kill a Rugby woman. Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

Teenagers 'not controlled by demons'

(From page 1)

Blerk had a short-lived sexual relationship with the girl and for the first time in his life felt accepted.

"He fulfilled a need by being supportive to her," Dr George said.

Professor Zabow said he did not agree with this completely although he did say the influence of another could have a degree of control over Mr Van Blerk.

Professor Zabow said the girl was considerably more mature at 16 than her 18-year-old companion, and in fact showed "significant maturity" for her age.

Professor Zabow said both the girl and Mr Van Blerk were of normal intelligence and neither was mentally certifiable. Mr Van Blerk showed no evidence of substance abuse.

While there was evidence that the girl had experimented with substance abuse, there was no evidence of dependency.

But both had been affected by disharmony in their homes, he said.

Referring to a psychiatric report dated November 15 last year, Professor Zabow said the girl had experienced significant marital disharmony in her home and an increasingly conflict-ridden relationship with her mother.

Her school performance was satisfactory.

There was evidence of self-mutilation but not of any suicide attempts.

The girl's moods fluctuated but appropriately to circumstances. She had normal intelligence and was fully aware of the nature of the court proceedings and their consequences.

The girl was not mentally ill, was not certifiable and had the capacity to appreciate the wrongfulness of her alleged deed.

She was not in a state of mental illness at the time of the killing.

Professor Zabow was asked to comment whether the girl could have been acting under the influence of a superior force which she was unable to resist.

"It is our opinion that the concept of any influence over her control by outside forces were not relevant at the time of the offence."

The girl had used significant aggression to inflict the injuries evident in the killing. There was no previous evidence of aggressive behaviour.

The trial continues.

Ex-policeman denies army claims at inquest

B/Day 12/8/93

PORT ELIZABETH — A former security police major denied during the Goniwe inquest yesterday that police had known there was a bomb in a car that killed three policemen and an informer.

Maj Deon Nieuwoudt was responding to allegations from the army's senior counsel, Anton Mostert.

(327)

He also denied that police had failed to properly investigate the incident.

Mostert alleged that Nieuwoudt was in some way involved in the blast because the men were threatening to "go public" with their knowledge of police involvement in the 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other political activists.

Nieuwoudt, an explosives specialist, was the first person to arrive at the scene of the blast.

He admitted that he was in charge of the operation the four had been involved in, and he had been only a few hundred metres away when the car had exploded.

Responding to what Mostert termed other strange coincidences surrounding the explosion, Nieuwoudt admitted the team of six explosives specialists, including himself, had failed to collect samples or to measure the crater caused by the blast, but said these activities would not have taken the investigation any further.

He had thought at the time that the discovery of a detonator at the scene told the police all they needed to know about the type of explosive used.

Mostert said the discovery of the detonator was another mystery because it was unlikely that an alloy detonator would survive the heat caused by the explosion of a 6kg bomb.

He said it was more likely the bomb had been detonated by radio.

Nieuwoudt admitted during cross-examination that the detonator found on the scene could be used with a number of explosive devices.

Mostert also found shortcomings in Nieuwoudt's theory that the bomb was attached to the car's rear axle.

He said an aerial photograph of the scene showed the rear axle had barely been damaged.

Asked why he had failed to correct the inquest magistrate's incorrect findings about the size of bomb used, Nieuwoudt said he had never read about them, despite submitting an affidavit to the inquest.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Police union plans march

B/Day 12/8/93

LLOYD COUTTS

THE Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) hoped to mobilise 10 000 supporters in a march to Witwatersrand regional police headquarters on August 21, a spokesman said yesterday.

The march is from Popcru's Johannesburg offices to the Braamfontein police headquarters.

The ANC said earlier this week it had been approached by Popcru for its co-operation in arranging a demonstration similar to one held in Port Elizabeth on Sunday at which about 300 police men and women and prison wardens in uniform committed themselves to impartial policing. Police are investigating the incident.

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said on Tuesday Popcru's members were committing themselves to a democratic police force and reconciliation with the community.

Security policeman denies activating bomb

Star 13/8/93

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — A security policeman yesterday denied an allegation that he was the person who activated a 12-18 kg bomb which killed three policemen and an informer in 1989.

Major Deon Nieuwoudt was replying to a question by counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert, SC, during the Goniwe inquest.

After lengthy cross-examination during which Nieuwoudt could not give any positive reason for going to the scene of the blast, Mostert said: "You were there to activate the bomb."

Nieuwoudt replied: "I deny that completely." (327)

Nieuwoudt said he had ordered policemen Amos Faku, Desmond Mapipa and Mbalala Ngoduka and informer Charles Jack to watch a house where a suspected terrorist was in hiding.

At a rendezvous the men exchanged their car for a Volkswagen Jetta and left. About 100 m down the road, the Jetta exploded, killing them.

Nieuwoudt said he had briefed the men fully and could not say why it was necessary for him to go to the scene.

Mostert has alleged that the men killed in the blast might have been involved in the murders in 1985 of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Security police 'felt above the law in 1977'

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The security police considered themselves above the law during 1977, George Bizos, SC, told the Supreme Court here today.

ARG 13/8/93

Mr Bizos, who is appearing for the families of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Nkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli at the reopened inquest into their deaths in 1985, was cross-examining police security officer Major Deon Nieuwoudt.

Earlier Major Nieuwoudt refused to answer any questions in connection with the interrogation of Steve Biko, saying he might incriminate himself.

Major Nieuwoudt denied he often used to clench his fist and tell people he was questioning that he could crush them like ants.

Major Nieuwoudt said he denied assaulting anybody in his charge in spite of the fact that the then Minister of Police, Adrian Vlok, had paid compensation to victims of assault after Wendy Orr, a then district surgeon, had made an urgent application to court stating that detainees were being tortured.

Major Nieuwoudt said he was aware of claims that security police had assaulted people, but during the state of emergency activists always accused the police of assault to put them in a bad light.

Asked where he was on the night of the murder of Mr Goniwe and his colleagues, Major Nieuwoudt said it was his wife's birthday on June 27 and he always took her out.

Asked if black security officers were fully informed of plans being made by white officers he said they were as the black staff were totally trusted.

Asked by Mr Bizos whether one of the three policemen who

(Turn to page 6, col 4)

Security police felt 'above law'

(Cont from page 1)

had died in the Motherwell blast had approached him earlier about concern for his safety, Major Nieuwoudt said he knew nothing about this.

Mr Bizos said in December 1989 there were already indications of vast political change in South Africa, such as the fact all the Rivonia trialists except Nelson Mandela and hundreds of detainees had been released. It was also clear in December 1989 that the government would be negotiating with people the security branch considered terrorists. Major Nieuwoudt conceded this.

It was during this time that many black security policement had doubts about their roles in the seventies and eighties and were not sure what to do about the future.

Major Nieuwoudt said he knew nothing about a plan by white security officers to watch black security colleagues and their families or that one of them had contacted the ANC.

Mr Bizos. The security polie have been accused of the death of Mr Biko. ARG 13/8/93

Major Nieuwoudt: Yes.

Mr Bizos: They were also accused of the deaths of the Pebco three — Hashe, Galela and Gondolozi — and there was an accusation that they were permanently removed from society.

Major Nieuwoudt: I cannot remember that, I only knew they disappeared.

Mr Bizos: The security police and the SADF are also accused of the deaths of Mr Goniwe and his friends.

Major Nieuwoudt: I have heard that.

The case is proceeding.

:s in police car ● Transnet faces R1 million lawsuit

Cop was 'at scene of fatal explosion'

Sowetan 13/8/93

327

■ **INSTANT DEATH** Cops accused of planting car bomb which killed four:

A FORMER SECURITY POLICEMAN yesterday admitted he was the only person who could have detonated by radio the massive car bomb which killed three policemen and an informer in December 1989.

Major Deon Nieuwoudt, who is now head of the Port Elizabeth Investigation Services, was testifying in the inquest into the death in 1985 of activist Matthew Goniwe and three others.

Nieuwoudt told the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court that he was the only person in the vicinity of the car when it exploded.

During cross-examination by counsel for the South African Defence Force, Mr Anton Mostert, SC, Nieuwoudt said he found a VZD3M detonator at the scene of the blast and, therefore, did not believe a radio transmitter was used.

Mostert has accused the police, and particularly Nieuwoudt, of planting the bomb which killed the four policemen. He has also linked the murder of the policemen with the 1985 slayings of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists.

Mostert said at least two of the men were probably threatening to make public their knowledge of police involvement in the Goniwe murder shortly before they themselves were killed.

Nieuwoudt was in charge of the operation the policemen and the informer were involved in at the time of their death. He agreed to meet them near Motherwell township, where he and a Sergeant Lotz handed over the vehicle which already had explosives in it.

Lotz then took the kombi the four men had been using and drove it back to the Louis Le Grange police headquaters in Port Elizabeth. Nieuwoudt remained behind.

He said he was less than 200m away when the car exploded, instantly killing Sergeants Amos Faku, Mbalala Mgoduka and Constables Desmond Mapipa and Charles Jack. — Sapa.

Police killed colleagues, inquest told

WM 13-19/8/93 (327)

Shadley Nash in Port Elizabeth

THE Port Elizabeth security police were accused on Wednesday of blowing up a car to murder three colleagues and an alleged police informant, and then blaming the African National Congress for the attack.

Counsel for the South African Defence Force Anton Mostert SC made this claim at the re-opened inquest into the death of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and three others at Bluewater Bay outside Port Elizabeth in July 1985.

He made the claim while cross-examining Major Deon Niewoudt who is a veteran security policeman and bomb expert. Niewoudt denied the charge.

Mostert also accused the security police of providing misleading information on the type of bomb which caused the deaths of the four on December 14 1989.

In an earlier submission, Mostert hinted that at least two of the four killed were poised to tell the ANC what they allegedly knew of possible police complicity in the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli. He suggested the police should be closely examined on the issue.

Yesterday, the court heard that Niewoudt misled general opinion by failing to record that he, as an expert, believed the blast which destroyed the car in which the four were travelling was not caused by a limpet mine. An inquest magistrate, the district surgeon and the public were misled into believing the blast was caused by a type of limpet mine, the court was told.

Niewoudt conceded that in his opinion the blast was caused by a bomb packed with more than 6kg of explosives and armed with a detonator. When asked by Eastern Cape judge president Mr Justice Neville Zietsman why he neglected to record his opinions in an affidavit, Niewoudt could give no reason.

However, Mostert suggested this was because the security police had planted the bomb in the car and then proceeded to blame the ANC — a charge denied by Niewoudt.

At one point Niewoudt apologised and asked to be forgiven for misleading the magistrate by neglecting to record his view on the bomb which caused the blast.

Mostert said the inquest magistrate and the district surgeon, who both concluded that the deaths were a result of injuries caused by a limpet mine blast, came to that conclusion, in part, on the incorrect evidence placed before them by the police.

He pointed out at least six different occasions when police had said a limpet mine was the cause of the blast. Mostert submitted that "real facts" about the blast were not reported in the media report because the police were "involved". — Pen

Refusal to answer questions on Biko

Star 14/8/93

ADRIENNE CARLISLE

PORT ELIZABETH — A second Goniwe inquest witness has refused to answer questions regarding Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, on the grounds that he could incriminate himself.

Former security policeman Deon Nieuwoudt admitted yesterday during cross-examination by senior counsel for the Goniwe family, George Bizos, that he had been part of the team which had interrogated the BC leader in 1977, shortly before his death.

Nieuwoudt: "I do not want to give further evidence on the matter as it might incriminate me."

Bizos: "Are you saying that if you answer my questions honestly, you would incriminate yourself?"

Nieuwoudt: "The possibility exists that I could incriminate myself."

In June, the former head of the Port Elizabeth security police, Colonel Harald Snyman, also took refuge in his legal right not to reply to questions about his role in the interrogation of Biko, on the grounds that it could incriminate him.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Paso youth may be freed

S/Times (C/Metro)

By AYESHA ISMAIL

POLICE have decided not to apply for an extension of the detention order of the 18-year-old Crossroads man held last week for allegedly being in possession of incriminating documents.

(327)

Gcinikhaya Makoma, a member of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso), is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He and two other PAC members are being held for questioning.

Police told his lawyer, Jimmy Yekiso, on Friday that they intended applying to the Supreme Court for his detention to be extended for 10 days.

The application was to have been heard in chambers yesterday.

This means Mr Makoma will have to be released on Tuesday or charged.

15/8/93

Mr Yekiso said he also expected PAC member Gybon Mkula, 52, to be freed or charged on Tuesday.

Police had not told him whether they intended to extend his detention, Mr Yekiso said.

Meanwhile, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel refused Mr Yekiso permission on Friday to visit Khayelitsha school teacher Vuyo Tekani.

Mr Tekani is being held in East London for questioning, apparently in connection with the Highgate Hotel attack.

Torrid time in court for Biko interrogator

ARG 14/8/93

PAT CANDIDO
Weekend Argus Bureau

■ Intense questioning of a security police major — who has refused to answer certain questions — continues at an inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe and three others in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court.

PORT ELIZABETH. — A security policeman could not explain to the Goniwe inquest why he had never corrected the impression that a limpet mine had caused an explosion which killed three policemen and an informer in 1989.

Major Deon Niewoudt said he was first on the scene after an explosion had ripped apart a Jetta which the police had just delivered to the four men.

He was giving evidence before Mr Justice Zietsman, Judge President of the Eastern Cape, who is conducting the reopened inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

He said he assessed immediately that the damage had been caused by a bomb of 6kg or more.

Yet the magistrate, presiding over the inquest into the deaths of Amos Faku, Mblalala Ngoduka, Desmond Mapipa and informer Charles Jack, found that the men had died as a result of a limpet mine explosion.

Similar information had been supplied by the district surgeon.

In a report to his head office on damage to the vehicle, signed by Major Niewoudt, the blast was also attributed to a limpet mine.

Major Niewoudt said he signed the typed report without reading it, otherwise he would have corrected the information. He also said he made no effort to correct incorrect Press reports stating that the limpet mine had been placed by the ANC under the vehicle which exploded at the monument crossing on the Motherwell-Addo Road on December 15 1989.

Asked by Mr Justice Zietsman why he had never made any attempt, as an expert on explosives, to correct the general misconception that had even led the magistrate to make an incorrect finding, Major Niewoudt replied he must have made a mistake.

He flatly denied a statement by Mr George Bizos, SC, appearing for the families, that during the 1970s and 1980s the security police considered themselves above the law.

When asked by Mr Bizos whether he was aware that there was a provision in the emergency regulations indemnifying the police from civil actions, he said there was such a law but he always acted as far as possible within the law.

Major Niewoudt, who said he was an honourable policeman who maintained good relations with those he detained, admitted that he was in charge of a group of security policemen against whom former State doctor Wendy Orr and 42 state of emergency detainees obtained an interdict.

The inquest is hearing evidence on the 1989 bomb blast to determine if there is any connection with the deaths of the "Cradock Four" in 1985. Their badly burnt and bullet-ridden bodies were found near Blue Water Bay.

Legal representatives have alleged that the men in the car blast were either directly linked to the Goniwe killings or had information about them. Major Niewoudt vehemently denied he had detonated a radio controlled bomb, of about 12kg, which killed the occupants of the Jetta.

Major Deon Niewoudt

Mr Bizos said the Jetta had been taken to the four men because they had asked for a vehicle which was not known as a police vehicle in the townships. The four were supposed to keep watch on a suspected terrorist hiding in Motherwell.

Major Niewoudt said the car had been taken by Sergeant Gert Lotz six weeks earlier.

When he received information about the terrorist, he had contacted Sergeant Lotz and asked him to take the car to the monument crossing at Motherwell. This was about 9pm.

Mr Bizos said the sergeant was an explosives expert who had also served in the counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, in the former South West Africa.

Major Niewoudt said he had only later become an explosives expert.

Mr Bizos said the security police had plenty of time to plant a bomb in the Jetta.

If the ANC planted the bomb they would only have had three hours. They would not have known the car and the meeting arranged for Motherwell had been a sudden decision.

Mr Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, accused the police of the killings and staging a cover-up by blaming the ANC. He asked that a video taken by the police of the gruesome scenes after the blast be shown in court.

Major Niewoudt was one of the interrogators of the late Steve Biko. He refused to answer questions about Mr Biko because he might be incriminated.

The inquest continues on Monday.

NEWS

ANC could not have killed four, inquest hears

Star 17/8/93

'Only one knew about police car'

(327)

A SECURITY policeman concedes a bomb which killed three policemen and an informer could have been planted in their car boot.

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — There was no doubt that whoever planted a bomb in a car carrying three policemen and an informer in 1989 wanted to make sure no one survived, an advocate submitted in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday.

Anton Mostert, SC, who is representing the defence force at the Goniwe inquest, was cross-examining security policeman Major Deon Nieuwoudt who, after four days in the witness box, eventually conceded yesterday that the bomb could have been put in the car's boot or under the passenger seat.

At the inquest on the four men's deaths, it was found that a limpet mine had exploded. Reports later attributed responsibility to the ANC.

Allegations have been made in court that the car-bomb killings could be linked to the 1985 murders of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and three others.

The suggestions are that the four policemen, who were killed while on a surveillance operation ordered by Nieuwoudt, might have been involved in the Goniwe murders or might have had information about the killers' identities.

Mostert said that it was inconceivable that the ANC could have been responsible for the blast.

The Jetta used by the men was supposed to be a "secret car" and had been parked at the largest police station in Port Elizabeth.

He saidit was impossible for anyone other than Nieuwoudt to know that the car would be used.

Nieuwoudt had said he had decided at 9 pm on the night of the explosion to send the Jetta to the four men, who wanted an unknown car so they could watch a suspected terrorist.

Only police could have set car bomb — SADF advocate

ARGUS 17/8/93

(327)

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — If a bomb which killed four people had been placed in the boot of a car or under a passenger seat, it could have been put there only by thepolice, Anton Mostert SC said at the Goniwe inquest here today.

Mr Mostert, who is appearing for the Defence Force, was cross-examining Major Deon Nieuwoudt about the explosion which killed three policemen and an informer on the Motherwell-Addo Road on December 15, 1989.

Major Nieuwoudt agreed that to get into the car somebody would have needed a key. It was probable the police had a key.

Mr Mostert said that if the bomb was placed in the boot or under a passenger seat it could not possibly have been planted by the African National Congress.

All evidence indicated the bomb was not simply a limpet mine attached to the axle beam of the Jetta, as had been claimed.

Major Nieuwoudt said bombs and explosives were unpredictable and it was not always possible to establish what explosives had been used.

Cross-examined by Mike Hodgen, assistant Attorney-General, he said he was qualified in the destruction, use, identification and clearance of bombs, but did not regard himself as an expert.

He said he could not say why the Jetta, in which the four men had been blown up, appeared to have different registration numbers on different occasions.

On the night of the explosion the car had had a Transvaal registration plate, while on other occasions it had carried CB (Port Elizabeth) registration plates.

On December 14 he had gone home at 4pm and then at 8pm had gone to New Brighton to see an informer.

He later went to the New Brighton Police Station because he had been told there was a well-known terrorist in the area.

Though he had told his team to fetch Warrant Officer Mbalala Ngoduka, who had already gone off duty, he then decided to go to Warrant Officer Ngoduka's house personally because he did not know whether the warrant officer might be too tired to continue working.

Asked by Mr Hodgen why the Jetta had been left under trees across the road from the police station when there was undercover parking for the vehicle, he said he did not know.

(Proceeding).

Police car bomb 'not planted by ANC'

B/Day 17/8/93

PORT ELIZABETH — It was unlikely the ANC planted the car-bomb that killed three security policemen and an alleged police informer in December 1989, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Port Elizabeth Criminal Investigation Services chief and former security policeman Maj Deon Nieuwoudt, testifying at the Goniwe inquest, conceded during cross-examination by Defence Force senior counsel Anton Mostert that it would have been difficult for the ANC to plant a bomb in a car parked outside Louis le Grange police station.

Mostert has accused the security police, and Maj Nieuwoudt specifically, of planting the bomb in the police issue car which was used by the policemen on December 14 1989.

He has alleged that at least two of the policemen were threatening to make public their knowledge about police involvement in the 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists. (327)

While denying he was involved in the killing of the four policemen, Nieuwoudt, an explosives specialist, has admitted, among other things:

- ☐ He was only a few hundred metres from the car when the bomb went off, killing the four men
- ☐ He had access to explosives;
- ☐ The four men were investigating a matter under his command;
- ☐ He was the first person on the scene of the explosion and found a small alloy detonator he claims detonated the massive bomb;
- ☐ He was the one who suggested the deserted rendezvous on the road to Motherwell township where the explosion took place.
- ☐ He had suggested that the white Volkswagen Jetta in which the bomb was planted be used for the operation the men were to undertake.

Mostert has submitted it was unlikely the small alloy detonator could have survived the heat generated by the blast, and has said he believed a radio transmitter was used to detonate the explosion.

He doubted the small detonator, which showed no sign of heat damage, was found on the scene at all, he told the inquest. — Sapa.

uesday, August 17 1993 ★

'Unlikely' ANC blew up police car

CT 17/8/93

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — It was highly unlikely that the ANC could have planted a car bomb as alleged by police, the Goniwe inquest here heard yesterday.

Security policeman and explosives expert Major Deon Niewoudt gave evidence, under cross-examination, for the fourth consecutive day.

He admitted that after three security policemen and an informer had been blown up in a car after he had assigned them to find a terrorist in Motherwell township nothing more was done to trace the terrorist.

Counsel for the SADF Mr Anton Mostert, SC, has alleged that police, in particular Maj Nieuwoudt, planted the bomb that killed the men.

Maj Niewoudt agreed it was highly unlikely that the ANC could have planted the bomb while the police car was parked under bluegum trees in front of the Louis le Grange police headquarters in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Mostert and Mr George Bizos, SC, who is appearing for the Goniwe family, allege security police planted the bomb in the car and were trying to put the blame on to the ANC.

Mr Mostert has alleged the four men were threatening to make public their knowledge of police involvement in the 1985 murders of Cradock political activists Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, Mr Fort Calata and Mr Sparrow Mkonto, shortly before they themselves were killed.

The inquest continues today.

Inquest is told of 2nd police video

CT 18/8/93 (327)

Death car had false registration

PORT ELIZABETH. — The existence of another police video that may prove useful to the Goniwe inquest came to light yesterday.

Former security policeman Major Deon Nieuwoudt, who is testifying, mentioned it during cross-examination by the attorney-general Mr Michael Hodgen.

Mr Hodgen immediately instructed inquest investigators to obtain a copy.

The video has footage of a police reconstruction of the car in which four policemen were killed in a car-bomb blast in December 1989.

Mr Anton Mostert, senior counsel for the SA Defence Force, has alleged the police were responsible for both the June 1985 murder of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other activists and the December 1989 murder of four policemen.

He claims there is a link between the two incidents and that at least two of the policemen were threatening to make public their knowledge of police involvment in the Goniwe killings shortly before they themselves were killed.

A video made at the scene of the blast has already featured extensively in cross-examination of Maj Nieuwoudt, who is also an explosives expert.

Mr Hodgen said this video was also "coincidentally" discovered by investigators, even though Maj Nieuwoudt had seen it during consultations with his counsel.

It also emerged yesterday that the car in which the four policemen were killed apparently had false Port Elizabeth number plates at the time.

Mr Hodgen said the car was registered with a Transvaal number, but when used by a Constable Gill a few days earlier the police register showed it had a CB (Port Elizabeth) registration.

The CB number belonged to a car scrapped in 1987.

Maj Nieuwoudt said he had never used false number plates and did not know of cases in which police used false plates.

Major Nieuwoudt completed his evidence yesterday and Captain Gert Lotz, also of Louis le Grange police headquarters in Port Elizabeth, was called.

Capt Lotz said it was incorrect that he was regarded as being specifically on duty on the night of the car-bomb explosion.

He had been working late and it had been a coincidence that he had answered a telephone call from Major Nieuwoudt late that night and been asked to take a police vehicle to Motherwell.

It was therefore only by coincidence that he took the vehicle in which the four men died to Motherwell that night.

The hearing continues tomorrow. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Bombed police car had false number plates

Star 18/8/93

Port Elizabeth — The car in which four policemen were killed in a huge bomb blast in December 1989 had false Port Elizabeth registation plates attached to it at the time of the explosion, it emerged at the Goniwe inquest yesterday. (327)

The four policemen were issued with the car shortly before the bomb exploded, killing all four occupants.

According to deputy Eastern Cape Attorney-General Michael Hodgen, the car was registered as having a Transvaal number plate.

However, when used by a Constable Gill a few days before the explosion, the SAP car register showed it to have a Port Elizabeth registration plate, CB 217264.

According to an affidavit signed by a member of the traffic department, the PE registration plate belonged to a car scrapped in 1987.

The registration number was never officially allocated to another vehicle.

Former security policeman Major Deon Nieuwoudt said he had never used false registration plates, nor did he know of cases where police used false number plates.

It had earlier been established that the car in which Goniwe and the three other activists were travelling in on the day of their murder on June 27 1985 had the same false plates which had often appeared on parking tickets issued outside the headquarters of the security police in Port Elizabeth.

The hearing continues.

Inquest unearths police video

PORT ELIZABETH — Another police video that may prove useful to the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth was unearthed yesterday morning. B/Day

Senior counsel for the police, Dup de Bruyn, had failed to bring the video to the attention of the inquest. 18/8/93

But one of De Bruyn's clients, former security policeman Maj Deon Nieuwoudt who is testifying, mentioned it during cross-examination by Attorney-General Michael Hodgen.

Hodgen immediately instructed inquest investigators to obtain a copy.

The video has footage on a police reconstruction of the car in which four policemen were killed in a car-bomb blast in December 1989. (327)

Asked why he had failed to bring the video to the attention of the inquest investigators, De Bruyn said: "It has always been available at the police station. You musn't blame us if they do a bum job."

Senior counsel for the SADF Anton Mostert has alleged the police were responsible for the June 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists, as well as the December 1989 murder of the four policemen.

He claims there is a link between the two incidents and that at least two of the four policemen were threatening to make public their knowledge of police involvment in the Goniwe murders shortly before they themselves were killed .

A video filmed at the scene of the blast has already featured extensively in cross-examination of Nieuwoudt, an explosives expert.

Hodgen said the video had been also "coincidentally" discovered by investigators even though Nieuwoudt had seen the footage during consultations with his counsel. — Sapa.

Inquest told Gqozo linked to Sebe death

B/Day 18/8/93

BISHO — Ciskeian military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo should be held accountable for the deaths of Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana in January 1991, legal counsel representing the men's families said yesterday.

Marumo Moerane, representing the Sebe family, argued before the Sebe-Guzana inquest that all evidence given by police and soldiers showed the instruction given by Gqozo that Sebe was not needed in the Ciskei, dead or alive, had been carried out.

Moerane said this evidence was corroborated in all press interviews Gqozo gave after the shooting.

Deva Pillay, representing the Guzana family, said evidence given by Gqozo was a fabrication and should be rejected by the inquest court.

The hearing is scheduled to continue. — Sapa.

Cont on Page 1

PW 'had interest' in Goniwe

(327)

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Former president Mr P W Botha took a personal interest in the activities of Mr Matthew Goniwe, who was regarded as a public "enemy" by the government, the Supreme Court here heard yesterday.

Retired EP Command staff officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis, who was granted indemnity on his testimony, was giving evidence in the Goniwe inquest.

Col Du Plessis started what is expected to be a long session of testimony that will throw light on the mysterious death of Cradock teacher Mr Goniwe and three other UDF activists in 1985.

Col Du Plessis also repeated his contention that the phrase about Mr Goniwe's "permanent removal from society", contained in an alleged military signal he sent on instructions from his commanding officer, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, to the State Security Council in Pretoria, meant that Mr Goniwe "was to be killed".

"Mr Goniwe was regarded by State President P W Botha and several cabinet ministers as a leading figure — and the Eastern Cape, particularly Port Elizabeth, the revolutionary flashpoint in South Africa."

All activists were regarded "as enemies".

"There was terrific pressure from the politicians, from cabinet ministers, among them Mr Adriaan Vlok, constantly coming here, visiting us even at 11 o'clock and 12 o'clock at night, on the EP Joint Management Centre (JMC) to defuse the situation."

Also at the inquest yesterday documentation on the SADF's alleged top secret Operation Katzen to overthrow the Ciskei government and create a surrogate Xhosa state was ruled admissible by Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman.

The inquest continues today. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Star 19/8/93

Key Goniwe witness set to take the stand

(327)

Port Elizabeth — The attention of the Goniwe inquest is to swing back to the South African Defence Force when a key witness, Colonel Lourens du Plessis, takes the witness stand.

Du Plessis has already said in an affidavit before the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court that the military signal recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe and three other eastern Cape activists was a suggestion that they should be killed.

Du Plessis alleged that Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen, then head of Eastern Province Command, had ordered him to send the signal to the State Security Council on June 7 1985.

Ten days later, Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto were murdered while on their way to Cradock after attending a United Democratic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth.

Du Plessis is expected to testify either on Thursday or on Friday.

Yesterday the inquest heard further testimony on the use of false car number plates by police on a vehicle in which three security policemen and an informer were killed in 1989.

They died while on an assignment when a bomb exploded in their vehicle.

The inquest heard that the Jetta motor vehicle in which the four men were killed, allegedly by the police, had on no fewer than 12 occasions been ticketed between January 1988 and March 17 1990. The court heard that the Jetta was found to have had false number plates.

In an earlier submission to the court, counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert, SC, alleged that security policeman and bomb expert Major Deon Niewoudt had activated a powerful bomb in the car, killing the four.

Mostert suggested that this was because at least two of the four men were poised to give the ANC information on possible police complicity in the Goniwe murders.

The hearing continues. — Sapa, Ecna.

Tickets issued on killer car 'withdrawn'

ARG 19/8/93, 327

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — False number plates were used by the security police in the 1980s and tickets for traffic violations by their drivers were withdrawn, the Goniwe inquest has heard.

According to a statement by a traffic department employee, 12 parking tickets were issued on CB 217 624 between January 1988 and March 1990 and all had been withdrawn.

The number plate was used on the Jetta in which four people died when it was blown to pieces on the Addo-Motherwell road on December 15, 1989.

Head of the security police intelligence section Colonel Cornelius Roelofse said although it was possible that false number plates were used — it was done throughout the world — he had never personally used them and could not say he would have sanctioned their use.

It was possible the number plates could be transferred from one vehicle to another.

The number plate used on the Jetta belonged to a car scrapped by its owner in 1987.

He said he could not explain discrepancies between his and Captain Gert Lotz's evidence.

Captain Lotz said he was not on duty but at Louis le Grange Square police station catching up on paperwork when he a took a call from Major Deon Nieuwoudt at 11.30pm on December 14 1989.

Major Nieuwoudt asked him to bring the Jetta he had used earlier that day to a rendezvous near Motherwell.

Colonel Roelofse said as far as he knew, and his record showed, Captain Lotz was on duty. So were several black policemen.

Mr George Bizos, SC, for the families of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto, said the Jetta had been correctly registered yet false number plates were used.

Colonel Roelofse said he did not know about that.

Goniwe: Police colonel contradicts widow

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Security policeman Lieutenant-Colonel Cornelius Roelofse failed in the Supreme Court here to explain why his evidence contradicted an affidavit, handed in shortly after he entered the witness box, by the widow of one of his own men.

"I can't stand in for what the widow says," Colonel Roelofse said in the reopened Goniwe inquest.

Mr George Bizos, SC, who is appearing for the Goniwe family, said it was evident from the affidavit by the widow of security policeman Mr Ngoduka that on the night of December 14, 1984, Mr Ngoduka was at home and did not regard himself as being on duty, as Colonel Roelofse had said in his affidavit.

"Mr Ngoduka was on duty," Colonel Roelofse said.

He said earlier in his evidence that one of his subordinates, Major Deon Nieuwoudt, was "in a badly shocked state" after three of his colleagues, including Mr Ngoduka, and an informer were killed in a car-bomb explosion on the Motherwell-Addo road on the night of December 14.

Major Nieuwoudt was "pacing to and fro" at the scene of the blast when he, Colonel Roelofse, got there, and was "not the man I was accustomed to seeing".

In further evidence Colonel Roelofse said he had never given permission for any of his men to use false number-plates on police cars.

Asked by Mr Bizos if any of his subordinate officers could have asked for permission to use such plates from an officer senior to himself, Colonel Roelofse said this was unlikely.

Such a senior officer would have been Brigadier Gilbert, he said.

Colonel Roelofse smiled when Mr Bizos said: "Good. We will arrange for him (Brigadier Gilbert) to be asked."

Colonel Roelofse said Brigadier Gilbert was dead.

The inquest continues today.

CT 19/8/93

Dismay at Goniwe inquest

B/Day 14/9/93

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Murmurs of dismay broke out in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court when a Cradock businessman was quoted as saying that "the only solution" to unrest was to "put Matthew Goniwe against a wall and shoot him".

Former Cradock Command head Cmdt Gerhardus Botha Marais was in the witness box yesterday during the Goniwe inquest. Questioning him about the attitude of Cradock's white business community in 1985, advocate Glen Goosen, appearing for retired SADF Col Lourens du Plessis, quoted a report in the publication Die Zuid Afikaan in which an unnamed businessman recommended that Goniwe and other political activists be shot.

Goosen asked Marais if "this was the attitude of the white business community to Goniwe". Marais replied that "such a proposal was never made to me".

Sapa reports that Marais admitted to being involved in covert operations in the '80s, but refused to give details. He also refused to give evidence on "Operation Katzen", an SADF plan to depose former Ciskei President Lennox Sebe.

Marais conceded that it was possible that security force elements could have killed Goniwe and three other Cradock activists, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, in June 1985.

Circumstances surrounding the murders were such that they could be interpreted as "covert action", he said. While it was unlikely that Azapo members had executed the murders, this could not be excluded as a possibility, he added. (327)

Marais denied that the security forces in Cradock had planned the murders.

Death toll on the East Rand rises to 28

THE death toll in the East Rand townships since Friday rose to 28 yesterday when a man was stabbed to death at a taxi rank near Katlehong. B/Day

This was reported shortly after police said they had found 12 bodies in Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus on Sunday.

Police said they were investigating the possibility of a taxi feud after finding a body at the taxi rank.

More than 1 000 people have died in political violence in East Rand townships since negotiators set a date for the elections in July.

Saboteurs also caused damage worth R1000 000 at the Bedworth Park electricity substation between Sharpeville and Vereeniging yesterday. Police said commercial explosives were used, but no one had been injured. 14/9/93

A man claiming to be Azanian National Liberation Army field commander Smiley Jones phoned Sapa claiming responsibility.

In Durban it was reported at least nine people had been killed in violence in Umlazi, bringing the weekend toll in Natal to more than 22, KwaZulu Police said yesterday.

In the Natal Midlands, Estcourt's Wembezi township was tense after two weekend killings. — Sapa (278)

Dismay at Goniwe inquest

B/Day 14/9/93

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Marais conceded that it was possible that security force elements could have killed Goniwe and three other Cradock activists, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, in June 1985.

Circumstances surrounding the murders were such that they could be interpreted as "covert action", he said. While it was unlikely that Azapo members had executed the murders, this could not be excluded as a possibility, he added. (327)

Marais denied that the security forces in Cradock had planned the murders.

Taxi blockade brings towns to a standstill

THEO RAWANA

TOWNS in the Border region came to a standstill yesterday as thousands of taxis blockaded petrol stations and depots in protest against the fuel price increase.

Motorists were unable to get petrol in King William's Town, East London, Queenstown, Aliwal North and Stutterheim as taximen stopped filling stations and fuel depots from supplying petrol to vehicles.

Shots were fired at a Stutterheim service station in the afternoon. No one was injured but a minibus taxi parked on the premises was damaged, Sapa reports. B/Day

Taxi industry sources feared the protest could spread to the big cities.

ANC Border region media officer Mcebisi Bata said after a meeting with the ANC, the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), the action was reduced to a selective blockade in which petrol stations were allowed to supply fuel to essential services vehicles, such as ambulances.

Bata said taxi organisations in the region took the decision to blockade filling stations on Friday.

Army spokesman Col Herman Boshoff said about 600 minibus taxis blocked access to BP, Engen and Total fuel depots in East London. The army had not taken any action and was trying to negotiate a settlement.

"But if the blockade continues, we will have to use force," he said.

Bata said the ANC alliance supported the right of people to protest. "We are concerned at the hike and believe the demands of the taximen are legitimate." He said the alliance's concern was to minimise the effects of the blockade on the people.

National African Federated Transport Organisation secretary Ntise Matlhoko said his organisation had warned government the increase could cause violence in the taxi industry. 14/9/93

Mineral and Energy Affairs Ministry media spokesman Carel du Tois said the price increase would go ahead at midnight tonight.

Border Chamber of Commerce spokesman Errol Spring said business was badly affected. People arrived late for work because of lack of transport.

Cape Town bus company Golden Arrow announced it would not increase commuter fares as a result of diesel price hike.

Reuter reports that Mercedes-Benz of SA halted production yesterday after the taxi drivers blockaded oil companies near its East London plant. It was hoped production would resume tomorrow.

● Comment: Page 10

Hope fades for m

Colonel showed 'anxiety' after death of Goniwe

ARG 15/9/93

(327)

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Goniwe inquest took a dramatic turn today when a former security policeman told of great anxiety shown by the head of the security police in Cradock, Colonel Eric Winter, the day after Matthew Goniwe's death.

Fred Zilindile Koni said he was a sergeant in the police security branch based in Cradock from 1978. He left the force in 1991.

He said that over a period of about six months before the deaths of Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto, four policemen arrived in Cradock from Namibia.

They were Colonel Winter, Sergeant George Lorentz, a Sergeant Roux and a Warrant Officer Hough. All were former members of Koevoet.

He said the Cradock security branch was reponsible for Cradock, Adelaide, Bedford, Somerset East and Cookhouse.

Sergeant Koni said it was his job to monitor telephone calls and letters between activists.

The technician who tapped telephones was a security policeman from Port Elizabeth called Hattingh, who would disguise himself as a post office worker.

Mr Goniwe was regarded by the Cradock security police as their biggest security problem and was often referred to as a terrorist.

His file was at least six volumes.

He said Mr Goniwe was under surveillance almost constantly, mainly through informers and handlers.

If he went anywhere, every effort would be made to have him followed.

There was also a bug in his house.

Sergeant Koni said that at the beginning of June 1985 Colonel Winter instructed everybody to intensify the monitoring of Mr Goniwe.

Sergeant Koni said it was practice to inform Port Elizabeth if Mr Goniwe was going there.

On June 27 1985 Derek Swarts telephoned Mr Goniwe about a meeting.

Sergeant Koni said the information was on a tape.

He said he transcribed the tape and reported the conversation to Colonel Winter, who made a call.

Soon after Colonel Winter, Warrant Officer Hough and a Sergeant Labuschagne left Cradock and he did not see them until the next morning.

On June 28 the three returned. Colonel Winter was unusually anxious about what had been heard on the telephone tap at Mr Goniwe's house.

That day Colonel Winter "came to me repeatedly during the morning" to inquire about what I had heard.

"He came to my office about every 10 minutes. That was most unusual and is the reason for my saying he was anxious."

He later had a telephone call from Warrant Officer Fanie Els of the murder and robbery unit in Port Elizabeth who asked Sergeant Koni if he knew who in Cradock owned a Honda car.

"I told him the only Honda I knew belonged to Mr Goniwe."

Warrant Office Els told him the car had been found burnt out.

He said he reported this conversation to Colonel Winter, who went into his office. He emerged an hour later and said: "Azapo got them."

Sergeant Koni said security policemen from Port Elizabeth used to visit Cradock regularly.

He remembered specifically a conversation with a Sergeant Faku who had said the only solution to the security problem would be to kill Mr Goniwe and others like him.

(Sergeant Faku was one of the policemen who died in a bomb blast at Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in 1989, and it has been alleged he, two colleagues and an informer were killed because they might have known something about the Goniwe killings.)

Sergeant Koni said: "The Cradock branch of the security police held regular Monday morning meetings. Colonel Winter regularly exhorted us to obtain sufficient evidence to secure a conviction against Mr Goniwe, and a long-term jail sentence."

(Proceeding)

Goniwe inquest told of roadblock

PORT ELIZABETH. — There was a security force roadblock on the freeway near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on the night Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other activists were brutally murdered nearby, the Goniwe inquest here heard from two witnesses yesterday.

Somerset East farmer Ms Barbara Butters and her driver Mr Ntonti Vusani said they came across the roadblock when they drove to Port Elizabeth to deliver farm produce on June 27, 1985.

While roadblocks were not unusual in the Eastern Cape, it stood out in her memory as the biggest she had ever seen, said Mrs Butters.

She said she recalled the date she saw the roadblock as June 27, 1985 because she later linked it to the disappearance and murder of the four United Democratic Front activists.

The mutilated bodies of the Cradock four as well as Mr Goniwe's burnt-out car were found near Bluewater Bay.

Mrs Butters said she had visited the late Bishop Bruce Evans and told him her "thoughts" on the matter.

Police denied there was a roadblock near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on June 27, but said there was one there the week before, on June 20.

Mrs Butters denied she had mixed up the dates. CT 15/9/93

Asked by senior counsel for the defence force, Mr Anton Mostert, why she had not reported her suspicions to the police, Mrs Butters said she had not wanted to get involved.

At one point Mr Mostert accused Mrs Butters of "looking to a cleric" in the public gallery for guidance before answering his questions. (327)

Mr Vusani said he had never seen a roadblock near Bluewater Bay before and he remembered it was on the day that Mr Goniwe was reported missing.

The inquest continues. — Sapa

Cradock widows sue for R1,6m: Govt to defend

PORT ELIZABETH. — The government will defend in court civil claims amounting to R1,6 million instituted against it by the widows of the four Cradock activists who were brutally slain in 1985.

State advocate Mr Johan Coetzee said yesterday he had been instructed to defend the claims and would file notice to this effect with the Grahamstown Supreme Court next week.

Mrs Nyameka Goniwe, Mrs Nonbuyiselo Mhlauli, Mrs Nomonde Calata and Mrs Sindiswa Mkonto are suing the government for the deaths of their husbands in 1985.

The Legal Resources Centre (LRC) in Grahamstown has instituted a civil claim against Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel and Minister of Defence Mr Kobie Coetsee on behalf of the widows. — Sapa

'Linked' to murder of activists

Inquest hears about roadblock

Star 15/9/93

(327)

WOMAN witness tells Goniwe inquest a security force Bluewater Bay roadblock was biggest she had ever seen

Port Elizabeth — There was a security force roadblock on the freeway near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on the night Matthew Goniwe and three other activists were brutally murdered nearby, the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth heard from two witnesses yesterday.

Somerset East farmer Barbara Butters and her driver, Ntonti Vusani, said they came across the roadblock when they drove to Port Elizabeth to deliver farm produce on Thursday, June 27 1985.

Memory

While roadblocks were not unusual in the Eastern Cape, it stood out in her memory as the biggest she had ever seen, said Butters.

She said she recalled the date she saw the roadblock as June 27 1985 because she later linked it to the disappearance and murder of the four United Democratic Front activists.

The mutilated bodies of the Cradock four as well as Goniwe's burnt-out car were found near Bluewater Bay.

Butters said that on the following Tuesday she read a newspaper report about the car and a body being found at Bluewater Bay.

She visited the late Bishop Bruce Evans and told him her "thoughts" on the matter, she said.

Police denied there was a roadblock near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on June 27, but said there was one there the week before, on June 20.

Butters denied she had mixed up the dates, adding that she was convinced the roadblock was on the day the four activists were reported to have disappeared.

Legal counsel for the South African Police, Dup du Bruyn, submitted there was no roadblock on June 27 and that Butters had made a mistake.

Butters: "I can't accept that."

Asked by senior counsel for the South African Defence Force, Anton Mostert, why she had not reported her suspicions to the police, Butters said she had not wanted to get involved.

At one point Mostert accused Butters of "looking to a cleric" in the public gallery for guidance while answering his questions.

"Tell me, Mrs Butters, is this the Bishop Evans to whom you keep referring?"

Butters: "Bishop Evans died two weeks ago.

Funeral

"I know because I went to his funeral."

Mr Justice Neville Zietsman told Mostert the cleric had at no stage attempted to give any assitance to Butters.

Vusani also denied seeing the roadblock on June 20, and not on June 27.

He said he had never seen a roadblock near Bluewater Bay before and he remembered it was on the day that Goniwe was reported missing.

The inquest continues. — Sapa.

DAY, Wednesday, September 15 1993

Goniwe inquest told of roadblock

B/Day 15/9/93

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"I cannot accept that," Butter said.

Asked by senior counsel for the SADF Anton Mostert why she had not reported her suspicions to the police, Butters said she had not wanted to get involved.

At one point Mostert accused Butters of "looking to a cleric" in the public gallery for guidance while answering questions he put to her. Mostert asked: "Tell me, Mrs Butters, is this the Bishop Evans to whom you keep referring?" (827)

"Bishop Evans died two weeks ago. I know, because I went to his funeral." she answered.

Judge Neville Zietsman told Mostert the cleric had at no stage attempted to give any assistance to Butters.

Vusani also denied that the roadblock had been on June 20, saying it had been on June 27.

He said he had never seen a roadblock near Bluewater Bay before and he remembered it was on the day that Goniwe was reported missing.

☐ Government will defend in court civil claims amounting to R1,6m instituted against it by the widows of the four slain Cradock activists.

State advocate Johan Coetzee said yesterday he had been instructed to defend the claims and would file notice to this effect with the Grahamstown Supreme Court next week.

Nyameka Goniwe, Nonbuyiselo Mhlauli, Nomonde Calata and Sindiswa Mkonto are suing government for R1,6m.

Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkonto were murdered in June 1985. — Sapa.

Sheila Sisulu

Goniwe inquest told of roadblock

B/Day 15/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH — There was a security force roadblock on the freeway near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on the night Matthew Goniwe and three other activists were murdered nearby, the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth was told by two witnesses yesterday.

Somerset East farmer Barbara Butters and her driver Ntonti Vusani said they came across the roadblock when they drove to Port Elizabeth to deliver farm produce on Thursday, June 27 1985.

While roadblocks were not unusual in the eastern Cape, it stood out in her memory as the biggest she had ever seen, said Butters. She recalled the date she saw the roadblock as June 27 1985 because she later linked it to the disappearance and murder of the four United Democratic Front campaigners.

The mutilated bodies of the Cradock four, as well as Goniwe's burnt-out car, were found near Bluewater Bay.

Butters said that on the following Tuesday she read a newspaper report about the car and a body being found at Bluewater Bay. She visited the late Bishop Bruce Evans and told him her "thoughts" on the matter, she said.

Police denied there was a roadblock near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on June 27, but said there was one there the week before, on June 20.

Butters denied she had mixed up the dates, adding she was convinced the roadblock was on the day the four activists were reported to have disappeared.

SAP counsel Dup du Bruyn submitted there was no roadblock on June 27 and that Butters had made a mistake.

"I cannot accept that," Butter said.

Asked by senior counsel for the SADF Anton Mostert why she had not reported her suspicions to the police, Butters said she had not wanted to get involved.

At one point Mostert accused Butters of "looking to a cleric" in the public gallery for guidance while answering questions he put to her. Mostert asked: "Tell me, Mrs Butters, is this the Bishop Evans to whom you keep referring?" (827)

"Bishop Evans died two weeks ago. I know, because I went to his funeral." she answered.

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Vusani also denied that the roadblock had been on June 20, saying it had been on June 27.

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Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkonto were murdered in June 1985. — Sapa.

NEWS Farmer recalls 'biggest' police barrier ● Michael Jackson reschedules bookings

SPLASH ... Which colour to use, was the question asked by these two boys during the Readathon Day at the Johannesburg College of Education. More than 3 000 children from the Reef attended the event and drew what is believed to be the biggest mural in the world. PIC: CLINTON ASARY

Natal murder toll rises to 25

Sowetan 15/9/93

THREE people were murdered in Natal in the past 24 hours, raising the recorded toll in the province since Friday to 25, KwaZulu Police said yesterday.

The homeland police have arrested four suspects in connection with murder. The KZP said the body of Mr Nkosifikile Ningi (28) was found with stab wounds in Umlazi, south of Durban, early yesterday, bringing to 10 the number of people murdered in the township since last Friday.

The body of an unidentified youth was found with gunshot wounds in KwaMashu, north of Durban, on Monday.

At the weekend, Mr Sabelo Gina (24) was shot dead in the Masomonco area in Mandeni, Northern Natal, and his companion, Mr Thembinkosi Msweli, was seriously wounded in an attack by three gunmen. The motive for the attack is not known.

A South African Police constable is fighting for his life after attackers burst into his house in KwaNdengezi, near Pinetown, on Monday night and shot him. - *Sapa.*

Inquest told of roadblock

Sowetan 15/9/93

THERE was a security force roadblock on the freeway near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on the night Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other activists were murdered nearby, the Goniwe inquest was told yesterday. (327)

Somerset East farmer Mrs Barbara Butters and her driver Mr Ntonti Vusani told the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court they came across the roadblock when they drove to the city to deliver farm produce on June 27 1985.

While roadblocks were not unusual in the Eastern Cape, it stood out in her memory as the biggest she had ever seen, said Butters.

She said she recalled the date as June 27 1985 because she later linked it to the disappearance and murder of the four United Democratic Front activists.

The mutilated bodies of the Cradock four as well as Goniwe's burnt-out car were found near Bluewater Bay.

Butters said she later read about the car and a body being found at Bluewater Bay.

She visited the late Bishop Bruce Evans and told him her "thoughts" on the matter, she said.

Police denied there was a roadblock near the Bluewater Bay off-ramp on June 27 1985, but said there was one there the week before on June 20.

Butters denied she had mixed up the dates, adding she was convinced the roadblock was on the day the four activists were reported to have disappeared.

Counsel for the South African Police, Mr "Dup" du Bruyn, submitted there was no roadblock on June 27 and that Butters had made a mistake.

Butters: "I can't accept that."

Asked by senior counsel for the South African Defence Force, Mr Anton Mostert, why she had not reported her suspicions to the police, Butters said she had not wanted to get involved. — *Sapa.*

Goniwe 'was being followed, tapped'

CT 16/9/93 (327)

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police had intensified their surveillance of Mr Matthew Goniwe and if normal tailing procedures had been adhered to on the night of his murder police should have known who killed him, the inquest heard yesterday.

Mr Fred Koni, who was a sergeant in the Cradock security branch in 1985, said the former head of the Cradock police security branch, Col Eric Winter, had ordered at the beginning of June that monitoring of Mr Goniwe be intensified.

Mr Koni said on June 27, the day Mr Goniwe and three other activists were murdered, Col Winter and two other security branch officers had left the Cradock office in the morning and only returned the following day.

Mr Koni said he had personally handed Col Winter a transcript of a telephone call between Mr Goniwe and another activist, Mr Derek Swarts, on June 24 in which mention was made of the fact that Mr Goniwe would travel to Port Elizabeth on June 27.

On June 28 Col Winter had been "unusually anxious" and constantly asked what had been heard on the telephone tap at Mr Goniwe's house.

Mr Koni monitored and transcribed telephone calls between activists.

"Col Winter came to my office every 10 minutes to ask what I had heard."

During the day another activist, Mr Gladwell Makaula, telephoned Mrs Nyameka Goniwe to ask whether Mr Goniwe had returned home.

Later Warrant Officer Fanie Els telephoned Mrs Goniwe to tell her that her husband's burnt-out car had been found near Bluewater Bay.

Mr Koni said he reported both calls to Col Winter and about an hour later Col Winter emerged from his office and told him that "Azapo got them", meaning Azapo had killed Mr Goniwe and the other three activists.

Mr Koni said Mr Goniwe was under constant surveillance through telephone taps, a bugging device known as a "tamatie" which had been planted in his home, and through a system of informers, field workers and handlers who followed him everywhere.

Bugging denied

He confirmed during cross-examination by senior counsel for the Goniwe family, Mr George Bizos, that if normal procedures had been followed Mr Goniwe would have been trailed to and from Port Elizabeth on June 27.

Mr Bizos: "So, the person following Mr Goniwe should have known who the killers were."

Mr Koni: "The policeman following him should have known."

Earlier Col Winter had denied there was a "tamatie" in Mr Goniwe's home.

Mr Koni said he decided to testify when he heard that President F W de Klerk had called on people with information to come forward.

The hearing continues. — Sapa

Security police 'often posed as businessmen'

ARG 16/9/93

□ Goniwe inquest told of 'total cover'

(327)

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Security policemen who had "total cover" often posed as businessmen in the community, a retired security policeman told the Goniwe inquest here today.

Fred Koni was produced as a surprise witness by George Bizos SC, counsel for the families of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Known as the Cradock Four, their bodies were found near Blue Water Bay on June 27 1985.

Sergeant Koni was being cross-examined by J P de Bruyn, for the South African Police, on the difference between informers and handlers.

Sergeant Koni said handlers were usually security policemen.

Sometimes they had "total cover" and worked as businessmen. No one knew they were actually policemen.

They usually had informers whose identities were protected and who reported only to them.

He said he did not know how many policemen had total cover.

Asked by Mr De Bruyn why he happened to have such a good memory, Sergeant Koni replied: "I agree I have a good memory. If something happens to make you remember, then you can remember."

Asked about the taps and bugs on activists, he said a Mr Hattingh, a security policeman from Port Elizabeth, would come to the Cradock office and ask which phones had to be tapped.

Once he had a list he would put on his jacket, which was similar to those worn by post office staff, and then go out.

When he returned he would tell them that the tap was operational.

Asked about "A files", which were opened for people considered top security risks, Sergeant Koni said he could not recall how many there were but it could have been about 80.

He said he had worked in the office and did not know the different informers.

He had no knowledge how many "tamaties" — listening devices — had been placed in the home of Mr Goniwe.

But when he listened to the recordings, he could hear a spirit stove being used in the kitchen.

A "tamatie" recorded everything for a period of 24 hours.

Sergeant Koni said he did not know how many police vehicles there were in Cradock but he knew Major Eric Winter had a blue Ford Sierra.

He said when Colonel Winter, Sergeant Chris Labuschagne and a Warrant Officer Hough had left the office on June 27, he did not "peep outside" to see which car they had left in.

Asked by Mr De Bruyn why he had suddenly decided to give evidence, he said he had first been approached by members of the team representing the families in August last year.

However, he had had to travel to Botswana and had been busy with his "own thing".

At a later stage, he had again been approached by Clive Plaskett of the Legal Resources Centre.

He had decided to give evidence because the State President and the Judge President of the Eastern Cape had appealed to people to come forward with the whole truth.

The inquest has been adjourned until Monday.

Watch stepped up, inquest told

Colonel 'knew Goniwe's moves'

Star 16/9/93

CRADOCK'S security police chief was aware of Matthew Goniwe's travel plans the day he was murdered, a witness testifies

327

Port Elizabeth — Police intensified their surveillance of United Democratic Front activist Matthew Goniwe shortly before he was murdered in 1985, a former Cradock security policeman told the Goniwe inquest yesterday.

And if normal tailing procedures had been adhered to on the night of his murder, police should have known who had killed him, said Fred Koni, a sergeant at the Cradock Security Branch in 1985.

He said former Cradock Security Branch head Colonel Eric Winter ordered at the beginning of June that police monitoring of Goniwe be intensified.

Koni said Winter and two other Security Branch officers left the Cradock office on the morning of June 27 — the day Goniwe and three other activists were murdered — and returned only the following day.

Winter did not tell Koni where he was going and left no contact number, which was unusual.

Koni said Winter was aware that Goniwe was going to Port Elizabeth on June 27.

Winter gave Koni a transcript of a telephone call between Goniwe and another activist, Derek Swarts, on June 24 in which it was mentioned that Goniwe would travel to Port Elizabeth on June 27, instead of a day earlier as planned.

He said Winter was "unusually anxious" when he returned to the office on June 28 and constantly asked about what had been heard on the telephone tap at Goniwe's house.

Koni said he and another policemen, Boyce Msoki, were in charge of monitoring and transcribing telephone calls between activists.

During the day another activist, Gladwell Makaula, telephoned Goniwe's wife, Nyameka, to ask whether Goniwe had returned home.

'Tamatie'

Later Warrant-Officer Fanie Els telephoned Mrs Goniwe to tell her that her husband's burnt-out car had been found near Bluewater Bay.

Koni said he had reported both calls to Winter.

About an hour later Winter emerged from his office and told Koni that "Azapo got them", meaning that the Azanian People's Organisation had killed Goniwe and the three other activists.

Koni said Azapo was not active in Cradock in 1985.

Koni said Goniwe was under constant surveillance through telephone taps, a bugging device known as a "tamatie" which had been planted in his home, and through a system of informers, field workers and handlers who followed him wherever he went.

He confirmed during cross-examination by George Bizos, senior counsel for the Goniwe family, that if normal procedures had been followed Goniwe would have been trailed to and from Port Elizabeth on June 27.

Bizos: "So, the person following Mr Goniwe should have known who the killers were."

Koni: "The policeman following him should have known who killed him if he had done his job."

Testifying earlier this year, Winter said he was unable to recall his whereabouts on June 27, but he thought he had been in Cradock.

He also denied that there was a functioning "tamatie" in Goniwe's home.

Other police witnesses have also denied that the police had the manpower to keep Goniwe under constant surveillance.

Koni said he decided to testify when he heard that President de Klerk had called on people with information relevant to the inquest to come forward.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa.

Students win council fight

B/Day

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A 25-year student fight for formal representation on the University of Cape Town's council and senate was vindicated yesterday when a private member's Bill was tabled in Parliament providing for a student say.

The University of Cape Town (Private) Amendment Bill provides for two students, chosen by the Students' Representative Council, to become members of the council and five, also chosen by the SRC, to sit on the senate. 16/9/93

The size of the council is also to be increased by two to broaden its membership.

UCT's senate now consists of more than 200 members and, according to a memorandum attached to the Bill, the five student members would participate fully in certain senate business. However, they would be excluded from business dealing with individual staff and examination results.

Although UCT is nonracial, the Bill will be debated in the all-white House of Assembly because it and the other so-called white universities are still funded through the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly.

Goniwe tail 'should have seen killers'

B/Day 16/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH — Police intensified their surveillance of United Democratic Front campaigner Matthew Goniwe shortly before he was murdered in June 1985, and if normal tailing procedures had been adhered to on the night of his death police should have known who had killed him, a former security policeman said yesterday.

(327)

Fred Koni, a sergeant at the Cradock Security Branch in 1985, told the Goniwe inquest yesterday that at the beginning of June former Cradock Security Branch head Col Eric Winter ordered that police monitoring of Goniwe be intensified.

Koni alleged that on June 27, the day Goniwe and three other campaigners were murdered, Winter and two other Security Branch officers left the Cradock office in the morning and returned only on the following day.

Winter did not tell Koni where he was going and left no contact number, which was very unusual, he said.

Koni said Winter was aware that Goniwe would travel to Port Elizabeth on June 27 because he personally handed him a transcript of a tapped telephone call between Goniwe and another campaigner, Derek Swarts, on June 24 in which it was mentioned that Goniwe would make the trip on June 27, instead of on June 26 as planned.

He said that on June 28 Winter was "unusually anxious" when he returned to the office and constantly asked about what had been heard on the telephone tap at Goniwe's house.

Koni said he and another policemen, Boyce Msoki, were in charge of monitoring and transcribing telephone calls between campaigners.

During the day another campaigner, Gladwell Makaula, telephoned Nyameka Goniwe to ask whether Goniwe had returned home. Later W/O Fanie Els telephoned Nyameka Goniwe to tell her that her husband's burnt-out car had been found near Bluewater Bay.

Koni said he reported both calls to Winter and about an hour later Winter told him that "Azapo got them", meaning that the Azanian People's Organisation had killed Goniwe and the three others.

Koni said Azapo was not active in Cradock in 1985.

Koni has testified that Goniwe was under constant surveillance through telephone taps, a bugging device known as a "tamatie" which had been planted in his home, and through a system of informers, field workers and handlers who followed him wherever he went.

He confirmed during cross-examination by counsel for the Goniwe family, George Bizos, that if normal procedures had been followed Goniwe would have been trailed to and from Port Elizabeth on June 27.

Bizos: "So, the person following Goniwe should have known who the killers were."

Koni: "The policeman following him should have known who killed him if he had done his job."

Koni said police vehicles would follow Goniwe in relays to prevent him realising he was being followed. — Sapa.

HUNT LASCARIS TBWA 308063

Thursday September 16 1993 SOWETAN

Cops tracked Goniwe

Sowetan 16/9/93

POLICE intensified their surveillance of United Democratic Front activist Mr Matthew Goniwe shortly before he was brutally murdered in June 1985.

If normal tailing procedures had been adhered to on the night of his murder, police should have known who had killed him.

This was said by Mr Fred Koni, a former Cradock security policeman, during the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

Koni, a sergeant in the Cradock Security Branch in 1985, said former head of the Cradock Security Branch Colonel Eric Winter ordered at the beginning of June that police monitoring of Goniwe should be intensified.

Koni alleged that on June 27, the day Goniwe and three other activists were brutally murdered, Winter and two other Security Branch officers left the Cradock office in the morning and returned only on the following day.

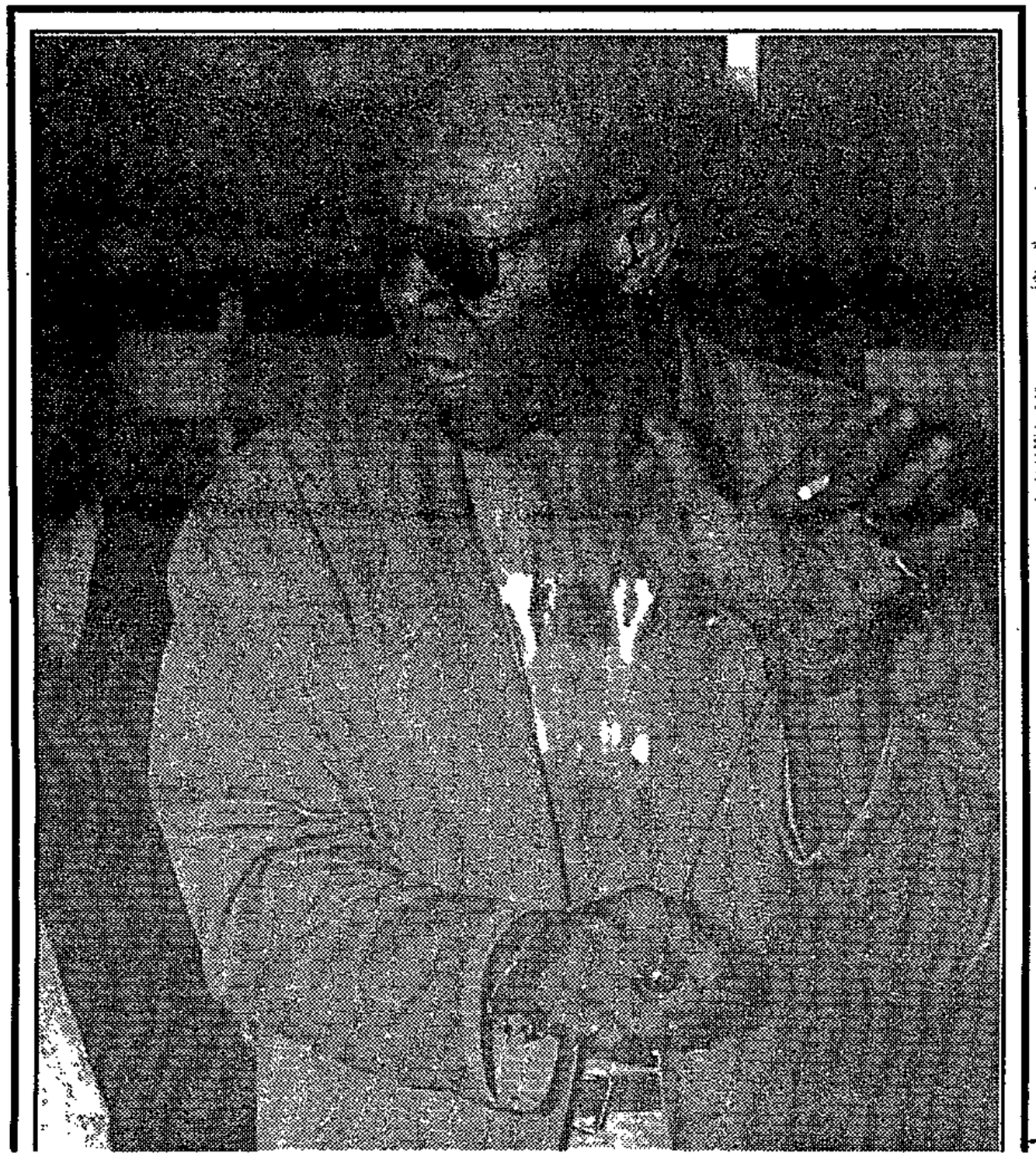
Winter did not tell Koni where he was going and left no contact number, which was very unusual.

(327)

Koni said Winter was aware that Goniwe was going to Port Elizabeth on June 27 because he personally handed him a transcript of a telephone call between Goniwe and another activist, Mr Derek Swarts, on June 24 in which mention was made of the fact that Goniwe would travel to Port Elizabeth on June 27, instead of on June 26 as planned.

He confirmed during cross-examination that if normal procedures had been followed Goniwe would have been trailed to and from Port Elizabeth on June 27. Testifying earlier this year, Winter said he was unable to recall his whereabouts on June 27. The hearing continues today — *Sapa*.

NEWS Evidence of police activities by a surprise witness ● Last leg of peace journey



Cops often posed as businessmen

Sowetan 17/9/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ **'TOTAL COVER'** Goniwe inquest is told about informers and handlers:

SECURITY POLICEMEN WHO HAD "total cover" often posed as businessmen in the community, a retired security policeman told the Goniwe inquest in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday.

Sergeant Fred Koni said this during cross-examination by Mr J P de Bruyn, counsel for the South African Police, on the difference between informers and handlers.

Koni was produced as a surprise witness by Mr George Bizos, SC, counsel for the families of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, whose bodies were found near Blue Water Bay in Port Elizabeth on June 27 1985.

Koni said handlers were usually security policeman. Sometimes they had "total cover" and worked as businessmen.

No one knew they were actually policemen.

They usually had informers whose identities were protected and who reported only to them. He did not know how many policemen had "total cover".

(327)

Asked by De Bruyn why he happened to have such a good memory, Koni replied: "I agree I have a good memory. If something happens to make you remember, then you can remember."

Asked about the taps and bugs on activists, he said a Mr Hattingh, a security policeman from Port Elizabeth, would come to the Cradock office and ask which phones had to be tapped. Hattingh would then be given a list.

Asked about "A-files" which were opened for people considered top security risks, Koni said he could not recall how many there were but it could have been about 80.

He had no knowledge how many "tamaties" — listening devices — had been placed in Goniwe's home.

But when he listened to the recordings, he could hear a gas stove being used in the kitchen.

A "tamatie" recorded everything for a period of 24 hours.

The inquest has been adjourned until Monday.

THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN
September 17 to 23 1993

Goniwe friend also 'died mysteriously'

(327) WM 17-23/9/93

Louise Flanagan

AS the reopened Goniwe inquest approaches its end, questions are now being asked about another mysterious death — that of a Transkei lawyer who was a close friend of Matthew Goniwe.

Umtata lawyer and former Robben Island prisoner, Rex Dingaan Lupondwana, died on April 8 1984 — a year before Goniwe was murdered. Speculation is now that he may have been murdered by a hit squad, and his family is trying to revive the investigation into his death.

Friends saw him go to bed on the night he died, but by morning he had disappeared. Later that day, after a frantic search, the family learned that he had been killed during the night in a car accident in the centre of Umtata.

An inquest subsequently found that he died as a result of a car crash he himself had caused.

However, the recent revelations at the Goniwe inquest have led his widow Valencia to look at the evidence again. Speculation is that Lupondwana was abducted or lured from his home, murdered and a "car crash" staged as a cover.

The family believes there are several indications of a cover-up:

- Unknown to the family, news of Lupondwana's death was broadcast on SABC radio early in the morning before they had even discovered that he was missing.
- The front page of the inquest docket into Lupondwana's death gives the date of the verdict as June 28 1984 and names the presiding magistrate as WM Thomas. Evidence from documents handed in at the inquest notes a different case number, a different presiding magistrate — NJM Barnes — and dates on some documents are several months later.
- Key witnesses, including the drivers of the vehicle which Lupondwana supposedly crashed into, were not called. The victim's father-in-law is wrongly stated as having been present during the inquest.
- The Transkei policeman first on the scene of the accident suddenly resigned and was unavailable to give evidence. He disappeared shortly afterwards and, according to the Lupondwanas, his family has not heard from him since.
- The post-mortem indicated that Lupondwana would have lost a lot of blood, but there was none on either his clothes or his car — which was immediately taken away by police. Obvious and severe injuries subsequently observed by his widow, who is a trained nurse, and one of the others at the scene were contradicted by the post-mortem report.

Lupondwana had spent several years on Robben Island when he was convicted on charges under the Sabotage Act. On his release, he spent six years under house arrest in his home town of Cradock before moving to Umtata, where he practised as a lawyer.

He was a close friend of Goniwe, who lived in Cradock and died a year later. The ongoing re-opened inquest into Goniwe's murder has heard allegations that security forces were the killers.

According to colleagues, Goniwe was chairman of the ANC's underground Military Working Committee (MWC) in the Karoo at the time of his death, while Lupondwana is believed to have been part of a similar operation in Transkei which had close contact with Goniwe.

Hours before his death, Lupondwana had returned to Umtata after a mysterious urgent visit to Cradock. Goniwe family friends have now confirmed this visit and remember that Lupondwana tried to contact Goniwe during his visit, but Goniwe was away.

Lupondwana was also linked to Durban lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, allegedly murdered by a police hit squad in 1981.

Lupondwana and Mxenge worked on cases together in Transkei, including the defence of Transkei's Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who was subsequently deposed by the Matanzima brothers and fled to join the ANC in exile. — Ecna.

Inquest delay after surprise claims

(251) (254) (327)

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Goniwe inquest was postponed yesterday until Monday to give legal counsel for the SA Police, Mr Dup de Bruyn, time to prepare cross-examination of a last-minute witness, former Cradock security policeman Mr Fred Koni, who made several surprising claims on Wednesday.

Mr Koni claimed police intensified their surveillance of United Democratic Front activist Mr Matthew Goniwe shortly before he was murdered in June 1985 and if normal tailing procedures had been adhered to on the night of his murder police should have known who killed him.

He testified that on the day Mr Goniwe and three other activists were murdered, the head of the Cradock security branch, Col Eric Winter, and two other officers left the office and did not return until the next day. CT 17/9/93

Mr Koni said Col Winter was aware that Mr Goniwe was going to Port Elizabeth on June 27 because he personally handed him a transcript of a telephone call between Mr Goniwe and another activist, Mr Derek Swarts, on June 24 in which mention was made of the fact that Mr Goniwe would travel on June 27 instead of on June 26 as planned.

On June 28, when Col Winter returned to the office, he was "unusually anxious" and constantly asked what had been heard on the tap at Mr Goniwe's house, he said. — Sapa

killing". — Sapa.

the laboratory was almost

JSE

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange

LATE SUBMISSION OF ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange (the JSE) advises that the undermentioned listed company has failed to comply with the JSE's Listings Requirements by not submitting Annual Financial Statements within six months of its financial year end:

- QUAGGA HOLDINGS LIMITED

Shareholders are accordingly cautioned that the above company has been informed that the listing of its securities are under threat of suspension and possible termination. Should the above company not submit its annual financial statements by the end of September 1993, its listing will automatically be suspended, pending the convening of a Special Meeting of the General Committee of the JSE to consider the continued suspension or termination of its listing.

This advertisement has been placed by the JSE in the interest of shareholders.

17 SEPTEMBER 1993

Detaining Goniwe 'would not help'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Matthew Goniwe was disliked by the "the whole security team" in Cradock, former security policeman Fred Koni told the Goniwe inquest in the Supreme Court yesterday. B/Day

SAP legal counsel Dup de Bruyn questioned Koni about former Cradock security police chief Lt Henri Fouche's "attitude" to Goniwe and to the possibility of Goniwe being detained. 17/9/93

"Fouche said detention would not help," Koni said. "He often spoke with Goniwe but they were never friends."

De Bruyn asked: "How did they get along?"

Koni said: "The one was the enemy of the other."

In response to other questions, Koni said: (327)

☐ A policeman called Hattingh tapped Goniwe's and other people's telephones by disguising himself in a "Post Office jacket".

☐ The security police customarily had a team of three "handlers" who kept a particular political activist under surveillance. The third handler usually did the work. Sometimes the third person was not known as a policeman. He worked under cover and might also run a business. This was known as "total cover" and:

☐ A "tamatie" (electronic listening device) planted in a house, such as the one in Goniwe's which Koni monitored, could catch sounds such as "a primus stove burning or being pumped".

De Bruyn asked for the inquest to be adjourned until Monday morning.

Goniwe family legal counsel George Bizos asked Judge-President N Zietsman to consider that "we are anxious these proceedings come to an end".

De Bruyn replied that Koni was regarded by the SAP as "the most important witness" and said he would "refuse to be limited" in questioning Koni.

But De Bruyn undertook to complete his questioning as soon as possible when the inquest resumed on Monday.

Gem buyer's

should the security forces 17/9/93

SAP 'know PE killers'

Star 17/9/93

Port Elizabeth — The Goniwe inquest was yesterday postponed until Monday to give legal counsel for the South African Police, Dup de Bruyn, time to prepare cross-examination of a last-minute witness, former Cradock security policeman Fred Koni who made several surprising claims on Wednesday.

Koni, who will probably be the last witness at the inquest, claimed that police intensified their surveillance of United Democratic Front activist Matthew Goniwe shortly before he was brutally murdered with three other activists in June 1985 and that police would have known who the killers were had they adhered to normal tailing procedures. (327)

He testified that on the day of the four murders Cradock Security Branch head Colonel Eric Winter and two other officers left the office and did not return until the next morning.

Koni said Winter was aware that Goniwe would be going to Port Elizabeth on June 27 because he personally had handed him a transcript of a telephone call between Goniwe and another activist, Derek Swarts, on June 24 in which mention had been made that Goniwe would travel on June 27 instead of on June 26.

On June 28, when Winter returned to the office, he was "unusually anxious" and constantly asked what had been heard on the telephone tap at Goniwe's house.

He and another policeman, Boyce Msoki, were in charge of monitoring telephone calls between activists, which would then be transcribed.

Koni also testified that Goniwe was under constant surveillance through telephone taps, a bugging device known as a "tamatie" planted in his home, and through a system of informers.

The inquest resumes on Monday. — Sapa.

The cop who can recall

(327)

ARG 18/9/93

PAT CANDIDO
Weekend Argus Bureau

■ Who killed Matthew Goniwe, the quietly spoken maths teacher who unleashed the fury of South Africa's security forces in the Eastern Cape during 1985? The inquest continues to probe ...

PORT ELIZABETH. — By the time he was murdered on June 27 1985, Matthew Goniwe had become such a headache for the sinister network of securocrats created by Prime Minister P W Botha to keep apartheid in place that even Cabinet ministers made midnight visits to Cradock.

At the reopened inquest on the United Democratic Front activist and his friends, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli, the pendulum has swung from the SADF to the security police and back.

In a dramatic twist this week counsel for the families of the dead men produced a man who, though he had learnt that one did not ask questions "when you work for the security police", had a remarkable ability to remember details of the time Mr Goniwe disappeared.

Unlike many of his senior officers, Sergeant Fred Zilindele Koni, now retired, had no difficulty recalling where he was on June 27 1985.

He was in his office at the Cradock security branch monitoring letters, telephone coversations and transcribing a bugging device known as a "tamatie" which had been placed in the Goniwe home.

His memory was so good that SAP counsel J P du Bruyn sarcastically commented on it.

Sergeant Koni replied simply: "I agree my memory is good. If something happens to make you remember, then you can remember."

He had no difficulty recalling that:

■ A tamatie (listening device) had been placed in the Goniwe home and recorded conversations on a 24-hour basis. The telephone was also bugged.

■ The police ought to know who killed Mr Goniwe because he was tailed by them everywhere he went.

■ Security police Sergeant Amos Faku, who died in a huge car-bomb blast at Motherwell in 1989, used to be a regular visitor to Cradock where the sergeant heard him say the only solution to the Cradock problem was that Mr Goniwe be killed.

■ On June 27, the head of the security police in Cradock, Colonel (then a Major) Eric Winter and two colleagues left the office and did not return until the following day.

■ On June 28 Colonel Winter was so anxious about what appeared on transcriptions of calls and conversations from the Goniwe house that he asked every 10 to 15 minutes.

The car-bomb killings of Sergeant Faku, informer Charles Jack, and two other policemen, Desmond Mapipa and Glen Mgoduka, featured prominently in the Goniwe inquest with security police explosives expert Major Deon Nieuwoudt giving evidence and blaming the explosion on the ANC.

After his evidence, deputy attorney general Mike Hodgen asked the SAP to re-open their investigation into the car bomb killings.

Sergeant Koni told the court Mr Goniwe was considered a terrorist, an arch-enemy of the State and was under 24-hour surveillance which had been stepped up considerably before his death.

One June 27 he told Colonel Winter that activist Derrick Swarts had telephoned Mr Goniwe from Port Elizabeth about a meeting. He later heard Colonel Winter on the telephone, but only heard something about "10 o'clock".

Shortly after this Colonel Winter left and he did not see him again until the following morning. Colonel Winter was already there when he arrived at 7am and appeared anxious.

Matthew Goniwe

He said that Colonel Winter usually told him where he was going so that he could be reached in an emergency.

Sergeant Koni said Mr Goniwe had been the target of complex surveillance run with military precision and involving huge manpower. The police followed Mr Goniwe not in one car, but several, each with a radio. Car A would hand over to car B and C every 20 kilometres or so.

He said security police wanted information so that they could charge Mr Goniwe with a crime which would have resulted in him being jailed for a lengthy period. Activists were divided into three categories. Those in the A Category were the most important and their telephones were tapped and mail intercepted.

Mr Goniwe's file comprised at least six volumes, which were moved to the strongroom after his death.

When asked by the judge whether he had not been curious when he hard about the deaths of the Cradock Four, Sergeant Koni replied that in the security police one did not ask questions. The only question one asked was when one could take leave.

Earlier in the inquest when Colonel Winter was asked about his activities on June 27 between 7.30am and 7.30am the following day he said he could not remember specifically but probably had been in his office.

Nor could he remember if a "tamatie" had been placed in the Goniwe home. He could not recall making a telephone call after being told of Mr Goniwe's pending visit to Port Elizabeth.

Mr Du Bruyn asked for the inquest to be adjourned until Monday, saying Sergeant Koni was regarded by the police as "the most important witness".

'Postman' bugged Goniwe

THE security police regarded Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe as the enemy, the re-opened inquest into his death heard this week. C/Press

Former Cradock security policeman Sgt Zilindile Koni said he monitored and transcribed recordings from listening devices planted in Goniwe's home. 19/9/93

He said the security police had been instructed to build a case against Goniwe so that he could be imprisoned for a long time. (327)

A PE security cop – a certain Hattingh – would come to Cradock, disguise himself as a post office worker, and place bugs. – Pen

Ex-policeman sticks to his evidence on monitoring Goniwe

(327)

ARG 20/9/93

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A former security policeman denied today that his evidence on the non-stop surveillance of Matthew Goniwe was untrue.

Fred Koni, now retired, was being cross-examined by J P de Bruyn, for the police, at the inquest on Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli being held in the Supreme Court here.

Mr De Bruyn said Sergeant Koni had never taken part in any surveillance trips himself but had relied on what he heard in the office about the monitoring of Mr Goniwe.

Sergeant Koni said there was a regular Monday morning meeting where surveillance and other matters were discussed and people monitoring Mr Goniwe had to complete forms which were placed in his file.

He said he thought about five cars were involved but could not say with any certainty.

It was necessary to follow Mr Goniwe because he could give the impression that he was going to Port Elizabeth and go to Hanover instead.

He said there was a "tamatie", a listening device, in Mr Goniwe's home and if Colonel Eric Winter denied this he was not telling the truth.

Sergeant Koni admitted that while he was with the security police he was involved in an accident and charged with driving under the influence after hitting a parked vehicle.

He also appeared before a disciplinary committee when he was not at work one day.

As a result he was transferred from the security branch to the uniformed branch.

Mr De Bruyn produced a letter saying the transfer had taken place in 1987, but Sergeant Koni insisted that the actual transfer had taken place only in 1989.

He said in 1988 he was off for most of the year because he had broken his leg and in 1987 it was necessary to train somebody to take over his job.

He said though the transfer might have officially referred to 1987 in practice it took place only in 1989.

Questioned on why he had said he had left the force on a disability pension in 1991 when he had in fact left in July 1990, he said it was easy to make a mistake but he thought it was 1991 because they were still living in the stables used for the horses, which was very bad for morale.

(Proceeding)

-General releases damning report

Former cop 'unreliable'

Sowetan 21/9/93

INQUEST HEARING Police evidence in Matthew Goniwe killing challenged:

THE MEMORY AND THE evidence of a former Cradock security policeman, who last week claimed the police should have known who killed political activist Mr Matthew Goniwe, was unreliable, SAP counsel said yesterday.

Mr Dup de Bruyn submitted to the Goniwe judicial inquest in Port Elizabeth that Mr Fred Koni had testified positively to things he knew nothing about.

(327)

Last week Koni told the inquest the police should have known who killed Goniwe and three other Cradock activists in June 1985 because Goniwe was followed by security policemen wherever he went.

Koni said he worked in administration at the Cradock security branch and he knew from reports and other documentation that Goniwe was constantly followed.

De Bruyn pointed out that he had no first-hand knowledge of how Goniwe was followed. "I submit you are testifying about things you know nothing about. Your evidence about Goniwe being constantly followed is untrue and never took place."

Koni denied this submission.

De Bruyn also pointed out apparent inaccuracies in Koni's affidavit.

Koni says in the affidavit he left the security branch in 1989 and joined the uniform branch before leaving the police force in 1991.

De Bruyn said he had not voluntarily left the security branch in 1989, but had been transferred to the uniform branch in 1987 because of a drunken driving conviction.

Koni admitted he had been convicted but said he had remained at the security branch until 1989.

De Bruyn produced documentation to show that he had been transferred to the uniform branch in October 1987.

Koni replied: "Officially, the document may be correct, but in practice it was not done. I remained at the security branch until 1989." Part of his duties had been to train his replacement.

The hearing continues. - *Sapa.*

Picture: COLIN DAVIS, Argus Group Picture Service.

ET ARRIVES: AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche arrives at Pretoria Magistrate's Court. His appearance is a sequel to his refusal to testify before the Goldstone Commission about the invasion of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers on June 25.

ET plans to subpoena Goldstone as witness

ARGT 21/9/93

☐ Sequel to 'invasion' at Trade Centre

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has accused Mr Justice Richard Goldstone of violating the country's laws through the Goldstone Commission's decision to serve a subpoena on him.

Mr Terre'Blanche, dressed in camouflage uniform, told Pretoria regional magistrate M C de Wit today that he had not broken any laws and wished to be subjected "to the full might of Roman Dutch justice which had been violated (verkrag) by Goldstone".

He said he would also be issuing a subpoena to bring Mr Justice Goldstone as a witness when the case resumes on November 17 "so that the issue can be settled in court".

Mr Terre'Blanche's appearance in the magistrate's court is a sequel to his refusal to testify before the Goldstone Commission about the June 25 invasion by rightwingers of the World Trade Centre and the disruption caused to the negotiating process that day.

Mr Terre'Blanche arrived at the court to a tumultuous welcome from about 200 supporters, who were vastly outnumbered by police and Defence Force units who ringed the court precincts. Security forces also sealed off Church Square which resulted in early morning traffic chaos.

Members of his Ystergaard (Iron Guard) bodyguard unit had to surrender their weapons to court officials before being given access to the court building. The black-clad guards, some wearing dark glasses, lined the walls of court K, staring intently at journalists throughout the 40-minute proceedings.

Mr Terre'Blanche told the magistrate he had been visited by a delegation of senior policemen on June 26 and 27 and informed he would be required to assist in the investigations into the WTC incident, and that he could face charges. By then 70 AWB followers had been held by police in a follow-up operation, he said.

The following day, on June 28, a subpoena had been delivered to his Ventersdorp home ordering him to appear before the commission on June 30.

"As leader of the AWB, I have a busy programme and am in demand as a speaker to give addresses all over the country," he told Mr De Wit.

Mr Terre'Blanche said it appeared to him that any evidence he would have given would have been "the kernel around which the Goldstone decision would be reached. I was being asked to make the AWB guilty (of the break-in) in front of Goldstone and his commission on whatever charges he may formulate".

Mr Terre'Blanche described himself as a former police warrant officer who had guarded state presidents and prime ministers.

The hearing was postponed to November 17.

Goniwe inquest postponed

(327)

ARGT 21/9/93

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The inquest on Matthew Goniwe and the rest of the Cradock Four has been postponed until next year.

The last witness, Fred Koni, a retired security policeman stationed at Cradock in 1985, was giving evidence in the inquest on Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

After Sergeant Koni completed his evidence today the court was told the inquest would resume on February 7 next year.

After cross-examination of Sergeant Koni, George Bizos, SC, for the families, said a deliberate attempt had been made to embarrass Sergeant Koni about his private life.

Asked by Mr Bizos about a conviction for drunken driving, Sergeant Koni said this had happened after a security police party.

Others had been far more drunk than he was. Two of his senior officers had gone to court and had spoken in mitigation.

one of the attackers.

chase to a suspected stolen vehicle in

Witness admits 'mistakes' possible in Goniwe testimony

B/Day 21/9/93

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — A former security policeman admitted in the Supreme Court yesterday he mighthave made mistakes when speaking under oath concerning the death of Cradock community leader Matthew Goniwe in June 1985. (327)

This was heard when the re-opened Goniwe inquest heard cross-examination of retired Sgt Fred Koni by SAP legal counsel Dup de Bruyn.

De Bruyn pointed out several discrepancies between Koni's sworn statement and his testimony in court last week when he was called as a surprise witness by George Bizos, counsel for the Goniwe family.

Koni had testified on how Goniwe was followed and kept under observation, yet admitted yesterday he had never himself participated in such operations and had drawn his conclusions from what he had heard at meetings and seen in reports.

He was adamant he was transferred from the security branch to the uniform branch in 1989 — following a charge of drunken driving — even after he was shown an official document by De Bruyn stating that the transfer happened in 1987.

Koni was also adamant he had worked with Sgt George Lorentz in the Cradock security police early in 1985 yet documents showed Lorentz had been stationed with Koevoet until wounded in May 1985 after which he spent six months at 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria.

Koni admitted he may have made mistakes about the date he had finally retired from the police, and about the dates he was supposed to have worked with certain colleagues.

He said he had lived in a horse stable and it had "affected" his memory and morale.

"The point is, one cannot depend on anything you say," De Bruyn replied.

Koni had also stated under oath that Derek Swarts had telephoned Goniwe on June 27 1985.

"It is clear from the transcript, however, that Goniwe had telephoned Swarts," De Bruyn said. "How does it happen that you make such crucial mistakes?"

DAY SEPTEMBER 21 1993

Goniwe evidence challenged

Star 21/9/93

Port Elizabeth — The memory and the evidence of a former Cradock security policeman, who last week claimed the police should have known who killed political activist Matthew Goniwe, was unreliable, SAP counsel said yesterday.

Advocate Dup de Bruyn submitted to the Goniwe judicial inquest in Port Elizabeth that Fred Koni had testified positively to things he knew nothing about. (327)

Koni said he had worked in administration at the Cradock Security Branch and knew from reports and other documentation that Goniwe was constantly followed.

De Bruyn pointed out that Koni had no first-hand knowledge of how Goniwe was followed.

"Your evidence about Goniwe being constantly followed is untrue and never took place."

Koni denied this submission.

Inaccuracies

De Bruyn also pointed out apparent inaccuracies in Koni's affidavit.

Koni said in the affidavit that he left the Security Branch in 1989 and joined the Uniform Branch, before leaving the police force in 1991.

De Bruyn said he had not voluntarily left the Security Branch in 1989, but had been transferred to the Uniform Branch in 1987 because of a drunken driving conviction.

Koni admitted he had been convicted, but said he had remained at the Security Branch until 1989. He had been on sick leave for most of 1988 because of ill health.

De Bruyn produced documentation to show that he had been transferred to the Uniform Branch in October 1987.

Koni replied: "Officially, the document may be correct, but in practice it was not done. I remained at the Security Branch until 1989." Part of his duties had been to train his replacement.

De Bruyn also alleged that Koni had retired in 1990 and not in 1991 as he claimed in his affidavit. "I submit that both your evidence and your memory are unreliable."

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Goniwe inquest evidence ends

PORT ELIZABETH. — The re-opened judicial inquest into the 1985 deaths of Cradock activists Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sicelo Mhlauli and Mr Sparrow Mkhonto was postponed yesterday until February 7 next year, when argument will be heard.

Unless further evidence comes to light before the inquest is resumed, it is unlikely that more witnesses will be called, says the attorney-general's office.

During the inquest yesterday, counsel for the SA Police Mr Dup de Bruyn, SC, told former Cradock security police sergeant Mr Fred Koni: "You are intelligent, but unfortunately also a liar."

Earlier, Mr De Bruyn, in cross-examination, had questioned Mr Koni about a Sierra vehicle used by the Cradock security police during 1985, and Mr Koni had replied that such a car was used at the time, but he could not remember its colour. (327) CT 22/9/93

Mr De Bruyn pointed out that Mr Koni had specifically mentioned the car's blue colour in his testimony last week.

Mr De Bruyn said he would argue that Mr Koni was a "blatant liar" and that "no value could be placed on his evidence".

Mr Koni did not agree with Mr De Bruyn that security police chief Colonel Eric Winter had never ordered that the monitoring of Mr Goniwe be intensified. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

SOWETAN Wednesday September 22 1993

Sowetan 22/9/93

Goniwe inquest

■ CRADOCK FOUR Retired officer says monitoring of Goniwe upped in 1985

(327)

THE inquest on Matthew Goniwe and the rest of the "Cradock Four" has been postponed until next year.

The last witness, Mr Fred Koni, a retired security policeman stationed at Cradock in 1985, completed evidence yesterday in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court at the inquest on Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

After he completed his evidence the court was told the inquest would resume on February 7 next year.

After cross-examination of Koni, Mr George Bizos, SC, for the families, said a deliberate attempt had been made to embarrass Koni about his private life.

Asked by Bizos about a conviction for drunken driving, Koni said this had happened after a security police party.

Others had been far more drunk than he was. Two of his senior officers had gone to court and spoken in mitigation, telling the magistrate that he was a member of the local church council who only occasionally had a drink.

Referring to civil summonses he received for debt, he said he was married with four children and from 1978 until 1982 earned between R200 and R300 a month. Monitoring of Goniwe was stepped up in 1985 after a meeting with a cabinet minister, Koni said.

It's been a far cry from the last Goniwe inquest

(327)

ARG 25/9/93

PAT CANDIDO
Weekend Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The first phase of the reopened inquest on "state enemy" Matthew Goniwe and his activist colleagues, which ended here with the last of 15 witnesses, was a far cry from the original inquest five years ago.

In spite of the trauma of once again listening to the horrifying description of the brutal murder of Mr Goniwe, his widow Nyameka, who sat quietly taking notes throughout the 144 hours of testimony, summed it up when she said: "Yes, very different ... and I do feel at last an effort has been made to arrive at the truth."

She recalled how, five years ago, three days before Christmas, the families heard that the inquest would start on January 4 and the frantic struggle to find lawyers who had already closed for the festive season.

Eventually, in a small New Brighton courtroom, the family and a few journalists heard the request for postponement and an order for a formal inquest.

This was followed by mounting political pressure after a newspaper published the contents of a top-secret military signal, allegedly sent on the orders of General Joffel van der Westhuizen, now head of military intelligence.

The signal called for the permanent removal from society of Mr Goniwe.

On orders of President De Klerk the inquest resumed before Mr Justice Zietsman, Judge-President of the Eastern Cape.

On March 1 some of the top legal brains in the country gathered in the new Supreme Court to hear the reopened inquest on Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

For the wives one of the most significant aspects of the proceedings were the appearance of a senior Defence Force officer and a black security policeman, prepared to take the risk of being branded traitors by their colleagues for giving evidence.

Another was the inquest-within-an-inquest which led to speculation that four men — three policemen and an Askari, blown to death in a car bomb explosion — may have known something about the Cradock Four, all members of the United Democratic Front.

During the past seven months the inquest has heard allegations that both the SADF and the security police were involved in the murders.

SADF senior counsel Anton Mostert, alleged that not only had the security police murdered the four activists in 1985 but later murdered four of their own colleagues in 1989.

He placed the blame at the door of security policeman Major Deon Nieuwoudt, an explosives expert who was near the scene when the policemen died.

Deputy attorney-general Mike Hodgen, SC, ordered the police to resume investigation in the explosion which killed Amos Faku, Desmond Mapipa, Mbalala Ngoduka and informer Charles Jack.

There were audible gasps from the gallery when key witness Colonel Lourens du Plessis, who was granted indemnity on certain aspects of his evidence, told the court he never doubted that the signal from General Van der Westhuizen had been an order to kill.

Though branded a liar, a drunk, a sell-out, a man facing financial ruin and an ANC collaborator, he insisted he was not mistaken.

Retired security police sergeant Fred Koni said while he worked in Cradock translating the bugging devices and a *tamatie* (listening device) placed in Mr Goniwe's home, he knew that Mr Goniwe was considered a "terrorist, an enemy of the state".

He said Mr Goniwe was subject to round-the-clock surveillance and even if he went to Cape Town he would have been followed.

He said if the security police had done their job properly they should have known who killed the men on a lonely road near Blue Water Bay on June 27 1988.

Called an "outright liar" by Mr Du Bruyn, he admitted he had been convicted of drunken driving while returning home after a security police party and also admitted summonses for debt while he was battling to support a wife and four children on R200 to R300 a month.

He said his senior officer, Colonel Eric Winter, was so anxious to know what was on surveillance recordings from Mr Goniwe's home the day after his death that he was called into Colonel Winter's office every 10 or 15 minutes.

In his evidence Colonel Winter could not recall a *tamatie* in Mr Goniwe's house. He also could not recall making a phone call after hearing Mr Goniwe had left for Cradock or where he was on June 27.

General Van der Westhuizen, who admitted he was under extreme pressure to end the unrest which was spreading like fire through the Eastern Cape, claimed "privilege" on the grounds that he might incriminate himself and refused to answer several questions.

He said he could not specifically remember sending the signal or anything about it but conceded that only the security forces could have had the ability to carry out the well-planned and executed murders.

This week the hearing was postponed to February when the judge will hear argument from legal teams on how he should approach evidence. The record runs to more than 3 300 pages.

The legal teams for the police and army indicated that their argument would prove that their clients were not involved.

George Bizos, SC, counsel for the families, said he would argue that the two arms of the security forces carried out the killings.

After hearing the arguments it is likely that the court will adjourn again to give the judge a chance to ponder the landmark case.

children. | Captain Cameron | passed away peaceful on 22nd September | River Domestic s/h

: rages ● Narrow escape during fracas over rent

Govt in tight spot over Umtata raid

Sowetan 11/10/93

(327)

By Josias Charle

■ BUCK STOPS HERE Strike authorised by FW and Cabinet:

SENIOR Government officials had their hands full at the weekend trying to justify the Transkei raid in which five youths were shot dead. Justice and Defence Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Defence Force Chief General Kat Liebenberg, Army Chief General Georg Meiring and Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe addressed a packed Press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, hours after the cross-border raid on an alleged Apla "safe house".

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Gert Myburgh, sat quietly throughout the briefing. Stating the Government's side, Coetsee said the strike was authorised by President FW de Klerk and senior Ministers on Thursday.

"The South African Defence Force was authorised to launch a limited strike against a verified Apla facility in Transkei. The SADF's instructions were, if possible, to avoid loss of life. Unfortunately, the unit involved did not succeed in this regard because the men were armed and offered resistance," Coetsee said.

He did not specify what kind of resistance was offered. He said the operation had been carried swiftly and could not accept that children were shot.

"We cannot accept that allegation until all soldiers involved had been debriefed."

Meiring, the army chief, also addressing the Press conference, said a small team of SADF members was involved in the operation.

"They spent only 15 minutes in the house and they could not investigate who had been shot, but it appeared the occupants of the house were grown-ups." He said the occupants had brandished weapons at the SADF troops as they entered the house and the troops started firing.

The soldiers removed certain items that included an AKM and R-1 rifles, pistols, homemade guns and several Pan Africanist Congress documents.

Meiring said the SADF acted on information gleaned from arrested Apla members.

"We definitely believe that it was a safe house and the people killed were trained or were in the process of being trained." Outgoing SADF Chief Liebenberg said he could not accept the victims were shot in the head.

"It was a difficult cross-border operation carried out at first light and it will take us a few days to debrief the soldiers involved."

'Workout then die' court told

9/12/93 C. Times

327

Accused: Squatter was fleeing

Staff Reporter

A KRAAIFONTEIN squatter who was allegedly abducted and shot told the Supreme Court yesterday that one of the accused had said he had found the place to give him a thorough workout before telling him he would be killed.

This was evidence in the trial of Mr Peet Rens of Joostenbergvlakte and Mr James Downey of Durbanville, who have both pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and attempting to murder Mr Douglas Nkwali, 39, of Wallacedene on January 7.

In evidence, Mr Nkwali denied that the two accused saw him running away carrying two parcels in Old Paarl Road, Kraaifontein.

The court heard the accused would say that when they saw Mr Nkwali acting suspiciously they had followed him and Mr Downey ordered him to halt. Mr Rens had got out of the car and grabbed him but by then he had thrown the parcels away.

Earlier Mr Nkwali told the court that the two accused drove him to a gravel road near Bloekomsbos squatter camp and Mr Rens said it was just the right spot to work him over.

Mr Downey asked him where "Mandela" was and Mr Rens opened the back door and said "get out kaffir" before telling him they were going to kill him.

Mr Nkwali said when the two men accosted him he went to a nearby house to look for help but the accused followed him in their car and Mr Rens said he would shoot him if he did not leave.

Cross-examined about the vicinity of the police station — which the defence said was only 200 metres away — Mr Nkwali said he was unfamiliar with the area. Asked why he was not able to point out the suspects at a police identity parade at the Bellville police station on May 17, Mr Nkwali said the lighting was inadequate and "all white men look alike".

The hearing continues.

Mr Chris Cilliers appears for the state, Mr David Charters for Mr Rens and Mr Marius Gerber for Mr Downey.

BADLY INJURED . . . Squatter Mr Douglas Nkwali, who was allegedly abducted and shot. **INSET**: Mr Peet Rens of Joostenbergvlakte, accused of kidnapping and attempting to murder Mr Nkwali.

Pictures: ANNE LAING

Goniwe inquest judge rules on SADF papers

B/Day 24/8/93

PORT ELIZABETH — Documentation on an official top secret SADF plan to overthrow the Lennox Sebe government in Ciskei was ruled to be admissible as evidence at the Goniwe inquest by Eastern Cape Judge President N Zietsman yesterday.

He dismissed objections by senior counsel Anton Mostert (for the SADF) that admission of documentation on the so-called "Operation Katzen" as evidence would contravene provisions of the Defence and Protection of Information Acts.

The judge said the publication of the document did not contravene the provisions in the Defence Act because it had no relation to the defence of the Republic. He said SA was not at war with, or being threatened by, Ciskei at the time the document was drawn up in 1986. (327)

Publication of the document would also not contravene provisions of the Protection of Information Act, he said, because its contents were not prejudicial to the security or interests of the Republic.

The judge said the documents had already been made public by Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa earlier this year.

He could not see how "further disclosure" could be prejudicial to the interests of the State.

SA Police counsel Dup de Bruyn argued that documentation on Operation Katzen should be admitted as evidence "keeping in mind that the State President is on record as saying that nothing would be hidden from the inquest".

The document on Operation Katzen was submitted to the inquest as an annexure to the affidavit of SADF Col Lourens du Plessis. He has alleged in his affidavit that the military signal ordering the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe and other activists was a suggestion that they be killed.

The SADF's attempt to prevent its admission to the inquest as evidence is effectively the first acknowledgement by the military that the document is authentic and official.

Du Plessis told the inquest yesterday that an official from the Pretoria attorney-general's office had persuaded him to withhold crucial information when drawing up his affidavit.

Du Plessis said that when he was interviewed by a J Wagenaar from the attorney-general's office and a legal adviser from the SADF, a Gen Nipe, he told them the military signal recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe and other activists was a suggestion that they be killed.

"Gen Nipe nearly fell off his chair. After some hours they convinced me I could not have been right."

Du Plessis amended his affidavit to read that the words did not mean that the activists be killed.

He testified yesterday that Van der Westhuizen, who was then head of Eastern Province Command, ordered that he send the signal to the State Security Council.

Van der Westhuizen's intention was that the activists be killed, said Du Plessis. — Sapa.

Inquest told of 'specific targets'

Sowetan 25/8/93

A CHANNEL FOR HANDLING the "elimination of specific targets" was set up during the 1985 unrest in the Eastern Cape, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court was told yesterday.

A document outlining the South African Defence Force's involvement in the Civil Co-operation Bureau was handed in at the inquest into the death of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli, whose burnt bodies were found near Blue Waters Bay in 1985.

Authentic document

According to an affidavit by Major-General AJM Joubert, the document was an authentic record of a meeting held in the north-eastern Transvaal to discuss the CCB.

The then SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys was present and so were CCB director Colonel Joe Verster, Colonel Chris Meerholz and a Brigadier Sonnekus.

Geldenhuys saw the CCB as a long-term project and did not foresee it becoming a formal structure.

Referring to the elimination of "enemy targets" Geldenhuys had confirmed that non-standard issue weapons would be used in an unconventional manner so that innocent people were not affected and CCB operatives identified. Joubert said not all "enemy targets" were necessarily human.

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Political intolerance 'is a stumbling block to peace'

Sowetan 25/8/93

By Mzwandile Jacks

POLITICAL intolerance and the use of covert forces to destabilise black communities were the causes of violence in the taxi industry, speakers said at the summit of taxi associations yesterday.

The conference, aimed at searching for lasting solutions to the violence in the industry, was held in Johannesburg.

African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela told the taximen that success in curbing taxi violence would boost initiatives for peace and democracy in the country.

"Violence cannot bring peace. Inkatha will never defeat the ANC and the ANC will never defeat Inkatha," Mandela said.

The only solution to the violence was to ensure that black policemen had a role to play in peacekeeping structures, he said.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said there had been no evidence of political strife during his investigations into the taxi violence and, therefore, the violence was not politically motivated.

"Power struggles and intolerance between taxi owners are the causes of the violence," he said.

Dr Anton Gildenhuys of the Peace Secretariat said ineffective policing, socio-economic conditions and the absence of a political dispensation that would be acceptable to all population groups were the causes of violence.

Goniwe shocks

Star 25/8/93

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — Security forces in the eastern Cape in 1985 used as their "bible" a book which maintained that about 10 percent of the population should be detained or killed, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday.

Colonel Lourens du Plessis said there was so much political pressure on security forces to defuse the revolutionary climate that "unconventional methods" had been devised.

The SADF had regarded John McCuen's *The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War* as its "bible". McCuen recommended that revolutionaries had to be removed from the community, and "remove" could include killing them.

Du Plessis, a retired officer who has been granted indemnity, was giving evidence at the reopened inquest on the deaths of activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

He said that in the mid-'80s the eastern Cape was "on fire". Port Elizabeth combined operations, known as Comops, was simply a front organisation for psychological and propaganda warfare, he said.

Destruction

Sapa reports that the public in the Supreme Court court gasped when Du Plessis admitted that Comops actions resulted in the "destruction" of Port Elizabeth businessman Rory Riordan's business because he employed PE Youth Congress leader Mkhuseli Jack.

He added he had never been able to find out who had killed the four activists.

A top-secret SADF document, referring to unconventional methods and weapons being used, was released to the inquest yesterday. (327)

It was minutes of a meeting on the activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, attended by top SADF officials, among them SADF chief General Jan nie Geldenhuys. According to the minutes, Geldenhuys said he did not see the methods used by the CCB as "murder".

In an affidavit, General Joep Joubert said neither the CCB nor Special Forces killed the activists.

The inquest is proceeding.

CCB scrutinised at inquest

B/Day 25/8/93

PORT ELIZABETH — Covert CCB activities were spotlighted at the Goniwe inquest yesterday when the minutes of an April 1987 meeting attended by ex-SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys and CCB director Joe Verster were submitted as an exhibit.

The inquest, at the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court, heard that topics discussed at the April meeting had included methods of "eliminating targets" and ways of protecting CCB operators.

The minutes were introduced as evidence by Glen Goosen, counsel for former SADF officer Col Lourens du Plessis, who said they illustrated the manner in which the state operated against its enemies in the 1980s.

According to the minutes, Geldenhuys suggested a channel be opened to discuss the "elimination of specific targets" by the CCB and that communications between Special Forces and the CCB be improved.

The minutes said Geldenhuys did not regard the CCB's actions as "murder", but defined them as attacks "against individual (enemy) targets with non-standard issue weapons in an unconventional manner without harming innocent people".

Geldenhuys said at the meeting he saw the CCB as a long-term project and recommended that its internal capabilities be doubled. The CCB should make its recommendations on targets through the officer commanding Special Forces, Gen Joop Joubert, he said.

In an affidavit, Joubert said the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists in June 1985 had not been a Special Forces or CCB operation.

He confirmed that the minutes of the meeting were authentic and that the meeting had been attended by himself, Geldenhuys, Verster, CCB regional manager Cmdt C A J Meerholz (deceased) and a Brig Sonnekus. They had met at a CCB venue in the northeastern Transvaal.

"The contents of the document speak for themselves and mean exactly what they say," he said, describing the meeting as a "typical" CCB briefing.

The inquest also heard yesterday that Operation Katzen, an alleged SADF plan to overthrow the Lennox Sebe government in 1986, included plans to murder former president Sebe and referred to the "permanent disappearance" of Ciskei officials. Du Plessis confirmed phases of Operation Katzen had been carried out, including an attempt on Sebe's life headed by former Selous Scout Gen Ron Reid Daly.

He also admitted that "comops" actions had included "psychological" operations and the spread of propaganda, and not only communications as the name suggested.

He said "comops" actions had led to the "destruction" of Port Elizabeth businessman Rory Riordan's business. Riordan had been targeted because he had employed PE Youth Congress leader Mkhuseli Jack.

Du Plessis said "comops" had also disrupted the activities of PE Black Civics Organisation leader Henry Fazzie by forging his signature on false documents.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Popcru claims chant was 'kiss farmers'

TIM COHEN B/Day

POLICE and prisons union Popcru said yesterday an internal investigation into its Johannesburg march showed that members shouted "Kiss the Boer, kiss the farmer" not "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer".

The union also offered to give the SAP the names of its members who participated in the march, following Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe's announcement of a special investigation. 25/8/93

Popcru denied that its marches were organised by the ANC and said its members belonged to a range of organisations.

Popcru said if investigations showed that a member had chanted "Kill the Boer", it would suspend the person.

Sapa reports the Regional Witwatersrand Police Commissioner Lt-Gen Koos Calitz accused Popcru yesterday of compromising the impartiality of black policemen by aligning itself politically.

"They have now discredited the image of black policemen in the eyes of (whites)."

On Monday more than 300 policemen launched a Popcru branch in Kimberley.

Witness hints at security police role

Star 26/8/93

(327)

A FORMER officer does not believe the SADF's Special Forces could have killed eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — The SADF's Hammer Unit was a reaction unit established to solve problems in the eastern Cape, Colonel Lourens du Plessis told the Goniwe inquest yesterday.

Du Plessis, an officer at Eastern Province Command in 1985, gave evidence at the reopened inquest on the deaths of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe and three other activists.

Asked by SAP counsel J P de Bruyn how the unit got its name, he said it was because a hammer was used to hit someone.

Asked whether this meant someone could be killed, he said the hammer would definitely hurt very badly.

But he did not believe the SADF would have acted on its own in an operation like the one in which Goniwe and his colleagues died. It would have been the security police who would have followed Goniwe and monitored his activities.

He said he did not think the operation could have been carried out by the SADF's Special Forces as there was insufficient time between the sending of the signal calling for "the permanent removal" of Goniwe and the time of his death.

Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, asked him why he had said in his first affidavit that General Joffel van der Westhuizen, head of EP Command in 1985, had never told him that a signal recommending that Goniwe be "permanently removed from society" was an order to kill. He replied it was because Van der Westhuizen had not used those words. But he interpreted the signal as an order that Goniwe be killed.

He denied having made a second contradictory affidavit because he was upset about not being given a "package deal" when he resigned.

The inquest continues.

aggressively towards him until Au... Mr Harris said Mr Riddle came ... Harris said.

Stolen documents: Colonel will not answer

PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A retired army colonel today refused to answer questions in the Goniwe inquest about the theft of military documents in case he "incriminated" himself.

Colonel Lourens du Plessis, senior staff officer (combined operations) in 1985, who sent the signal calling for the permanent removal from society of Matthew Goniwe and his colleagues, today told the Supreme Court he was not prepared to answer questions on the theft of military documents put to him by Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF.

Colonel Du Plessis was giving evidence in the inquests on Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparro Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Colonel Du Plessis said he had been granted indemnity to help the court and not to incriminate himself.

Earlier under cross-examination he said he acknowledged Bantu Holomisa, military ruler of the Transkei, as a friend and through him had met Nelson Mandela at the Carlton Centre last year. (327)

Mr Mostert: Why were you so important that Mr Mandela, who is a very busy man, had time to meet you? — I cannot say. It was just an introduction. He was looking for people who might be important to a new government and a new defence force.

Mr Mostert: I am going to put it to you that you had stolen important military documents.

At this point Glen Goosen, appearing for Colonel Du Plessis, said it was not necessary for his client to answer these questions when he had already indicated that he was not prepared to incriminate himself.

Earlier Mr Mostert said Colonel Du Plessis was an alcoholic and in deep financial trouble and this was part of the reason why "a long-serving officer of his rank would behave in the disgraceful way he did. It would to some extent explain his conduct, but not excuse it." ARGT 26/8/93

Mr Goosen said he objected to having his client attacked in this way.

At the start of proceedings Mr Goosen objected to certain remarks that Mr Mostert made in court which he had gleaned from the colonel on a client-advocate basis. This information was privileged.

NEWS More revelations in Goniwe inquest ● Civilian death toll now 545 in eight weeks

Teenager shot dead

A 15-YEAR-OLD boy was found shot dead in Tokoza on the East Rand yesterday.

Police said he was shot in the head with an AK-47 rifle. In adjacent Katlehong, a police patrol was fired on and 14 petrol bombs were found. The attack occurred in Radebe Section, where police were also attacked on Tuesday.

The latest killing brings the civilian death toll since July 3 to at least 545. — *Sapa*

Sowetan 26/8/93

SADF funded 'front'

THE Goniwe inquest heard yesterday that the South African Defence Force had funded a Port Elizabeth-based front company, Eduguide CC.

This was the testimony of Colonel Lourens du Plessis, who drafted the controversial signal message calling for the permanent removal from society of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists.

During cross-examination by counsel for the slain Cradock activist, Mr George Bizos, SC, Du Plessis confirmed that Eduguide was established with funds from the SADF.

He also said the Reverend Ebenezer Maqina — who presented himself as a local Azanian People's Organisation leader — was a paid agent of the security police.

Maqina and his followers were embroiled in a bloody feud with United Democratic Front supporters during 1985.

Du Plessis told the court that funds were also made available by the Department of Health.

This was for food parcels to be distributed by Maqina in the townships.

He identified Maqina's handler in the security police as a former Koevoet member, Major Herman du Plessis.

On the signal message — which he earlier testified he understood to represent a death order — Du Plessis said there were no queries on the wording of the signal from either General Johannes Janse van Rensburg or General Joffel van der Westhuizen.

Van Rensburg was an official of the secretariat of the State Security Council. And the message was addressed to him, while Van der Westhuizen was at the time head of EP Command and ordered the signal drawn up. — *Ecna.*

Inquest told of hi-tech army

(327)

CT 26/8/93

SADF 'did not kill Goniwe'

PORT ELIZABETH. — The SA Defence Force had "millions of rands at its disposal" and ran a powerful, hi-tech operation in the Eastern Cape in 1985 when political activist Mr Matthew Goniwe was murdered, the Supreme Court heard here yesterday.

Retired SADF Colonel Lourens du Plessis, cross-questioned by SA Police legal counsel Mr Dup de Bruyn in the Goniwe inquest, said EP Command was far better equipped at the time than the SAP. He said EP Command had at its disposal about 20 000 people and sophisticated equipment which included, for example, a "drone" — a miniature remote-controlled aircraft with cameras for spying.

The SADF had a number of properties in Port Elizabeth, "night-sight apparatus", special vehicles, armoured vehicles, helicopters "and cooking facilities, whereas the policeman has to go out and buy a pie", Col Du Plessis said.

The point of this evidence, Mr De Bruyn said, was that the SADF had the capacity to kill Mr Goniwe.

Mr De Bruyn: "You have said in your evidence that 20 days after the signal (containing the words 'permanent removal from society', which Col Du Plessis had sent to the State Security Council in Pretoria) was not enough for the SADF special forces to have had the capacity to kill Goniwe."

Col Du Plessis: "That is correct."

Mr De Bruyn: "Come, come! We have just heard how sophisticated the SADF was. Are you seriously saying the special forces did not have the capacity?"

Col Du Plessis: "I stick by what I say."

"In your own words (in previous evidence) you have described the special Hammer Unit's purpose. If you want to hit someone, what do you do?"

"You hit him with a hammer."

SADF legal counsel Mr Anton Mostert, SC, cross-examining Col Du Plessis, reminded him of a meeting they had had in Mr Mostert's Johannesburg office when Col Du Plessis "complained bitterly" about the "deal" he had got from the SADF.

"What was your pension?" Mr Mostert asked.

"R1 400 a month."

"That is what you told me: After a lifetime career you were getting R1 400 a month."

The inquest continues today.

Special forces role in killings 'unlikely'

B/Day 26/8/93

PORT ELIZABETH — It was unlikely that the special forces could have carried out the 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock anti-apartheid campaigners without the co-operation of local police, a judicial inquest was told in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

Retired SADF colonel Lourens du Plessis, who was testifying at the inquest on the Cradock Four, said eastern Cape security police were aware of all of Goniwe's movements. It would have been difficult for special forces members to murder him unless the security police co-operated.

Only 20 days had elapsed between the day the military telex recommending that Goniwe and other activists be killed had been sent to Pretoria and the day the murders took place.

The special forces, which were based in Pretoria, would have needed longer than 20 days to plan and execute the operation if they had not had the co-operation of the local police, he said.

Police legal counsel Dup de Bruyn submitted that the special forces could have been assisted by an SADF reaction unit known as the Hammer unit. This unit, he said, had been based at Easten Province Command in Port Elizabeth.

Du Plessis acknowledged this was possible because: "If you wanted someone hit, you used a Hammer."

He described the enormous capabilities of the SADF in 1985. It had "endless funds" and a far greater capability than the police, he said.

"Funds were never a problem. We had millions of rands at our disposal."

During cross-examination yesterday by George Bizos, senior counsel for the families of the Cradock men, Du Plessis also testified about SADF front organisations operating in Port Elizabeth. (327)

Former Azapo member the Rev Ebenezer Maqina had been involved in one of the SADF's front organisations, Eduguide CC, he said. Maqina had also been in the employ of the security police before he became "an embarrassment to all concerned".

Maqina was later expelled from Azapo and formed a group called Ama Afrika.

The inquest was told, too, that the SADF had been involved in killing other people.

Killing was common during the period between 1984 and 1986, by the black community and, to a lesser degree, by the SADF, said Du Plessis. — Sapa.

Du Plessis 'an alcoholic, broke' — State

ARG 27/8/93

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Days before Colonel Lourens du Plessis went to Johanesburg for discussions with the ANC, New Nation newspaper and General Bantu Holomisa last year, R15 000 was paid into his bank account, the Goniwe inquest has heard.

Colonel Du Plessis, a retired army officer giving evidence at the re-opened inquest on Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhluwali, said he could not recall offhand who paid the cheque into his account.

He first said it was a Mr Visser who owed him money. But, when it was pointed out that the money was paid into his account by special transfer, he agreed it could not have come from Mr Visser, who lived in Port Elizabeth.

He denied strongly that the money came from the ANC and asked for an opportunity to check the amount.

He said he went to Johannesburg three times to talk to members of the ANC, staff of New Nation and General Holomisa, whom he described as a close friend.

He said that after the existence of a signal — calling for the "permanent removal from society of Mr Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Mr Calata — was reported in New Nation, he signed an affidavit for New Nation saying he had signed it.

He did not tell New Nation that General Joffel van der Westhuizen had not actually used the words that Mr Goniwe should be killed.

He said New Nation paid for two of the trips, and the third he did by car for which General Holomisa reimbursed him R600 for expenses.

He said he met New Nation editor Zwelake Sizulu and reporter Enoch Sithole. He also met Joe Nthlante of the ANC.

He said New Nation wanted him to address groups from overseas. They also wanted him to go overseas to give talks which could have earned him up to R1 000 a minute.

He said the ANC had offered him a job as an adviser from the beginning of January this year, but he had never received his salary. (327)

He said he had refused offers, high lucrative offers, because he did not want any complications when he gave evidence at the inqest.

Counsel for the Defence Force Anton Mostert SC put it to him that he was financially in a mess, that he was an alcoholic and did not know which way to turn.

Colonel Du Plessis conceded that he had not worked for 18 months, but said his wife had a good job and assisted him.

With the inquest hanging over his head he had not been able to get a job.

Mr Mostert: From June 1985 to April 1992 you knew that the signal was an order to kill. Yet, it was only in April 1992 that you told anyone.

Colonel Du Plessis: Yes.

Mr Mostert: In 1992, against a background of financial problems, a drinking problem and when you were unhappy about your treatment by the SADF, you suddenly meet the ANC and General Holomisa?

Colonel Du Plessis: Yes.

Mr Mostert: After seven years of silence, the signal suddenly became a death warrant?

Colonel Du Plessis: That is true.

Mr Mostert: An intelligence officer told me that when one wanted an agent or informer, the best person to look for was one who had a drinking problem and financial problems and then to make him promises and later more promises.

Asked if he fitted the bill, Colonel Du Plessis said he probably did, but he was not being recruited and had done no work for the ANC.

Mr Mostert: I suggest that in association with the ANC and New Nation you pulled the biggest piece of disinformation against the government ever seen in this country?

Colonel Du Plessis: I am not going to answer.

Mr Mostert: And, in the process, you betrayed a man for whom you had high regard, General van der Westhuizen. You also made sure that this disinformation went into the world.

Evidence on 'order to kill'

ARG 27/8/93 (327)

☐ Colonel says the words 'get rid of' were a veiled death sentence

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A former army officer insisted today that the term "get rid of" was a veiled death sentence.

Colonel Lourens du Plessis, giving evidence at the Goniwe inquest in the Supreme Court here, was being cross-examined about the terms "permanently removed from society" and "get rid of".

Colonel Du Plessis was on the staff of Eastern Province Command in 1985 when Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and three colleagues were murdered.

Anton Mostert SC, for the SADF, referred to several documents from meetings of joint management committees in various cities which referred to the "removal" of identified radicals from black townships.

Mr Mostert said these references were not instructions to kill.

Colonel Du Plessis said he agreed, but as far as he was concerned "permanent" was irrevocable.

Asked by Mr Justice Zietsman about the words on the signal he sent to Pretoria calling for the permanent removal from society of Matthew Goniwe, Mbelelo Goniwe and Fort Calata, he said it meant the men should be killed.

The judge asked whether, if it had been intended that Matthew Goniwe should only be detained, an approach would have been made to Brigadier Johannes van Rensburg, who had been seconded from the SADF to the State Security Council.

Colonel Du Plessis replied that in 1985 it was not possible to detain people for any lengthy period and detentions were the work of the security police.

Mr Justice Zietsman: If General (Joffel) van der Westhuizen wanted him detained for a long time, would he have contacted Brigadier Van Rensburg?

General Van der Westhuizen was then a brigadier and head of Eastern Province Command.

Colonel Du Plessis said General Van der Westhuizen had told him Brigadier Van Rensburg would help "to get rid of" Mr Goniwe.

In evidence yesterday, Colonel Du Plessis admitted adding the names of Mbelelo Goniwe and Fort Calata to the signal himself.

Colonel Du Plessis made the admission under cross-examination by Mr Mostert about the "death" signal.

Colonel Du Plessis testified earlier that he drew up the signal after a discussion with General Van der Westhuizen.

He said although General Van der Westhuizen had not actually used the word "kill", he knew this was implied.

General Van der Westhuizen told him he had spoken to Brigadier Johannes Janse van Rensburg who had said he would help solve the "Goniwe problem".

Mr Mostert: General Van der Westhuizen's role was simply that he told you of Brigadier Van Rensburg's offer of help with the Goniwe problem and that he was prepared to accept that offer and then left it to you to confirm without mentioning the murder order. You wrote out the signal and you selected the other members who were to be murdered without authorisation?

Colonel Du Plessis: Yes I added the other two names.

The inquest has been postponed until Tuesday.

SADF attempt to discredit key witness

(327)

WM 27/8-2/9/93

Shadley Nash in Port Elizabeth

AFTER days of damning evidence of military dirty tricks at the Goniwe inquest, South African Defence Force lawyers this week began to build an image of key witness Colonel Lourens du Plessis as a man with a grudge.

Du Plessis was the man responsible for drafting the controversial signal message allegedly containing orders to kill Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe.

The court heard that days before the inquest was to begin, the SADF told Du Plessis to procure his own legal representation because of a possible conflict of interest with two generals.

SADF counsel Anton Mostert SC suggested in cross-examination that Du Plessis, who spent most of his adult life as a career soldier, was "bitter" and financially ruined after his retirement from the force in 1992.

Mostert told the court on Wednesday that during a consultation with Du Plessis in his Johannesburg offices last year, the latter had expressed disappointment with the way he was being treated after not receiving the handsome retirement "package" he had expected.

Du Plessis, who spent much of his career in covert operations, said he was financially ruined after a failed business venture in Alice, in the Ciskei, when he was kicked out by the African National Congress and lost about R30 000. He now receives R1 400 a month as monthly pension payment from the SADF.

But Du Plessis has already made several startling disclosures, accusing the army of conducting covert operations which included orders to kill "state enemies".

In a dramatic turn, an application by Mostert to have Operation Katzen documents declared inadmissible was rejected by Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman on the grounds that the document was already public knowledge. The judge said President FW de Klerk had made it clear that the truth about Goniwe had to emerge.

Operation Katzen was a plan by the SADF, drafted by Du Plessis, to destabilise the Ciskei by deposing then-Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe and create a united Xhosa homeland to act as a bulwark against the ANC/United Democratic Front alliance. The plan involved the possible murder of Sebe.

More damning evidence was produced when minutes of a secret meeting between the former head of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau was presented as evidence. The minutes confirmed that the CCB was at all times controlled and managed by the SADF.

It also emerged Geldenhuys had sanctioned the killing of state enemies as part of the brief of the CCB, as well as the use of non-traceable weapons during such operations.

The CCB, according to the minutes, could also make representations to Geldenhuys on whom to target via the officer commanding special forces.

Du Plessis said the SADF had used as their "bibles" handbooks on counter-insurgency tactics by a former Persian ambassador, General Frazer, and another book by John McCuen which was distributed to government officials and MPs by the State Security Council.

The books suggested that 80 percent of the population was neutral, 10 percent was pro-government and the rest "uncontrollable revolutionaries" who had to be "eliminated".

He also told the court that General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, then a brigadier commanding Eastern Province Command, had devised numerous plans, including Operation Katzen, to restore order in the Eastern Cape, then viewed as the fulcrum of the revolutionary onslaught.

Referring to the SADF's controversial Hammer Unit, he told the court during cross-examination by counsel for the SAP, Advocate Doep du Bruyn, that when "you wanted to hit someone, you used a Hammer". — Pen

ANC offered work to colonel

PORT ELIZABETH. — The ANC offered work to retired SADF Colonel Lourens du Plessis shortly before he told a newspaper that the signal ordering Mr Mathew Goniwe's "permanent removal" was a death order.

Col Du Plessis told the Goniwe inquest yesterday that ANC intelligence chief Mr Joe Nhlanhla had offered him work as an ANC adviser, shortly before the New Nation published the secret SADF signal.

He refused to reply to allegations that he stole and sold documents, as he did not want to incriminate himself.

He conceded he had a sporadic drinking problem, but when SADF counsel Mr Anton Mostert, SC, said a sure way of recruiting someone with "drink and financial problems" was with "promises of money", he replied: "I had no work."

His purpose in testifying was to assist "this inquest following appeals by the attorney-general for witnesses", he said.

Mr Mostert: "Not only did you betray General Van der Westhuizen, you also accused him falsely."

"Of what?" CT 27/8/93

"That he was the author of the signal."

"No, it was me who sent the signal, but on his instructions."

Mr Mostert queried a R15 000 deposit in Col Du Plessis's account around the time he met ANC officials, General Bantu Holomisa and New Nation staff, but Col Du Plessis denied it came from the ANC.

Col Du Plessis also said:

- He was offered "R1 000 a minute" for TV interviews on the Goniwe murders.
- Gen Holomisa had introduced him to Mr Nelson Mandela, and had given him R600 on one occasion.

The inquest continues today.

Double murderess 'deserves death'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Cradock murderess Letitia Erasmus deserved the death sentence as she had cold-bloodedly murdered her two husbands, prosecutor Mr Malherbe Marais said in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Each murder was premeditated and well-planned to create the impression of suicide, he said.

Erasmus was found guilty yesterday of killing Mr André Nel and Mr Petrus Erasmus, her first and second husbands, respectively.

She will be sentenced today — her 57th birthday — for shooting the two in the head in the space of four years.

Defence advocate Mr Fanus Louw insisted that the first murder was a "mercy killing". Of the second murder, he said there was evidence to suggest that Mr Erasmus had forced himself on Erasmus sexually.

He said Erasmus did not deserve the death sentence and asked that she receive a suspended sentence for the murder of Mr Nel — or that the sentence at least run concurrently with the other sentence.

Unita shelled in Huambo advance

CT 27/8/93

LUANDA. — Government troops pushing for rebel-held Huambo are shelling Unita lines 120km from the city, army sources said yesterday.

They said artillery was pounding Unita's defence line to cover advancing ground troops.

Government troops have been advancing on Huambo from the coast since early July. The air force has bombed Huambo almost daily for the last three weeks.

The sources said Unita forces were responding with artillery fire. There had also been clashes between ground troops.

- The army confirmed the government's loss of Ambriz, a coastal town 150km north of Luanda.
- A UN official said estimates of 1 000 Angolans dying daily might be too low. People were starving as street battles raged. — Sapa-Reuter

General Joffel due to testify at inquest

Star 28/8/93

SHADLEY NASH

PORT ELIZABETH — Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen is expected to take the witness stand when the Goniwe inquest resumes in Port Elizabeth next week.

This week retired SADF colonel Lourens du Plessis testified that he drafted the signal calling for Goniwe and two others to be "permanently removed from society" on Van der Westhuizen's instruction — and that he took it to mean that they should be killed (327)

Van der Westhuizen was then a brigadier in command of Eastern Province Command, from where the signal was sent on June 7 1985 to the secretariat of the State Security Council. Twenty days later the bodies of Goniwe and fellow UDF activists Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were found.

In an affidavit submitted to the re-opened inquest earlier this year, Van der Westhuizen said he had no knowledge of the signal and that it was not in his handwriting or signed by him. He also denied that he suggested Goniwe and others be killed.

Evidence before the inquest yesterday again centred on the various meanings and interpretations of the words used in the signal message.

Senior counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert, referred to a number of documents, including police documents, where the word "remove" (verwyder) appeared and where the meaning did not imply that anyone should be killed.

The court heard that it was common in military circles for such words to be used without it meaning that people should be killed.

After some time Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said it was clear the words "permanent" and "remove" had several different meanings.

He said the signal meant what the people who drafted it intended it to convey.

The inquest was postponed to Tuesday. - Ecna.

Surprise delay in Goniwe inquest

(327)

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Testimony by retired SADF Colonel Lourens du Plessis in the Goniwe inquest was drawing to a close in the Supreme Court yesterday when an unexpected postponement was granted.

This means that Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen might not start giving evidence before Wednesday next week.

Yesterday SADF legal counsel Mr Anton Mostert, SC, disputed with Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman the exact wording of evidence given earlier yesterday by Col Du Plessis and demanded a replay of the tape-recorded evidence.

The judge objected on the grounds that most of the morning's evidence would have to be replayed but allowed the request for an adjournment until Tuesday.

Mr Mostert had been questioning Col Du Plessis closely on the meaning, in a hypothetical sense, of the word "removal".

CT 28/8/93

The word was used in the signal which Col Du Plessis has said he sent 20 days before political activist Mr Matthew Goniwe of Cradock was found murdered at Bluewater Bay in June 1985.

Yesterday Mr Mostert quoted from a number of documents in connection with the Goniwe killings in which the word "removal" was used but did not mean "killing".

Col Du Plessis agreed in all instances but said that the word "removal", in conjunction with the word "permanent" — as it occurred in his signal to Pretoria — meant "killing".

SUNDAY TIMES, August 29 199

SADF chief approved CCB targets

S/Times

29/8/93

By PETER de IONNO

A TOP-SECRET document presented to the Goniwe inquest this week shows that former SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys personally approved targets for CCB operations inside South Africa.

General Geldenhuys — who retired in October 1990 two months after announcing the CCB had been disbanded — told a parliamentary committee in March 1990 that the CCB had not been authorised to operate inside South Africa.

However, the Harms commission of inquiry found evidence that the CCB had been involved in a plot to kill journalist and anti-apartheid activist Gavin Evans; had planned to kill activist and lawyer Dullah Omar by substituting a dangerous drug for his heart medication; and had drafted a detailed plan to kill Durban lawyer Kwenza Mlaba with a poisoned razor blade.

He refused this week to comment on the minutes of a CCB meeting on April 23 1987.

Plans

The two-page document from the CCB to the chief of the SADF, contains references to murder, clandestine funds and a denial of documentation to the auditor-general.

In a key paragraph, titled "Methods to be Employed" the general defines proposed CCB action, which he "does not see as murder" as "an attack on an individual (enemy) target with non-standard issue weapons in an unconventional fashion or manner — so as not to touch innocents'."

Another proposal was that Major-General Joep Joubert, then head of the SADF's Special Forces, should double the CCB's "internal capacity". Another proposal said a "special channel" would be set up.

General Joubert said this week the channel involved plans and budgets for individual projects drawn up by CCB managing director Colonel Joe Verster to be submitted to him, and passed on to General Geldenhuys for authorisation.

He said all "significant" operations were taken by him and General Geldenhuys to then-Defence Minister General Magnus Malan for approval. General Malan is on record as saying he was not aware of the CCB until November 1989.

General Joubert said he had decided to verify the authenticity of the document filed with the Goniwe inquest as a result of "denial of political accountability for the CCB".

"President De Klerk should put an end to commissions and inquiries by following the example of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who protected the SAS soldiers who gunned down three suspected IRA terrorists in Gibraltar in 1988," he said.

● See Page 4

Goniwe inquest: Colonel denies squeal deal

C/Press 29/8/93

A KEY witness at the Goniwe inquest, Colonel Lourens du Plessis, this week denied he was paid a sum of R15 000 by the ANC following a series of meetings with the organisation and the *New Nation* newspaper last year.

The court heard during Du Plessis' cross-examination by counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert SC, that Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa had arranged a meeting with the newspaper and ANC representatives in Johannesburg last April.

At the meeting, Du Plessis had confirmed in writing that the signal was Matthew Goniwe's death order.

In return the *New Nation* and the ANC made a number of offers to Du Plessis which held substantial financial rewards for him.

After producing a copy of a statement of his bank account, Du Plessis denied the money was paid into his account by the ANC on March 29 1992, days before the meeting.

He told the court he had received a sum of R600 from Holomisa for expenses after the general arranged a meeting with ANC leaders at the Carlton Hotel last year. (327)

Du Plessis also said *New Nation* paid his expenses for three visits to Johannesburg. He could only confirm the one meeting where he verified the signal message to *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu.

He said he had another meeting with Sisulu, but could not say what was discussed, nor could he say what the purpose of the third meeting was.

He agreed with Mostert that a number of options were put to him which held financial reward. Du Plessis confirmed the ANC had promised an "advisory" job, commencing early this year, as well as a post in the defence force, but he denied ever doing any work for the ANC or being paid by them.

He also said the *New Nation* would have arranged an international press conference where he would speak on Goniwe and the signal, as well as a number of talks overseas where he would address certain "groups" on the subject. He said "invitations" had been extended.

Du Plessis said although these options would have been financially rewarding for him at a time when he was in financial trouble, he did not go ahead with them because of the potential implications for the present inquest.

Du Plessis said the ANC offers were made to him in December last year and that the main "role player" from the ANC was allegedly ANC intelligence chief Joe Nhlanhla.

Discussions with *New Nation* reporter Enoch Sithole on his other engagements were discussed in the last six months, he said.

Mostert suggested the ANC, Du Plessis and the *New Nation* had engineered the "biggest, successful" disinformation campaign against the security forces.

Mostert said Du Plessis had "betrayed" a good friend, General Van Der Westhuizen, a charge Du Plessis denied.

In a startling close to the day's proceedings Mostert said that during his discussion with Van Der Westhuizen, then a brigadier commanding the EP Command, there was no mention of any other person but Goniwe and that the names of the other two people on the signal message were written in by Du Plessis himself.

Du Plessis said that he understood that his orders were to confirm the discussion between General Janse Van Rensburg and Van Der Westhuizen, where the alleged offer to take care of the "Goniwe problem" was mentioned.

He also understood that he had to name Goniwe's colleagues and to spell out the implications, as he did in the signal.

Mostert then put it Du Plessis that it was he who had acted as "judge and jury" and placed the death sentence on the other two in the signal, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata.

Du Plessis denied he was a murderer. – Ecna

'ANC ran SADF smear campaign' inquest told

S/Times 29/8/93

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE "biggest and most successful disinformation campaign against the SADF" was orchestrated by the ANC and its staunch ally, Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court was told this week.

And the central figure in the campaign felt he had been given a raw deal when he retired after 31 years as an officer, SADF advocate Anton Mostert submitted.

Colonel Lourens du Plessis, 58, composed the June 1985 signal recommending that Cradock schoolteacher Matthew Goniwe be "permanently removed from society".

For the past week, the key witness in the Goniwe inquest has writhed under a cross-examination which has revealed, among other things, his alcoholism and financial difficulties. (254)

Mr Mostert accused Col du Plessis of "disgraceful conduct", and submitted that the former officer had stolen top secret SADF documents, then joined forces with the ANC to betray his former commanding officer and discredit the security forces. (327)

Col du Plessis admitted he had removed classified documents from Eastern Province Command when he retired in February 1990. These included a copy of Operation Katzen — a plan to overthrow Ciskei's president Lennox Sebe.

However, he was unable to explain how Gen Holomisa — a friend for 14 years — came by a copy of the plan.

Nor did he have any idea how the original file had disappeared from a safe at EP Command.

Only one handwritten copy of this file was ever made, and it is currently held by the present Chief of Staff Intelligence, Lt-General Joffel van der Westhuizen.

Gen Holomisa is in possession of the other, still bound in its distinctive army drab folder with a red cross on the cover, denoting its top secret classification.

The file was seen by former Sunday Times reporter De Wet Potgieter in Gen Holomisa's office earlier this year when he went to collect a complete copy of the contents which Gen Holomisa agreed to give the newspaper several weeks after releasing part of the file to the media.

Col du Plessis admitted Gen Holomisa had arranged for him to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela and had set up a meeting with New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and ANC intelligence chief Joe Nhlanhla shortly before the New Nation published the signal last May.

It was at this meeting, the colonel said, that he signed an affidavit claiming the signal was a death warrant.

But he was unable to explain why for seven years, he had not brought the signal to the attention of anyone — including the first Goniwe inquest.

Money

He admitted accepting R600 from Gen Holomisa for "travel expenses" but denied that R15 000 paid into his bank account shortly before publication of the signal was from the ANC.

Mr Nhlanhla had offered him a job as an adviser, he said, but no money had been forthcoming from the ANC.

Col du Plessis insisted he had understood Gen van der Westhuizen's oral instruction on the signal was an order to kill, but admitted he had added the names of Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata to the signal.

Police queried over blast sketch

ARG 20/8/93

□ Allegations of withholding information

PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The unexpected appearance of a police sketch at the Goniwe inquest after earlier claims that no such sketch existed has prompted allegations that the police have been withholding relevant information.

The allegations came from the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, who is conducting the inquest, George Bizos SC, appearing for the families, Anton Mostert SC, appearing for the Defence Force, and Mike Hodgen, assistant Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape.

Their remarks came after the court was told that a police sketch, done after the car bomb blast in which four men were killed, had come to light.

Judge Zietsman said it was strange that when the Attorney-General had looked for the sketch it was not available.

"I share the feeling of counsel that this investigation is being made more difficult by people who have information but have not volunteered it."

Earlier the court had been told no file or sketch was available.

Colonel P J du Bruyn, for the police, said an expert had been sent to check on certain information for the police team and had been handed the file and sketch.

It also contained 64 photographic negatives taken after the blast.

He immediately contacted the assistant Attorney-General, Mike Hodgen, and let him know.

He could not, at this stage, give any explanation for the file's sudden appearance.

Mr Hodgen said it was very surprising that his team had not been able to find any sign of the file or the sketch, though they had specifically asked for it.

"I have been handed this flimsy file. This file could not be found when Colonel Kobus Jonker went to look for it. Yet when Colonel Naude went to the same branch for the police team the file suddenly appears," he said.

Colonel Du Bruyn said the matter would be fully investigated.

Judge Zietsman, who is hearing the inquest on Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhwauli and Sparrow Mkhonto, members of the UDF who were murdered in 1985, asked why the material had not been given to the Attorney-General in the first place.

He said he would be "most interested" to see a report of the investigation into the matter. Although he was not in a position to point fingers, it was strange that when the Attorney-General looked for the sketch it was not available.

Mr Bizos said that instead of material being made available it appeared "that the suspects" were obstructing the proper investigation of the matter and that bits of information were being produced when pressure was applied.

"Is there no sufficiently honest police officer prepared to make himself available to make everything available to the Attorney-General?"

Associating himself with the remarks made by Mr Bizos, Mr Mostert, for the SADF, said there was a dramatic coincidence in the timing of the appearance of the sketch, which was, in fact, equal to the suppression of information.

"It is too much of a coincidence that when pressure is applied in relation to the plans or sketch of the scene, a plan makes its appearance.

"Similarly incorrect information pertained to the video, of which no mention was made originally, nor was a copy given to the Attorney-General though the police knew it was available."

Telephone caller becomes key issue

(321) ARG 31/8/93

PAT CANDIDO
Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Who initiated the telephone conversation that led to the dispatch of the controversial Goniwe signal became the leading question at the inquest in the Supreme Court here into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Anton Mostert, SC, was cross-examining Colonel Lourens du Plessis, now retired, who was formerly senior staff officer of Comops in 1985.

He confirmed the authenticity of the signal ordering the permanent removal from society of Mr Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Mr Calata.

In his evidence, Major-General Johannes Frederick Janse van Rensburg, who was a major-general in the Defence Force seconded to the secretariat of the state security council and head of the strategies branch, admitted he had telephoned General Joffel van der Westhuizen on May 7, 1985.

He said he had asked General Van der Westhuizen, then a brigadier in charge of EP Command, for his opinion on what decision should be taken about Mr Goniwe. Mr Goniwe was to be discussed by the Geldenhuys Committee.

Mr Mostert said nobody had questioned whether Brigadier Van Rensburg had initiated the telephone call.

Mr Justice Zietsman said he could not recall that there had been anything to suggest that Brigadier Van Rensburg did not make the call.

Mr Mostert, who is appearing for the SADF, said Brigadier Van Rensburg's claim would be contested.

Earlier, Colonel Du Plessis said there was a difference in security force language between stabilise and normalise. Stabilisation meant the armed forces would be used to bring an unrest situation under control. Normalise meant that attention would be given to socio-economic factors such as housing, schools, water and toilets to improve the lives of the community.

He admitted that the two often went hand in hand, for a psychological as well as defensive measure for control of an unrest situation.

(Proceeding).

Goniwe witness admits he may have been wrong

'I could have misread signal'

Star 1/9/93 (327)

A KEY witness in the Goniwe inquest says there is a good chance his commanding officer did not order the activist's death

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — Former army officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis has told the Supreme Court that there was a 50 percent chance he might have misunderstood the meaning of the call for the "permanent removal from society" of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe.

During extensive cross-examination at the Goniwe inquest yesterday, Du Plessis stood by his testimony that he was instructed by his commanding officer at Eastern Provice Command, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, to send a signal to Pretoria which was tantamount to a death warrant for Goniwe and fellow activists Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata.

Cross-examined by Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, he agreed that the phrase "permanently removed from society" could be open to other interpretations, but insisted that he would not deviate from his original testimony that it was a warrant of execution.

"I will not say what Mr Mostert wants me to say," he said.

When the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, asked whether there was a possibility that Van der Westhuizen had perhaps meant that Goniwe should be detained, he replied there was a possibility that he could have mistaken his meaning.

"If this is so, why did you not discuss the signal with Van der Westhuizen to find out explicitly what he meant?"

Du Plessis: "After I spoke to him I immediately carried out his order. I did not even think of going to discuss it with him.

"There was no doubt. That is why I immediately went to carry out the order. Nobody queried it after I had sent it and asked about the intention."

Asked how great the chance of a misunderstanding was, Du Plessis said after a long pause: "A 50 percent chance."

Under cross-examination by Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney-General Mike Hodgen, he said if there had been a complaint about the signal, it would have been the first such complaint.

He said members of the Cabinet and General Magnus Malan — then Minister of Defence — had flown to Port Elizabeth at midnight to discuss eastern Cape unrest.

Malan had crassly told Van der Westhuizen that he had better do something or his position could be on the line.

Du Plessis said Van der Westhuizen had told him that former army officer Brigadier Johannes Janse van Rensburg had indicated in a phone call that he could help with the "Goniwe problem".

The gist of the signal was to confirm the telephone conversation, provide the names of the relevant activists and give some idea of the possible implication of the action contemplated.

Probe into '89 car bomb reopens

(327)

Own Correspondent

1/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police have re-opened their investigation into the car-bomb explosion in which three security policemen and an informer were killed near here in 1989.

These deaths have been linked to the 1985 murders of activists Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli and Mr Sparrow Mkonto.

It has been alleged that a powerful bomb was used to kill policemen Mr Amos Faku, Mr Desmond Mapipa, Mr Mbabalala Ngoduka, and informer Mr Charles Jack because they were about to disclose vital information on the Goniwe murders.

No arrests have been made in the new investigation, the investigating officer said yesterday.

Deputy attorney-general Mr Mike Hodgen asked for the investigation to be re-opened.

Signal 'could have been a mistake'

PORT ELIZABETH. — There was a "50-50 chance" that a military signal about the "permanent removal" of political activist Mr Matthew Goniwe could have been sent by mistake, the Supreme Court heard here yesterday.

Retired SA Defence Force Colonel Lourens du Plessis said in evidence in the reopened Goniwe inquest that he stuck to his opinion that the words "permanent removal" meant "to kill", and that he had correctly understood instructions by his former chief in Eastern Province Command, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, now chief of Military Intelligence, to recommend in the signal that Matthew Goniwe was to be killed.

"But I am human, it is possible that I could have interpreted the instructions wrongly," Col Du Plessis said.

"I carried his orders out immediately. I didn't think of discussing it with him. I thought I had understood my instructions. I didn't doubt that I understood them."

Earlier yesterday the judge was surprised when SADF legal adviser Mr Anton Mostert said he did not accept "a great deal" of evidence previously given by SADF Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg.

Gen Van der Westhuizen is expected to start giving evidence today.

CT 1/9/93

327

I would have queried Goniwe signal — Joffel

Star 2/9/93

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — Military Intelligence head General Joffel van der Westhuizen said yesterday he would have questioned the contents of the signal ordering the "permanent removal" of Matthew Goniwe if he had seen it before it appeared in the press.

He was giving evidence at the inquest on the deaths of Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

The inquest has been told by Colonel Lourens du Plessis, staff officer at Eastern Province Command in 1985, that Van der Westhuizen, then a brigadier, ordered him to send the signal to Pretoria ordering the permanent removal of Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Calata.

Van der Westhuizen denied in an affidavit that he had ordered the activists' deaths. He said he had not seen the signal until it appeared in New Nation. (327)

He told the inquest yesterday that he could not remember having spoken to Brigadier Johannes Janse van Rensburg of the State Security Council on June 7 1985, the day the signal was sent. He later conceded he might have spoken to him.

In his affidavit, Van der Westhuizen denied that he had ordered the men to be killed and said he had meant only that they should be detained. (~~354~~)

He agreed with George Bizos, SC, representing the activists' families, that the men had been killed in an "unconventional manner". He also agreed that the unconventional methods could fit the approach of the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

During cross-examination Van der Westhuizen was asked to leave the court several times while counsel argued about the admissibility of certain questions. Counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert, SC, said he had advised him to claim protection from answering questions which might incriminate him.

Asked by Bizos whether he would have objected to anything if he had seen the signal, he said he would never have allowed such vague terminology.

The inquest continues.

Intelligence chief refuses inquest query

B/Day 2/9/93

Own Correspondent

Military Intelligence chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen refused yesterday at the Goniwe inquest to answer questions about a statement he had made to the police.

Van der Westhuizen wanted "protection" from answering questions on Operation Katzen and from answering questions about a statement he made in an affidavit that he never ordered the killing of Matthew Goniwe "or anybody else".

Head of the Eastern Province Command at the time of the Goniwe killings, Van der Westhuizen said he could not remember authorising a military signal to the State Security Council in Pretoria recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe.

If he had been responsible for sending the signal, he would have made "more specific recommendations", he said.

Asked by Deputy Attorney-General Mike Hodgen if he had seen the signal before it was published in the New Nation newspapers, he said he had not.

He denied an accusation made by retired SADF colonel Lourens du Plessis that he had ordered the killings.

He said he might have had a telephone conversation with Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg in Pretoria on the day that the signal was sent, as alleged by Du Plessis, but he could not remember.

State President F W de Klerk instructed that evidence about Operation Katzen, the SADF plot to overthrow former Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe, be excluded from the inquest.

But Judge-President Neville Zietsman has brought scraps of information about Operation Katzen to light in questions put by himself.

(327)

He ruled yesterday that the admissibility of Katzen-related matters would be dealt with in the course of Van der Westhuizen's evidence.

Van der Westhuizen answered questions on the SADF's controversial Hammer Unit in Port Elizabeth, describing it as the equivalent of the elite US Green Berets.

It has been alleged that the Hammer Unit had links with political killings.

Van der Westhuizen said he had ordered the Hammer Unit to be created when unrest in the Eastern Cape was rife in 1985. But it was "not a hit squad" and the name Hammer may have been coined by the media.

"The purpose of the unit was to enable a quicker response in anti-insurgency tasks, in protecting VIPs and national key-points and in dealing with landmines and other explosives," he said.

"It was a reaction unit, but not of a secret nature. It was not composed of permanent members of the defence force but members of the citizen force and the commandoes," he said.

The inquest continues today.

New alternative to jail term mooted

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — An alternative to imprisonment, victim-offender mediation, has been mooted by the Human Sciences Research Council to provide restitution to victims while keeping offenders out of the criminal justice system.

Following the successful completion of a pilot project by the Cape Town branch of the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro), an HSRC report said the system gave offenders "the chance to make right the wrongs he or she caused".

Victim-offender mediation allowed for victim and offender to meet face to face under the control of a neutral party to negotiate a settlement.

"It is less expensive than many other forms of sentencing such as imprisonment, and is particularly suited to juvenile offenders and first offenders involved in property crime," the HSRC said.

The system gave victims the opportunity to participate actively in the criminal justice process and empowered a community to resolve its own conflicts and problems, it said.

Offenders were also given the chance to take responsibility for their actions and to propose ways of compensating the victims.

Bid to curb hospital conflict

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A PLAN to reduce conflict over retrenchments at Baragwanath Hospital, Soweto, was being devised between all players involved, including the Wits Vaal Peace Secretariat, Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) spokesman Jan van Wyk said yesterday. B/Day

Plans to retrench 475 hospital workers had been scrapped as the administration had succeeded in accommodating them by readjusting post structures and introducing voluntary early retirement packages.

Tension surrounding the retrenchment of workers hired during last year's National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) strike had led to the deaths of five union members and the injury of another 13. 2/9/93

Van Wyk reported that some shop stewards still felt threatened while on the hospital's premises. A strategy had to be found to improve security.

Attempts would be made to involve all parties, including Nehawu, Baragwanath's management, the TPA, the United Workers' Union of SA and the peace committee in drawing up the strategy. A date date had yet to be set for a meeting on this.

By offering voluntary retirement packages to workers and finding alternative posts, the TPA had succeeded in reducing the number of workers to be retrenched from 3 000 at 26 hospitals to 619 at only three hospitals, Van Wyk said.

The hospitals involved were Johannesburg, Tembisa and Garankuwa.

The TPA would continue to try to place the 619 workers in suitable posts before the cut-off date at the end of the month, he said.

Goniwe: MI chief defiant

CT 2/9/93

Refuses to answer questions

PORT ELIZABETH. — A defiant General Joffel van der Westhuizen, head of Military Intelligence, yesterday refused to answer certain questions put to him in the Goniwe inquest on the grounds that they could incriminate him.

His lawyer, Mr Anton Mostert, said he had advised Gen Van der Westhuizen not to answer questions on some aspects of an affidavit he had made to police in which he claimed he had "never planned or approved the murder of anyone" and on questions relating to "Operation Katzen".

Operation Katzen was the South African Defence Force operation which sought to overthrow former Ciskei leader Mr Lennox Sebe.

In the plans, of which Gen Van der Westhuizen is the alleged author, reference is made to the "permanent disappearance" and "elimination" of certain people loyal to Mr Sebe.

The Katzen documents were submitted as evidence to the inquest some months after Gen Van der Westhuizen submitted, in his first affidavit in May last year, that neither he nor the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre, of which he was chairman, had ever planned or approved the killing of anyone.

It has been alleged at the inquest that in June, 1985 Gen Van der Westhuizen ordered that a signal be drafted and sent to the State Security Council in Pretoria recommending that Mr Matthew Goniwe and two other activists be killed.

Counsel for the families of the deceased, Mr George Bizos, argued that Gen Van der Westhuizen should be made to answer questions on his affidavit.

"He has made his bed and now he must sleep on it. The issue is whether he ordered (Mr) Goniwe's murder or not. He has made an affidavit in which he piously claims he never ordered the murder of anyone. He cannot now change his mind because evidence to the contrary has come to light."

Mr Bizos argued that he was entitled to questions on the entire affidavit, and that the general should be obliged to answer.

Judge-President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman ruled that the inquest could continue and that he would deal with aspects raised by Mr Mostert as they occurred.

Gen Van der Westhuizen denied an accusation made by an earlier witness, retired SA Defence Force Col Lourens du Plessis, that he (Gen Van der Westhuizen) had ordered the killings.

The inquest proceeds today.

ing killings ● Professor investigates 'home loans'

General denies Goniwe signal

Sowetan 2/9/93

(327)

Sowetan Correspondent

STATEMENT QUERIED Military chief afraid to incriminate himself:

THE HEAD OF MILITARY intelligence, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, yesterday emphatically denied that he had ever authorised a signal calling for the death of Matthew Goniwe and two colleagues.

Van der Westhuizen was giving evidence at the Supreme Court inquest on Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto whose bodies were found in bushes in 1985.

At the resumption of the inquest yesterday Mr Anton Mostert, for the SADF, said two aspects of an affidavit made by Van der Westhuizen should be classified and privileged.

He said the general would not answer questions regarding Operation Katzen or questions relating to claims that "other people" be killed.

Mostert said Van der Westhuizen was claiming this protection under the statute which protected a witness from incriminating himself.

Mr George Bizos, appearing for the families, objected to the whole affidavit not being acknowledged and admitted as evidence.

"In his affidavit he (General Van der Westhuizen) piously says that 'I have never ordered the killing of anyone'."

He said cross-examination should be allowed as he had made his bed and should sleep on it.

There was heated objection from Mostert, who told Mr Justice Zietsman that he had not explained his rights to the witness.

The judge eventually ruled that the inquest could continue and that he would deal with aspects raised by Mostert as they occurred.

Van der Westhuizen said from 1982 to 1986 he was in charge of EP Command and chairman of the East Cape Joint Management Committee.

During 1984/85 the Eastern Cape was a flash point for anarchy. He had 30 000 members under his control and his area stretched from Ciskei/Transkei and the Eastern Cape to the North Eastern Cape.

He said when the signal in *New Nation* signed by Colonel Lourens du Plessis came to his attention he recognised the name of Goniwe, a teacher at Cradock who was planning alternative structures for the area. This was known as the G-plan for Goniwe.

He said it was decided that Goniwe should be transferred. He said he did not remember Calata or Goniwe's brother, Mbulelo.

He said he did not remember the signal sent by Du Plessis calling for their "permanent removal from society".

He was definitely not the author of the signal. During that period people were recommended for lengthy detention.

The security police were responsible for these detentions.

He said at a meeting of the East Cape Joint Management Committee it was recommended that he either be transferred or never allowed to teach again.

"I deny that I ever suggested as stated in the Press that Goniwe, Mbulelo or anybody else be killed nor did the East Cape Joint Management Committee."

He said he could not remember any telephone conversation with Brigadier Johannes van Rensburg regarding the signal and he was certainly not the author of the signal.

He said he wished to place on record that the so-called reaction unit, known as the Hammer Unit, was never a hit-squad force.

He said the unit had been established to assist with counter-insurgency problems and was not part of the special forces.

He had established the unit and the nickname had stuck in much the same way as the Green Berets in America.

He said there was an urgent need for better trained troops who could operate more quickly and professionally with regard to counter-insurgency and the immediate follow-up of any enemy infiltration and sabotage.

Recruits were volunteers from civilian and commando forces and started their training in 1983.

They were first used in 1985.

Goniwe: General 'cannot recall feelings or signal'

(327) ARG 2/9/93

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Head of Military Intelligence Joffel van der Westhuizen said today he could not remember his personal feelings about Matthew Goniwe during 1985.

Cross-examined by Mr George Bizos, SC, appearing at the Supreme Court inquest for the families, General Van Der Westhuizen said he could not recall the signal calling for the "permanent removal" of Mr Goniwe from society at all, nor could he remember his own feelings about Mr Goniwe.

The general was giving evidence at the inquest into the deaths of Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli in 1985.

After he said he could not remember the signal or his feelings, the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman, intervened: "This was a very important problem. It had to be decided what to do with Goniwe.

"You cannot remember about a conversation you had with General Van Rensburg, the signal, what you might have told Du Plessis or what the order was."

General Van Der Westhuizen replied that Mr Goniwe had nothing to do with his department. The only connection was through his (General Van der Westhuizen's) involvement with the East Cape Joint Management Committee.

"I do not remember problems because they did not touch me directly. Most of the time I was in Pretoria.

"I was very busy. We were preparing plan Strelitzia, which dealt with the upliftment ... of the people and I was extremely busy. I cannot be expected to remember details from eight years ago."

Mr Bizos said it was accepted that Mr Goniwe was under the scrutiny of the security police. But political pressure was being put on the Defence Force to bring the unrest under control because there were plans to make the area ungovernable.

General Van Der Westhuizen replied that this was the very reason he was busy with strategic plans to resolve the unrest problem.

Mr Bizos: I want to put it to you that when you say that you cannot remember June 7, 1985, your evidence is totally untrue.

General Van Der Westhuizen: I deny this.

Mr Bizos: It was known that Mr Goniwe was a thorn in the flesh of the security forces and 20 days after this signal he and his colleagues are dead.

General Van Der Westhuizen said he learnt of their deaths only after returning from holiday in July.

Mr Bizos said the signal had obviously been drawn up in "veiled language" because no officer and gentleman would have wanted to be directly concerned with what was simply murder.

That was why murder was a word not used openly by the security forces. General Van Der Westhuizen denied this.

Mr Bizos said that when the signal referred to the disappearance of the Pebco Three in May 1985 it seemed as if the person who had drawn up the signal knew that they had disappeared.

At that stage there was widespread speculation that Qaqawuli Godolozi, Sipho Hashe and Champion Galela had been seen in the presence of the police.

General Van Der Westhuizen said he could not have understood why anybody would have wanted to kill Mr Goniwe because it would have simply turned him into a martyr.

Mr Bizos said Mr Goniwe was considered an enemy of the State. While General Van Der Westhuizen insisted that it would have been senseless to kill Mr Goniwe, it would have been quite reasonable provided that after they died their bodies had disappeared.

He said the vehicle in which they were travelling was so badly burnt that it was hardly recognisable and the bodies of the four men were never meant to be found. If they had simply disappeared no great fuss would have been made about it.

It was quite by accident that the investigating officer had found a number plate which he could connect to the car. A false number plate had been used on the car.

Mr Bizos then asked whether the "murder" of the men, known as the Cradock Four, had not obviously been done in a very professional manner, in a way to make it appear that these men had disappeared.

General Van Der Westhuizen: It looked professional, but it was strange if anyone thought they could have hidden it.

General Joffel van der Westhuizen

(Proceedin

Goniwe witness 'evasive'

(327)

ARG 3/9/93

Counsel accuses general

PAT CANDIDO, Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Head of military intelligence Joffel van der Westhuizen was today accused of giving contradictory and evasive evidence at the Goniwe inquest.

George Bizos, SC, appearing for the families of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Nkhonto, was cross-examining General Van der Westhuizen, who was head of Eastern Province Command in 1985 when the four were murdered.

Earlier in the inquest Colonel Lourens du Plessis, his staff officer, said a signal which appeared in newspapers calling for the permanent removal from society of Mr Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Mr Calata, was an order to kill.

Mr Bizos said today he could not understand how a general, a brigadier and a colonel, who had advanced so far in the army and were accustomed to using clear and precise military language, could so have misunderstood one another that each had his own interpretation of the signal sent on June 7, 1985.

General Van der Westhuizen said Colonel Du Plessis, who signed the signal, could have made a mistake because he was under tremendous pressure and could be careless and a little confused at times. But he also admitted that Colonel Du Plessis was a reliable and loyal officer.

General Van der Westhuizen said he could not say why there were three interpretations because he could not actually remember the signal, or the conversation he was supposed to have had with General Johannes Janse van Rensburg of the State Security Council.

Colonel Du Plessis had said it was an order to kill, General Van Rensburg had said it meant Mr Goniwe should never be re-appointed a teacher and General Van der Westhuizen interpreted it to mean Mr Goniwe should be re-appointed.

General Van der Westhuizen said the East Cape Joint Management Centre had, in a signal on May 23 1985, recommended that Mr Goniwe not be re-appointed.

Mr Bizos asked General Van der Westhuizen why nobody had questioned the words "permanent removal from society" if the signal was interpreted in the way he suggested.

General Van der Westhuizen said he could not give an answer.

Mr Bizos: You and General Van Rensburg are not telling the truth about the telephone conversation on June 7. You are giving contradictory evidence which is highly unlikely.

General Van der Westhuzen: It is not contradictory. You must remember, it was long ago. I did not write or send the signal. The colonel could have made a mistake.

Mr Bizos: I put it to you that you are adapting your evidence in such a manner to support what General Van Rensburg said in his?

General Van der Westhuizen: I'm trying my best to remember.

Mr Bizos: Colonel Du Plessis said in his evidence that nobody ever contacted him to say the signal was nonsensical.

General Van der Westhuizen: I accept that.

(Proceeding).

'Goniwe problem did not affect general'

B/Day 3/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH — It was strange that Military Intelligence chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen could remember nothing of the circumstances of the signal which recommended the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe, the judge presiding at the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth said yesterday.

Judge Neville Zietsman told Van der Westhuizen that in June 1985 Goniwe's lot was being discussed by the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre, which was chaired by the general. Van der Westhuizen had told the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court that he had no knowledge of the military signal.

According to a note attached to the signal, it was sent to Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg at the State Security Council in Pretoria by Van der Westhuizen on June 7 1985 to confirm a conversation between the two men earlier that day.

"I remember the problem and the discussion surrounding Goniwe but it did not affect me personally," said Van der Westhuizen. However, the conversation did not "stand out" in his memory.

"It happened nine years ago. I was very busy then. To remember a telephone conversation is asking too much."

Twenty days after the signal was sent, Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkonto were murdered near Port Elizabeth.

(327)

Van der Westhuizen said he could see no relationship between the signal and the murders. He said he did not remember the signal or the telephone conversation with Van Rensburg, but assumed that Van Rensburg had asked him to make a recommendation on what the management centre felt should be "done with Goniwe", who was seen as an enemy of the state.

He said it was likely that one of the alternatives he would have given was that Goniwe be detained. He agreed the signal's meaning was not clear and said if he had seen it before it was sent he would have complained about its "vague" language.

The author of the signal, retired SADF colonel Lourens du Plessis, had testifed that he drew up the signal on Van der Westhuizen's orders, and said it meant the activists should be killed.

Van der Westhuizen said he could think of no reason why Du Plessis would have used the vague term "permanently remove from society" instead of "detain".

"I doubt they were my words."

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Umkhonto's woes to top agenda

SERIOUS problems within the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will be among the topics discussed at a two-day special MK conference at a secret venue near Nelspruit in the eastern Transvaal starting today.

B/Day

MK's role in the period before and after the April 27 election and serious problems concerning members' welfare were expected to top the agenda.

3/9/93

A group of MK members recently occupied the ANC's Durban offices in protest at the way they had been treated since their return from exile. The issue was defused only after ANC president Nelson Mandela intervened personally.

The media would be allowed to attend only the opening of the conference, by Mandela, and the closing.

The ANC said yesterday issues to be discussed included:

- ☐ MK's state of organisation;
- ☐ Its role during the transition and preparations for joint control;
- ☐ The organisation's role in a national peacekeeping force;
- ☐ Its position in the new national defence force and its role in the integration process; and
- ☐ Welfare issues. — Sapa.

Goniwe: general 'resorted to euphemism'

Star 3/9/93

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — General Joffel van der Westhuizen, who headed the security operation in the Eastern Cape during the 1985 unrest, had a strange reluctance to use the words "murder" or "kill", and had resorted to euphemisms, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

George Bizos, SC, appearing for the families of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli at the inquest on their deaths, was cross-examining Van der Westhuizen, head of Military Intelligence.

Van Der Westhuizen said he could not personally recall any details of cross-border or hot pursuit raids in which people had been killed. He said this was possible in a war situation.

Citing references in a book on revolutionary warfare, earlier referred to as the "bible" of the SADF, Bizos said that if soft targets were to be taken out, the decision had to be taken at the highest level to ensure the operation did not boomerang.

Bizos also referred to a record of a Civil Co-operation Bureau meeting which referred to attacks on individuals not being deemed "murder" (327)

"If anybody needed to kill Goniwe, this person could not have done it if he did not have permission from the head of the SADF?" Bizos asked.

Van der Westhuizen said the document was written later.

Van der Westhuizen, former Eastern Cape Command commandant, said he could not recall the signal — sent by his staff officer at the time, Colonel Lourens du Plessis, allegedly on the commandant's orders — as a death warrant.

He denied that he and Du Plessis had used veiled language to cover the murder.

Bizos: "If you and Du Plessis had said 'Kill them', you could never have denied what you meant. But you used a euphemism so that you (could) say it was not a death warrant."

The inquest is proceeding.

Star 4/9/93

Joffel's 'problem' evidence

(327)

Judge queries reason for Goniwe signal

ADRIENNE CARLISLE

PORT ELIZABETH — The contents of the signal recommending the "permanent removal" of Matthew Goniwe and two other activists were not reconcilable with Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen's evidence on the possible circumstances which gave rise to the signal's existence, the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth heard yesterday.

Senior counsel for the families of the deceased, George Bizos, and Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said they had "problems" with Van der Westhuizen's explanation of the circumstances which prefaced the drafting of the signal on June 7 1985.

Van der Westhuizen, who was then head of Eastern Province Command, has claimed he could not recollect exactly what happened on that day but has accepted evidence that:

- The signal was sent on June 7 by an officer, Colonel Lourens du Plessis, on his orders to confirm, in written form, an earlier telephone conversation with General Johannes Janse van Rensburg from the State Security Council.
- Van Rensburg's testimony that the reason he telephoned was to ask Van der Westhuizen to give a written submission, on behalf of the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre, to the Geldenhuys Commission, which was to decide what action should be taken regarding Goniwe.
- Van Rensburg's further testimony that the submission should include the possible security implications of reappointing Goniwe to his position as headmaster at the Cradock school from which he had been suspended.

International reaction

Mr Justice Zietsman said that if this were true, the signal was "altogether incorrect" in that it did not meet any of Van Rensburg's demands.

"It does not confirm the telephonic discussion you had, the wording is wrong if reappointment was to be discussed, no implications are spelt out and it gives information that was not discussed or asked for."

The signal called for the permanent removal from society of Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and another prominent United Democratic Front activist, Fort Calata. It also spelt out the likely national and international reaction to this "removal".

Bizos submitted that the future of only Matthew Goniwe was at stake as far as the commission was concerned and no mention need have been made of Mbulelo and Calata.

"The Geldenhuys Commission had not asked about Calata or Mbulelo. If your evidence is correct, Calata's name should not be there."

Van der Westhuizen agreed, but said he had not seen the signal after it had been drafted by Du Plessis, who he assumed had added the names for his own reasons.

Mr Justice Zietsman: "Why would he do that? He was carrying out your instructions. The signal was to refer to the conversation between you and General van Rensburg and it was sent on your orders."

Van der Westhuizen said he could not explain the signal's contents because the matter had taken place eight years ago and he could not remember details.

Du Plessis said he had drafted the signal on Van der Westhuizen's instructions and that it meant that the three men were to be murdered.

Twenty days after the signal was sent, Goniwe, Calata and two other activists were killed.

The inquest continues on Monday when Mr Justice Zietsman will rule on whether Van der Westhuizen has the right to refuse to answer questions on sections of his affidavit. — Sapa.

GETTING HIS TEETH INTO E T: With a measure of relish, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo bites off the jelly head of AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche.

They are sweet, soft and famous

MANDY JEAN WOODS

WHAT do you do if you don't like your member of Parliament? "Bite his head off," suggests Mister Sweets managing director Darryl Senior, "and then really chew him out."

Senior is the brain behind the launch of "Multi-Party Politics", a new sweet bearing the faces of leading South African political figures.

"Have you the constitution for Multi-Party-Politics?", the packaging reads.

Politicians whose faces are featured on the sweets include Cyril Ramaphosa, Pik Botha, Eugene TerreBlanche, Jay Naidoo, Magnus Malan, F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and, complete with spectacles, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

"I spotted a similar idea in Germany last year. They were very popular and I decided it would be a good thing to do here as well," Senior says.

"It's really an attempt to inject some lightness and humour into the whole negotiating process and so far we have had a very good response.

Senior, together with his ad agency, Media Graphics, arranged to hand the first packets of "Multi-Party Politics" to negotiators at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday.

"It was really good fun," World Trade Centre catering executive director Lucia Swart says. "There was a great deal of laughter from the delegates once they saw what it was." Some politicians, she says, even came afterwards to ask for extra packets because they wanted specific 'sweet' faces!

Senior says packets of "Multi-Party Politics" will be in stores around the country within the next few weeks.

Invest in tomorrow, Mandela tells MK

Star 4/9/93

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

NELSPRUIT — ANC president Nelson Mandela told Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres yesterday to consider investing in their future and to allow the ANC to suggest how to do it.

He was referring to the R10 million raised to address the armed wing's welfare problems.

At a special MK conference in KaNgwane, Mandela said: "Cash handouts might sustain you for a few

of MK cadres have returned to South Africa requiring assistance to reintegrate into civilian life," he said.

"We have spent many painful moments agonising on how to spread what was available to maximum effect. It has been particularly painful

Things go bitter with Coke at Pepsi threat

Star 4/9/93

DAVID CANNING

THE threat of a return to the country by Pepsico has been listed among reasons for a huge push by Coca-Cola into undeveloped markets.

In a campaign increasingly becoming a role-model for other large South African groups, Coca-Cola franchiser Amalgamated Beverage Industries (ABI) has pumped more than R3 million into the informal areas around Durban alone to build goodwill and close any possible loopholes to Pepsico.

Like the cleft-stick messengers of old, each day

MI chief's evidence challenged

(327) CT 4/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH. — The military signal recommending Mr Matthew Goniwe's "permanent removal" was irreconcilable with Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen's evidence on the possible circumstances in which the signal was written, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday.

Mr George Bizos, for the Goniwe family, and Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman, queried Gen Van der Westhuizen's explanation of the circumstances in which the signal was drafted on June 7, 1985.

Gen Van der Westhuizen, who was then-head of Eastern Province Command, said he could not recall precisely what happened but had accepted:

- That the signal was sent on his orders on June 7 by Colonel Lourens du Plessis to confirm an earlier telephone conversation with Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg of the State Security Council;
- Gen Van Rensburg's testimony that he telephoned to ask Gen Van der Westhuizen for a written submission to the Geldenhuys Commission, which was considering action on Mr Goniwe; and
- Gen Van Rensburg's testimony that he said the submission should include the security implications of reappointing the suspended Mr Goniwe as headmaster at a Cradock school.

Judge Zietsman said if this were true the signal was "altogether incorrect" in that it did not meet any of Gen Van Rensburg's demands. "It does not confirm the telephonic discussion you had; the wording is wrong if reappointment was to be discussed, no implications are spelt out and it gives information that was not ... asked for," he said.

Assumed

The signal called for the permanent removal from society of Mr Goniwe and two others and detailed likely public reaction.

Mr Bizos said only Mr Goniwe's future was being considered by the commission and no mention need have been made of Mr Goniwe's brother, Mbulelo, and prominent United Democratic Front activist Mr Fort Calata.

Gen Van der Westhuizen agreed, but said he had not seen the signal after it was drafted by Col Du Plessis, who he assumed had added the names for his own reasons.

Judge Zietsman: "Why would he do that? He was carrying out your instructions. The signal was to refer to the conversation between you and Gen Van Rensburg and it was sent on your orders."

Gen Van der Westhuizen said he could not explain the signal's contents as the events occurred eight years ago and he could not recall details.

Col Du Plessis has testified that he was called in by Gen Van der Westhuizen and told of the call.

He said Gen Van der Westhuizen had said Gen Van Rensburg had offered to help them "get rid of the Goniwe problem" but had wanted written confirmation of the action to be taken.

Col Du Plessis has said he then drafted the signal on Gen Van der Westhuizen's instructions and that it meant the three men were to be murdered. The inquest continues on Monday.

Top dogs disagree on Goniwe

C/Press 5/9/93

IT was "astonishing" that two generals and a commandant could give conflicting evidence of events surrounding the drafting of the Goniwe signal, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court was told this week.

The submission was made at the re-opened Goniwe inquest by Advocate George Bizos (SC), counsel for the families of the "Cradock Four", during his cross-examination of Military Intelligence chief Joffel van der Westhuizen.

The signal calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe and two others, was sent from East Province Command to the Secretariat of the State Security Council on June 7 1985, 20 days before the deaths of Goniwe and UDF colleagues Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauli.

At one point during the cross-examination, after a suggestion that the phrase in the signal did not refer to Goniwe's detention, Van der Westhuizen denied that he knew what the words meant. In earlier evidence, the general stated that the phrase meant long-term detention.

He denied it was a death order issued on his instructions as earlier alleged by retired Colonel Lourens du Plessis, the man who drafted the signal while a commandant at Eastern Province Command.

General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, a seconded officer to the secretariat to whom the signal was addressed, earlier testified that he called Van der Westhuizen, then a brigadier in charge of Eastern Province Command, on that day to get input for a task group deciding on Goniwe's future as a teacher.

Van Rensburg also said he asked Van Der Westhuizen to spell out the security implications if Goniwe, who was a thorn in the flesh of the security forces, was re-appointed to his teaching post at Cradock.

In what Bizos described as "conflicting" (teenstrydig) evidence, Van der Westhuizen said what he did remember of the discussion was that he was asked for "alternatives" on how to deal with Goniwe. (327)

He said the "alternatives" to his already stated view that Goniwe "never, ever" be appointed to a teaching post included the activist's detention and his transfer from the Cradock area.

In reply to a further question Van der Westhuizen said there could have been a misunderstanding between him and Du Plessis. Du Plessis was under pressure and could have made a mistake (when he drafted the signal in the way he did).

Van der Westhuizen could also not explain to the court why the names of Goniwe's brother Mbulelo and Calata appeared on the signal when the considerations were around Goniwe and whether or not to re-appoint him to a teaching post.

He told the court the signal was not written or signed by him and he did not know why Du Plessis added their names.

He could also not explain to Judge Neville Zietsman why Du Plessis added the names of the other two to the signal if neither he nor Van Rensburg had talked about anyone else but Goniwe.

Van der Westhuizen said there was a "vague possibility" he spoke to Du Plessis about the other two after earlier evidence created this impression. – Ecna

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Goniwe inquest: No effort to check signal

(327)

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — General Joffel van der Westhuizen made no effort whatsoever to discuss the authenticity of the signal with any of the other officers involved after it was published in the Press, according to his evidence today.

General Van der Westhuizen, head of military intelligence, was giving evidence at the inquest on Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sitelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto.

A special team had been appointed to investigate the matter. He made no effort to contact either General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, who received the signal calling for the "permanent removal" of Mr Goniwe and two colleagues from society, or Colonel Lourens du Plessis who had sent the signal.

Colonel Du Plessis said he had sent the signal which was an order to kill on instructions of General van der Westhuizen.

Shortly before the start of the inquest, General Van der Westhuizen met General Van Rensburg at the Minhetti Hotel, outside Port Elizabeth, and then they might have spoken about it in the presence of others.

Mr Justice Zietsman said: "I find it difficult to accept that there is a signal which is construed as a murder order and that it was sent on your instructions and received by General Van Rensburg. I find it difficult to understand why Van Rensburg was never asked in your presence how he interpreted that signal. Were no questions put to him? Can you not answer? I would have thought you would have had great interest in his reply.

ARG 27/9/93

General Van der Westhuizen said he would accept that somebody else might have put the question.

Cross-examined by George Bizos SC, for the family, he said he could vaguely recall discussing the matter with General Van Rensburg at the Minhetti, and if he remembered correctly General Van Rensburg had said the signal meant the detention of Mr Goniwe and his friends.

Mr Bizos: Did he say anything to you about being unhappy with the words on the signal?

General Van der Westhuizen: No, he did not.

Mr Bizos: The reason you cannot remember this discussion six months ago is because neither you nor Van Rensburg are prepared to tell the court why this signal was sent?

General Van der Westhuizen: I have never said that.

Mr Bizos: Between you and Van Rensburg you took a shortcut to circumvent the normal procedures to plan the death of the Cradock Four?

General Van der Westhuizen: You are totally wrong.

The judge asked whether he had ever asked Colonel Du Plessis about the sending of the signal. He said he had not.

Judge: Did you give an order or try to find the original copy of the signal?

General Van der Westhuizen: I did not do so myself.

When Mr Bizos said an inquiry team had found that the files and registers of the East Cape Joint Management Centre were not kept in a proper manner and that files were missing, the general said he accepted that.

(Proceeding)

NEWS MI chief won't say what he meant ● East Rand man trapped in his blazing shack

Sowetan 7/9/93

General stays mum

MILITARY Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen yesterday refused to tell the Goniwe inquest what he meant when he wrote in a document that former Ciskei leader Chief Lennox Sebe should be "removed" or "disposed of".

Van der Westhuizen took refuge in his statutory right not to answer questions he believed might incriminate him.

He was being cross-examined in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court by senior counsel for the Goniwe family, Mr George Bizos, about documents on "Operation Katzen", a South African Defence Force plan to topple Sebe.

During an hour of cross-examination, the general refused to answer more than 10 questions put to him by Bizos.

While he admitted he was the author of much of the documents on "Operation Katzen" and that he put his signature to it because he supported the ideas behind it, he refused to say what the terms used in the documents meant.

The documents, read out in part by Van der Westhuizen to the court, said Sebe was an "embarrassment" and it had become necessary that they "get rid" of him.

The document said Sebe would have to be "disposed of" and "replaced", possibly by means of a coup.

It recommended that Sebe and his "colleagues" be "removed from the political scene" through covert action by the SADF and that his brother, Mr Charles Sebe be sprung from jail by similar means.

Van der Westhuizen's counsel, Mr Anton Mostert, also claimed privilege on his client's behalf regarding questions which Bizos termed the similarity between the "veiled speech" used in "Operation Katzen" and that used in the military signal which recommended the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Matthew Goniwe and other activists.

The signal was sent on June 7 1985, 20 days before Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli were murdered.

Van der Westhuizen's name appears on the signal, which was allegedly transmitted to the State Security Council on his instructions.

Bizos submitted that the veiled speech used in the signal and "Operation Katzen" documents had sinister meanings.

"I submit that the words used in Operation Katzen meant that Mr Sebe and the others should be killed," said Bizos.

Sowetan 7/9/93

Peace hopes dashed

AROUND 3am yesterday Mr Samson Kabeli lay trapped in his burning shack at Thintwa Section in Tokoza on the East Rand.

There was very little he could do to escape as groups of men went on the rampage, burning down houses and shooting at residents while looking for firearms and money during a pre-dawn attack in the area.

Kabeli was shot dead as he tried to escape. The attackers fled to nearby Tokoza Hostel. Residents alleged they were escorted by white policemen travelling in a Casspir.

Police have, however, denied the allegations. Police spokesman Captain Wikus Weber claimed there was a campaign by certain politicians against the police, especially white policemen.

He said there was no way the police could help criminals.

The attack coincided with yesterday's stayaway in Katlehong, Vosloorus and Tokoza.

Kabeli was one of four people killed in renewed violence in Tokoza and Katlehong.

Thousands of residents stayed away from work to attend a mass rally at Huntersfield Stadium in Katlehong where they demanded that white policemen withdraw from the area.

One person was shot dead and another wounded while on their way to attend the rally, residents said.

Police confirmed the killing of the man but denied he was killed by police. Police said three other bodies were found in Katlehong yesterday morning.

These latest attacks have dashed hopes of peace on the East Rand, which has been relatively quiet following the launch of the National Peace Campaign.

Goniwe: MI chief stays silent

CT 7/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH. — Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen yesterday refused to tell the Goniwe inquest what he meant when he wrote that former Ciskei leader Mr Lennox Sebe should be "removed".

He took refuge in his statutory right not to answer questions he believed might incriminate him. He declined to answer about 10 questions, all relating to Operation Katzen, a South African Defence Force plan to topple Mr Sebe.

While he admitted he was the author of much of the documentation on Operation Katzen and that he signed it, he refused to say what the terms used in the documents meant.

The documents, read out in part, said Mr Sebe was an "embarrassment" and it had become necessary to "dispose of" or 'replace" him, possibly through covert SADF action.

He also declined to answer quesions relating to the similarity between the "veiled speech" used in Operation Katzen and that used in the military signal which recommended the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Matthew Goniwe and other activists.

(327)

It was submitted by counsel for the Goniwe family, Mr George Bizos, SC, that the the speech used in the signal and Operation Katzen documents meant they "should be killed".

Continuing. — Sapa

General refuses to reply at Goniwe probe

B/Day 7/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH — Military Intelligence chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen yesterday refused to tell the Goniwe inquest what he meant when he wrote that former Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe should be "removed" or "disposed of".

Cross-examined by senior counsel for the Goniwe family, George Bizos, on the documentation on Operation Katzen, an SADF plan to topple Sebe, Van der Westhuizen took refuge in his statutory right not to answer questions he believed might incriminate him. (327)

While he admitted he was the author of much of the documentation on Operation Katzen and that he put his signature to it because he supported the ideas behind it, he refused to say what the terms used in the documents meant.

The documents, read out in part by Van der Westhuizen to the court, said Sebe was an "embarrassment" and it had become necessary to "get rid" of him.

The documents said Sebe would have to be "disposed of" and "replaced", possibly by means of a coup d'etat.

It recommended that Sebe and his "colleagues" be "removed from the political scene" through covert SADF action and that Charles Sebe be sprung from jail by similar means.

Van der Westhuizen's legal counsel, Anton Mostert, also claimed privilege on his client's behalf on quesions on what Bizos termed the similarity between the "veiled speech" used in Operation Katzen and that used in the military signal recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe and other eastern Cape anti-apartheid campaigners.

The signal was sent on June 7 1985, 20 days before Goniwe and three other campaigners were murdered.

Van der Westhuizen's name appeared on the signal, which was allegedly transmitted to the State Security Council on his instructions.

Bizos suggested that the veiled speech used in the signal and Operation Katzen documents had sinister meanings, and that the words used in the Operation Katzen documents meant Sebe and the others should be killed.

"I submit that the words used in the notorious signal as well as those used in Operation Katzen had the same meaning, and that the intention of the signal was that Matthew Goniwe, (his brother) Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata (a United Democratic Front campaigner) be killed," Bizos said.

After lengthy argument, Judge Neville Zietsman ruled that Van der Westhuizen was also entitled to refuse to answer questions on sections of his affidavit in which he claimed he "never planned or approved" the killing of anyone.

Van der Westhuizen made the affidavit before Operation Katzen papers were produced as evidence. Bizos argued that he should not be allowed to claim privilege just because evidence which contradicted his affidavit had come to light.

The inquest continues today. — Sapa.

Rethink on election list

ERICA JANKOWITZ

CONCERN in both Cosatu and affiliate circles that the federation could not afford to lose both general secretary Jay Naidoo and his assistant Sam Shilowa to the ANC election platform had led to a serious rethink on the list, sources said. B/Day

A Cosatu spokesman confirmed discussions had been held recently on the issue, but said it had not been resolved. 7/9/93

Cosatu would meet again on Thursday, prior to the special congress starting on Friday, he said.

Affiliates believed Cosatu would be disrupted and damaged if both Naidoo and Shilowa took up Cabinet positions.

Another source said Shilowa would stay and Enoch Godogwana, Numsa border regional secretary, would become assistant. However, he said, "nothing has been finalised".

Other unionists said to be on the list included SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union president Duma Nkosi and his Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association counterpart Kgabisi Mosunkutu.

Officer won't talk of secret operation

(327)

CT 14/9/93

Inquest told of laws on official secrets

PORT ELIZABETH. — A second SADF officer testifying in the Goniwe inquest has refused to answer questions relating to Operation Katzen, the secret army plot to manipulate Eastern Cape-Border-Kei politics.

Potchefstroom-based Commandant Gerhardus Botha Marais is a former head of the Cradock Commando Unit and worked in army covert operations under retired Col Lourens du Plessis, who testified earlier.

Cmdt Marais was the army's top man on the ground during the turmoil surrounding the suspension of Cradock teacher and activist Mr Matthew Goniwe in 1985.

He transferred to Eastern Province Command in July 1985 — shortly before the mutilated bodies of Mr Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli were found on a deserted road near Port Elizabeth.

Cmdt Marais initially refused yesterday to answer questions on covert operations but conceded later he did work on these under Col Du Plessis at EP Command.

He also confirmed that such operations included the use of false number plates.

But when questioned by counsel for Col Du Plessis, Mr Glen Goosen, Cmdt Marais refused to answer questions on Operation Katzen, citing official secrets laws.

Former EP Command chief and current Military Intelligence head General Joffel van der Westhuizen last week also refused to answer questions on Operation Katzen.

Col Du Plessis has testified that Operation Katzen was formulated, on Gen Van der Westhuizen's instructions, to create a vast Eastern Cape-Border-Kei region. It also provided for the murder of former Ciskei president Chief Lennox Sebe.

Cmdt Marais said yesterday the image of a strong government in control of unrest was undermined by the way officials "jumped around" to concede to the demands of Cradock residents in the 1980s.

He claimed Mr Goniwe had fuelled unrest in Cradock by inciting violence.

He also claimed that the Cradock Residents' Association (a United Democratic Front affiliate led by Mr Goniwe) advocated violence to bring about change.

Cmdt Marais, who headed Cradock's mini-joint management centre (JMC), said he had told a JMC meeting it would be naive to think unrest could be resolved by giving in to residents' demands.

But he said he had also warned against JMC action which would martyr Mr Goniwe. Such action would include killing him, detaining him for a long time, or delays in deciding whether to reinstate him in his teaching post.

Cmdt Marais said it was his view that strong action, rather than "too much talk", had been needed to end civil disobedience in Cradock.

If schools were boycotted they should be shut, and if municipal services were not paid for, facilities should be withdrawn.

Cmdt Marais started what is expected to be the final round of evidence at the reopened inquest, which adjourns later this month. — Sapa

Goniwe: 'Security forces wanted action'

PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Unrest in Cradock reached such serious proportions in 1985 that the security forces felt discussions and words were of little relevance, Commandant Botha Marais told the Supreme Court here today.

He was giving evidence at the inquest into the deaths of Cradock activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli, who were killed in June 1985.

Commandant Marais, head of Cradock Command in 1985, said it became clear that the United Democratic Front, African National Congress, Cradock Residents Association (Cradora) alliance was trying to polarise the situation.

At the forefront was Mr Goniwe.

Schools and businesses were being boycotted, municipal councils were seen as puppets of the government and every effort was being made to get rid of government by whites.

He said millions of rands were being wasted in trying to get the situation under control.

The security forces wanted positive action and felt schools should be closed and people who did not pay for services such as electricity and water should have their supplies cut off.

He said the security forces were instructed not to talk to members of affected organisations or leading activists.

He said Cradora "just wouldn't go and lie down, and stronger actions were needed".

Cabinet ministers of various departments visited Cradock but Mr Goniwe did not want to talk to them.

He said the mini Joint Management Centre in Cradock had discussions about real and imaginary grievances. There was nothing more to talk about, he said.

Questioned by Mohammed Navsa, representing the activists' families, he said he did not know why Colonel Eric Winter of the security police had told the inquest he was busy with dialogue because he felt it was only through talking that the situation could be resolved.

Commandant Botha said Colonel Winter might have had dialogue as a security police officer, but dialogue was officially banned. ARG 13/9/93

He said he had never seen the signal published in the New Nation newspaper calling for "the permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe.

On February 3, 1985 the Cradock Joint Management Centre officially recommended to the East Cape Joint Management Centre that neither Mr Goniwe nor Mr Calata ever be reappointed to teaching posts.

(Proceeding).

Truth to tell . . . yes, but who is telling it?

Star 13/9/93

EVIDENCE at the inquest suggests that the security forces alone could have killed Matthew Goniwe and three other activists. Eight years later, the question is who is lying about the SADF signal. Getting hard evidence on who was responsible remains the most difficult task. Helen Grange reports

(327)

At the epicentre of the Goniwe inquest is the question of who, between two witnesses, is telling the truth about the 1985 SADF signal instructing the "permanent removal from society" of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe and three others.

Former Eastern Province Command staff officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis has testified that the signal was sent by General Joffel van der Westhuizen, then Eastern Province Command CO, now Military Intelligence head, and that its meaning was "to kill".

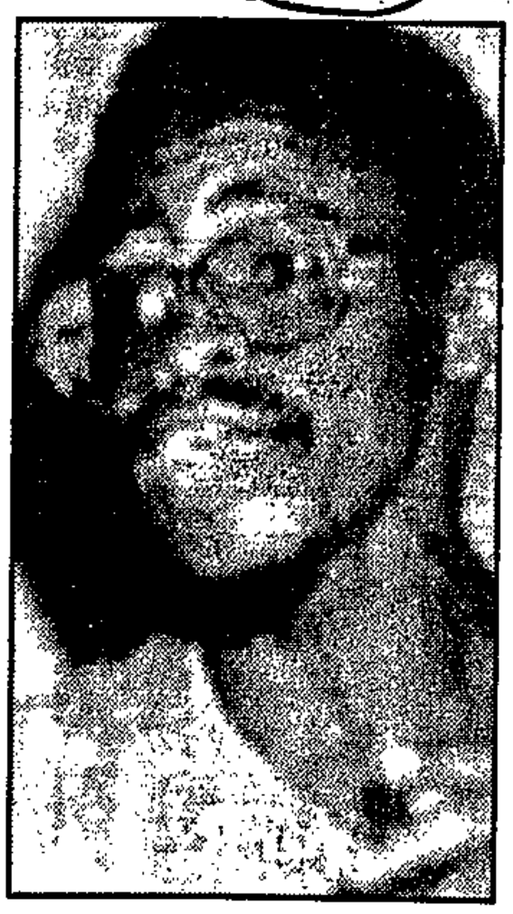
Van der Westhuizen has denied he ever issued a "death warrant" for Goniwe. He has testified that he had never seen the signal until it appeared in the New Nation newspaper in 1991, six years after it was allegedly sent by him.

The signal, dated June 7 1985, was sent 22 days before the burnt bodies of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were found on an eastern Cape roadside.

Van der Westhuizen's testimony under cross-examination has been characterised by denials and an apparent failure of memory around the Goniwe affair. He could not remember speaking to Brigadier Johannes Janse van Rensburg, then a member of the State Security Council, about the "Goniwe problem" nor could he remember the signal.

Van Rensburg, who was the first witness at the reopened inquest when it started in March, testified that he remembered both a discussion he had with Van der Westhuizen about Goniwe and the signal sent to him (Van Rensburg) afterwards.

Joffel van der Westhuizen . . . denies death warrant.



Matthew Goniwe . . . murdered eight years ago.

Van der Westhuizen has told the inquest that if he had seen the signal, drawn up by Du Plessis, he would have queried its "vague terminology".

Yet in top-secret documents handed in to the inquest on an operation Van der Westhuizen himself hatched in 1986 — called "Operation Katzen" — terminology such as "permanent removal" and "elimination" occasionally appear.

Van der Westhuizen has taken refuge in his privilege not to answer anything which could incriminate him, and has thus refused to elaborate on his meaning in using this kind of terminology in "Operation Katzen".

He has, however, agreed that the security forces as a question of "principle" did not exclude the option of "killing" insurgents or activists.

But in his affidavit on the Goniwe affair, Van der Westhuizen has claimed that he meant only that Goniwe should be detained.

Du Plessis, on the other hand, has insisted that the instruction he received from Van der Westhuizen and relayed to Van Rensburg did mean "to kill" — although he conceded there was a 50 percent chance he could have misinterpreted Van der Westhuizen's instruction.

SADF counsel Anton Mostert, SC, has tried to discredit Du Plessis by painting him as a bitter and financially ruined career soldier.

Whether or not a recommendation to prosecute Van der Westhuizen is made by the inquest will rest heavily on Mr Justice Zietsmann's assessment of Du Plessis's credibility, among other factors. If he finds that Van der Westhuizen's testimony was contradictory or unreliable, it will strengthen Du Plessis's case.

Little light has been shed on who Goniwe's actual murderers were. However, the military witnesses and, in particular, Van der Westhuizen have all conceded that only the security forces had the means.

Du Plessis has ventured that the SADF Special Forces unit "Hammer" — long suspected to be the culprit — could not have done it alone. It would have had to be a joint operation, possibly with the security police.

Mostert has implied that the security police alone committed the murders, hoping to deflect the spotlight from the SADF.

Officer refuses to give answers

Sowetan 14/9/93

A SECOND army officer before the reopened Goniwe inquest has refused to answer questions relating to "Operation Katzen", the secret plot to topple the former Sebe government in Ciskei.

Commandant Gerhardus Marais is a former head of the Cradock Commando Unit and worked in army covert operations under retired Colonel Lourens du Plessis, who testified earlier at the inquest in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court.

(327)

Teacher and activist

Marais was the army's top man on the ground during the political turmoil surrounding the suspension of Cradock teacher and activist Mr Matthew Goniwe in 1985.

He transferred to Eastern Province Command in July 1985 shortly before the mutilated bodies of Goniwe and fellow activists Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli were found on a deserted road near Port Elizabeth.

The army officer initially refused to answer any questions relating to covert operations but conceded later he worked on covert operations under Du Plessis at Eastern Province Command.

He also confirmed that such operations included the use of false number plates.

Official questions

However, questioned by counsel for Du Plessis, Mr Glen Goosen, Marais refused to answer any questions relating to "Operation Katzen", saying he was bound by the law on official secrets.

Marais said yesterday the image of a strong government in control of unrest had been tarnished by the manner in which officials had "jumped around" to give in to the demands of Cradock residents in the 1980s.

The inquest is continuing. — *Sapa.*

Goniwe inquest told of June 1985 roadblock

(327) ARG 14/9/93

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A Somerset East woman told the Supreme Court today that she clearly remembered driving through a roadblock on June 27, 1985.

Doris Butters could not remember any other details of the day that the burnt out car of Matthew Goniwe was found.

She said she had heard reports about the disappearance of Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli, and had "just felt inside" that the roadblock meant something.

She was travelling to Port Elizabeth as a passenger in her bakkie which was being driven by her driver on June 27.

She could not remember seeing the roadblock in the morning because she always did her correspondence while travelling to the city to deliver vegetables.

On the way home that evening there had been a roadblock between Markman township and Blue Water Bay.

Military vehicles were parked beside the road and she could not say if the men in uniform were police, military or both.

The next Tuesday she mentioned the incident to the late Bishop Bruce Evans, who was a close friend.

She had not done anything at the first inquest because she did not want to get involved.

In 1990 Bishop Evans's son Gavin, a journalist, had approached her about the incident.

Put to her that there had been a roadblock on the three previous Thursdays but not on the 27th, she said she still believed there had been a roadblock.

But she could not recollect exactly or specifically where she had been, what she had done or why the roadblock should have stuck in her mind.

Both J P de Bruyn, for the police, and Anton Mostert SC, for the SADF, said they were not challenging her honesty but her memory.

There were too many other things she just could not remember to make her memory of the roadblock feasible.

4 widows suing for R1,6 m

Weekend Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Four widows, whose lives were turned upside down when their activist husbands were assassinated in the Eastern Cape in 1985, are suing the government for R1,6 million.

Nyameka Goniwe, Nombuyiselo Mhlawuli, Nomonde Calata and Sindiswa Mkhonto have instructed the Legal Resources Centre in Grahamstown to institute civil claims against Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetzee.

Mrs Goniwe and Mrs Calata are suing for more than R500 000 each, Mrs Mhawuli for about R380 000 and Mrs Mkhonto for about R92 000. LRC lawyer Gerald Bloem confirmed that summonses had been issued.

The unexplained deaths of Cradock United Democratic Front leader Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli are being investigated by the Supreme Court — after President De Klerk ordered the reopening of the inquest in March.

This is yet another twist in one of the most notorious unsolved political crimes in the history of South Africa.

Mr De Klerk's order followed a public outcry after the publication of a top-secret signal from the military in Port Elizabeth to the State Security Council calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Mr Calata.

Staff officer Lourens du Plessis, who signed the signal while he was stationed at EP Command in 1985, told the court he had been authorised by General Joffel van der Westhuizen, then brigadier in charge of EP Command, and now head of military intelligence to send the "death warrant".

Colonel Du Plessis, now retired, has been granted indemnity from prosecution.

At a time of brutal repression during the PW Botha era, Mr Goniwe stood out as a charismatic leader.

Security police officers and the SADF admitted in court that he was a thorn in the flesh of the state, an enemy who helped the African National Congress with the installation of alternative structures in opposition to those supported by the government.

For the four women, it has been a long and bitter ordeal since their husbands disappeared on June 27 1985, after attending a United Democratic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth.

After weeks of suspense and anxiety their worst fears were realised when a road worker found the burnt-out wreck of a car hidden in bush near Blue Water Bay.

A CAT (Cradock) registration number found near the wreck sparked off the search. One body was found about 1,7km away and another 14km away in a remote and bushy spot. One of the four had been stabbed 17 times. Hands had been hacked off, petrol poured over their faces and set alight to obliterate features. The bodies were riddled with bullets.

Thousands attended their funeral in Cradock on July 21. At midnight that night, the government declared a state of emergency in the Eastern Cape.

The original inquest could not make any finding on who had killed the men. At the reopened inquest, General Van der Westhuizen and other offices admitted that only the security forces had the means, equipment and manpower to carry out such a sophisticated covert operation.

Notices of the widows' intention to sue were first served on the Ministers on July 29. The combined summons were served in terms of the provisions of Section 113 of Act 44 of 1957, on the grounds that the women were only made aware "subsequent to the beginning of March, 1993, that servants and/or employees of one or other or both of the defendants were responsible for the deaths of the deceased".

The summons also claims that prior to such date the defendants' servants and/or employees deliberately withheld evidence and destroyed documents with the intention of preventing the plaintiffs from ascertaining the identities of their husbands' killers.

The summons claims that on June 27, at or near Port Elizabeth, the four men were wrongfully, unlawfully and intentionally killed by, or at the instance of, members of the South African Defence Force, or by, or at the instance of, members of the South African Police, or by, or at the instance of, members of the SADF and SAP acting in concert.

It is also alleged that at all times the SADF and SAP members, whose identities are not known, were acting within the course and scope of their employment with the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Law and Order.

Mrs Goniwe, a mother of two, is claiming R241 876 in her personal capacity for loss of support and R121 309 and R213 126 on behalf of her children. ARG 11/9/93

Mrs Mhlawuli is claiming R148 466 in her personal capacity and R91 348 and R141 984 on behalf of her two children. (327)

Mrs Calata is claiming R375 449 in her personal capacity and R79 147 and R95 457 on behalf of her children.

Mrs Mkhonto is claiming R58 484 in her personal capacity and R32 772 on behalf of her child.

A Legal Resources Centre spokesman said the Ministers had not indicated yet whether they would defend the claims in court or not.

□ **'CRADOCK FOUR' WIDOWS:** The government is being sued for R1,6 million for loss of support by the widows of the Cradock four. They are, from left, Nombuyiselo Mhlawuli, Nomonde Calata and Nyameka Goniwe. Missing from the picture is the fourth widow, Sindiswa Mkhonto.

Lengthy Goniwe inquest draws slowly to a close

S/Times 12/9/93

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE marathon inquest into the 1985 killing of Eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe appears to be drawing to a close.

Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant General Joffel van der Westhuizen left the witness stand on Wednesday after giving evidence for six days in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court. (327)

His departure marked the end of testimony by all the key figures in the inquest, which reopened in March.

Charred

Unless new evidence or new witnesses come to light, only three more people are scheduled to testify.

The first is Commandant Botha Marais, head of the SADF's Cradock Commando at the time Mr Goniwe's charred and mutilated body was found on the roadside near Bluewater Bay outside Port Elizabeth.

He is expected to be followed by Bloemhof farmer Mrs Dorris Butters, and her driver, Mr Ntonti Vusani. They said they were stopped by a security force roadblock near Bluewater Bay at 6.30pm on June 27 1985 — the day Mr Goniwe was murdered.

No official record of a roadblock on that date has been found, but members of Mr Goniwe's family have consistently maintained that he would not have stopped for anything else while he and fellow activists Sicelo Mhlawuli, Fort Calata and Sparrow Mkhonto were travelling from Port Elizabeth to Cradock on the night they died.

● The widows of the four murdered activists have instructed the Legal Resources Centre in Grahamstown to institute civil claims for R1,6-million against Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee. Summonses have been issued.

The LRC claims that before the inquest was reopened, members of the SADF and SAP deliberately withheld evidence and destroyed documents with the intention of preventing the widows from finding out who killed their husbands.

'Generals plotted to murder Goniwe'

THE eastern Cape Judge President this week criticised Military Intelligence chief General Joffelvander Westhuizen for his "vague" replies to certain questions at a Port Elizabeth Supreme Court inquest.

Van der Westhuizen said on Tuesday he had done nothing to find out the origin of the June 1985 military signal which had recommended that Matthew Goniwe and other activists be "permanently removed from society" even after it had been published in *New Nation* last year.

The newspaper had alleged the signal was sent to General Johan Janse van Rensburg at the State Security Council in 1985 on the orders of Van der Westhuizen.

Asked by senior counsel for the deceased's families, George Bizos, if he had bothered to investigate the origin of the signal after publication, the general said he had made an affidavit to his legal advisers. 12/9/93

Bizos asked if he had used his intelligence sources to trace copies of the signal. CIPress

Van der Westhuizen said: "No. General Kat Liebenberg (former army head) appointed someone to investigate the signal."

He could also not recall whether he had asked Van Rensburg how he had interpreted the signal in 1985.

Judge Neville Zietsman then told him that given the newspaper's interpretation it was difficult to accept that he could not recall if Van Rensburg was ever asked in his presence what his interpretation had been. (327)

Van der Westhuizen: "It is possible the question was asked."

Zietsman: "That is difficult to understand. Your answers are too vague."

Bizos submitted the general claimed not to remember because he and Van Rensburg "had chosen to bypass the usual structures and had planned to murder Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata".

■ The widows of the four murdered activists are suing the government for R1,6-million. – Sapa-Ecna

Goniwe: Widows suing state for R1,6 m

(327)

ARG 10/9/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The widows of the four United Democratic Front activists who were murdered in 1985 are suing the government for R1,6 million.

The Legal Resources Centre in Grahamstown has instituted a civil claim against Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee on behalf of Nyameka Goniwe, Nonbuyiselo Mhlawuli, Nomonde Calata and Sindiswa Mkhonto. Summonses have been issued.

The activists, known as the Cradock Four — Matthew Goniwe, Sicelo Mhlawuli, Fort Calata and Sparrow Mkhonto — were murdered in June 1985 while going to Cradock after attending a UDF meeting in Port Elizabeth.

Their mutilated and burnt bodies were found near Blue Water Bay outside Port Elizabeth.

The claims arise out of evidence heard during the reopened inquest into their deaths.

President De Klerk reopened the inquest last year when a newspaper, the New Nation, published the contents of a top secret military signal in which the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata was recommended.

Military Intelligence boss General Joffel van der Westhuizen this week told the court he believed only the security forces had the capability in 1985 to carry out the murders.

The State Attorney in Port Elizabeth could not be reached for comment.

The government has not yet indicated whether it will dispute the claim.

Department of Defence spokesman Das Herbst said the department had "taken note of the civil claims" but was unable to indicate what action would be taken. — Sapa.

'Only security forces had means to kill Goniwe'

B/Day 8/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH — Only the security forces had the capability to carry out the June 1985 murders of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock anti-apartheid campaigners, Military Intelligence chief Joffel van der Westhuizen said at an inquest into their deaths yesterday.

Van der Westhuizen testified he knew of no other body, organisation or authority, other than the security forces, which had the capability to carry out the murders, which had been committed in a sophisticated and professional manner.

He dismissed as "highly unlikely" the police theory that the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) had been responsible.

While the organisation might have had the motive to murder the four men, because of its conflict with the United Democratic Front at the time, it did not have the planning, reconnaissance and executive capabilities to do so.

Van der Westhuizen further conceded during cross-examination by counsel for retired army colonel Lourens du Plessis, Glen Goosen, that in 1984, 1985 and 1986 the security forces in principle accepted "extra-legal options".

He said the "elimination" of campaigners was one of the weapons in the security forces' arsenal.

However, Van der Westhuizen said he believed that "taking out" campaigners was counter-productive.

Goosen asked whether a strategic decision such as the killing of an activist would have had to be taken at the highest level. Van der Westhuizen said: "Yes, at the very highest level — probably ministerial."

Goosen: Do you agree that the circumstances existing in June 1985, when there was conflict between the UDF and Azapo, was an ideal cover for the security forces if they had wanted to kill a United Democratic Front member and make it seem part of that conflict?

Van der Westhuizen agreed.

Goosen added: But the denial of involvement by the security forces was plausible?

Van der Westhuizen: For a long time.

(327)

Goosen commented: "For eight years, general — a very long time."

The general said it was only when the inquest was reopened last year that he had become aware of the details surrounding the murders and had realised Azapo could not have committed them.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa.

Peace committee plans... | Gunmen kill 4...

NEWS

MI head denies signal was a 'death warrant'

Star 9/9/93

MI CHIEF

General Joffel van Westhuizen is cross-questioned about the Goniwe signal

327

Port Elizabeth — Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen yesterday denied that the controversial Goniwe signal was a death warrant and his solution to security problems posed by the Cradock activist.

Van der Westhuizen was being cross-examined at the reopened Goniwe inquest by Glen Goosen, counsel for retired SADF colonel Lourens du Plessis.

Van der Westhuizen was a brigadier at Eastern Province Command from where the signal, ordering the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two others, was sent by Du Plessis on June 7 1985.

Du Plessis has testified that the signal was a "death order" and that it was issued on Van der Westhuizen's instructions — an allegation which has been repeatedly denied by the MI chief.

Matthew Goniwe and UDF colleagues Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were killed 20 days after the signal was sent.

Van der Westhuizen yesterday denied a submission by Goosen that he had circumvented established channels, such as the EP Joint Management Centre, by ordering Du Plessis to send the signal which, Goosen claimed, was his solution to the Goniwe problem.

The general said it would have been "unproductive" to kill Goniwe.

In reply to Goosen's submission that it would not be unproductive if the activist were killed in such a way that the murder could not be linked to security forces, he said one could not yet say who had killed Goniwe.

Sapa reports that the inquest has been postponed until Monday.

The former head of the SADF's Cradock Command, Commandant Botha Marais, will then testify. — Ecna.

ikes General's evasiveness ● Assistant nurses demand upgrading

Officer 'vague' on death signal

Sowetan 8/9/93

THE judge presiding over the Goniwe inquest yesterday rebuked Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen for his "vague" answers to questions on the controversial Goniwe signal.

Van der Westhuizen was giving evidence in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court at the inquest on the June 27 1985 deaths of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three United Democratic Front colleagues.

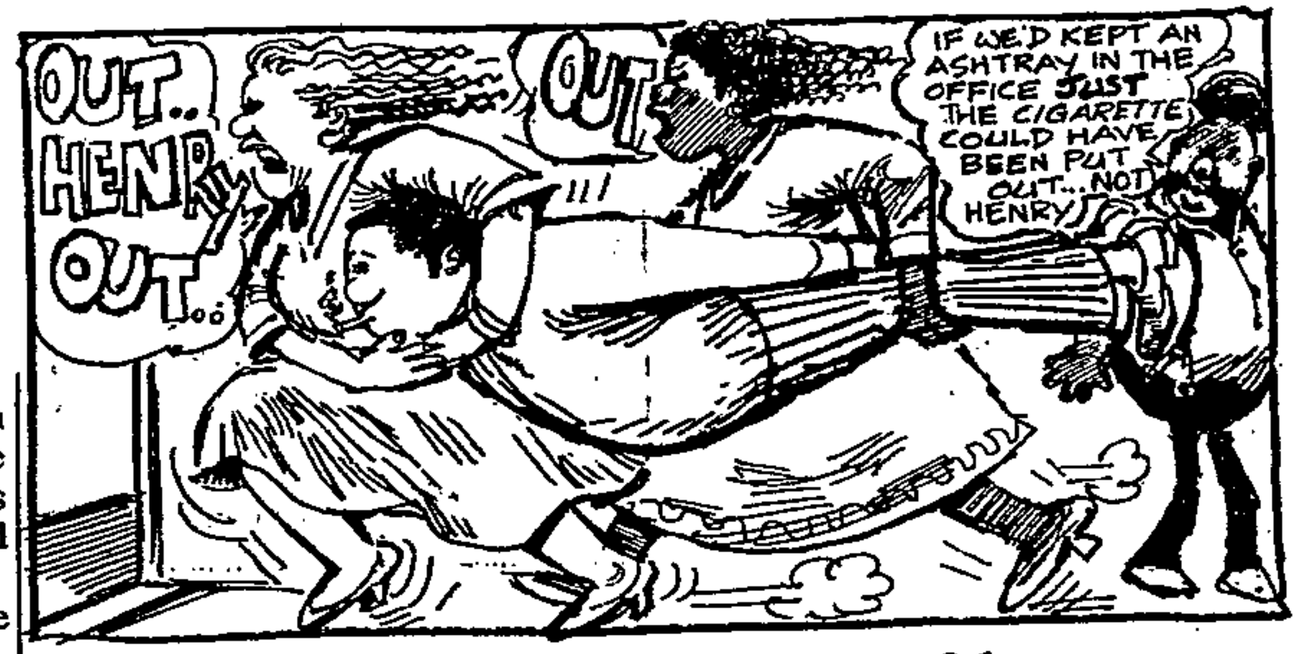
The meaning of the wording of the signal, which called for the "permanent removal" of Goniwe and two others, has been the focus of the hearing. The signal was sent from Eastern Province Command, then under Van der Westhuizen's command, to the State Security Council Secretariat on June 7 1985.

At one point during yesterday's cross-examination of Van der Westhuizen by Mr George Bizos, SC, counsel for the families of the slain activists, Eastern Cape Judge-President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said the general was "vague" in answering questions around the signal. (327)

Van der Westhuizen told the court he could not remember discussing the signal with Major-General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, to whom the signal was sent, during a meeting in Port Elizabeth earlier this year.

He said he could not remember personally speaking to Van Rensburg — who is now retired — about the signal at the hotel meeting, but that he accepted that there was general discussion about the signal.

At this point Mr Justice Zietsman said he found it difficult to accept Van der Westhuizen's saying "I don't know" when the signal was of such importance. — *Ecna.*



Garankuwa strike

By McKeed Kotlolo

ABOUT 600 striking assistant nurses at Garankuwa Hospital yesterday occupied the hospital's nursing administration block. Sowetan 8/9/93

The nurses are demanding that they be trained as enrolled nurses and that the hospital recognise their nursing auxiliary committee.

They are demanding an explanation from the South African Nursing Association and the South African Nursing Council of why the two bodies take assistant nurses' yearly subscriptions "if they cannot upgrade us or train us".

The nurses have given the authorities until today to respond. The hospital is also faced with a problem of 427 temporary workers who turned down a retrenchment package and demanded permanent posts.

The hospital's PRO denied that nurses were on strike.

COURTS

Killing of Goniwe an 'ideal solution' to unrest problem

(327) ARG 8/9/93

Intelligence chief says he cannot remember signal

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The killing of Matthew Goniwe in a covert operation which deflected the blame from the security forces would have been the ideal solution to the mounting unrest problem in the Eastern Cape, the Supreme Court here heard today.

This was the view of counsel Glen Goosen, for Colonel Lourens du Plessis, at the inquest into the deaths of Mr Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Colonel Du Plessis, a staff officer at EP Command in 1985, said that he signed the signal calling for the "permanent removal" of Mr Goniwe on the instruction of General Joffel van der Westhuizen.

Mr Goosen was cross-examining General Van der Westhuizen, head of military intelligence, who in 1985 was a brigadier in charge of EP Command.

Mr Goosen said that after the signing of the Nkomati Accord there was a decrease in the number of terrorists infiltrating South Africa from Mozambique.

General Joffel van der Westhuizen

The African National Congress decided that one of the best ways to advance the struggle would be to get the support of local communities in South Africa.

This was done by setting up alternative structures which included street committees, stay-aways, consumer and school boycotts.

General Van der Westhuizen agreed that Mr Goniwe was an Eastern Cape leader in this regard.

He also accepted that they were part of the strategy of the revolution and that Mr Goniwe was one of the most important figures in the armed struggle.

He also agreed that groups of militant youths, known as the Comrades, had taken the struggle into the townships with petrol bombs, shootings, necklacing and other deeds of violence.

Referring to the signal, General Van der Westhuizen said he could not remember anything about this but accepted that it had been sent.

He said Colonel Du Plessis was a loyal and competent staff officer and they were on very good terms. It was possible that Colonel du Plessis had misunderstood his orders that Mr Goniwe be detained — if he had actually given those instructions.

Mr Justice Zietsman: "You say there could be a suggestion of misunderstanding, that when you suggested detention he misunderstood that order that it meant that men must be killed?"

General Van der Westhuizen said he did not know what Colonel Du Plessis had meant with those words.

Judge: "Do you think that if you and Du Plessis understood each other so well is it possible that you could have told him to send a signal that Goniwe must be detained and that the signal said to kill?"

General Van der Westhuizen said he could not say, but it was possible.

Mr Goosen said the signal meant just that — that people had to be killed.

General Van der Westhuizen: "I cannot accept that."

(Proceeding)

Goniwe inquest: MI chief makes shock admission

Star 8/9/93

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — The Goniwe inquest took a dramatic turn yesterday when the head of Military Intelligence admitted that only the security forces had the manpower, equipment and capability to carry out an operation like the killing of the Cradock Four.

General Joffel van der Westhuizen had said earlier that the murders of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli could have been a covert operation, but denied that the army had the capability to carry it out.

But under cross-examination by Glen Goosen — counsel for Colonel Lourens du Plessis, who said he had signed the controversial signal calling for the removal of Goniwe on the general's orders — Van der Westhuizen said that on reflection and from what he now knew, only the security police or the army would have been able to carry out a covert operation of this nature.

He said that, after attending the inquest, he doubted a previous statement that the four could had been killed during fighting between Azapo and the UDF.

In retrospect, he realised that Azapo could have had the intent, but not the means.

Earlier, Goosen put it to him that whoever killed the four needed to have equipment, vehicles, explosives, petrol, false number plates and a large number of people. The bodies were spread over a wide surface and their faces burnt with the obvious intent to prevent identification. Van der Westhuizen agreed.

Escape

327

Goosen said they also had to know the area and the easiest escape route.

Asked what institutions could have carried out this type of operation, Van der Westhuizen said it could only have been the police or the SADF. He accepted that the murders were well planned, well thought out and well perpetrated.

Goosen: "Did elements of the security forces want Mr Goniwe dead?"

"Yes," replied the general.

Goosen: "Would they do it? Could they do it?"

"Yes."

Goosen added that *Modern Warfare*, the book by McCuen on counter-revolutionary strategies regarded by several officers as their "bible", dealt with organisation, terrorism, and guerilla and mobile warfare. The book also mentioned annihilating the enemy and reference was made to operations "above the law".

"Was it possible that during 1984 to 1986 security forces could have embarked on extra-legal operations, like this?"

"I am sure they would have carried out such operations, especially in the psychological area," the general replied.

Goosen: "Some extra-legal operations could have been beneficial in eliminating key figures in the insurgency and at the same time sowing suspicion?"

"Yes, in principle."

The hearing continues.

Goniwe killing 'professional'

CT 8/9/93

(327)

Security forces 'had capability'

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH. — Only the security forces had the capability to execute the June 1985 murders of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists, Military Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen said at the inquest here yesterday.

Gen Van der Westhuizen testified that he knew of no body, organisation or authority, other than the security forces, which had the capability to carry out the murders, which had been committed in a sophisticated and professional manner.

He dismissed as "highly unlikely" the police theory that the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) had been responsible for the murders, as it did not have the planning, reconnaissance and executive capabilities.

Gen Van der Westhuizen further conceded that in 1984/85 and 1986 the security forces in principle accepted "extra legal options" such as the "elimination" of activists as one of the "weapons in their arsenal".

Although this was accepted in principle, a strategic decision putting it into effect would have had to be made at the highest level and he personally believed that "taking out" activists would be counter-productive.

Mr Glen Goosen, for retired army Colonel Lourens du Plessis, asked: "A strategic decision such as the killing of an activist, if it had taken place, would have had to be at the highest level?"

Gen Van der Westhuizen replied: "Yes, at the very highest level, probably ministerial."

Gen Van der Westhuizen agreed with Mr Goosen that the circumstances existing in June 1985, when there was conflict between the UDF and Azapo, was an ideal cover for the security forces, if they had wanted to kill a UDF member and make it seem part of that conflict.

But, he said, in the case of the Cradock Four the professional manner in which the operation had been executed had detracted from what he termed the "Azapo smokescreen".

The hearing continues. — Sapa

Police accused of withholding files

Star 20/8/93

GETTING information from the police is like extracting teeth, the Goniwe inquest is told in a day of drama.

Port Elizabeth — Police were accused of withholding evidence at the Goniwe inquest yesterday after the discovery of a police file that investigators from the Attorney-General's office were told did not exist.

The file, containing a plan drawn up by police of the scene of the 1989 bomb blast in which four policemen were killed, was found by an investigator for the police legal team yesterday.

Senior counsel for the Defence Force, Anton Mostert, said this revelation indicated that documents and information were being suppressed. (327)

"It is a dramatic coincidence that when pressure is applied (on police witnesses) regarding the possible existence of the plan, it comes to light."

Colonel Cornelius Roelofse, testifying at the inquest, was asked if a plan had been made at the scene of the car-bomb blast. He said he did not know.

Eastern Cape judge president Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said he was concerned that the A-G had failed to get the document when he had asked for it, but "now it is suddenly available".

"I share the concern of legal counsel that the investigation is being hampered by information not being given to the A-G and I appeal to people to furnish any information relevant to the inquest," he said, adding that the failure of police to volunteer the document would be investigated.

George Bizos SC, for the families of the deceased, said getting information from the police was like extracting teeth. Suspects were clearly obstructing the investigation of the matter.

Mr Justice Zietsman also criticised the fact that a video taken of a police reconstruction of the vehicle involved in the blast had not been volunteered.

Dup de Bruyn SC, for the police, said it had not been given to the inquest because the A-G's office had not requested it.

Replied Mr Justice Zietsman: "It is unacceptable to say the A-G did not request it.

"If it was available it should have been volunteered."

The hearing continues today. — Sapa.

Goniwe: SADF in spotlight

Star 21/8/93

ADRIENNE CARLISLE

PORT ELIZABETH — The South African Defence Force will be back in the spotlight at the Goniwe inquest next week, with the testimony of an army colonel who has alleged that Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen recommended in 1985 that Matthew Goniwe be killed.

Colonel Lourens du Plessis has alleged in an affidavit that Van der Westhuizen, then head of Eastern Province Command, was the author of a military signal sent to the State Security Council in Pretoria in June 1985, recommending that Goniwe and two other political activists be "permanently removed from society".

It was as a result of the publication of the signal in a newspaper in May last year that President F W de Klerk ordered the re-opening of the inquest into the death of Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli. The four political activists were brutally murdered on June 27 1985, 20 days after the signal was sent from the EP Command to the SSC.

Van der Westhuizen is expected to testify after Du Plessis. He has denied all knowledge of the signal.

Senior counsel for Van der Westhuizen and the SADF, Anton Mostert, directed the attention of the inquest away from the SADF to the police in April this year when he alleged that the security police had murdered the four activists.

Car bomb

(327)

Mostert further alleged that the police had murdered four of their black colleagues in December 1989, when the four policemen had threatened to make public their knowledge of police complicity in the murder of the activists.

Sergeant Amos Faku, Constable Desmond Mapipa, Charles Jack and Warrant Officer Mbalala Mgoduka were killed in a massive car bomb blast while driving in a police car. — Sapa.

Police come under scrutiny

C/Press
22/8/93

THE spotlight in the Goniwe inquest will shift from the police to the SADF when retired officer Col Lourens du Plessis gives evidence in the Goniwe inquest tomorrow.

Du Plessis has admitted responsibility for drafting the controversial signal message calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and others.

Legal counsel for Du Plessis, Advocate Glen Goosen, said that Du Plessis will testify that the signal was a death order for Goniwe.

Evidence already led in court was that the signal could have meant Goniwe's prolonged detention or that he be transferred out of the Cradock area.

The inquest has over the past week heard evidence on a 1989 bomb blast which killed three security policemen and an alleged informer.

SADF Counsel Anton Mostert accused the security police of murdering their colleagues, because two of them were about to approach the ANC with information on police complicity in the 1985 Goniwe murders. – Ecna

Inquest hears of secret car fund

S/Times 22/8/93

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE Goniwe inquest took yet another dramatic turn this week when the existence of a secret fund to buy and maintain cars for the security branch was revealed.

SAP vehicle garage manager Lieutenant-Colonel Ronald Dawson told the court of the fund at the end of another week in the seven-month inquest into the death of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe.

Linked to evidence this week, Colonel Dawson's revelation raises the possibility that unmarked, untraceable security police cars from other parts of the country could have been operating in the eastern Cape.

Investigations by deputy attorney-general Michael Hodgen revealed that a white Jetta that exploded on the Addo road four years after the Goniwe killing was, in fact, registered to security police in the Transvaal.

It was operating out of Port Elizabeth with false number plates.

Two of the four black policemen killed in the blast were members of the B-section of Port Elizabeth security at the time Mr Goniwe was killed in 1985. They were allegedly on the point of going public with information about his death.

A security-police explosives expert, Major Gideon Nieuwoudt, has been accused of bombing the car to stop them.

A senior Port Elizabeth security police officer, Colonel Cornelius Roelofse, this week denied giving permission for the false plates to be used on the car.

This was the second false number plate to emerge in the trial. The first — CB 10627 — was found near Mr Goniwe's burnt-out car on the roadside at Bluewater Bay in 1985.

The only record of this phoney registration number was found at the Port Elizabeth traffic department, which issued seven tickets to a white Ford Cortina with registration number CB 10627 parked near the security branch offices in Strand Street in 1983.

A few months later the number reappeared on a yellow Datsun ticketed in the same area. Neither of these cars has been traced and tickets issued to them were cancelled.

During cross-examination by SADF advocate Anton Mostert SC, Colonel Dawson conceded it was possible that cars bought with secret funds and repaired privately would not appear on his records.

Goniwe inquest told of 'unconventional methods'

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — There was so much political pressure on security forces to defuse the revolutionary climate in the Eastern Cape in 1985 that unconventional methods were devised, retired Eastern Province Command officer Lourens du Plessis told the Supreme Court here today.

Colonel Du Plessis, who was granted indemnity on his testimony, was giving evidence at the reopened inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Galata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Later during today's proceedings a top secret SADF document, referring to unconventional methods and weapons being used, was released to the inquest.

According to an affidavit from retired General A J M Joubert, the document was a copy of the minutes of a meeting where planning, co-ordination and activities regarding the Civil Co-operation Bureau were discussed.

Colonel Du Plessis told the inquest Mr Goniwe was seen as an enemy.

He said combined operations, known as com-ops, was simply a front organisation for psychological and propaganda warfare.

He said as an example the signature of Henry Fazzi, a prominent black leader, had been forged and placed on false documents.

"The whole business belonging to Mr Rory Riordan was destroyed because he employed Mkhuseli Jack."

He said this was a counter-insurgency operation supported by the security police.

He said the security police often initiated plans which were then implemented by the SADF, because security police did not have facilities.

He said at one stage a plan known as Operation Strelitzia, which was aimed at co-ordinating structures and implementing certain plans to contain revolution, was taken as far as ministerial level, but turned down. The plan had been prepared by General Joffel van der Westhuizen and two Port Elizabeth University professors, J D van der Westhuizen and J Cillier.

A socio-economic upliftment programme was also initiated, but this too was a front for intelligence services.

He said he had never been able to find out who had killed the four men.

He said he knew the signal he had sent on the instruction of General Van der Westhuizen was an order to kill.

But, he did not discover information as to who had actually carried out the operation.

He said when he first signed an affidavit he had been questioned at length by a General Knipe and a Mr Wagenaar from the Attorney-General's office.

When he maintained he knew the signal was an order to kill he was told his affidavit differed from others. ARG 24/8/93

He later also spoke to Anton Mostert, counsel for the SADF at the inquest. 327

When he received a letter saying that the SADF legal team would not be available to him and he should contact his own attorney, he realised that he was not going to have any State legal assistance.

He then made a second affidavit giving the facts.

Later, the secret Defence Force document was disclosed to the inquest, accompanied by an affidavit from former General Joubert.

The document, signed by C J A Meerholz, was sent from SADF HQ to the Civil Co-operation Bureau in April 1987.

The police and Special Services division had to liaise on the elimination of specific targets.

A special channel for handling these aspects was being set up.

(Proceeding)

FP, ANC supporters dance together

'Instruction meant death'

Sowetan 24/8/93

WIDELY REPORTED Colonel tells Goniwe inquest about 'permanent removal from society' signal:

A POLICE COLONEL TOLD the Goniwe inquest yesterday that a signal quoted in the Press about "permanent removal from society" meant death.

Earlier, in an affidavit previously handed in at the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court, Colonel Lourens du Plessis said he had sent a military signal to the State Security Council in Pretoria and that the instruction from the then EP Command chief, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, was an instruction to kill.

Du Plessis' evidence was interrupted yesterday when an application was made that any reference to "Operation Katzman" should be made *in camera* and that the media should be excluded.

Mr Justice Neville Zietsman ruled that at this stage he was not prepared to hear the evidence *in camera*.

Publication of the signal in a newspaper last year led President FW de Klerk to order the reopening of the inquest on political activists Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Du Plessis, who in June 1985 was a staff officer in Eastern Province Command, appeared at the inquest yesterday and gave details of his career.

He said he had worked with Van der Westhuizen, now chief of staff: intelligence in the South African Defence Force, for four years and they had a good understanding.

He said that in June 1985 he had been ordered to send a signal to Pretoria. He had made notes but could not recall the exact wording. However, the signal which appeared in the paper quoting "the permanent removal from society" meant their deaths.

At this stage Mr Anton Mostert, for the SADF, objected to the admissibility of evidence regarding Operation Katzman. Operation Katzman was the plan formed by General van der Westhuizen for a Xhosa state in the Eastern Cape.

(327)

Mr Mostert asked for argument to be heard *in camera* as he said it breached the Defence Act.

Mr Glen Goosen, for Colonel Du Plessis, said the colonel was confirming information in a statement that had already been handed in as an affidavit. He could see no reason why this should be dealt with *in camera*.

Mr George Bizos, SC, for the families, said when the original document was handed in no one had objected and they were widely reported. Proceeding.

Star 24/8/93

Goniwe: 'Words were an order to kill'

Port Elizabeth — Details of an order "to kill" Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe were heard in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday after the court had ruled that former army officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis be allowed to continue his testimony.

Du Plessis, a staff officer at Eastern Province Command in June 1985, said the instructions were given to him by General (then Brigadier) Joffel van der Westhuizen.

He said he had no doubt the words "permanently removed from society as soon as possible" meant that Goniwe and two other activists should be killed.

Earlier, his testimony was interrupted by legal argument by Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, over the admissibility of documents relating to Operation Katzen.

The secret army plot included plans for a greater Xhosa state and the overthrow of Ciskei President Lennox Sebe.

Mostert contended that references to it were a contravention of the Defence Act and the Official Secrets Act.

Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said the inquest had been reopened on the request of President de Klerk. The documents had not been disclosed by Du Plessis alone and the evidence would therefore be admissible.

The inquest continues. — Own Correspondent.

(327)

Stiff penalty for Prince's killers

Mystery of borrowed car

19/8/93

SHOCKING SIGHT Borrowed red Jetta blown up by limpet mine at roadside:

Sowetan Correspondent

A SECURITY policeman said yesterday he could not remember why he had to borrow the car which was later destroyed by a limpet mine when he had his own police vehicle that day.

Captain Gert Lotz was giving evidence at the inquest on Matthew Goniwe, Fort Galata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkhonto.

Earlier Lotz said he had used the red Jetta which later exploded, killing three policemen and an informer on the morning of December 14 1989. (327)

He said he had gone to work in his official police car but could not remember why it was necessary to ask Major Deon Nieuwoudt for the use of another car.

He could not remember if his car was being washed or being used by somebody else.

He went to see an informer but the man did not put in an appearance. He then ran several private errands before returning.

He did not enter the car in the police register or sign for it as was usual practice.

He could not remember why he did not do this.

He was voluntarily working late when he received a call from Nieuwoudt asking him to bring the car to the Motherwell turnoff.

When he arrived he saw Nieuwoudt and four black policemen.

He returned to Louis le Grange Square in their minibus. He could not remember why his walkie-talkie had not been turned on and said it was most unusual for an experienced police officer to lose radio contact.

He returned to the scene with a Colonel Roelofse and when he saw the devastation he was so shocked, he went to the side of the road and vomited.

He admitted that before 1985 he had been a member of Koevoet, along with several other members who had been transferred to Port Elizabeth during the height of the unrest.

The inquest is proceeding.

Goniwe's secret work in ANC underground

W/Mail 2/7-8/7/93

Matthew Goniwe led an African National Congress underground cell which was gearing up for military operations, a close colleague tells **LOUISE FLANAGAN**

MATTHEW GONIWE headed the underground structures of the African National Congress in his region when he was murdered.

The revelation, made by ANC national executive committee member Arnold Stofile in an interview with *The Weekly Mail*, points at a clear motive for a security force hand in his assassination. At the inquest into the June 27 1985 murders of Cradock activists Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, now in recess, police witnesses have consistently denied that they regarded Goniwe as an enemy and that they had any knowledge of his underground activities.

Stofile also disclosed that Goniwe's death had coincided with the transformation of political underground structures into military formations. At least one other activist who disappeared at the same time as Goniwe was probably linked to the ANC underground.

Stofile said he had helped Goniwe set up an underground ANC area political committee (APC) for the Karoo region during 1980 and how that later changed to a military working committee. In 1980, Stofile was running the underground structures from Alice for the Border and Ciskei region. The ANC wanted to expand into the Cradock area.

"I was told to go and look up Matthew Goniwe in Cradock," Stofile said. Goniwe had recently been released from jail, where he had served a sentence for ANC-related activities.

The fledgling Cradock structures were linked through Stofile to the chief of the ANC's underground mission in Lesotho, Chris Hani.

"Initially he (Goniwe) had to report via me to Lesotho, but as soon as he had enough cells in his area — by 1982 — he was reporting directly to Lesotho," said Stofile. That year, on June 26, both men travelled to Lesotho to meet the ANC to discuss their work.

"From 1982 we met periodically. Usually he would come with Mbulelo (Goniwe, a relative), who was still a young fellow. I met him on the road, I met him in houses, I met him on rugby fields. We met everywhere.

"Most of the time we would go to Lesotho and get pamphlets. The APC's work was to distribute these as widely as possible and remind people about the ANC," said Stofile. "By 1983 Matthew was organising Graaff-Reinet, which we had given up as a PAC support base. He was making unbelievable headway."

By 1984 the police were beginning to harass Goniwe. "I think they were 'jealous' of his work in Hofmeyr, because they don't like inciting in the rural areas."

The structures slowly became more involved in military work.

"In 1981, the APCs were beginning to work in a supportive role for the trained people who came in. In 1985, the APCs changed to military working committees (MWCs), which were overtly military."

The cell structures changed as well. The old APCs used cells of three to five people, but the MWCs ran on a one-to-one basis, which limited the number of contacts each operative had.

"Matthew died at a time when the APCs were busy transforming themselves into MWCs," said Stofile.

He said that Mbulelo Goniwe, whose "permanent removal from society" is mentioned in the controversial military signal, along with that of Matthew Goniwe and Calata, was also involved in ANC underground structures. Calata comes from a family with long-standing ANC links — his father was the regional ANC general-secretary before the organisation was banned.

Stofile said that at least one of the missing Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation activists who disappeared weeks before Goniwe's murder, was probably also part of the ANC underground.

"(Sipho) Hashe for sure was part of the eastern Cape APC," said Stofile. He thought the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation's Qaqawuli Godolozi — "a very key person in the organisation of civics" who vanished with Hashe — had probably also been part of the APC.

Stofile is convinced the security police knew something about Goniwe's underground activities. Stofile himself was detained in 1986 and later jailed on arms and terrorism charges. Although he was held by Ciskei, Stofile was interrogated by South African security forces. He was questioned about Goniwe's activities, although Goniwe had been dead for a year.

"They had this notion we were planning this massive initiative in 1985 with Matthew. They said Chris (Hani) came inside and that we met him in Wilgespruit," he said. Stofile, who was at a church meeting in the eastern Cape on the day he was allegedly meeting Hani, said his interrogators's suspicions were nonsense.

Stofile said his security police interrogators had seen the eastern Cape underground as stronger than anywhere else in the country. "One told us the Border region has sent more people to join MK than any other place in the country. But they were convinced — and I think they were correct — that our underground was still solid.

"They knew that as long as Matthew was there that Karoo region would never go down." — Ecna

LYNN FINLAY: Taken to "the filthiest and the most disgusting cells you could dream of".

EUGENE TERREBLANCHE: Condemned the arrests of the women as being "just because they are AWB members and white".

Star 3/7/93

AWB women 'humiliated in prison'

THE AWB is planning court action over the police treatment of women members held in connection with the storming of the World Trade Centre. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN reports.

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) yesterday called the press to a popular Pretoria steakhouse to hear three woman members detained after last week's World Trade Centre invasion tell of their "humiliating" treatment at the hands of the police.

While diners outside ate and drank under the watchful eye of AWB security men guarding the entrance to the conference room — into which drifted the occasional sounds of laughter and clinking glasses — Lynn Finlay, Stephanie Oelofse and Karen Brazao described how they were arrested and taken to Diepkloof Prison.

Finlay, a "colonel" in the AWB, said police, among them "an officer who had been drinking", had raided her home without a warrant. She said she was then taken to "the filthiest and most disgusting cells you could dream of". Finlay said she and others were given "inedible food", woken up "every 15 minutes" and subjected to verbal abuse, including being told "we were moggy for being members of the AWB".

Finlay said they were made to "stand in our underwear in freezing weather", interrogation sessions were "endless" and that they were not allowed to wear their uniforms in prison.

Oelofse, also an AWB "colonel", was introduced by the movement's leader Eugene TerreBlanche as the wife of an AWB general "who did nothing but walk in the shadow of her man and stand by him".

Clearly strained, Oelofse said her six-year-old son had been so shocked by the massive police raid on their home that he was unable to go to school the next day. She said she was unhappy that she had had to make "our personal financial situation public in front of all the other people in the court" when their bail application was heard.

Brazao, a "corporal" from Meyerton, said she had been forced to leave behind her one-year-old baby when she was taken in early on Monday morning, and had not been given any food until that evening. (327)

Responding to questions from the AWB's chief legal representative, Daan Mostert, Finlay said: "Bad language was used frequently, probably to intimidate us. We certainly weren't made to feel comfortable." Oelofse said police had threatened that her children would be placed in welfare

TerreBlanche said the three women had been arrested at the "witching hour" and treated in this way "just because they are members of the AWB and just because they are white". They had not committed public violence, he said. "They were just near their men, near the men they loved."

Mostert said they were busy preparing a civil case but would not be laying charges. "It doesn't help to charge the police," he said.

A joint statement from the AWB and the Afrikaner Volksfront was read out, in which the two organisations rejected allegations that they had come to the World Trade Centre with "a hidden agenda" to occupy the building. It was a "spontaneous reaction", TerreBlanche said. The two organisations resolved that they would plan their joint actions more carefully in future.

TerreBlanche said the AWB would have "nothing to do" with the proposed inquiry into the World Trade Centre incident by the Goldstone Commission. When 38 black people had died in the weekend that followed, he said, it was "pathetic" that a judge should be charged with inquiring into "a broken window".

Curfew best solution — cops

C/Press 4/7/93

By DAN DHLAMINI

ALL hell seems to be breaking loose in Khutsong, the traditionally sleepy township in the western Transvaal.

This week, the once peaceful West Rand township was declared an unrest area, and a 9pm-to-4am curfew was imposed.

(327)

The community of this underdeveloped township has, for the past three years, been at war with itself, with many lives lost in an endless saga of killings and revenge killings.

A West Rand police spokesman said police saw declaring Khutsong an unrest area as the best solution to the violence plaguing the township.

Workers have to carry a pass from their employers to avoid arrest if they have to travel during curfew hours.

A ban has also been placed on the carrying of weapons, and police intend ridding the community of criminals.

Western Cape cops' plea for help

Azapo 57 arrested

Sowetan 5/7/93

By Musa Zondi and Sapa

■ BOP PROTEST Demonstration was to 'dismantle bantustans':

FIFTY-SEVEN members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation were arrested on Friday during a lunchtime protest in the foyer of the building in Johannesburg which houses the Bophuthatswana Consulate-General.

They were taken to John Vorster Square and are due to appear in court today. Fifteen were released on Saturday.

According Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, deputy-president of Azapo, police at John Vorster Square police station refused to give the arrested people blankets because they were shouting the slogan about killing Boers. "In reality this is a campaign which we have decided on to speed up the dismantling of the bantustans. We realise that it does not appear there is anybody from the other liberation movements in this country who is willing to engage in activities that will actualise the unitary state by causing the dismantling of the banutstans," Nefolovhodwe said.

(327)

Bophuthatswana was the first to be targeted because of the arrest of a priest at an Azapo rally on June 16 outside Rustenburg.

Police said the men would be charged under a section of the Internal Security Act, prohibiting expression of feelings of hostility between different population groups.

The men would also be charged with public violence, malicious damage to property, resisting arrest and assault.

The protest had come after Azapo announced a campaign at a Press conference earlier in the day against homeland "stooges" who had representation at negotiations, rather than the people.

Mr Musa Mohammed, an official of the co-ordinating committee that announced the campaign, shouted: "Why am I being arrested?" as a policeman led him by the collar to a van.

'Invasion': 66 arrested

Star 7/7/93

By McKeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

The number of rightwingers arrested by police since the June 25 invasion of the World Trade Centre has risen to 66, though none is in custody.

Among those arrested was Andries TerreBlanche, brother of the leader of the AWB, Eugene TerreBlanche. He and his daughter Naomi appeared with three other AWB members in the Ventersdorp Magistrate's court this week. They were all granted bail of R100 and are due to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on July 13. (327)

Police directorate of public relations spokesman Captain Nina Barkhuizen said six of those arrested had been released and the rest were out on bail or warning.

The first appearances in court will be on July 12 in Johannesburg. (327)

● The Goldstone Commission is expected to decide today whether it will subpoena AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche to testify on his organisation's activities at the World Trade Centre two weeks ago.

TerreBlanche has said he will not appear.

TOTALITARIANISM – GENERAL

1994

Black Sash slams police detentions

(329)

CT 8/1/94

Political Staff

THE police claim that it was "silly" not to use detention without trial for interrogation purposes while it was still legal was extremely short-sighted, the Black Sash said yesterday.

It would be advisable for the police to look forward, not backward, and "operate in the spirit of the new society, not the letter of the old", it said in a statement.

The proclamation of five unrest areas in the Border region was also a restriction of liberty.

The Black Sash noted with concern these two major occurrences, which demonstrated the difficulty of strengthening respect for human rights.

"The police have difficult tasks to accomplish, but they must remain within acceptable and recognised bounds," the statement said.

Detention law is abolished

329

CT 26/1/94

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

But police still using section 29

THE law abolishing South Africa's controversial provision for detention-without-trial for interrogation has been signed by President F W de Klerk and will be gazetted on Friday, Mr De Klerk's office said yesterday.

However, the detention provision will be technically in force until a date for the implementation of the new law is agreed by Mr De Klerk and the Transitional Executive Council.

The Abolition of Restrictions on Free Political Activity Bill, which was passed by Parliament shortly before Christmas, will abolish section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Despite Parliament's decision, the police have continued using section 29 for the detention of suspects for interrogation purposes, including members of the PAC for the Heidelberg Tavern killings and a number of right-wingers who were detained in connection with various incidents of sabotage in the Transvaal.

The police have said they would be "silly" not to use the provision while it was still law, but they were strongly criticised by the Black Sash for not adapting to the new provisions which granted detainees a right of access to their families, lawyers and doctors.

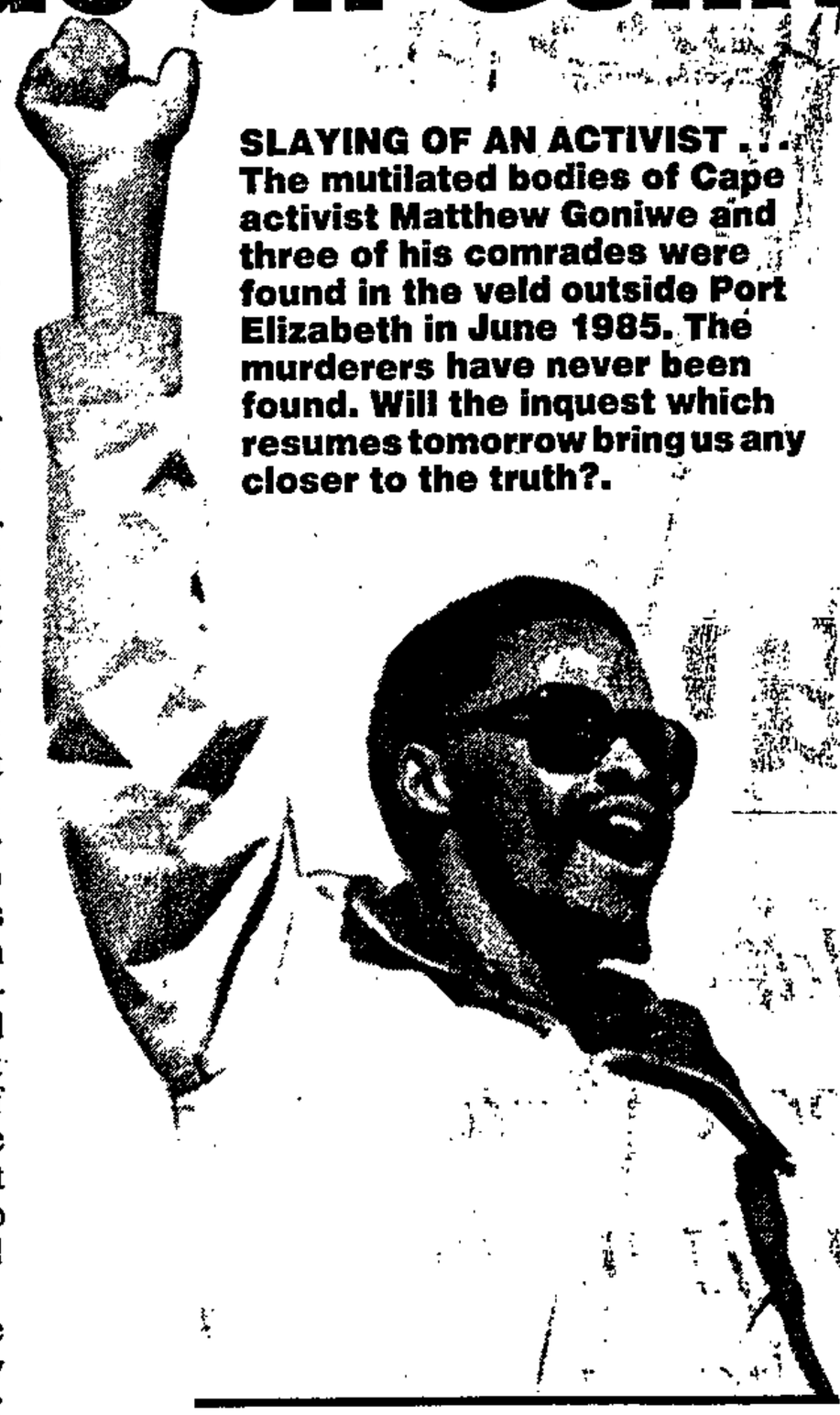
A spokesman for the State President, Mr Richard Carter, said yesterday Mr De Klerk had signed the law on January 14 and it would be published in the Government Gazette on Friday, January 28, but he was not sure when it would come into effect.

The new law also abolishes other controversial political legislation including the Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act, the Affected Organisations Act, the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act, the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act and six clauses of the Internal Security Act.

Although detention-without-trial for interrogation will go, provisions for "preventive detention" will remain on the statute book.

How will the judge decide on Goniwe?

C/Press 6/2/90



SLAYING OF AN ACTIVIST ... The mutilated bodies of Cape activist Matthew Goniwe and three of his comrades were found in the veld outside Port Elizabeth in June 1985. The murderers have never been found. Will the inquest which resumes tomorrow bring us any closer to the truth?.

THE long-running inquest into the death of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and three other activists in June 1985 is due to resume tomorrow for concluding argument. FRANZ KRUGER reviews the case in which evidence has already been led alleging a high level of state security connection to the assassinations.

WHO killed Matthew Goniwe?

It is a simple question the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court considered for most of last year.

But when the court heard its last witness in September and adjourned, it seemed unclear whether it would be able to find a simple answer.

In all the months of testimony, there has been very little about that night in June 1985 when Goniwe and his three colleagues were taken into the night outside Port Elizabeth and butchered.

There has been no direct evidence about who used their guns, knives and cans of petrol on Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlauli. But what there has been is some of the strongest evidence ever to come to light about alleged high-up complicity in murder and other dirty tricks.

Of course, the evidence still has to be weighed by the court, presided over by eastern Cape Judge President Neville Zietsman.

It was clear from the start that the barrier of "deniability" that separate the big fish from the little fish had been breached. After all, the names that appeared on the signal message that called for Goniwe's "permanent removal from society" were no lightweights: the signal was drafted on the orders of Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen, then commanding officer of Eastern Province Command. He is now a Lieutenant General and chief of military intelligence.

The signal – whose publication by the New Nation led to the inquest being reopened – was addressed to Major General Johannes Frederick Janse van Rensburg, a seconded officer working in the secretariat of the State Security Council (SSC) as head of its strategy department, and recorded a telephone discussion between the two men.

The SSC was the body which directed PW Botha's total onslaught on the enemies of apartheid. (327)

No attempt was made to deny that the message was genuine. Instead, the officers involved tried to argue that "permanent removal" didn't mean what it seemed to mean. Both men argued it referred to the activist's long-term detention.

They were contradicted by Colonel Lourens du Plessis, the man who drafted the signal on Van der Westhuizen's orders. He caused a sensation when he broke ranks with the SADF to declare it was a death order.

Anton Mostert, the senior counsel who is representing the SADF, made concerted attempts to discredit Du Plessis, among other things suggesting that he was paid R15 000 by the ANC for leaking the message. Du Plessis denied this. (250)

Van der Westhuizen was one of several security force officers to concede that only the security forces had the capacity to murder Goniwe.

The evidence that came closest to tracing the events of June 27 1985 – when Goniwe disappeared – was that of retired security police sergeant Fred Koni. In an ironic and very South African twist, he was the only black person to give evidence at the inquest.

At the time he was responsible for monitoring letters, telephone conversations and transcribing conversations picked up by a bugging device known as a "tamatie" placed in Goniwe's home.

He testified that Colonel (then a major) Eric Winter, a former Koevoet member who was at the time commanding officer of the Cradock security police, left the office on June 27 with two colleagues and didn't return until the next day.

On June 28, he was so anxious about what appeared on the transcriptions from Goniwe's house that he inquired every 10 to 15 minutes.

He also said that Goniwe was under constant surveillance by the security police, and was always followed when he left town. In other words, the police had to know who murdered the four activists.

Colonel Winter gave evidence earlier, and displayed a remarkable inability to remember his movements on the two critical days.

When the inquest resumes tomorrow it is due to hear argument by the various parties. The broad direction the various parties will take already seems clear.

The SADF will probably say the signal message didn't mean what it seemed to mean, and they didn't do it. The police will say there's no proof they did it, and in any event, the army could have done it as easily as the police.

The National Intelligence Service has been represented throughout the hearing, but has kept a remarkably low profile.

The families' lawyers will probably argue that the military ordered it, and the police carried it out, and that the whole thing was sanctioned at the highest level and coordinated through the national security management system.

And then it will be up to Judge Zietsman to decide.

Goniwe inquest: Families name five 'guilty of murder'

ARG 7/2/94

☐ 'The evidence gives compelling conclusion'

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The families of the Cradock Four today named five army and police officers they alleged were guilty of the 1985 murders of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli.

Almost a year after the inquest into the deaths of the United Democratic Front activists was reopened in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court, the hearing restarted today to hear legal argument by lawyers for the families of the dead men, the police and army.

Mr George Bizos SC, for the families, said the compelling conclusion from the evidence was that the security forces killed the four activists.

Specifically named by Mr Bizos as "guilty of murder" were:

- General Joffel van der Westhuizen, current head of the army's Military Intelligence wing and officer commanding Eastern Province Command in 1985.
- Colonel Lourens du Plessis, then Brigadier Van der Westhuizen's staff officer at EP Command, who has admitted sending a military signal to Pretoria recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe and two others.
- General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, an army officer seconded to the State Security Council in 1985, to whom the signal was sent.
- Colonel Eric Winter, head of the security police in Cradock in the mid-1980s.
- Colonel Harold Snyman, former head of the security branch in Port Elizabeth, and Colonel Winter's superior.
- Members of the SAP and SADF or persons under their control whose identities could not be determined.

He said General Van der Westhuizen and General Van Rensburg had chosen not to answer any questions on the basis that they might incriminate themselves.

The prima facie evidence would have been provided by the signal that called for the permanent removal of three of the men from society.

He said the judge should direct the Attorney-General to charge General Van der Westhuizen with conspiracy to murder not only the Cradock Four but also Chief Lennox Sebe and others as spelt out in Operation Katzen.

There was prima facie evidence that General Van Rensburg, General Van der Westhuizen and Colonel Du Plessis had planned the murders.

The killers' slip was that they left a number plate at the scene which caused the car to be traced back to Mr Goniwe and allowed the search for the dead men to be linked to the discovery of their charred and mutilated bodies.

If this number plate had not been found they would have disappeared as mysteriously as the Pebco Three (Qaqawuli Godolozi, Sipho Hashe and Champion Galela).

Mr Bizos said police monitoring of Mr Goniwe had intensified shortly before his death and that the army could have obtained information about his movements from the police.

"What potential killers, other than security forces, would have known that Mr Goniwe was on the road at the time of the murders?

"Death squads do not wait for someone to happen along."

The inquest, which is expected to continue for more than a week, was ordered by President De Klerk after a signal sent from Eastern Province Command to the State Security Council in Pretoria fell into the hands of the press.

According to evidence, it was suggested that the signal constituted a death warrant for Mr Goniwe, the Cradock teacher and activist who was a thorn in the flesh of the government.

Mr Bizos said the "murders" were a deliberate act using the most secret channels.

General Van der Westhuizen was head of military intelligence and had access to top secret operations.

Hit squads were able to commit murder with impunity and those who committed the abuses did so knowing they had the support of the regime and that their superiors would cover up for them.

The signal was a proposal for murder and the mere fact that it had been written on paper showed the attitude of those who were in charge.

(Proceeding)

NEWS Closing arguments in Goniwe inquest ● Favourite tipple 5,8 percent more

Bizos pins blame on MI head

Sowetan 8/2/94

Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen should be found guilty of conspiring to murder United Democratic Front activist Matthew Goniwe and three others, an inquest heard yesterday.

Senior legal counsel for the families, Mr George Bizos, argued Van der Westhuizen, Colonel Lourens du Plessis, Major General Johannes van Rensburg and SAP Colonel Eric Winter and other SADF and SAP members should all be found to be implicated in the June 27 1985 murders.

He also submitted in final argument that Van der Westhuizen should also be charged with conspiracy to murder former Ciskei President Lennox Sebe and other people mentioned in Operation Katzen.

Bizos argued the Goniwe murders had been well planned and professionally executed. He referred to earlier evidence by Van der Westhuizen, who had said the security forces were the only ones with the means to execute the killings. (327)

Permanent removal

He also argued there was a motive and pointed to the signal recommending the "permanent removal" from society of Goniwe and two other activists, which was sent from Eastern Province Command to the State Security Council 20 days before the killings had actually ocurred.

"In this case, assuming that Van der Westhuizen and Van Rensburg chose not to answer any questions on the basis that they might incriminate themselves, there clearly would have been *prima facie* evidence that they and Du Plessis planned and carried out the murders of Goniwe and the others."

The inquest continues. — *Sapa.*

United Nations and American soldiers help evacuate a victim of Saturday's market mortar attack in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. American planes carried out 197 wounded civilians and relatives, following the bombardment which killed 66 people. PIC: AFP

'Try MI chief for killings'

(327)

CT 8/2/94

Final leg of Goniwe inquest

PORT ELIZABETH. — Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen should be charged with the murder of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other activists, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday.

Mr George Bizos, SC, for the dead men's families, said Gen Van der Westhuizen should also be charged with conspiring to murder former Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe and others named in SADF Operation Katzen document before the court, which detailed plans to crush Eastern Cape anti-apartheid groups.

On the first day of final argument in the Supreme Court here, Mr Bizos said the general had hidden behind a "conspiracy of silence". His attitude had been "I don't remember" when cross-examined about the June 7, 1985, SADF signal ordering the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe and two other activists.

The general allegedly ordered Colonel Lourens du Plessis to send the signal from EP Command to Gen Johannes van Rensburg at the State Security Council.

On June 27, 1985, Mr Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli were hacked and burnt to death en route to Cradock from Port Elizabeth.

Mr Bizos said Gen Van der Westhuizen had considered Mr Goniwe "enemy number one" and it was strange he had "forgotten" ordering the signal concerning Mr Goniwe.

Mr Bizos said Col Du Plessis and security policemen Colonel Eric Winter and Col Harold Snyman should also be charged with murdering the "Cradock four".

He said Col Du Plessis was a reliable witness and his testimony — that Gen Van der Westhuizen had meant Mr Goniwe and two UDF activists should be killed — should be accepted.

Mr Bizos said the signal and Col Du Plessis' testimony were prima facie evidence that Gen Van der Westhuizen, Gen Van Rensburg and Col Du Plessis planned and executed the murders. He said Operation Katzen showed a willingness by security forces, including Col Du Plessis and Gen Van der Westhuizen, to commit murder for political ends. — Sapa

AWB leader acquitted

B/Day 8/2/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche was acquitted in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday on a charge relating to his failure to appear before the Goldstone commission.

Terre'Blanche had been called to give evidence to the commission on the storming of the World Trade Centre by right wingers last year.

An armoured truck was driven through the centre's plate glass windows.

Magistrate M de Witt ruled that Terre'Blanche had not been given sufficient time in which to consult his legal advisor prior to his appearance before the commission.

Terre'Blanche was summonsed on July 5 last year to give evidence to the commission on July 7.

Outside the court yesterday, Terre'Blanche said he was thankful Roman-Dutch law had not been so corrupted that judgments were made solely on a political basis. The commission had hoped the court would do "its dirty work and find me guilty", he said.

Witness says A man feared f

PATRICK Ronan, the former personal assistant to former Allied MD Kevin de Villiers, felt his position could be threatened by the setting up of Absa, the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court heard on the first day of the fraud trial of Ronan and De Villiers yesterday.

Manpower Department industrial inspector Jacques van der Merwe testified that Ronan told him he had come across irregularities regarding the takeover bid with United and Volksbank and he felt his position could be threatened.

Van der Merwe said Ronan told him he had asked De Villiers to change the terms of his employment contract to include a 12-month notice period.

Van der Merwe, who dealt with Ronan's severance pay claim for more than R115 000 in 1991, said they spoke after he met Absa group personnel manager Petrus Claassen on August 1 1991.

De Villiers and Ronan pleaded not guilty to charges of fraud, alternatively attempted theft and perjury last year.

The State has alleged that Ronan and De Villiers conspired to arrange that Ronan was entitled to a 12-month notice period as from March 2 1990. The accused then falsified an employment contract.

Both men were charged with perjury after they appeared as witnesses in court in January 1992 regarding the severance pay claim.

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The trial cont

Goniwe: call to charge MI chief

B/Day 8/2/94

PORT ELIZABETH — Military Intelligence chief Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen should be charged with the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other eastern Cape activists, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday.

Senior legal counsel for the families of the deceased, George Bizos, also argued that Van der Westhuizen should be charged with conspiring to murder former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe and others named in the Operation Katzen document which detailed plans to rid the eastern Cape of government opposition.

During final argument in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court, Bizos said Van der Westhuizen's testimony had been "I don't remember" when he was asked about a June 7 1985 SADF signal recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two other activists.

He said Col Lourens du Plessis and Gen Johannes van Rensburg, who were also said to be involved in sending the signal, should also be charged with murder.

On June 27 1985 Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were killed between Cradock and Port Elizabeth. The signal mentioned Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Calata. — Sapa.

(327)

SADF counsel dumps general

Sowetan 9/2/94

IN A dramatic development at the Goniwe inquest yesterday, lawyers acting for the SA Defence Force withdrew as counsel for General Johannes Janse van Rensburg.

SADF counsel Mr Anton Mostert, SC, informed the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court that he was withdrawing as legal counsel for Van Rensburg, former head of strategy in the Secretariat of the State Security Council, who is rumoured to be terminally ill.

Mostert told the court that Van Rensburg had sent him a lengthy statement yesterday, which was a departure from his original affidavit and statements made while giving evidence in court. Mostert said he had no instructions from Van Rensburg to disclose the contents.

Mostert also said that he was informed three months ago that Van Rensburg was terminally ill with cancer and had confirmed to him that he was ill.

Mostert said it would appear that Van Rensburg had taken some time to write the letter. (327)

Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said it was "strange" for Mostert to withdraw at such a late stage. The various legal counsel are already delivering closing argument.

Mostert said he did not know whether or not Van Rensburg wanted to give further evidence.

Van Rensburg, to whom the notorious military signal ordering the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe and two other activists was addressed, denied last year that the signal meant that they be killed.

The inquest may hear today whether Van Rensburg wants to change his earlier evidence which some counsels have said was untrue. — *Ecna*

Surprise at Goniwe inquest

General's counsel withdraws

Star 9/2/94

Port Elizabeth — General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, former head of strategy at the Secretariat of the State Security Council (SSSC), appears to have broken ranks with the SADF, it emerged at the reopened Goniwe inquest yesterday.

Counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert, SC, informed the court he was withdrawing as Van Rensburg's legal counsel after Van Rensburg sent him a letter in which he made statements that were a "departure" from those he had made in affidavits and during his evidence.

Van Rensburg, seconded to the secretariat from the SADF and to whom the controversial signal message calling for Goniwe's "permanent removal from society" was sent, denied in his evidence last year that the signal meant Goniwe and others must be killed.

By late yesterday no word had been heard from Van Rensburg, and George Bizos, SC, counsel for the Goniwe family, continued with his argument.

"As the head of strategy at the SSSC, he (Van Rensburg) was ideally placed to have the death warrant executed," Bizos charged. (327)

Bizos submitted that Van Rensburg was the person "to consider the security implications of such a deed" (the murder of Goniwe), and the "absurdities and lies in his evidence lead to the unavoidable inference he has something to hide".

The signal message was sent to Van Rensburg by Colonel Lourens du Plessis on June 7 1985, apparently on the instruction of General Joffel van der Westhuizen, who at the time was a commandant heading Eastern Province Command. Van der Westhuizen is now head of Military Staff Intelligence.

At the start of his argument yesterday, Bizos called for Eastern Cape Judge President, Mr Justice Neville Zietsman, to find Van Rensburg, Van der Westhuizen and Du Plessis guilty of planning and executing Goniwe's murder.

The inquest is proceeding. — Ecna.

Goniwe probe: New evidence?

IT was revealed last night that former State Security Council aide Major-General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, who is believed to be terminally ill, is expected to give "new" evidence at the Goniwe inquest. J 9/2/94 (327)

This dramatic development follows yesterday's revelation that former head of strategy of the SSC had "deviated substantially" from his statements and evidence in a seven-page faxed statement to South African Defence Force counsel Mr Anton Mostert, SC, who has now withdrawn from representing the general.

However, Mr Mostert is to continue representing the SADF at the inquest.

Cancer

It was also revealed that General Janse van Rensburg is suffering from cancer and may be terminally ill.

Last night a source close to legal counsel for the Goniwe family said he understood that General Janse van Vuuren would give new evidence.

Eastern Cape deputy attorney-general Mr Michael Hodgen said last night confirmed that it was possible the general would give new evidence but said the chances of him testifying today were "extremely slight".

"The inquest is at a very late stage. We have no idea what he (General Janse van Rensburg) has to say."

At the inquest yesterday Mr Mostert said his "client privilege" prevented him from handing the statement in to court. He said, however, everyone could come to their "own and correct conclusions" about the matter.

Mr Justice Zietsman said it was strange for Mr Mostert to withdraw at such a late stage, as the various legal representatives were already delivering their closing arguments.

Mr Mostert told the inquest he did not know whether or not General Janse van Rensburg wanted to give further evidence.

The judge then adjourned the inquest after asking Mr Mostert to contact General Janse van Rensburg and inform him of his rights.

This dramatic development took place just before Mr George Bizos, SC, for the families of the slain "Cradock Four", resumed the second day of his final argument.

Withdraw

Cradock activists Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli were murdered on the night of June 27, 1985, when a bomb, placed in their car, exploded while they were on their way back to Cradock after attending a United Democratic Front (UDF) briefing in Port Elizabeth.

During his testimony on March 8 last year, General Janse van Rensburg, who received a SADF signal in Pretoria ordering the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe, told the inquest that he "felt revulsion" when he read later about the murders of the four men.

In his argument yesterday, Mr Bizos dealt mainly with the evidence of General Janse van Rensburg and Military Intelligence head General Joffel van der Westhuizen, who according to Colonel Lourens du Plessis, ordered that the signal be sent to Pretoria while he was officer commanding at EP Command in 1985.

Signal

Mr Bizos referred to General Van der Westhuizen's evidence that he saw General Janse van Rensburg in Pretoria on June 12, 1985, but that the signal was not discussed.

"It suited Van der Westhuizen's case to find evidence and suggest that the SAP did it (the murders).

"Van der Westhuizen hoped that if it could be established that the murders were committed by rogue policemen, he would be exonerated.

"Van der Westhuizen attempted to persuade the court that he was a man of normalisation and his counsel argue that in his favour. Given that Strelitzia and (Operation) Katzen were part of his grand plan of normalisation, it is quite clear that he was prepared to kill and engage in other unlawful activities to achieve this purpose."

The hearing continues today. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter.

UNFORGETABLE . . .

Natalie charms city crowd

By JEREMY DOWSON

NATTY, nattier, Natalie — unforgettable in every way.

Resplendent in a silk and taffeta gown, Natalie Cole charmed more than 7 000 Capetonians last night with her distinctive brand of "low-down, slinky jazz" interspersed with heart-melting ballads, belted-out blues numbers and the occasional nod towards calypso.

Backed by a 25-piece orchestra, four jazz musicians and two singers, Cole shimmied her way effortlessly up to a climax in which she duetted on "Unforgettable" with her late father Nat King Cole, who was represented on a huge projector screen.

● Cole, however, came close to missing the concert, arriving only a few hours before she was due to appear on stage.

She was so enjoying her stay at Sun City, where she performed at the weekend, that she stayed an extra day on Monday to relax.

But bad weather yesterday meant they couldn't fly from Sun

General's counsel withdraws from inquest

B/Day 9/2/94

PORT ELIZABETH — SADF lawyers at the reopened Goniwe inquest yesterday withdrew as counsel for Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg after the general faxed them a statement which differed from his previous testimony.

SADF senior advocate Anton Mostert told the Supreme Court that Van Rensburg's fax meant that the legal team had to withdraw their counsel. (327)

He could not disclose the contents of the fax because the general had not stated whether this could be done, but said Van Rensburg was prepared to make an affadavit confirming the contents of the fax.

Van Rensburg, who is dying of cancer, has been accused of being a co-conspirator in the 1985 murders of UDF campaigners Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli.

The inquest was adjourned so that Van Rensburg could seek legal counsel, but it might hear today whether he wants to change his earlier evidence.

Van Rensburg, who served on the State Security Council secretariat at the time of the killings, has admitted receiving a secret military signal calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and others, 10 days before the killings.

He said he could not remember what had happened to the signal, which he said had been a recommendation that the men be detained. He had not acted on the signal.

Legal counsel for the families of the deceased, George Bizos, yesterday accused Van Rensburg of "weaving a pack of lies" about when he had received the signal.

Bizos is arguing that the general, and other SADF and SAP members, should be charged with murder and conspiracy to murder. — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 10/2/94

'Guilty of conspiracy to murder'

Port Elizabeth — A second legal counsel has argued that the Goniwe inquest judge should find that three senior military officers conspired to murder Matthew Goniwe and two other eastern Cape activists.

Glen Goosen, appearing for retired SA Defence Force colonel Lourens du Plessis, said in final argument yesterday that the three officers, including his indemnified client, were guilty of conspiracy to murder.

He said former Eastern Province Command CO Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen had instructed Du Plessis to send a signal to Major-General Johannes van Rensburg, strategy head at the secretariat of the State Security Council on June 7 1985. (327)

The signal had recommended the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo, and Fort Calata as "a matter of urgency", Goosen said.

Twenty days after that, Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were killed and their bodies burnt.

Goosen questioned Du Plessis's statement that there was a 50 percent chance he might have misunderstood Van der Westhuizen's order about the signal. Du Plessis had never been guilty of bad draftsmanship or error in signals.

He referred to Operation Katzen, a military plan to quell government opposition in the eastern Cape, as documentary evidence supporting the death warrant interpretation of the signal.

"The language used in the Operation Katzen documents, in particular the use of phrases such as 'permanent verdwyn' (permanently disappear), 'uithaal' (remove) and 'permanent uithaal', bears a striking resemblance to the language used in the signal." — Sapa.

NEWS SADF general's lawyer pulls out of inquest ● Crime spree alleged in court

News in brief

Learning centre opens

A NEW adult education centre at St Theresa's School in Riversdale Road, Coronationville, opens on February 14. Optimus Foundation spokesman Mr David Martin said the new centre's aim was to promote education among adults or school leavers forced by disruptions to abandon their studies.

Martin said classes would be conducted from 6pm to 8.15pm Further information can be obtained from Martin at 793-4766 during or 477-7611 after hours.

Aptitude test results

PUPILS who participated in the testing programme in Alexandra on January 22 will receive their aptitude test results tomorrow. The results will be issued at the Alexsan Kopano, corner of 12th Avenue and Selborne Street, Alexandra, from 2pm to 5pm.

For further information contact Charmaine Khumalo at (011) 880-9292.

Reminder for pupils

AN urgent reminder has been issued to last year's Standard 10 pupils wishing to write supplementary exams in May-June this year to register before February 11 at their examination centres.

Any candidate who wrote the November 1993 exams can write supplementary exams this year.

It also advised students, who have applied for remarking, to register for supplementary exams in

New evidence in Goniwe case

Sowetan 10/2/94

■ DRAMATIC TURN General expected to lead new evidence at inquest next week:

NEW EVIDENCE BY GENERAL Johannes Janse Van Rensburg, the man who broke ranks with the SADF this week, is expected to be presented to the reopened Goniwe inquest early next week.

According to Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney-General Mike Hodgen, Van Rensburg will file a new affidavit for consideration by Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsmann.

This week the inquest took a dramatic turn when the court heard that Van Rensburg had sent his former SADF counsel, Mr Anton Mostert, SC, a lengthy letter in which he made statements which departed significantly from his earlier evidence to the court.

Mostert told the court that Van Rensburg contracted cancer before his withdrawal as his legal counsel. (327)

Van Rensburg, to whom the infamous signal message calling for Goniwe's permanent removal from society was sent, had repeatedly denied last year that the signal was a death warrant.

The mutilated bodies of the Cradock activist and his three colleagues were found 20 days after the signal was dispatched to Van Rensburg.

In a surprise move yesterday, counsel for Colonel Lourens du Plessis, Mr Glen Goosen, called for his own client to be found guilty of "conspiracy to commit murder, alternatively incitement to murder". — *Ecna*.

Makwetu, FW clash

Sowetan 10/2/94

By Mzimkulu Malunga

THE African National Congress' Reconstruction Development Programme would plunge the economy into a crisis, President FW de Klerk said in Johannesburg last night.

In an address during which he attempted to sell his National Party to black executives at *Enterprise* magazine's investment forum, De Klerk said the RDP was a document that was influenced by failed socialist policies.

He said he did not have racial prejudices, adding the NP was no longer a "white party".

There was heated debate when De Klerk was questioned by Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu said: "ANC economic policies have never been applied in this country, so nobody can accuse them of being a failure."

De Klerk replied: "In many respects we have applied socialist policies throughout the decades, but due to sanctions it was difficult to apply free market principles because exports markets were being closed internationally.

"But now that we are liberated, we can talk about free enterprise."

General expected to give inquest a new statement

PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — General Frederick Janse van Rensburg is expected to hand in a new statement covering the events leading to the deaths of the Cradock Four at the Goniwe inquest next week.

Mr Justice Zietsman has been told that General Van Rensburg, former State Security Council strategy chief, has arrived in Port Elizabeth and is consulting his new legal team, advocate Freek van Rooyen and attorney Zirk de Klerk.

Anton Mostert SC, counsel for the SADF, withdrew from representing General Van Rensburg this week after the general, who has developed cancer, had submitted a fax in which he deviated substantially from his original statements.

General Van Rensburg was the officer to whom the June 7 1985 top secret signal was sent recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Fort Calata.

The Cradock teachers who were leaders of the United Democratic Front — Mr Goniwe, Mr Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto, and Sicelo Mhlawuli — were murdered on June 27, 20 days after the signal was sent.

George Bizos SC, appearing for the families of the dead men, said in a supplementary submission today that it was abundantly clear there had been a conspiracy to murder Mr Goniwe and his friends.

During a conversation between General Joffel van der Westhuizen and General Van Rensburg, General Van Rensburg had offered to solve the "Goniwe problem".

If by this he had meant murder, then he would have known who would carry out the murders even if he did not know the names of the individuals.

ARG 10/2/94 (Proceeding) 327

February 10 1994

TEC probes bogus SACP document

B/Day 10/2/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — A disinformation campaign against the SACP, which threatens to prevent voter education and political access to more than 1-million farm workers, is being investigated by the TEC intelligence subcouncil.

The investigation follows an announcement by the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions last week that political activity had been banned on farms.

The ban, which was contrary to the Electoral Act, was imposed after union members received a secret document, allegedly published by the SACP, which outlined plans for armed insurrection.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo is scheduled to meet agricultural union representatives in Pretoria today to discuss the ban and to argue that the document was disinformation calculated to cause further friction between the SACP and farmers.

The issue will also be discussed tomorrow when Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johan Kriegler meets National Manpower Commission delegates, including the SA Agricultural Union and Cosatu.

Slovo told the TEC this week the alleged SACP document was "a work of fiction" which threatened to prevent access to a significant number of workers in the run-up to the election.

SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin said the use of certain phrases in the document, including references to "Operation Sunrise", suggested the existence of a disinformation campaign first noticed in September last year.

The strategic "leaking" of the fictional plan to some organisations had resulted in the Afrikaner Volksfront's declaration of war in December, he said. It had also exacerbated tension between the SACP and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said the document, entitled "SACP Discussion Document on the Prevailing Situation" had been passed on by "someone from Military Intelligence," according to Cronin.

The document contained numerous spelling, language, conceptual and political errors that proved its fraudulent character, Cronin said, adding that the real butt of the disinformation campaign was not the SACP or the ANC but government negotiators.

Sapa reports that Free State Agricultural Union president Pieter Gous said Free State farms would be "no-go areas" until farmers' problems with demands regarding political activity on their properties were resolved.

Off-duty workers should be allowed to attend party meetings in public areas, but farmers objected to the uncontrolled movement of strangers on farms.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Officers plotted to kill, court told

PORT ELIZABETH — A second legal counsel argued yesterday that the Goniwe inquest judge should find that three senior military officers conspired to murder Matthew Goniwe and two other eastern Cape campaigners. B/Day

Glen Goosen, legal counsel for retired SADF Col Lourens du Plessis, said in final argument the three officers, including his indemnified client, were guilty of conspiracy to murder.

He said former Eastern Province Command head Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen had instructed Du Plessis to send a signal to Maj-Gen Johannes van Rensburg, strategy head at the State Security Council secretariat, on June 7 1985. 10/2/94

The signal had recommended the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo, and Fort Calata as "a matter of urgency".

Twenty days after the signal, Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were killed.

Senior counsel for the victims' families, George Bizos, has argued Du Plessis, Van der Westhuizen and Van Rensburg, and two security police colonels, should be found to have murdered the four United Democratic Front campaigners. (327)

Du Plessis was the only one of the three military officers to testify the signal was a death warrant.

Goosen argued du Plessis was a reliable witness while the two generals, who claimed the signal was a recommendation for a lengthy detention, were not. — Sapa.

Broadcasting could face

New turn in inquest

WM 1-7/2/89

Shadley Nash

NEW evidence by General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, the man who broke ranks with the South African Defence Force this week, is expected to be presented to the reopened Goniwe inquest early next week.

According to the deputy attorney-general for the Eastern Cape, Mike Hodgen, Van Rensburg will file a new affidavit for consideration by Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsmann.

This week the inquest took a dramatic turn when the court heard that Van Rensburg had sent his former SADF counsel, Anton Mostert SC, a letter in which he made statements which departed significantly from his earlier evidence to the court.

Before withdrawing as his legal counsel, Mostert told the court Van Rensburg had contracted cancer.

Van Rensburg, to whom the signal message calling for Matthew Goniwe's permanent removal from society was sent, had repeatedly denied during his evidence last year that the signal was a death warrant.

He told the court he could not remember what happened to the signal sent by Colonel Lourens du Plessis at Eastern Province Command on June 7 1985. He testified that the signal referred to an attempt to have Goniwe detained.

The bodies of the Cradock activist and his three UDF colleagues were found 20 days after the signal was dispatched to Van Rensburg.

Meanwhile, in a surprise move on Wednesday, counsel for Colonel Lourens du Plessis, Glen Goosen, called in his final argument for his own client to be found guilty of "conspiracy to commit murder, alternatively incitement to murder".

Du Plessis told the court that he drafted the signal message on the instructions of the head of military intelligence, General Joffel van der Westhuizen. At the time Van der Westhuizen was officer commanding Eastern Province Command and was said to be under pressure to quell unrest in the Eastern Cape.

In his submission Goosen called for the court to find Van Rensburg and Van der Westhuizen, as well as Du Plessis, guilty of conspiracy or incitement to murder Goniwe. But Goosen submitted that the court should also find that Du Plessis was a "truthful and reliable witness".

Du Plessis was granted indemnity to give evidence on the signal message which he testified was an order to murder Goniwe. — Ecna

Drama at inquest

Sowetan 11/2/94

■ SICK GENERAL Van Rensburg

to make new statement at inquest:

GENERAL FREDERICK JANSE VAN Rensburg is expected to hand in a new statement covering the events leading to the deaths of the Cradock Four at the Goniwe inquest next week.

Mr Justice Zietsman has been told that Van Rensburg, former State Security Council strategy chief, had arrived in Port Elizabeth and was consulting with his new legal team, advocate Freek van Rooyen and attorney Mr Zirk de Klerk.

Mr Anton Mostert, SC, counsel for the SADF, withdrew from representing Van Rensburg this week after the general, who has cancer, submitted a fax in which he deviated substantially from his original statements.

Van Rensburg was the officer to whom the June 7 1985 top secret signal was sent recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Fort Calata. The Cradock teachers who were leaders of the United Democratic Front — Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto, and Sicelo Mhlawuli — were murdered on June 27, 20 days after the signal was sent. (327)

Yesterday, Mr George Bizos, SC, appearing for the families of the dead men, said it was abundantly clear there had been a conspiracy to murder Goniwe and his friends.

During a conversation between General Joffel van der Westhuizen and Van Rensburg, Van Rensburg had offered to solve the "Goniwe problem".

If by this he had meant murder, then he would have known who would carry out the murders even if he did not know their names.

In a conspiracy it was not necessary for people to know the names of the assassins. There was little doubt that Van Rensburg and Van der Westhuizen had conspired to kill Goniwe during their conversation.

Mr Glen Goosen, for Colonel Lourens du Plessis, who sent the controversial signal and was later granted indemnity when he told the court the signal was in fact a death warrant, said it was common cause that Goniwe and his associates had caused substantial difficulties for the security forces.

General won't talk

(327) CT. 11/2/94

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Controversial Goniwe inquest witness General Johannes Janse van Rensburg yesterday refused to talk about his dramatic seven-page statement of "new" evidence.

The statement, which he faxed to SADF counsel Mr Anton Mostert this week, led to his counsel withdrawing his representation of the general at the inquest.

Gen Janse van Rensberg, reported to be dying of cancer, appeared healthy as he emerged from attorney Mr Zirk de Klerk's Port Elizabeth offices.

Nattily dressed in a grey suit, smiling as he buttoned his jacket, he faced reporters and photographers.

Asked if questions could be put to him, Gen Janse van Rensburg said: "It depends on the questions."

The first question concerned an apparent misunderstanding between himself and SA Defence Force advocate Mr Anton Mostert, who had announced dramatically in the Supreme Court in Port Elizabeth on Tuesday that Gen Janse van Rensburg was terminally ill with cancer and that he had submitted a seven-page affidavit which differed substantially from his previous affidavits.

SILENT WITNESS ...
Gen Janse van Rensburg

The question to Gen Janse van Rensburg, who is a retired SA Defence Force officer, and former member of the State Security Council, got as far as: "How do you explain the misunderstanding ..." when the general interrupted: "Misunderstanding? What misunderstanding?"

Avoiding further questions, Gen Janse van Rensburg and Mr De Klerk left the building.

Gen Janse Van Rensburg was the officer to whom General Joffel van der Westhuizen addressed a military signal in 1985 recommending the "permanent removal from society" of political activists Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli.

● **Goniwe murders 'were planned' — Page 5**

Goniwe: Police involvement 'not shown'

(327)

☐ Evidence insufficient, says SC

ARG 11/2/94

PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — No finding could be made against the police in connection with the murder of the Cradock Four, P J de Bruyn SC said today.

Mr De Bruyn, who is appearing for the police at the inquest on Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto, said he would dispute the drawing of any compelling conclusion that the police were involved in the "executions".

There was no evidence linking the police or any individual members to the deaths of the four men.

He said the security branch had no motive to kill them and this was supported by the evidence of Eric Winter, head of the security police in Cradock, who had said that he wanted Mr Goniwe reinstated as a teacher.

Mr De Bruyn said not only the security forces had the means and motive to kill the men.

There was widespread unrest and trouble between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, who could also have planned and executed the murders.

Mr De Bruyn said Fred Koni, a retired security policeman stationed at Cradock during 1985, who gave evidence about police surveillance of Mr Goniwe, was an unreliable witness.

● Deputy Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape Mike Hodgen SC said yesterday that the facts pointed overwhelmingly to the participation of elements in the security forces being responsible for the deaths.

"Our frustrating conclusion is that we cannot submit with authority exactly which combination of individuals are guilty of murder," said Mr Hodgen.

He said the reopened inquest had access to top-secret and secret documents and information not made public before.

This placed the court in a unique situation to consider how people such as Mr Goniwe were viewed by the government and the National Security Management System.

When it came to prima facie evidence, he said, an inquest was not an adversarial proceeding so there could not be a question of an "onus of proof" in the traditional sense.

He submitted that the term prima facie, which had been argued at great length, was not indicative of proof beyond reasonable doubt being required before anyone was charged, but that the court had to make a finding "on a balance of probabilities".

Documents indicated that people at high level in the National Security Management System considered Mr Goniwe an important figure who posed a serious problem, he said.

During 1985, Harald Snyman, head of the security police in Port Elizabeth, was strongly opposed to Mr Goniwe's re-appointment as a teacher.

Mr Hodgen said Mr Mhlawuli was not a key political figure and the probabilities were that he was at the wrong place at the wrong time.

Anyone with Mr Goniwe on the night of June 27 1985 would have been killed to prevent identification of the murderers, said Mr Hodgen.

He said the murder of the men at night by a group acting out their deeds over a wide area, removing all leads and clues to their identities, keeping solidarity and preventing any members from giving away their actions, suggested a highly cohesive, motivated group with experience in killing and high organisational ability.

The signal described by Colonel Lourens du Plessis as a "death warrant" had been sent when it seemed that higher government authorities outside the Eastern Cape were going to dismiss or ignore the strong views and recommendations from the Eastern Cape and compromise instead.

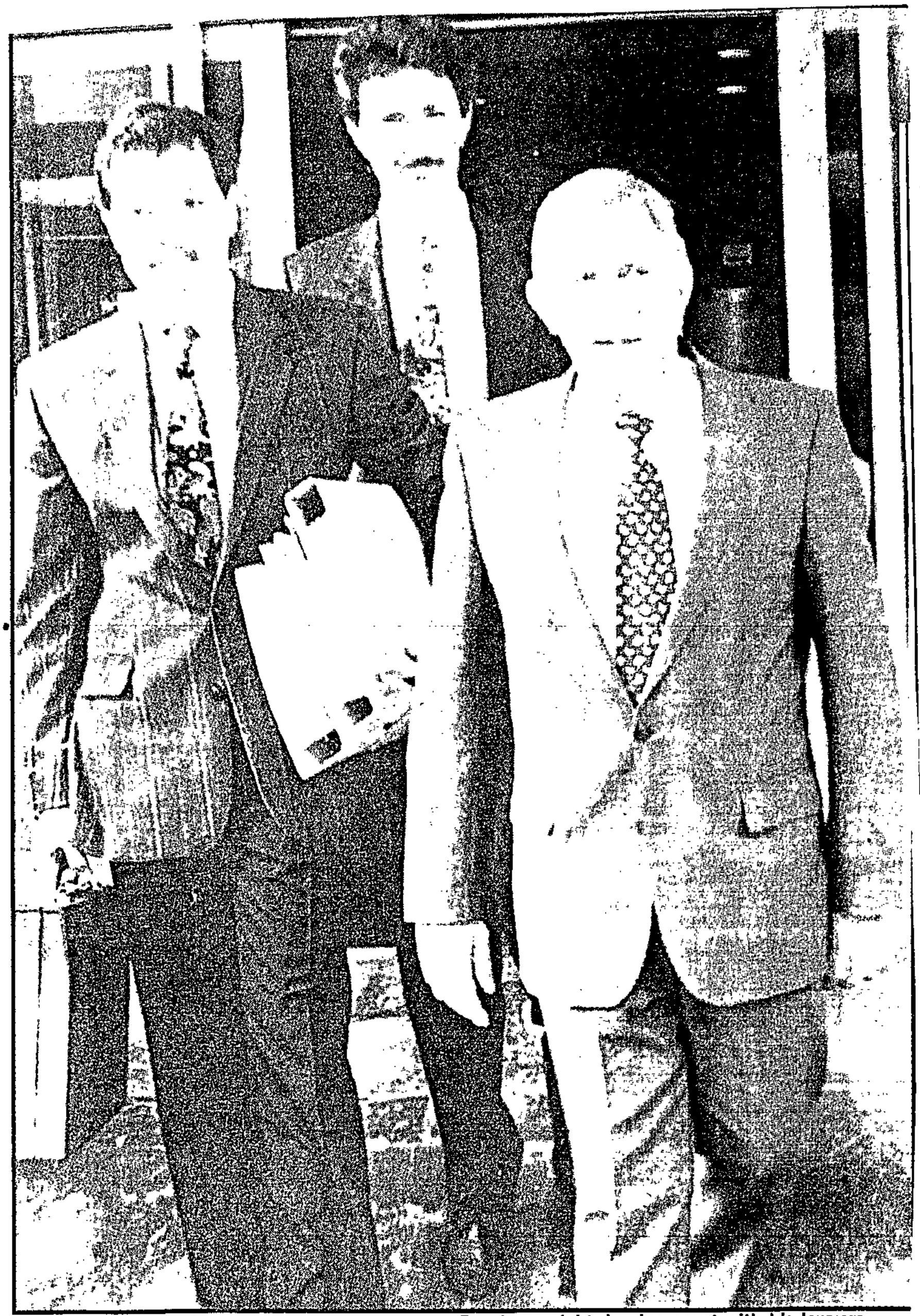
Mr Hodgen said that, to people in the Eastern Cape, Mr Goniwe was a kingpin and the vortex of the hurricane that was devastating the government. Yet, unlike ANC terrorists and Swapo guerrillas, who were fair game, Mr Goniwe was entitled to the full protection of the law.

This must have been "particularly galling" to those individuals who had fought and killed on the borders, "yet had to play kid gloves with a person they regarded as equally dangerous, or more dangerous, than the enemies they had been allowed to kill", said Mr Hodgen.

The SADF and the security police had manpower with the ability to kill.

General Van der Westhuizen and Colonel Snyman had the best ability and means to carry out the murder of the four activists, said Mr Hodgen.

(Proceeding)



KEY FIGURE ... Major-General Hans Janse van Rensburg, right, leaving court with his lawyers

General is set to give new Goniwe affidavit

S/Times 13/2/94

By RAYMOND HARTLE

A FORMER SA Defence Force officer quashed expectations yesterday that he was about to make a "deathbed confession" to the inquest into the murders of anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe and three of his comrades.

Retired Major-General Hans Janse van Rensburg, a key figure in the investigation into the brutal murders of Mr Goniwe and fellow Cradock activists Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, has cancer. (327)

But he poured cold water on speculation that a new affidavit, expected to be filed in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court this week, would expose alleged dirty tricks by members of the security forces.

On Tuesday, advocate Anton Mostert, who had represented General van Rensburg throughout the inquest, told the court he had withdrawn his counsel after receiving a fax indicating the general wished to amend affidavits filed earlier.

Mr Mostert did not hand the new statement in to court, but suggested that "everyone can come to their own and correct conclusions".

Confirmation that General van Rensburg, 62, has cancer fuelled speculation that his new statement could amount to a deathbed confession about his involvement in a conspiracy to kill the activists.

But his new legal representatives downplayed the likely effects of his statement this weekend, referring to "nuances" that differed from his earlier affidavits.

The general declined to discuss the contents of the statement, but said he had not expected it to result in Mr Mostert withdrawing as his counsel.

Eastern Cape Judge-President Neville Zietsman was told to expect the statement early this week, but General van Rensburg said yesterday he would be "out of commission" until Thursday because of the after-effects of the chemotherapy

Goniwe: dramatic new turn

C'Press 13/2/94

A RETIRED general's last-minute affidavit may rock the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth this week.

The protracted hearing resumed on Monday this week for the five legal counsel to submit their final arguments.

But on Tuesday it emerged that Major-General Johannes Janse van Rensburg – the former head of strategy at the State Security Council who received a SADF signal recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Fort Calata – wanted to change some of his evidence submitted to the inquest.

Senior legal counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert, told the court he had received a seven-page fax from the general containing statements differing from his original testimony (327)

Mostert said he was professionally bound not to disclose these changes.

One newspaper speculated that Van Rensburg, who is being treated for cancer, might be making an about-turn. Some lawyers were more cautious.

Mostert assured eastern Cape judge Neville Zietsman that the changes would not affect argument in any major way. – Sapa

Star 15/2/94

'Deaths, signal not linked'

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — Death was not intended by the signal calling for the permanent removal of Matthew Goniwe and two colleagues from society, Anton Mostert, SC, told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mostert, who is appearing for the SADF, was addressing the inquest into the deaths of United Democratic Front activists Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto.

He said the hard-core facts and probabilities, in the absence of any other material, provided a final answer: death was not intended by the signal, and the deaths and the signal were not linked.

During 1985, when Goniwe was a thorn in the side of the security forces, the authorities were considering two options for him: his reappointment as a teacher in Cradock, or detention without trail.

Mostert said an examination of all the facts leant towards the assumption that the signal was innocuous.

Because Goniwe was a political activist and not a terrorist or an insurgent, General Joffel van der Westhuizen (then head of Eastern Province Command) would not have killed him.

He said Van der Westhuizen had given convincing reasons why it would have been counterproductive to kill a prominent political activist such as Goniwe. Van der Westhuizen had also denied any conspiracy with others. If the judge could not find a link between conspiracy and murder, there was no prima facie case.

(327)

Mostert dismissed former client Colonel Lourens du Plessis and General Frederik Janse van Rensburg, both of whom gave evidence, as tragic figures.

Mostert said the evidence had established the innocence of Van der Westhuizen, now head of Military Intelligence, on whose instruction the signal had been sent to Van Rensburg at the State Security Council's secretariat in Pretoria.

If the signal was a death warrant, it had been sent to the wrong address because the tasks of the secretariat were only to advise and co-ordinate.

Argument continues.

Death not ordered in signal, SADF counsel tells inquest

ARG 15/2/94 (327)

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Death was not intended by the signal calling for the permanent removal from society of Matthew Goniwe and two colleagues, Anton Mostert SC told the Supreme court here yesterday.

Mr Mostert, who is appearing for the South African Defence Force, was addressing the inquest on United Democratic Front leaders Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto.

He said the hard facts and their probabilities, in the absence of any other material, provided a simple and final answer: death was not intended by the signal and the deaths and the signal were not linked.

Mr Mostert said the signal, which appeared in *New Nation* in 1992 and led to a flood of speculation, was central to the present inquiry insofar as it related to the SADF.

During 1985, when Mr Goniwe was a thorn in the side of the security forces and a political activist with a wide following, the authorities were considering two options for him.

These were his reappointment as a teacher in Cradock, or detention without trail by the security police.

Mr Mostert said in a lengthy address an examination of all the facts leant towards the assumption that the signal was innocuous.

Because Mr Goniwe was a political activist and not a terrorist or an insurgent with a weapon, General Joffel van der Westhuizen (then head of Eastern Province Command) would not have killed him.

He said General Van der Westhuizen had given convincing reasons why it would have been counter-productive to kill a prominent political activist such as Mr Goniwe.

General Van der Westhuizen had also denied any conspiracy.

Mr Mostert said the court had to beware of considering possibilities as probabilities.

If the judge could not find a link between conspiracy and murder there was no *prima facie* case.

Mr Mostert dismissed former client Colonel Lourens du Plessis — who was granted indemnity after telling the court the signal was a death warrant — and General Frederik Janse van Rensburg as tragic figures.

He said Colonel Du Plessis's evidence was in character with the man: "Perjury, theft, discontent and treachery, all compounded in one tragic alcoholic being."

He said General Janse van Rensburg, whom Mr Mostert represented until last week, was "a poor witness and a person with overweening vanity who endeavours to remedy a justifiably inadequate memory by resorting to reconstruction".

It is not yet clear if or when General Janse van Rensburg will return to the witness box after earlier telling Mr Mostert he wished to change some of his evidence substantially.

Mr Mostert said the evidence had also established the innocence of General Van der Westhuizen, now head of military intelligence, on whose instruction the signal had been sent to General Janse van Rensburg at the State Security Council's secretariat in Pretoria.

If the signal was a death warrant, it had also been sent to the wrong address because the tasks of the secretariat of the council were only to advise and coordinate.

Of Colonel Du Plessis's testimony that the signal was an order to kill, Mr Mostert said his evidence was that there was no specific instruction from General Van der Westhuizen that people were to be killed.

If Colonel Du Plessis was correct that the signal called for Mr Goniwe's murder, "one would have expected General Van der Westhuizen to have approached him and to have exulted in their success once the news of the Goniwe murders became known".

'No proof' of army guilt over Goniwe

PORT ELIZABETH — Army involvement in the murders of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists could not be proved, senior SADF counsel Anton Mostert told the Goniwe inquest yesterday.

The signal recommending "permanent removal from society" should be read as suggesting detention, Mostert submitted. B/Day 15/2/94

He argued that Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen could not be found to have conspired or incited to murder those named in the signal.

The signal had been drafted by Col Lourens du Plessis, allegedly on the orders of Van der Westhuizen, and had been sent to Maj-Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg.

Mostert said Lourens had admitted the notion of killing (doodmaak) had not been used by Van der Westhuizen or himself. (327)

Meanwhile, Van Rensburg is to present his new affidavit to the Goniwe inquest only next week, Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney-General Michael Hodgen said yesterday.

What changes Van Rensburg will make to his earlier testimony are unknown. — Sapa.

SADF killed terrorists 'not activists'

PORT ELIZABETH — Military Intelligence chief Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen would not have killed Matthew Goniwe because he was a political activist and not an armed terrorist, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday. BIDAY

Senior legal counsel for the SADF Anton Mostert was referring to the general's evidence that security forces could kill only terrorists or insurgents with weapons. He had called Goniwe a political activist or a radical.

In final argument, Mostert said Van der Westhuizen had been a good witness on factual matters but conceded he had testified poorly on conceptual and hypothetical issues. 16/2/94

Mostert submitted that Van der Westhuizen's inability to recall certain facts should not be held against him (327) (354)

He also argued the signal recommending "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and others should be interpreted as innocent.

Col Lourens du Plessis had testified that phrases used in the Goniwe signal were sinister in meaning but Mostert reiterated that the colonel was a thief, perjurer and alcoholic.

Argument is to continue today. — Sapa.

Goniwe signal 'no death warrant'

PORT ELIZABETH. — The killing of political activists in 1985 could have been ordered only by the cabinet or the State Security Council, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday.

Mr Anton Mostert, SC, for the SA Defence Force, said this showed the military signal recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Matthew Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Mr Fort Calata was not a death warrant.

The signal was drafted by Colonel Lourens du Plessis, allegedly on the orders of then EP Command head Lieut-General Joffel van der Westhuizen, and was sent to the State Security Council secretariat strategy head Maj-Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg on June 7, 1985.

Mr Goniwe, Mr Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli were killed 20 days later on June 27.

Mr Mostert argued that General Van der Westhuizen had access only to the secretariat's strategy department, which did not decide on killing political activists. Such a decision would not have been taken up at the level of the secretariat, he said.

(327)

"In consequence, there is no room for an argument that the signal was a proposal to kill Goniwe and the others."

The inquest resumes on March 2. — Sapa

CT 17/2/94

Kill order 'only from top'

B/Day 17/2/94

PORT ELIZABETH — The killing of political activists in 1985 could have been ordered only by the Cabinet or state security council, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday. (327)

Senior counsel for the SADF Anton Mostert said this showed the military signal recommending the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Fort Calata had not been a death warrant.

The signal had been drafted by Col Lourens du Plessis, allegedly on the orders of Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen, and had been sent to Maj-Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg on June 7 1985.

Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were killed 20 days later.

Mostert argued that Van der Westhuizen had had access only to the secretariat's strategy department, which did not decide on killing political activists.

Mostert said Du Plessis had been the only witness to testify that Van der Westhuizen had proposed the killing of Goniwe and the other two activists.

Du Plessis' testimony should be rejected, Mostert reiterated.

"The evidence of Du Plessis is in character with the man — perjury, theft, discontent and treachery, all compounded in one tragic alcoholic being."

The inquest will resume on March 2. — Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by J Jones; newsbills by D Armour; headlines and subediting by C Pickard-Cambridge: all of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

TENSE STANDOFF . . . ANC's Western Cape general secretary Lerumo Kalako negotiates with a senior police officer during Thursday's raid Picture: BENNY GOOL

Angry Boesak asks TEC to probe raid on ANC's office

S/Times [C/Metro]

By NAZEEM HOWA

B27

THE African National Congress has asked the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to investigate Thursday's raid on the organisation's Woodstock offices by heavily armed members of the Internal Stability Division.

A memorandum prepared by ANC officials has already been submitted to the TEC's sub-council on law and order, the ANC's regional chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, said yesterday.

After the raid police claimed they were acting on information that an armed "terrorist" was hiding in the ANC offices — although no arrests were made after police had thoroughly searched the premises.

Several policemen and ANC office-bearers and staff members were injured during confrontations on Thursday.

Dr Boesak confirmed that his organisation had been in touch with the TEC to complain about the manner in which the police had acted.

"We've little faith in the internal investigation planned by the police so we are determined to raise the issue with the TEC," he said.

Raid

The ANC had demanded that the TEC sub-council summon Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to explain the reasons behind the raid.

"It's just not good enough for Minister Kriel to say he did not know about the raid beforehand," Dr Boesak said.

The organisation also plans to lay a complaint tomorrow with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

"Thursday's raid was a calculated attempt to disrupt the ANC's election activities and a blatant move to criminalise the organisation.

"The basis of the ANC's complaint to the IEC is that the security forces are being used in a partisan manner to threaten the fairness of the election," Dr Boesak said.

Report by N Howa, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town.

Goniwe wasn't killed by us, says SADF

C/Press 20/2/94

LEGAL counsel for the SADF concluded their final argument on Wednesday in the re-opened Goniwe inquest with a last dig at the security police – suggesting they arranged the murders.

Senior counsel Anton Mostert said "implicit" in the line of questioning of Colonel Eric Winter, the former Koevoet man who headed the Cradock security police from April 1985, was that he had come to Cradock "to kill Goniwe" (327)

It emerged during cross examination of Winter by legal counsel for the Goniwe family, George Bizos SC, that Winter had been transferred from the Koevoet unit to Cradock security police in April 1985, just two months before the Goniwe killings.

He said that, according to Bizos' argument, there was no common purpose between the cops and the SADF – which meant an SADF signal recommending Goniwe's "permanent removal" had nothing to do with his murder. – Ecna

Goniwe: General refuses to reveal contents of fax

(327) ARG 2/3/94

PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The former head of the State Security Council today told the Goniwe inquest he was not prepared to make public the information contained in a fax sent to his former legal counsel as he regarded this as privileged information.

Former army general Johannes Frederick Janse van Rensburg was recalled to give evidence at the inquest into the deaths of activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli who were murdered on June 27, 1985.

The inquest adjourned dramatically last month when defence force senior counsel Anton Mostert announced he was withdrawing as defence for General Van Rensburg as he had received a fax from the general differing substantially from his evidence before the inquest.

General Van Rensburg received the controversial signal calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe. It was described to the inquest as a death warrant.

In his revised statement today, General Van Rensburg said he had received the signal on June 12 and not June 17 as stated to the inquest.

He said that when he had first given evidence, he had not realised he had seen the signal.

He had had no intention of misleading the court.

He said P Le Clus, his personal assistant, was the only person who could have handled or sent documents of this nature in his absence.

He had since established that Colonel Le Clus was away at the time.

Asked why he had not attempted to contact Colonel Le Clus, he said he had not thought of it.

Under cross-examination by George Bizos for the families, he admitted it would not have been difficult for the SADF to find one of its colonels.

General Van Rensburg said he was not prepared to make public the information contained in the original fax sent to his former advocate, Mr Mostert, as he regarded this privileged information.

Responding to a question by Mr Justice Zietsman why he should suddenly have remembered receiving the signal on June 12 when he had earlier insisted only receiving it on the 17th, he said it was because Colonel Le Clus was away and Brigadier Kiewiet Geldenhuys was not there that day because he had gone hunting.

Judge: If you can remember now why could you not remember it then?

General Van Rensburg: I was so busy with business related to the state of emergency that I could not remember.

Judge: How come you can suddenly remember now?

General Van Rensburg: Because my personal assistant was not there.

The general said that after he had received a report from the Geldenhuys Committee — the task force set up to investigate "problems" of Mr Goniwe and the situation in Cradock — he had revised it, attached a copy of the signal and sent it to the then Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

General Van Rensburg, who earlier in the inquest said he could remember no details about the signal, revealed he had "spoken to Cape Town" and told them that his report would be coming through and that they should stay on duty.

The judge asked General Van Rensburg if he was telling the inquest that he had sent a memorandum to the Geldenhuys Committee, that when he had received their report and recommendations, he had revised it without attending the meeting and had then sent his own report plus the signal to the minister.

"That is how the secretariat operated," General Van Rensburg said.

He said he had been in charge and could change things if he wanted to. He could add his own ideas.

He said the report sent to Mr Vlok had mentioned Mr Goniwe.

The judge said it seemed strange that General Van Rensburg, who had originally been unable to remember anything, could suddenly recall that he had spoken to the minister and even mentioned Mr Goniwe.

General Van Rensburg said he could remember because when he realised Colonel Le Clus had not been there, he was the only one with the authority to have sent the report to Cape Town.

At the start of today's proceedings, Freek van Rooyen, now appearing for General Van Rensburg, said his client was a very sick man who was receiving treatment for cancer.

He asked that he be allowed to sit or that the court should adjourn if he was not feeling well.

The judge agreed.

General van Rensburg also told the inquest he had not seen the heads of arguments submitted by various advocates at the last sitting of the Goniwe inquest and was not aware that his former advocate had referrred to him "as a man of inadequate memory".

He said it had taken him five months to change his affidavit because he had been ill and had been receiving treatment, and did not have time to get around to it.

He said he was still not sure what had happened to the original signal sent by General Joffel van der Westhuizen to him on June 7 calling for the permanent removal from society of Mr Goniwe and his colleagues.

General Van Rensburg said classified documents were usually received by his secretary and then handed to him.

He said when he left the office of the State Security Council in 1986, he had emptied his cabinet and safe of all documents.

When retiring in 1991, he had again made sure that he had cleared his office of all documents.

(Proceeding)

Goniwe inquest plea is opposed

Sowetan 31/3/94

'NOT IMPARTIAL' Counsel for SADF wants judge to recuse himself:

THE discourteous conduct of SA Defence Force counsel Mr Anton Mostert rather than the presiding judge's manner might allow military intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen to doubt the impartiality of the Goniwe inquest, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court was told yesterday. (327)

Mr George Bizos, SC, appearing for the families of four Cradock activists murdered in 1985, opposed an application by Mostert for Mr Justice Neville Zietsman's recusal.

"There are no reasonable grounds for recusal. (354)

"If General van der Westhuizen has any doubt or suspicion about impartiality, we submit, and we will show on the record, that it must have been primarily caused by the unjustifiable attacks on your lordship and the discourteous conduct of his counsel," Bizos said.

The grounds which Mostert had brought to justify the application for recusal were contrived, Bizos said.

Inquest hearing

He disagreed with Mostert that the judge had cross-examined witnesses, and quoted legal precedent to submit a judge in an inquest hearing had an obligation to question witnesses to seek clarity.

Mostert argued that Justice Zietsman's questioning of certain witnesses favoured the notion that the SADF signal ordering the "permanent removal from society" of three Eastern Cape activists was a death warrant.

The SADF previously stated the signal was an order for the detention of Matthew Goniwe and others.

Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were assassinated in June 1985, 20 days after the signal was sent from the SADF's Eastern Province Command to the State Security Council. — *Sapa*.

General changes evidence

Sowetan 3/3/94

A HIGH-RANKING military officer yesterday denied at the reopened Goniwe inquest that he had changed his evidence to improve his position.

Major-General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, former head of strategy at the Secretariat for Security Council, was recalled to give evidence in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court after submitting a new affidavit which differs from evidence given by him to the inquest last year. (327)

A third affidavit in which he makes changes to previous statements was handed in to court yesterday.

In it Van Rensburg states that he received the military signal recommending that Goniwe and two other activists be "permanently removed from society" on June 12 1985 from Colonel Lourens du Plessis at Eastern Province Command.

However, in earlier statements and in previous evidence before court he had said he received the message on June 17, 10 days after it was despatched on the alleged orders of Military Intelligence head General Joffel van der Westhuizen, who was then head of EP Command.

In the new affidavit he says the signal was included in a report by the Geldenhuys Task Group, which was set up to decide on Goniwe's future and whether or not he should be reappointed as headmaster of a Cradock school.

He despatched the report to then deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Van Rensburg's altered evidence now appears to confirm the position of the SADF legal team that the signal calling for Goniwe's permanent removal from society was intended for the Geldenhuys Task Group and that it referred to Goniwe's long-term detention.

Cross-examined by George Bizos, SC, Van Rensburg denied that he had changed part of his previous evidence to improve his position before Mr Justice Neville Zietsman.

Vlok 'no comment' on new Goniwe evidence

B/Day 3/3/94

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Adriaan Vlok, named in the Goniwe inquest as the recipient of the secret message ordering Matthew Goniwe's permanent removal from society, yesterday declined to comment on the new evidence.

Vlok was Deputy Defence and Law and Order Minister at the time of Goniwe's death on June 27 1985, and he was responsible for administering the controversial national security management system.

Maj-Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg told the inquest in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday that he had received the signal recommending that Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo, and Fort Calata should be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency". A copy had been sent to Vlok.

Correctional Services Ministry spokesman Bert Slabbert said Vlok did not want to react "at this stage".

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said he could not comment because "we don't comment on court proceedings or on the veracity of evidence". However, the ministry would co-operate fully with the inquest and any relevant documents would be made available to the court.

Sapa reports that Eastern Cape Judge President Zietsman said Van Rensburg's new evidence was a reconstruction rather than based on memory. He found it strange that the general could now clearly remember details that he had failed to do while giving evidence last year. (327)

Van Rensburg was recalled after he faxed a letter to SADF senior counsel Anton Mostert last month explaining that his earlier evidence was wrong. (251)

Inquest told of death order procedure

PORT ELIZABETH — Military operations to assassinate activists in foreign countries would have been approved by a special State Security Council committee chaired by the President and including the Foreign Minister, the Goniwe inquest heard yesterday.

Former State Security Council secretariat strategy head Maj-Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg said such operations would have been executed by forces under the control of the chief of the army. He told the Supreme Court he had had no dealing with such foreign operations.

Van Rensburg said only activists living in foreign countries would have been killed. Activists inside SA were arrested and brought to court.

The inquest is into the murders of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli who were shot and stabbed near Port Elizabeth on June 27 1985.

Van Rensburg said earlier he had received a signal recommending that Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Calata be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency" on June 12. The signal had been sent from Eastern Province Command on June 7. BiDay

Referring to the general's earlier testimony, George Bizos, SC, for the families of the deceased, asked him why he had not said the State Security Council had not sanctioned the killing of activists in the country. Van Rensburg had said that had the signal been a death warrant, it should not have been sent to him but to the head of the army. 8/3/94

He has insisted throughout the hearing that the signal was a recommendation for lengthy detention. (327)

Under cross-examination by Glenn Goosen, Van Rensburg said he could not remember what had happened to the signal after June 17. He had given it to a Brig Verster, but he could not remember if he had received it back. — Sapa.

However, even if we had that informa- of the thieves.

General's 'corrected evidence' is self-serving, says counsel

PORT ELIZABETH — Maj-Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg was giving new evidence to the Goniwe inquest because his earlier testimony might implicate him in the murders of Matthew Goniwe and three others, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Glenn Goosen, counsel for Col Lourens du Plessis, who earlier told the inquest he had sent the signal from Eastern Province Command and that it was a death warrent, said the general was trying to show the signal received by him at the State Security Council was linked to an innocent task group investigating Goniwe's lot.

Van Rensburg denied this, saying he wanted to tell the court the truth.

The signal recommending that Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Fort Calata be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency" was sent from EP Command on June 7 1985.

Goniwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were shot and stabbed to death near Port Elizabeth 20 days later.

Van Rensburg, former strategy head of the State Security Council secretariat, said last year he received the signal on June 17. In new evidence, he said he received the signal on June 12, when he received the task group's report recommending Goniwe be reappointed as a schoolteacher in Cradock. B/Day 10/3/94

Goosen put it to Van Rensburg that his real reason for correcting his evidence was to try to persuade the judge that the signal had something to do with the task group's investigation. (327)

"It is important for you . . . that the judge accepts the signal was to be incorporated into the report. Objectively, have you got a motive to show the signal was not a death warrant?

Van Rensburg denied this. "I know I had nothing, but nothing, to do with the Goniwe murders."

Goosen put it to the general that he had always known the signal was a death warrant. "Nothing can be further from the truth," said Van Rensburg. — Sapa.

Army counsel could withdraw from inquest

PORT ELIZABETH — Senior legal counsel for the SADF Anton Mostert yesterday indicated he might withdraw from the Goniwe inquest.

His warning concluded the final day of evidence, during which he twice criticised Eastern Cape Judge President Neville Zietsman.

After accusing the judge of siding with senior counsel for the families of the deceased, George Bizos, Mostert said he would consider making an application. Earlier he questioned Zietsman's impartiality.

Mostert indicated he might withdraw from the hearing while discussing dates for further argument. Suggesting five days could be required, he added: "If I'm still in the matter."

In the first altercation, Mostert objected to the judge's questioning of Gen Pieter Geldenhuys, saying he was presupposing the SADF witness was lying.

Zietsman overruled his objection.

Later, Bizos objected to Mostert's questioning of the general, saying he was posing leading questions. Zietsman agreed the questions were leading, but did not make a ruling.

Mostert argued that his questions had not been leading and said he had the right to be annoyed because Zietsman had unjustifiably supported Bizos on this issue.

"I take exception to your attitude," Zietsman replied.

Mostert responded: "I also take exception to your attitude."

Mostert then asked for a lunch adjournment to consider making an application, on which he did not elaborate.

He returned to say he would reserve a decision on the application until he had examined the court records and spoken to his clients.

The stop-start inquest, which began on March 1 last year, has centred on a military signal recommending that Matthew Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Fort Calata be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency". — Sapa.

BTR DUNLOP LIMITED

(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
(Reg. No. 05/12141/06)

PRELIMINARY REPORT

for the year ended December 31, 1993

Audited Financial Results	Year ended 31/12/93 Rm	Year ended 31/12/92 Rm
Income Statement		
Sales	689,5	668,3
Trading Profit	94,3	91,3
Financing	(3,9)	(6,1)
Profit before taxation	90,4	85,2
Taxation: SA Normal	(19,3)	(27,4)
Secondary tax on companies	(6,3)	
Deferred tax rate adjustment	11,4	
Net income after taxation	76,2	57,8
Preference dividends	(0,1)	(0,1)
Attributable profit	76,1	57,7
Cash flow	52,2	35,2
Capital expenditure	29,3	30,7
Gearing % shareholders' funds	–4,7%	1,5%
Number of Shares — Average	23,829m	23,675m
Earnings per share	319c	244c
Earnings per share excluding deferred tax rate adjustment	272c	244c
Dividends per share	175c	165c
Dividend cover — times	1,8	1,5
Net worth per share	1 326c	1 189c
Assets employed		
Fixed assets	213,3	201,8
Net current assets	135,9	154,4
Assets employed	349,2	356,2
Financed by		
Shareholders' funds	317,5	283,0
Deferred tax	46,7	68,8
Net (cash)/borrowings	(15,0)	4,4
	349,2	356,2

COMMENTS

Trading conditions

The 1993 year reflected a 3,2% increase in sales which rose to R689,5 million. The continuing cost reduction programmes contained costs thus enabling trading profit to rise by 3,2%, in line with sales, to R94,3 million. After allowing for the favourable deferred tax rate adjustment of R11,4 million, the profit after taxation amounts to R76,2 million. This equates to earnings per share of 319 cents which is some 31% higher than the figure of 244 cents earned in 1992. Much improved working capital management resulted in an operating cash inflow of R52,2 million and the Group ended the year in an ungeared position. Investment continues in modernising the Group's manufacturing facilities and some R29,3 million of capital was spent.

OUTLOOK AND DIVIDEND

It is extremely difficult to forecast the trading conditions for 1994 in view of the political uncertainties. Group profits and sales for the first two months were in line with budget which anticipates a small increase in sales and trading profits for the year. Should this trend continue, the Group will achieve a corresponding increase in the 272 cents earnings per share which excludes the benefit of the deferred tax rate adjustment. The ongoing modernisation of manufacturing facilities will continue to be a management priority.

The Board has declared a final dividend of 115 cents per share (1992:105 cents) making a total distribution of 175 cents per share (1992:165 cents).

A M D GNODDE — CHAIRMAN

M J SMITHYMAN — MANAGING DIRECTOR

March 10, 1994

NOTICE TO ORDINARY SHAREHOLDERS

SADF counsel may quit inquest

C/Press 13/3/94

SENIOR legal counsel for the South African Defence Force, Anton Mostert, on Thursday indicated he may withdraw from the Goniwe inquest.

His warning concluded the final day of evidence – during which he twice criticised Eastern Cape Judge President Neville Zietsman.

Mostert indicated he may withdraw from the hearing while discussing dates for further argument. He said five days may be required – and added: "If I'm still in the matter." (327)

Earlier Mostert had objected to Judge Zietsman's questioning of Gen Pieter Geldenhuys, saying the judge was presupposing the SADF witness was lying.

"It is apparent from your demeanour that you feel the witness is not telling the truth. Whatever view you have of your impartiality in this case, we have a different view," Mostert said.

Judge Zietsman overruled his objection.

Later senior counsel for the families of the deceased, George Bizos, objected to Mostert's questioning of the general, saying he was posing leading questions. Judge Zietsman agreed the questions were leading, but did not make a ruling.

Mostert insisted his questions had not been leading, ignoring the judge's three requests for him to continue questioning.

SOWETAN Thursday March 17 1994

e charged with 1991 murder of ANYL official

Inquest finds cops guilty of murder

Sowetan 17/3/94

By Isaac Moledi

Two policemen are to face a charge of murder for the death in Diepkloof, Soweto, in October 1991 of an African National Congress Youth League official.

Lawyers for the family of the dead ANCYL executive member, Mr Vuyani Mabaxa (21), said yesterday they had received information from the Attorney-General's office that Sergeant Johannes Brits and Constable Peter Botha should be charged with murder.

The two will appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate Court on a date still to be announced.

Johannesburg Inquest Court magistrate Mr C J De Lange had earlier blamed Brits and Botha for Mabaxa's death. Family lawyer Mr Mark Phillips said De Lange had ruled that the two policemen had lied to the court during the inquest. The magistrate had concluded that, because of their dishonesty, they had acted unlawfully (327)(351)

Mabaxa, of Zone 6 Diepkloof, was shot dead by police in Soweto on October 13 1991. Police said at the time they shot him after he had shot at them.

They said they were patrolling in Zone 6 when they ordered Mabaxa, who had something wrapped in a newspaper, to stop.

He turned and fired 10 shots at them with a Russian-made pistol. They returned fire and he was hit in the chest and died instantly.

Witnesses said at the time that they had seen Mabaxa running away and police firing at him. They denied he was carrying a gun and that he had shot at the police.

Mabaxa's death was followed by disturbances in Diepkloof lasting five days. Houses were burnt, schools attacked and police stoned.

Commenting on the court's ruling, Phillips said he was happy that the one-year-long inquest had borne fruit.

"It's only if the police are punished for the crimes they commit that we can expect to get legitimate policing in future," he said.

■ DISHONEST TESTIMONY

Cops' versions not believed:

'Remove Goniwe judge'

(327) (~~234~~)

☐ Inquest delay as SADF calls for recusal on the basis of 'bias'

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

ARG 21/3/94

PORT ELIZABETH.— The Defence Force today called for the recusal of the Judge-President of the Eastern Cape from the Goniwe inquest on the grounds of suspected bias.

After more than 14 months of evidence Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, said the SADF had instructed him to apply for a postponement so that a suitable application for the removal of Mr Justice Zietsman could be made.

He said the application, which would take at least 10 days to prepare, would be made on the "reasonable suspicion of bias on the part of the judge".

Mr Mostert said nearly 5 000 pages of records had to be examined before the application could be brought to court.

He realised that a great deal of money and time had been spent on the inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkonto, the Cradock Four murdered in 1985. But money and time were no grounds for the refusal of a recusal.

He said if the application for recusal was unsuccessful the SADF would appeal. Either way the case faced a substantial delay.

This makes it virtually impossible that the findings of the inquest, which were expected this week, will be available before the election.

The court, which was to have heard final argument this week, was adjourned until Wednesday next week for the SADF application.

Mr Mostert said it was with great reluctance that he had agreed to the postponement but there was no other option.

If the judge agrees to a recusal then the hearing will have to start from scratch before another judge.

Parties vie for advantage after Goldstone report

B/Day 22/3/94

TIM COHEN and WILSON ZWANE

THE Goldstone commission's report on the "third force" set the cat among the pigeons yesterday with political parties seeking electoral advantage in their responses to its allegations.

The ANC and the DP called for political heads to roll, the Inkatha Freedom Party continued to proclaim its innocence and the AWB and the Transvaal Agricultural Union lodged strong protests against it.

The ANC questioned whether President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel could not have known of the "third force" activities of senior police officers.

The ANC vowed to remove the "rotten eggs" within the security forces, but refrained from condemning the police force as a whole, extending "a hand of friendship" to policemen who wanted to serve SA.

ANC president Nelson Mandela also called yesterday for indemnity from prosecution for SA security force members prepared to testify about hit squads, Reuter reports.

The ANC said government and the police had blamed political intolerance between the ANC and Inkatha for the violence. It was now evident they were promoting the violence and "using the intolerance argument to conceal their own involvement".

The DP, which is considered likely to benefit the most from the report, called for Kriel's suspension. DP MP Tony Leon said Kriel's credibility had suffered because he had often denied that police would harbour or assist a killer force.

Inkatha central committee member Sue Vos said Inkatha would not act against its Transvaal political director Themba Khoza — who the report alleged was involved in "third force" activities — because it did not have information on which to act.

Sapa reports Khoza said yesterday he would hold a news conference today to discuss the Goldstone report. "I am also inviting Goldstone commission members to the conference so they can answer questions relating to the report," he said.

Vos said Khoza denied the allegations. Inkatha objected strongly to Khoza's "trial by media" which it saw as a "public kangaroo court".

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said Goldstone was a "boere-hater" and ANC apologist who had, without corroborating evidence, used an anonymous, paid informant to throw generals to the "communist wolves".

Sapa reports that police public relations head Maj-Gen Leon Mellet claimed De Klerk had lost a lot of white support and had responded to the report in the way he had in an attempt to gain black support.

"The way it was made public came as a shock to all of us," Mellet, who is retiring, said at his farewell function in Cape Town. "It is unsettling because it was done unfairly. I am upset about the way it was made public."

Absa Bank said it had suspended on full pay another of its employees, Victor Ndlovu, who the report alleged was implicated in illegal arms dealing. The suspensions would remain in place until an internal bank investigation had been completed.

A second Absa employee named in the report, security officer Dries van Heerden, had asked to be suspended while Van Heerden's superior, Dougie Crew, would not be suspended.

Report by W Zwane and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; E van Wyk and A Thomson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

'Lloyd's crisis caused suicide'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The suicide of a retired admiral was blamed at an inquest hearing yesterday on the catastrophe surrounding Lloyd's of London.

Sir Richard Fitch, 64, second in command of the Royal Navy before his retirement, gassed himself in his car in February because he was worried about the massive losses he was going to have to underwrite as a Lloyd's Name.

The inquest was told Fitch feared losing his home.

The coroner had recorded a finding of death by suicide, probably caused by financial worries.

Fitch had had to pay £300 000 to Lloyd's in a three-year period. He took his life the day after Lloyd's Names rejected a multimillion-pound settlement.

He belonged to two of the worst-hit syndicates — Gooda Walker and Cuthbert Heath.

Gooda Walker is estimated to have incurred losses amounting to at least £260m in 1989.

His wife, Lady Kathleen Fitch, said at the hearing: "He was suffering from clinical depression due to the worry of Lloyd's over the past three years."

Fitch said her husband had become increasingly irrational after the Lloyd's crisis, though his condition improved when he was on medication.

She recounted finding her husband in the garage of their home, and said that he had died despite her efforts to revive him through heart massage.

Christopher Stockwell, chairman of the Lloyd's Names working party, estimated that about 30 deaths were directly attributable to Lloyd's, either through suicide or ill-health.

Judge asked to withdraw

B/Day 22/3/94

Own Correspondent

EASTERN Cape Judge President Neville Zietsman will hear an application next week that he recuse himself from the reopened Goniwe inquest.

The application will be brought by SADF lawyers on the grounds of a "reasonable suspicion of bias" on the Judge President's part.

The judge yesterday reluctantly adjourned the proceedings until next Wednesday to give the SADF lawyers sufficient time to prepare the application, including scouring the almost 5 000 pages of evidence for instances of bias reflected in the record.

If the judge agrees he should withdraw from the inquest, the hearing will have to start from scratch before another judge.

If the application fails, SADF lawyers could ask for another court to review the decision.

(327)

Third victim to testify at roadblock trial

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE trial of seven AWB members charged with murdering four blacks and attempting to murder six others at a bogus roadblock last year was interrupted in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday when some court staff were allowed to go home early because of Sharpeville Day.

Other criminal trials were also adjourned at lunchtime to help court interpreters who had transport problems as a result of Sharpeville commemorations.

Shortly before the trial was adjourned the third victim allegedly fired on by the AWB men took the witness stand. William Segotsane, who was wounded in one leg, was a passenger in one of the two vehicles stopped by AWB members on the Ventersdorp-Krugersdorp road on December 12 last year.

The trial continues today.

Political comment in this issue by J Jones; newsbills by D Armour; headlines and subediting by C Pickard-Cambridge; all of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Call for judge to quit Goniwe probe

Star 22/3/94

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Port Elizabeth — The SADF called for the recusal of the Judge President of the Eastern Cape from the Goniwe inquest on the grounds of suspected bias yesterday.

After more than 14 months of evidence Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, said the SADF had instructed him to apply for a postponement so that a suitable application for the recusal of Mr Justice Zietsman could be made.

He said the application, which would take at least 10 days to prepare, would be made on the reasonable suspicion of bias on the part of the judge.

Mostert said he realised that a great deal of money and time had been spent on the inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto, the Cradock Four murdered in 1985.

However, money and time were no grounds for the refusal of a recusal.

He said if the application for recusal was unsuccessful, the SADF would appeal. Either way, the case was fated for a substantial delay.

This makes it virtually impossible that the findings of the inquest, which were expected this week, will be available before next months's election.

The court, which was to have heard final argument this week, was adjourned until Wednesday next week for the SADF application.

Mostert said it was with great reluctance that he had agreed to the postponement but that there was no other option.

If the judge agrees to a recusal, the hearing will have to start from scratch before another judge.

THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN
March 25 to 30 1994

'Strange' delay in Goniwe case

WM 25-30/3/94

(327)

Shadley Nash: Port Elizabeth

LAWYERS for the South African Defence Force at the re-opened Goniwe inquest have accused the Eastern Cape Judge President, Judge Neville Zietsman, of "bias" and will bring an application asking for his recusal.

SADF counsel advocate Anton Mostert SC said at the resumption of proceedings this week that his client, Military Intelligence head General Joffel van der Westhuizen, had instructed him to follow this course.

The application for postponement was granted with great "reluctance" by Judge Zietsman who told Mostert that he found it "strange" that such an application was to be made at a time when the case was being wrapped up and findings were imminent.

The postponement application was opposed by counsel for the Goniwe family, George Bizos SC. He said the "matter is going to become out of hand" in relation to the time it has taken.

The court has sat for 14 months already and, according to Mostert, the court record is some 4 549 pages long. With the application for a postponement granted until Wednesday next week and the Easter recess looming, the case, as pointed out by advocate Glen Goosen, "will effectively be postponed to the second term".

Goosen added that Judge Zietsman had indicated earlier that he would not be available for the second term.

The matter is set to be a drawn out affair as Mostert argued that if Judge Zietsman does not grant the application, the matter will be taken to "another jurisdiction" on review.

During his application for a postponement to prepare an application, he said his clients found "things disconcerting" and the legal team was "hoping against hope that our initial suspicions (of bias) were wrong". — Ecna

Puzzling court drama on activists' deaths draws to a close

Star 21/5/94

Judgment day dawns

(327)

WHO killed Matthew Goniwe? Was it the defence force, the police, or both? The question, which has cost a conservative R3 million in the form of an inquest, comes to a head next Saturday when the judge president of the Eastern Cape gives his findings. PAT CANDIDO reports.

PORT ELIZABETH — One of the most dramatic court hearings in South Africa will be concluded next weekend when the judge president of the Eastern Cape gives his findings on evidence brought before the reopened Goniwe inquest.

In a rare move, next Saturday has been set aside for the hearing, which was postponed because of the general election and the inauguration of the Eastern Cape premier.

A packed court is expected to hear Mr Justice Zietsman give his findings on the inquest into the deaths of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and his friends Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli.

The charred and mutilated bodies of the Cradock Four — members of the United Democratic Front which took on the might of the security forces in the 1980s — were found near Bluewater Bay on June 27 1985.

They had left a UDF meeting to return to Cradock when they disappeared.

Their bodies, hardly recognisable, were found in an isolated stretch of bush.

The inquest — estimated to have cost a conservative R3 million since the then State President, F W de Klerk, ordered that it be reopened after a military signal was reproduced in a newspaper — has been a real-life court drama with accusations, insults, death threats, courtroom rhetoric and abuse, and the eventual early retirement of the head of Military Intelligence, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, who was in charge of Eastern Cape Command at the time.

The inquest has run for more than 18 months after New Nation published a copy of a signal calling for Goniwe's "permanent removal from society".

The signal was sent by Colonel Lourens du Plessis on the instructions of Van der Westhuizen, then a brigadier.

The inquest has had all the trappings of the television drama *LA Law*.

After a slow start, drama followed when Du Plessis said the signal was in fact a death warrant — and promptly applied for indemnity. The court adjourned for weeks while waiting for indemnity to be granted.

Then the focus switched to the security police, with the head of the SADF team, Anton Mostert, saying the SADF had information which suggested the security police should be investigated for complicity in the murders.

He placed before the court a copy of the inquest proceedings on three black security policemen and an informer who had died in a limpet mine explosion in 1989.

The limpet mine had gone off under a police vehicle given to them by Major Gideon Niewoudt of the security police. This inquest has now been reopened.

Accusations flew between the SADF and SAP counsel.

Mostert and his team withdrew from representing General Frederick Johannes van Rensburg when he made a statement deviating substantially from his earlier evidence.

The court had to adjourn frequently as the general, suffering from cancer, battled to cope with the proceedings.

Then at the 11th hour Mostert called for the recusal of the judge because he had allegedly favoured one interpretation of the military signal. Other counsel accused the SADF team of trying to delay the finding until after the election.

The judge refused to recuse himself and postponed the hearing at which he will hand down his findings.

But who killed Matthew Goniwe? Will the judge be able to make a finding from the evidence before him?

George Bizos, SC, leading the legal team for the families of the dead men, said the signal was a death warrant, and called for charges of murder and conspiracy to murder to be brought against Van der Westhuizen.

Also named as being part of the alleged conspiracy were Du Plessis, Van Rensburg, and Colonel Eric Winter of the security police.

Glen Goosen, who appeared for Du Plessis, said the signal was a death warrant. He said the signal had been sent to initiate steps to murder the four.

He further said Van der Westhuizen was involved in Operation Katzen, an alleged plot to overthrow the Ciskei government and kill the homeland's then president, Lennox Sebe.

Mike Hodgen, SC, Deputy Attorney-General, argued that the murders were the result of a security force conspiracy. He argued that hardline elements within the State security structures — especially those who had served in Namibia — were concerned about Goniwe's influence in the Eastern Cape in the turbulent 1980s.

Dup de Bruyn, SC, for the SAP, said suggestions of security police complicity in the killings were based on speculation and vague inferences, and that former security police chief Colonel Harold Snyman's inability to remember anything did not point to his involvement in a murder plot.

Mostert launched a scathing attack on the testimony of Du Plessis and Van Rensburg.

The pivotal issue in the Goniwe inquest remains whether or not defence force or police officers, acting separately or in concert, conspired to kill Goniwe and his colleagues.

The outcome will be known on Saturday.

Build-up to murder of Cradock Four

PORT ELIZABETH — Against a background of dirty tricks, covert operations and counter-accusations, some facts are common cause between the parties.

UDF activist Matthew Goniwe was a thorn in the flesh of the security forces in the Eastern Cape in the mid-'80s. He was closely monitored, and considered a terrorist and enemy of the State.

In an attempt to curtail his activities, the Department of Education and Training transferred him to a teaching post in Graaff-Reinet. He refused to go and was officially dismissed on January 27 1984.

This led to school boycotts and widespread community action.

He was detained from March to September 1984 but maintained a leading role.

The DET explored the possibility of reinstating him as a means of defusing the situation. But a signal was sent from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre, headed by Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen, to the State Security Council in Pretoria on May 23 1985 recommending that Goniwe should never again be appointed to a teaching post.

A special SSC committee was formed on June 7 1985 to consider whether he should be reappointed or detained.

On the same day General F J van Rensburg of the SSC telephoned Van der Westhuizen to discuss Goniwe's position. As a result, army officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis sent a signal to Van Rensburg recommending the permanent removal from society of Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Fort Calata.

At about 9 pm on June 27 four UDF members left a meeting in Port Elizabeth to return to Cradock.

They never arrived. Their charred and mutilated bodies were found near Bluewater Bay shortly afterwards.

focus on Goniwe

Sowetan 27/5/94

Sowetan Correspondent **Patrick Laurence** previews the judgment tomorrow in the inquest into the 1985 deaths of four Eastern Cape activists and explains its background and its importance:

JUDGMENT will be given tomorrow in perhaps the most important inquest, politically-speaking, in South African legal history.

The inquest is into the deaths of the Cradock Four: Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli.

The venue of the inquest and the presiding officer underline its significance: the Supreme Court in Port Elizabeth and the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman.

Only the inquests into the deaths of anti-apartheid activists Steve Biko and David Webster vie in importance with the inquest into the deaths of the Cradock Four. The Cradock quartet share one trait with Biko and Webster: they, too, were anti-apartheid activists.

The critical question is whether Zietsman will find that there is a *prima facie* case that the security forces were responsible for the murder of the Cradock Four.

A second question arises from the first: If the judge finds that there is a *prima facie* against the security forces, will he recommend that murder charges be pressed against them. A further question ensues: What relevance will that have to the issue of amnesty for politically-motivated criminals in the interests of national reconciliation?

The Cradock Four left Cradock on 27 June 1985 for Port Elizabeth. Their bodies were later found in the Bluewater Bay area on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth. They were kilometres apart. All had been stabbed to death. One of the victims, Mkonto, had been shot in the head as well.

They were alive when they were taken from Goniwe's car. Their faces and bodies were doused with petrol and set alight, indicating that the killers had been anxious to prevent or delay identification of the victims.

At the first inquest, held in a magistrate's court, the presiding officer, Mr E de Beer, concluded that the four men had been killed by unknown persons. His finding echoed the words of several magistrates at inquests into the deaths of political activists.

The matter did not end there, however. The publication in *New Nation* of a military signal in May 1992 lead to the reopening last year of the inquest under Zietsman.

"Only the inquests into the deaths of anti-apartheid activists Steve Biko and David Webster vie in importance with the inquest into the deaths of the Cradock Four"

The signal message was sent to General Johannes Janse van Rensburg by Senior Staff Officer Lourens du Plessis on the orders of Brigadier Joffel Van der Westhuizen. Dated June 7 1985, it referred to Goniwe, his brother, Mbulelo, and Calata. It said in part: "It is proposed that the above mentioned people should be permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency." The signal was marked "Top Secret". (327)

Twenty days later the Cradock Four were intercepted en route from Port Elizabeth and brutally murdered, although only a small circle of trusted friends knew that they had gone to Port Elizabeth that day.

The signal was at the centre of the legal debate at the reopened inquest between counsel for the families of the Cradock Four and legal representatives of the South African Defence Force.

Authorising murder

Counsel for the families contended that the words "permanently removed" meant killed, that the phrase was military code language authorising the murder of the Cracdock Four.

They noted that Goniwe in particular was considered to be an "enemy of state," that the Eastern Cape was in a state of political turmoil at the time, and that the counter-revolutionary strategy to which the security forces subscribed during Mr PW Botha's presidency included the "elimination" of revolutionary leaders.

According to the legal team for the families, led by Mr George Bizos, SC, police officers — including Colonel Harold Synman, one of Biko's interrogators — were involved in the conspiracy and actually carried out the murders. It was common cause that they kept Goniwe under surveillance. A "bug" was planted in his home. They would have known in advance about his unscheduled visit to Port Elizabeth.

Circumstantial evidence heightened suspicions of police involvement: the number plate of Goniwe's car was removed and a false number plate left at the scene of the murder; several parking tickets had been issued against a vehicle with that false number plate; the vehicle had been parked in Strand Street, Port Elizabeth, near headquarters of the local security police; the tickets were withdrawn by the state prosecutor, a not uncommon procedure where security police vehicles were involved.

The argument that the Defence Force was a prime force in the killings was boosted by Du Plessis. He testified that the words "permanently removed" meant killed. But the value of his evidence was reduced when he admitted under cross-examination that was a 50 percent chance that he could be wrong.

"The critical question is whether Zietsman will find that there is a *prima facie* case that the security forces were responsible for the murder of the Cradock Four"

Counsel for the SADF, Mr Anton Mostert, SC, offered an innocent interpretation of the words "permanently removed," arguing that they meant detention for a long time. But, his legal opponents countered, if detention was under consideration why did the signal message not say so in plain, unequivocal language? The law provided for detention without trial and there was no need to use ambiguous language, they argued.

There were two further objections to the innocent explanation.

Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Calata had been detained for more than six months in 1984 and it had not led to an abatement in the revolutionary turmoil in the Eastern Cape.

The signal had not been made available by the SADF to investigators at the time of the inquest under Magistrate De Beer. If it was a legally permissible order, why was it withheld?

During his evidence Van der Westhuizen — who later rose to become chief of military intelligence — conceded that the murders had been well planned and executed. He agreed that only the security forces had the capacity to carry out the killings. A security policeman, Mr Eric Winter, agreed. Asked by Zietsman whether he knew of any organisation beyond the security forces which could have carried out the murders, he replied: "No, Your Honour."

The testimony of Van der Westhuizen and Winter dispensed with an alternative theory of the killings propagated by the security forces shortly after the discovery of the bodies: that murderers were Azapo zealots and the killings the product of intra-black rivalry between Azapo and the pro-ANC United Democratic Front.

SA awaits inquest finding

Star 27/5/94

PATRICK LAURENCE explains the importance of the inquest into the 1985 deaths of four Eastern Cape activists

Judgment will be given tomorrow in perhaps the most important inquest, politically-speaking, in South African legal history — that into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli.

The venue of the inquest and the presiding officer underline its significance: the Supreme Court in Port Elizabeth and the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Zietsman.

Only the inquests into the deaths of anti-apartheid activists Steve Biko and David Webster vie in importance with the inquest into the deaths of the Cradock Four. They share one trait with Biko and Webster: they, too, were anti-apartheid activists.

The critical question is whether Mr Justice Zietsman will find that there is a *prima facie* case that the security forces were responsible for their murder.

A second question arises from the first: if the judge finds that there is a *prima facie* case against the security forces, will he recommend that murder charges be pressed against them.

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At the first inquest, held in a magistrate's court, the presiding officer, E de Beer, concluded that the four men had been killed by unknown persons. His finding echoed the words of several magistrates at inquests into the deaths of political activists.

The matter did not end there, however. The publication in New Nation in May 1992 of a military signal message led to the reopening last year of the inquest before Mr Justice Zietsman.

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The signal was at the centre of the legal debate at the reopened inquest between counsel for the families of the four men and legal representatives of the then South African Defence Force.

Counsel for the families contended that the words "permanently removed" meant killed, that the phrase was military code language authorising the murder of the Cradock Four. They noted that Goniwe in particular was considered to be an "enemy of the state," that the eastern Cape was in a state of political turmoil at the time, and that the counter-revolutionary strategy to which the security forces subscribed during P W Botha's presidency included the "elimination" of revolutionary leaders.

According to the legal team for the families, led by George Bizos, SC, police officers — including Colonel Harold Snyman, one of Biko's interrogators — were involved in the conspiracy and actually carried out the murders. It was common cause that they kept Goniwe under surveillance. A "bug" was planted in his home. They would have known in advance about his unscheduled visit to PE.

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Counsel for the SADF, Anton Mostert, SC, offered an innocent interpretation of the words, arguing that they meant detention for a long time. But, his legal opponents countered, if detention was under consideration why did the signal message not say so in plain, unequivocal language. The law provided for detention without trial and there was no need to use ambiguous language, they argued.

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- Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and Calata had been detained for more than six months in 1984 and it had not led to an abatement in the revolutionary turmoil in the eastern Cape.
- The signal message had not been made available by the SADF to investigators at the time of the inquest under the magistrate, Mr de Beer. If it was a legally permissible order, why was it withheld?

During his evidence, Van der Westhuizen conceded that the murders had been well planned and executed. He agreed that only the security forces had the capacity to carry out the killings.

A security policeman, Eric Winter, agreed. Asked by Mr Justice Zietsman whether he knew of any organisation beyond the security forces which could have carried out the murders, he replied: "No, Your Honour."

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Suspicion and surprise mark long legal battle

IT began with the publication of a top secret military signal on May 8 1992.

But the seeds of the second inquest into the brutal murders of four Cradock activists were sown seven years earlier.

The signal recommended the "permanent removal from society" of schoolteacher Matthew Goniwe, his brother Mbulelo and fellow United Democratic Front activists Sparrow Mkhonto and Fort Calata.

It was drafted by Colonel Lourens du Plessis, then senior staff officer at Eastern Province Command (EPC), and sent to the secretariat of the now defunct State Security Council (SSC) on June 7 1985.

Less than three weeks later, the mutilated and burnt bodies of four men were found in the veld near Bluewater Bay, outside Port Elizabeth. Police said the men were victims of a "revenge" attack by UDF political rival Azapo.

Three of them — Goniwe, Mkhonto and Calata — had been named in the signal. The fourth was Sicelo Mhlauli.

For the past 14 months, some of South Africa's most acute legal minds have sought to prove and refute allegations that the signal was a death warrant.

The inquest in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court has seen the spotlight focus in turn on the former Security Police and the SADF as the probable assassins.

The view that the Cradock Four were targeted by a state-sanctioned hit-squad was reinforced when Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen acknowledged under cross-examination last September that only the security forces had the capability to carry out the murders.

It was General van der Westhuizen — Officer Commanding EPC and chairman of the Eastern Cape Joint Management Committee at the time — who ordered the signal sent.

One of the documents released

By MARLENE BURGER

during his testimony was one relating to the top-secret Operation Katzen, exposed on March 10 last year by Major-General Bantu Holomisa. Devised under General van der Westhuizen, the plan entailed the overthrow by security forces of Ciskei head of state Lennox Sebe, and consolidation of the Transkei, Ciskei and Border region into an anti-ANC "greater Xhosaland".

General van der Westhuizen — appointed the SADF's Chief of Staff Intelligence in November 1991 — resolutely refused to answer questions about the operation, claiming that he might incriminate himself.

But advocate George Bizos SC, for the Goniwe family, attempted to show that the "veiled language" in which the signal was couched was proof that "permanent removal" was military jargon for murder.

The general denied this, claiming that it was a recommendation for prolonged detention of Goniwe, whose fate was being cast at the time by the Geldenhuys Committee, which favoured the teacher's reinstatement.

Colonel du Plessis, who drafted the signal, was equally adamant that it was an execution order — though under cross-examination by advocate Anton Mostert, SC, he finally admitted there was a "50/50 chance" that he could have misinterpreted his orders.

The colonel also admitted that it was he, not his commanding officer, who had included the names of Mbulelo Goniwe, Mkhonto and Calata.

While denying that the ANC paid him R15 000 for his information, the colonel acknowledged that he was in dire financial straits.

The now defunct SAP Security Branch also came under suspicion following evidence about a car bomb which killed three black policemen and an informer near Motherwell, outside Port Elizabeth, in December 1989.

According to Mr Mostert, the men may have had knowledge about the Goniwe murders and were on the point of divulging the truth. His case against security policeman Major Deon Nieuwoudt resulted in the inquest into the deaths of the four men being reopened, and the dockets will shortly be presented to the Eastern Cape attorney-general.

The Security Branch also came under fire over the inexplicable presence at the Goniwe murder scene of a false numberplate, CB10627. Though the SAP denied it had ever been used "officially" for undercover work, no explanation was offered for the withdrawal of seven parking tickets issued against this registration in the immediate vicinity of the Security Branch offices.

Former Cradock Security Branch commander, Colonel Eric Winter, and Colonel Harold Snyman, head of the security police in Port Elizabeth in 1985, came in for a drubbing from both Mr Mostert and Mr Bizos. They testified that all files on Matthew Goniwe were destroyed in 1990 and could shed no light on his movements on the last day of his life, despite the fact that he was under constant surveillance.

On February 7 this year, as final arguments were due to begin, the third military man at the core of the hearing caused an 11th-hour surprise.

Former tank commander Major-General Hans Janse van Rensburg, who received the "death warrant" in his capacity as head of strategy in the SSC secretariat, had sent a seven-page fax to Mr Mostert, hitherto his legal representative.

The court was stunned when Mr Mostert announced that he was no longer acting for General van Rensburg, who wished "substantially" to change his testimony. The general had cancer, and was possibly terminally ill, Mr Mostert said.

General van Rensburg took the stand early in March. A year earlier, he had testified that he could not remember what he had done with the signal, which he recollected receiving on June 17.

The general had subsequently remembered that the signal reached him on June 12, in time to be appended to the Geldenhuys Committee's report.

Then on March 10, the former judge crossed swords one last time with Eastern Cape Judge President Neville Zietsman.

Mr Mostert would, he announced, bring an application for the judge to recuse himself on the grounds of bias.

The request for recusal came just moments before final argument by the five teams who had been locked in intermittent legal conflict for 14 months.

But when the court reconvened on March 31, the judge refused to step down.

Ironically, on that very day, the man on whose behalf Mr Mostert had brought the application, General van der Westhuizen, retired from the arena by taking early pension on medical grounds.

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WIDOWS ... Sindiswe Mkhonto, Nomonde Calata, Mbueyi Mhlauli and Nyameka Goniwe at the court Picture: JOHN HOGG

WIDOWS VOW TO FIGHT ON

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN and MARLENE BURGER

THE finding by Goniwe inquest judge Mr Justice Neville Zietsman that security forces killed the Cradock Four strengthens the R1,6-million claim by their widows against the state for compensation.

Mr George Bizos, SC, said yesterday's finding was "almost tantamount" to favouring Mrs Nyameka Goniwe, Mrs Mbueyi Mhlauli, Mrs Nomonde Calata and Mrs Sindiswe Mkhonto who launched a civil action against the former ministers of Law and Order and Defence last September.

The basis for the claim is that their husbands were unlawfully and intentionally killed by members of the SADF, SAP or both.

Mrs Goniwe, 42, yesterday vowed not to let the matter rest until her husband's killers had been found.

"Although I am delighted the blame was put on the security forces, I was hoping for more." Although physically and emotionally drained by the nine-year search for her husband's killers, the mother of two feels she "owes it to the guys to get the murderers".

Mrs Mhlauli, 41, said she was glad the judge had found the security forces culpable but was frustrated because individuals had not been pinned down.

Equally frustrated was Mrs Mkhonto, who said she would have "terrible trouble" explaining the inconclusive findings to the son she bore Sparrow Mkhonto.

Mrs Calata, 35, appealed to anyone who knew the identity of the killers to come forward and help "close this chapter in our lives".

The Cradock Four who died

MATTHEW GONIWE: The "small man with a big smile" was 38 when he died. A science teacher and hero of the United Democratic Front, he was jailed for four years in 1977. On his release he became prominent in the Cradock Residents' Association and was restricted at the time of his death.

FORT CALATA: The grandson of Canon Calata, a former ANC secretary-general, Mr Calata was 29 when he died. As vice-chairman of the association, he was detained with Mr Goniwe in 1984.

SPARROW MKHONTO: He was chairman of the association and was 29 at the time of his death.

SICELO MHLAULI: He was the headmaster of an Oudtshoorn school, a community leader and a member of the UDF. He was on holiday when he died aged 36.

Men at the heart of hidden conflict

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOFFEL VAN DER WESTHUIZEN: Graduated from the Military Academy in 1963 and joined the Artillery and Tank Corps. He served as a Deputy Chief of the Army and Chief of Staff Intelligence.

In a rare interview in November 1992, shortly before the Goldstone Commission's raid on the Military Intelligence Directorate Covert Collection, General van der Westhuizen said he had "no problem testifying about my so-called involvement with the Goniwe murders", adding: "I know what I have done, and what I have not done."

Last night, a relaxed-looking General van der Westhuizen declined to comment on the inquest findings until he and his legal representatives had had a chance to study and discuss them.

SADF legal team member, Mr Barnard Knoetze, also declined to comment on whether there was any need for his client to consider applying for indemnity.

COLONEL LOURENS DU PLESSIS: He became the youngest commissioned officer in the Citizen Force in 1954. A former senior staff officer, Eastern Province Command, Colonel du Plessis drafted the "death warrant" signal and was granted indemnity in return for his testimony in the Goniwe inquest. He resigned from the SADF in 1991.

COLONEL ERIC WINTER: Joined the SAP Security Branch in 1968 and joined Koevoet at Oshakati in October 1974. He became Koevoet commander in 1980 and transferred to Cradock as head of the Security Branch in March 1985. He became deputy district commissioner of the SAP in Port Elizabeth.

COLONEL HAROLD SNYMAN: Head of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch in 1985, he led the team that interrogated Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko in 1977. During the Goniwe inquest he refused to answer questions about Mr Biko on the grounds that he might incriminate himself. He retired after 21 years as a security policeman.

Security forces did kill Goniwe

S/ Times 29/5/94

(327)

By MARLENE BURGER and DAWN BARKHUIZEN

A SUPREME COURT judge has found that members of the security forces murdered Matthew Goniwe and three other anti-apartheid campaigners in the mid-1980's.

Eastern Cape Judge President Neville Zietsman also found that, shortly before the killings, former Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen had recommended in a secret military signal that two of the four be murdered.

But, said the judge at the inquest findings yesterday, no direct link could be found between General van der Westhuizen's signal of June 7 1985, recommending that the activists be "permanently removed from society", and the killings 20 days later of United Democratic Front members Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli.

The judge was also unable to identify the men who stabbed, mutilated and then burnt the four outside Port Elizabeth.

Prima facie evidence also existed, said the judge, that General van der Westhuizen, who retired this year for health reasons, had been party to the proposed assassination of former Ciskei head of state, Mr Lennox Sebe, in a plot to "stabilise" the volatile Eastern Cape.

General van der Westhuizen, 52, was a brigadier and the officer commanding East-Province Command in 1985.

he findings are the culmination of one of the most celebrated public inquiries into the security forces' "dirty war" against anti-apartheid activists in the 80s.

The Eastern Cape attorney-general is still to consider what, if any, criminal charges will follow the findings.

There was a groan of dismay from the public gallery yesterday when Mr Justice

Comrades fever is going to their heads

SPRINGBOK long-distance star Sanet Beukes gets a trim from her hairdresser and fellow-runner, Co van Doorn, after their last training session for this week's Comrades Marathon.

Mrs Beukes, of Durban, has already finished fourth and sixth in the Comrades and will run in the Springbok team against an

England slides to third defeat

By DAN RETIEF

THE England rugby team slid to their third defeat in four matches yesterday, but refused to complain about a controversial disallowed try during their match against Transvaal at Ellis Park.

Transvaal won 24-21 in a match which had stuttered along with many errors until a pulsating last 10 minutes produced 23 points.

Early in the second half, England captain Will Carling touched down for what seemed a legitimate try after Transvaal fullback Theo van Rensburg fumbled in the in-goal area.

But referee Ian Rogers blew for a 22m drop-out, seemingly assuming that Van Rensburg had dotted down safely.

Despite their defeat, England emerged more confident about their chances in the first Test at Loftus Versfeld on Saturright direction," said England manager Jack Rowell. "Today we used the ball without being penalised and it was a vastly improved side."

Transvaal coach Kitch Christie said South Africa might battle against the experienced England forwards and that most of his team's backline moves were nullified by clever English defence.

● See Page 26

Kepler was 'Cooked'

SPRINGBOK cricket captain Kepler Wessels has unveiled a "history of mistrust" with Jimmy Cook in a book to be published next month.

In the first extract from *Kepler: The Biography* by Edward Griffiths, Wessels reveals in the Sunday Times today how he overheard Cook, then the Springbok captain, discussing a plan to drop Wessels from the team

The findings are the culmination of one of the most celebrated public inquiries into the security forces' "dirty war" against anti-apartheid activists in the 80s.

The Eastern Cape attorney-general is still to consider what, if any, criminal charges will follow the findings.

There was a groan of dismay from the public gallery yesterday when Mr Justice Zietsman told a packed Port Elizabeth courtroom that he was "unable to find prima facie that an offence has been committed by any specific person ... which contributed to or brought about the death" of the Cradock Four.

Among those in court were the widows of the four murdered men and Matthew Goniwe's brother.

Mr Mbulelo Goniwe was named in the signal sent to the State Security Council secretariat nine years ago.

Both General van der Westhuizen and Major-General Johannes van Rensburg — head of strategy in the secretariat — testified that the signal meant the activists should be detained indefinitely.

But Mr Justice Zietsman found: "It has been proved prima facie that the signal sent by Colonel Lourens du Plessis on behalf of (then) Brigadier van der Westhuizen to Major-General van Rensburg was a recommendation that Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata should be killed, and that this was the meaning Colonel du Plessis and Brigadier van der Westhuizen intended the signal to have."

The judge said, however, he had found no proof that the murderers of the Cradock Four knew of the signal or its contents.

"Evidence to link the signal with the murders is lacking. What must also be borne in mind is that the signal was a proposal, and not an order given to any person or persons," said Mr Justice Zietsman.

The judge found a "case of suspicion" had been made out against "certain members of the police force" — including former PE Security Branch head Colonel Harold Snyman and former Cradock security police chief Colonel Eric Winter — and certain SADF members, including General van der Westhuizen, Colonel du Plessis and Major-General van Rensburg.

"But suspicion does not constitute prima facie proof, which requires at least some evidence directly linking the deaths of the deceased persons to the acts committed by the persons under suspicion.

"The evidence led at this inquest does not, in my opinion, provide the necessary link," the judge found.

● See Page 7

Engla
playe
for N

By DAN RETIEF

ENGLAND rugby m
ager Jack Rowell has re
diated one of his play
who hit out at his tea
Free State hosts in a E
ish newspaper.

Flyhalf Stuart Bar
was said to be cont
after being rapped over
knuckles by Rowell as
as England Rugby F
ball Union president
Beer.

Offensive remarks m
by Barnes in his wee
column in the Daily T
graph could have led
acrimonious relations
tween South African
English rugby had Ro
not acted.

Barnes referred to
team's "malignant ho
in Bloemfontein and
that team members
taken satisfaction in
forming Free State
"that they would never
the sun rise on their ho
grown Fourth Reich".

Barnes also referred
players being "vilified
Afrikaans" at a recept

The "reception" he
referring to was a s
night arranged by F
State rugby supporters

Although clearly hurt
Barnes's insinuations, F
State rugby presid
Harold Verster stop
short of demanding an
cial apology.

You name

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nounced on June 12.

GONIWE FINDINGS Security forces killed Goniwe ● Reconciliation is hard for widow

(327)

Let Goniwe killers be identified -- wife

WE still want to know the names of the killers.

That was the reaction on Saturday of the families of the Cradock Four to the inquest finding that blamed the security forces, but failed to name the killers.

Matthew Goniwe's widow, Nyameka, said she was "terribly disappointed" that the inquest had not identified the individuals responsible for killing and mutilating her husband and his colleagues, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

"We were hoping we could put this whole thing behind us, but we can't close this chapter.

We need more evidence as to who actually did the killings.

"Our lives have been involved in this case for years. I don't know how it feels to be without it.

The crucial thing is to know who did what. We know the reasons but we want to know who actually did it," she said.

"The crucial thing is to know who did what. We know the reasons but we want to know who did it"

Goniwe's brother Mbulelo Goniwe, who was also named in the SA Defence Force signal which recommended Matthew Goniwe's elimination, said they would continue to pursue the truth out of obligation to the four men and all South Africans.

Both said the finding implicating the security forces was little relief.

The two appealed to members of the security force and defence force who could help to identify the killers to come forward.

Goniwe said the findings indicated the "capabilities of the establishment" and that it was likely top politicians knew of the decision to have his brother killed.

He also said today's findings would strengthen the call for a truth commission into human rights abuses by the old order against those involved in the fight against apartheid.

"In the spirit of reconciliation we are not suggesting there should be revenge — we only want to know the truth about what happened on that fateful night," he said.

Mrs Goniwe said she needed to come to terms with President Nelson Mandela's call to "embrace reconciliation".

"We need to know what it means for us who have lost so much," she added. — *Ecna.*

Matthew Goniwe ... judge ruled that he was killed by security forces.

Signal was plot to kill

INQUEST FINDING Call for "permanent removal" of Cradock 4:

MEMBERS OF THE security forces killed Matthew Goniwe.

This was the finding on Saturday of the reopened inquest into the 1985 death of the Cradock activist and three of his colleagues.

Rejecting senior security force officers' evidence, Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman also concluded that the controversial signal calling for Goniwe's "permanent removal from society" was in fact a recommendation that he be killed.

However, he could not find "that an offence had been committed by any specific person or persons", Mr Justice Zietsman said, drawing murmurs of disappointment from the packed gallery.

Colonels recommendation

"It has been proved *prima facie* that the signal sent by Colonel Lourens du Plessis on the instructions of (the then) Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen to Major-General Johannes van Rensburg was a recommendation that Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata should be killed."

Mr Justice Zietsman added that "this was the meaning Colonel du Plessis and Brigadier van der Westhuizen intended the signal to have".

Referring to the controversial Katzen documents, which detailed a plan to overthrow former Ciskei strongman Lennox Sebe and to establish a Xhosa homeland as a bulwark against the ANC, Mr Justice Zietsman said there was *prima facie* evidence that General van der Westhuizen was involved in a plan to murder Sebe.

"The documents and the direct and uncontradicted evidence given by Colonel Lourens du Plessis constitute, in my opinion, *prima facie* proof that (the then) Brigadier van der Westhuizen was party to a plan that included, as a possibility, the killing of Lennox Sebe and others."

Mr Justice Zietsman also found that Van der Westhuizen lied when he said in an affidavit that neither he nor the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre had ever planned or authorised the murder of anyone.

He said there was documentary evidence that parts of Operation Katzen were implemented and this included a violent attack launched on Lennox Sebe's home.

Turning to the evidence of Van Rensburg, former head of strategy at the Secretariat of the State Security Council to whom the signal was sent, the judge described his evidence about the signal as "unconvincing and unacceptable".

Referring to the evidence of Du Plessis, who drafted the signal message and later testified that it was Goniwe's death order, Mr Justice Zietsman said Du Plessis's evidence was heavily criticised because of a drinking problem and the fact that he was in financial difficulties.

"Much of the criticism levelled against Colonel du Plessis' evidence I find to be valid criticism. It has, however, in my opinion, been *prima facie* established on the evidence as a whole that the meaning Colonel du Plessis intended the words used by him in the signal to have, is that Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata should be killed."

The widows of the Cradock Four, family members and dozens of supporters ferried from Cradock, packed the gallery at Court C in the Supreme Court to hear the two-hour, 82-page judgment.

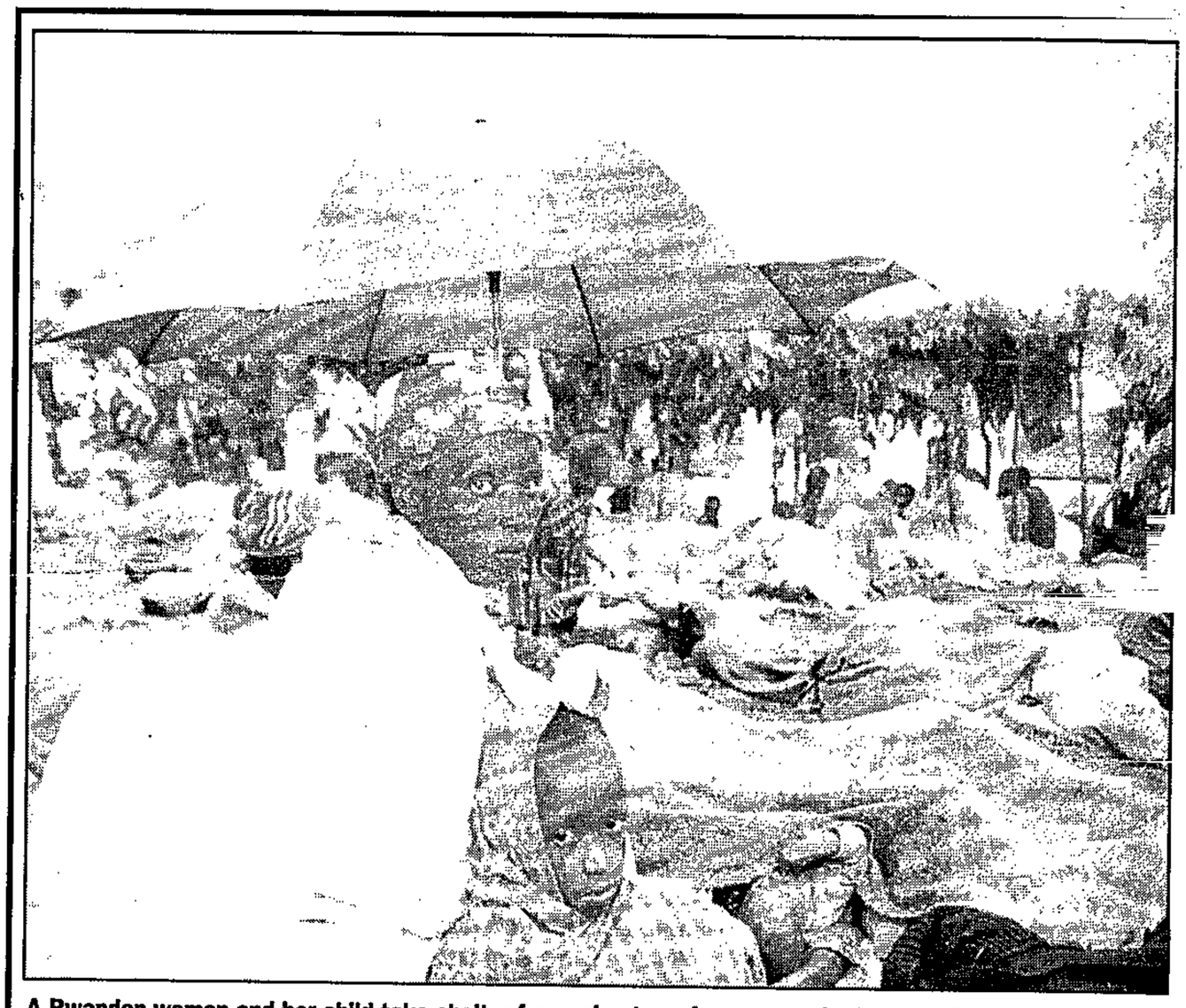
Committed members

Mr Justice Zietsman concluded by saying it was his opinion, that it was established "*prima facie*" that "the murderers of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli were committed by members of the security forces".

He added that a case of "suspicion" had been made out against certain members of the South African Police and the South African Defence Force, including the retired head of MI, Van der Westhuizen, a Brigadier at the time.

But, he stressed, suspicion alone did not constitute *prima facie* proof.

Mr Justice Zietsman's findings will now be forwarded to Eastern Cape Attorney-General Mr Les Roberts for further consideration. — *Ecna.*



A Rwandan woman and her child take shelter from rain at a refugee camp in Kagbayi, Rwanda, on Friday. Refugee camps have been set up there mostly by Tutsi but in some sections there are Hutus. People are forced to sleep in the open, with only mud-covered blankets. There is no sanitation. PIC: AP

Civil action 'strengthened'

SATURDAY'S finding in the Goniwe inquest will strengthen the civil action brought by the widows of the murdered activists against the Ministers of Law and Order and Defence.

This is according to the legal representative of the families of the men, Mr George Bizos, SC.

The widows instituted action against the two ministers last year, demanding a total of R1,6 million as compensation for the death of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkonto on June 27 1985.

On Saturday Mr Justice Neville Zietsman found the security forces were responsible for the murder of the four activists.

Although he was unable to pinpoint exactly who was responsible, he said it had been established *prime facie* that the security forces had committed the brutal crime. Bizos said this finding was "tantamount to a finding in favour of the widows" in their civil claim.

"Security forces were responsible for the brutal crime"

The attorney representing the families, Mr Clive Plasket, said the inquest was a lesson to future governments to ensure accountability in the security forces.

"We must learn from what was discovered in this case so that in future the security forces are held accountable for their actions and their power is checked by civil authorities".

He said the inquest did not close the chapter on the Goniwe murders and investigations would continue.

"There are other investigations being conducted into these sorts of activities and the possibility exists that further information about these murders will emerge to solve this particular crime". — *Ecna.*

Goniwe case to A-G

THE investigation into the 1989 murder of three security policemen and an informer in a massive bomb blast in Motherwell has been completed and referred to Eastern Cape Attorney-General Les Roberts.

The multiple murder came under the spotlight during the Goniwe inquest last year when legal counsel for the SA Defence Force Mr Anton Mostert, SC, turned on the police and accused them of the murder of Goniwe, his three colleagues, three policemen and an informer.

Mostert alleged the victims of the massive bomb blast near Motherwell — Amos Faku, a Sergeant Mdalala Mgoduka, Constable Desmond Mapipa and the informer Charles Jack (an alias) — were aware of police complicity in the Goniwe murders and were threatening to "spill the beans" when they were murdered.

In his finding in the Goniwe inquest, Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said several "suspicious and unexplained facts" emerged in the evidence regarding the Motherwell explosion. He made no firm finding on the matter though. — *Ecna.*

NEWS

Officers suspected of killing Goniwe and other activists

Inquest fingers security forces

Star 30/5/94

SUSPICION does not constitute prima facie proof, Mr Justice Zietsman rules at end of lengthy hearing

Port Elizabeth — A judge blamed members of the security forces on Saturday for the 1985 murders of black anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe and three colleagues.

"It has ... been established prima facie that the murderers of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli were members of the security forces," Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said at the end of the year-long inquest he conducted into the deaths.

Suspicion

But he said he could not bring in a finding against specific officers.

"A case of suspicion has been made out against certain members of the police force ... and certain members of the South African Defence Force ... but suspicion does not constitute prima facie proof," Mr Justice Zietsman said, naming five senior police and SADF officers.

Among those named was former Military Intelligence chief Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen, who authorised three weeks before the murders the transmission of a military signal ordering the "permanent removal from society" of the activists.

The signal was sent three weeks before the murders.

Van der Westhuizen, now a general, retired on medical grounds at the end of March this year.

Mr Justice Zietsman added that it could not be shown that those who carried out the murders knew of the existence of the signal.

"There is no evidence to prove that the recommendation in the signal was adopted and carried out.

"There is no evidence to prove that the person or persons who murdered Matthew Goniwe and the others knew of the signal or its content," he said.

Mr Justice Zietsman said the evidence did not provide a direct link between the murders and "the acts committed by the persons under suspicion.

"I am accordingly not able to bring in a positive prima facie finding against any particular person or persons, the judge said."

The inquest was the second to be held into the deaths of the activists, whose hacked and burnt bodies were found scattered outside Port Elizabeth.

The first inquiry ended with an open verdict but investigations were reopened after a copy of the death signal was leaked to newspapers in 1992.

Mr Justice Zietsman said in March, after all the evidence had been presented, that he would postpone delivering his verdict until after South Africa's historic election at the end of April.

The inquest partly lifted the veil of secrecy over the security networks that wielded considerable power and influence in the mid-1980s.

Bundles of military documents marked "top secret" were handed in and senior security force officers were called to the stand to account for their activities.

At one stage, police and SADF lawyers turned on each other in attempts to shift the blame. (327)

The SADF alleged that police had killed the Cradock Four as well as three other community leaders and then murdered four of their own colleagues to cover up the crimes.

Election

Mr Justice Zietsman delivered his judgment days after Safety and Security Minister Sidney Mufamadi said policemen found guilty of excesses in defence of apartheid would be granted immunity from prosecution.

President Mandela, whose ANC won 62 percent of the vote in the election, has since his inauguration stressed the need to forget past injustices and concentrate on reconciliation. — Reuter.

Widow's case against State 'stronger'

Goniwe: general may be charged

Star 30/5/94

BY MICHAEL SPARKS

The finding of the inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe and three other eastern Cape activists has raised the possibility that retired General Joffel van der Westhuizen could be charged with incitement to murder.

Saturday's finding, which blamed unnamed security force members for the murders, also strengthened the civil cases of the four widows, according to lawyers.

If Van der Westhuizen is charged with incitement to the murders of the four activists and former Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe, as well as perjury, he could be forced to reveal details of the controversial Operation Katzen in his own defence, according to sources close to the case.

RETIRED general Joffel van der Westhuizen might be charged with incitement to murder in light of finding

(327)

In the inquest into the murders of Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli on June 27 1985, Van der Westhuizen refused to answer questions on Operation Katzen on the grounds that he could incriminate himself.

Katzen was a plan drawn up by Van der Westhuizen which would have resulted in Sebe being killed to install a conservative-black, anti-ANC faction in the eastern Cape.

Speaking from Port Elizabeth, Goniwe's widow, Nyameka, said last night she was convinced the inquest finding made the civil case of herself and the other three widows much stronger. The widows are suing the State for R1,6 million.

Giving the inquest verdict in Port Elizabeth on Saturday, Eastern Cape Judge-President Mr Justice Zietsman said he was satisfied that when Van der Westhuizen sent the signal calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and two others, he had meant they should be killed.

▶ **Security forces fingered – Page 7**

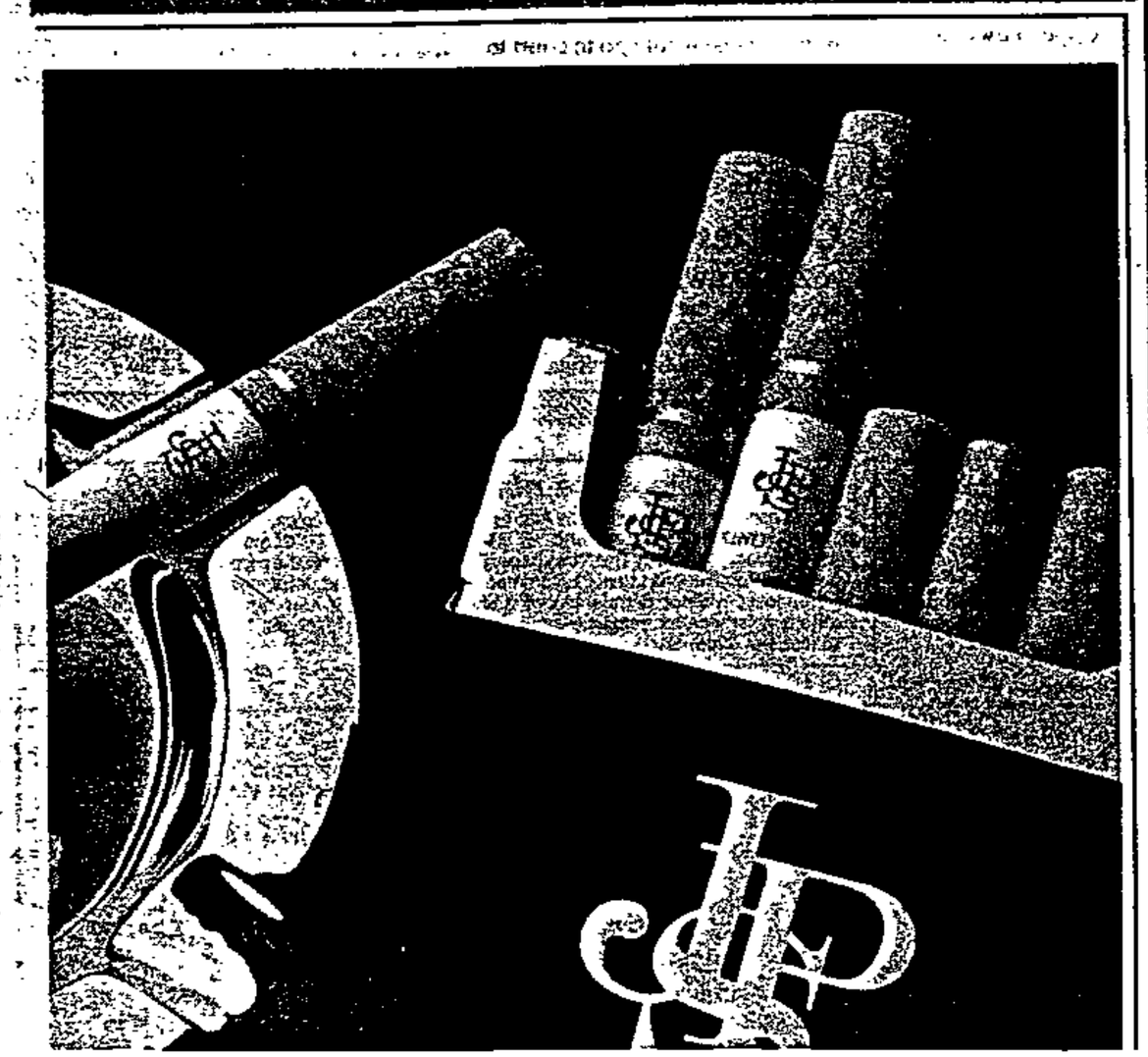
mourns as 37 of the massacre victims are buried.

- June 30 1992: ANC, PAC and Azapo call for a stayaway "for as long as KwaMadala Hostel is not demolished".
- July 20 1992: 77 KwaMadala Hostel inmates appear in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court in connection with the Boipatong killings.
- August 5 1992: The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the massacre begins.
- April 13 1993: 64 KwaMadala Hostel inmates appear in Delmas Circuit Court on charges of murder. And 32 of the suspects acquitted after several court appearances.
- The case is transferred to Pretoria Supreme Court: 32 accused face murder charges.
- March 30 1994: 17 men are eventually found guilty of murder. Others are acquitted for lack of evidence.

Songbird Brenda Fassie donated R57 380 to the survivors of the Boipatong massacre yesterday. The money came from the sale of Fassie's album *Boipatong*. With her is Mrs Winnie Mandela and massacre survivor Mita Molete. PIC: LEN KUMALO

Boipatong killers are jailed

Sowetan 10/6/94



By Josias Charle

The saga of the Boipatong massacre finally came to an end yesterday when 17 men were jailed in the Pretoria Supreme Court to various terms of imprisonment for the killings.

The men were sentenced almost two years after the bloody night of June 17 1992 when 45 men, women and children were butchered by marauding men armed with spears, pangas, rifles, pistols and sticks.

Their sentences range from 10 to 18 years' imprisonment. Sentencing the men, all of KwaMadala Hostel in the Vaal Triangle, Mr Justice JMC Smit said they had brutally killed innocent and defenceless people.

"It was a planned action to take out your political opponents. That plan went wrong on that night and innocent people were killed," the judge said. Smit said there was political strife between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC in which hostel dwellers and their families were victims of the "comrades".

"I hope this closes that chapter in our lives and one can say: 'Thanks, Father, it is over'," said Smit. He condemned the action of the men and said in a democratic order there was no room for revenge. (327)

He expressed the hope that the sentences would satisfy the community "and that it will act as a balm to heal the wounds of the people of Boipatong who lost their loved relatives".

The judge found that the death penalty was not the only fitting sentence in the circumstances. A long jail term would suffice after taking all circumstances into consideration.

He divided the accused into three categories for purposes of sentence. The categories related to those who had been clearly identified as killers or leaders of the group, those found guilty on the doctrine of common purpose and those who were "too young and easily influenced to make their own judgments".

In the first group he sentenced six men to an effective 18 years' imprisonment, the second group of seven men received 15 years' jail terms and the remaining four were each sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

The judge turned down a submission by the State to lift an order banning the identification of the killers in the media.