

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES

1991

JANUARY — AUG.

**A ploy,^(SAP)
say SAP
on PAC's
claims of
attacks**

Star 2/11/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Police have dismissed as "another propaganda ploy" claims by the PAC that its military wing had staged four operations against South African security forces.

Responding to press reports from Harare, quoting the political commissar of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), Romero Daniels, as saying that his guerillas had staged four operations against SA security forces in December, the SAP public relations division in Pretoria accused the PAC of having issued similar "propaganda statements" in the past.

Mr Daniels said in a statement from Dar-es-Salaam that the attacks carried out between December 23 and December 30 in Soshanguve outside Pretoria, Zwide in the Cape, Despatch (Eastern Cape) and Inanda outside Durban were a "festive campaign of shock and choke".

Mr Daniels's statement said three security force members died and five others were injured in the December 26 Zwide attack.

No details of any other SA losses or injuries were given, but Mr Daniels said Apla forces had "wiped out" security force members in the December 23 Soshanguve operation.

Dismissed

Apla claimed that in all the contacts its units had killed up to 30 security force members, while losing only six members.

In its reaction yesterday, the SAP dismissed the PAC's claims as "obviously another propaganda ploy by the organisation concerned".

The police said in a statement incidents in which policemen had been killed and injured were a matter of public record.

They said Apla's version of "the terrorist attack" in Zwide on December 26 was an example of "their false propaganda" because there were no records of any policemen's deaths.

'MK involved in robberies'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Southern Africa correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Mr Helmoed-Römer Heitman, said members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are involved in the recent wave of armed robberies in the country.

Mr Heitman said the most important reason was to raise funds for MK's activities.

He did not exclude the possibility that some MK members were

acting independently to fill their own pockets.

Armed robberies were not likely to be welcomed by the ANC leadership, because they could undermine the organisation's image, Mr Heitman said.

He said it was easy to bring AK-47 rifles into South Africa.

He pointed out that these weapons, which were predominantly being used for armed attacks, were readily available in Mozambique and it was practically im-

possible for the security forces to patrol South Africa's borders.

The ANC has said it is "simplistic to place the source of such weapons at the door of the ANC".

The police and army have large arsenals of captured or confiscated AK-47s, and there had also been reports of extensive gun-running to Mozambique and Swaziland, the organisation said.

Some of the weapons had been in South Africa for some time. — Sapa

CAF
TMS
3/11/81
S4A

PAC claims 'just propaganda'

CLAIMS by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) of armed "shock and awe" operations against SA's security forces over Christmas were simply "another propaganda ploy", a police public relations division spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday.

The SAP was reacting to a Press report from Harare which credited Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, with four military operations carried out between December 23 and 30.

Sapa reported Apla had claimed at least three security force members died and five were injured in one of the attacks.

The Harare report carried a statement from Dares Salaam, signed by Apla political commissar Romero Daniels, which said the attacks were carried out in

MATTHEW CURTIN

Soshanguve (Pretoria), Zwide (Cape), Despatch (between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage) and Inanda (Durban).

The statement gave no further details of losses or injuries in the other incidents, except to claim Apla forces "wiped out" security force members in the Soshanguve operation of December 23.

The police spokesman said in a statement the report was pure propaganda and similar to statements issued in the past which "nobody can be expected to take seriously."

"Incidents in which policemen have been killed and injured are a matter of public record. Their version of the terrorist attack

in Zwide on 26 December is an example of their false propaganda — no policemen were killed.

"The report of an 'operation' in Soshanguve is the figment of somebody's fertile imagination. We have no record of such an incident."

He said there could be no question of any fighting in terrorist attacks reported by the police.

The attacks had been "cowardly hit and run acts and cannot be dignified by the term 'fighting'".

The Apla statement added that the commander of the Soshanguve operation died during an exchange between his unit and the SA security forces.

It named him as Ephraim Thabakwe, from Tladi in Soweto.

Police set up unit to track illegal arms

~~SAP~~ ~~SAP~~ PATRICK BULGER ~~SAP~~

THE SAP's first "firearm tracking unit" — composed of seconded and former Security Branch members — was already active in the Soweto area, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday. *B10 am 4/1/91*

The unit came into being with the launch of Operation Sentry, a multifaceted SAP drive unveiled yesterday to track down dangerous weapons and increase police visibility on the streets. The operation is aimed particularly at curbing the distribution of AK-47 automatic rifles.

Kotze said security police members would play a vital role in collecting intelligence in preparation for swoops on illegally held weapons. He said there was "virtually an epidemic" of AK-47s.

The SAP would seize any illegal weapons, he said, even if these were part of Umkhonto we Sizwe arms caches.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday announced that police would pay R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK-47 or any machine gun.

Rewards ranging from R800 for a hand grenade to R5 000 for a radio-controlled explosive device would also be paid.

Reacting to the launch of Operation Sentry, the ANC said that if Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were hunted down like criminals they would have no option but to defend themselves, Sapa reports.

Criminalising ANC members who possessed such weapons was in direct violation of the negotiation process, the ANC said. "We recognise crime is a major problem facing our country, but to equate action to combat crime with an attack on the ANC is irresponsible."

Vlok also announced the establishment of three "tourism support units", in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, to protect people against muggers and thieves.

He also said former Koevoet members, employed temporarily as civilians by the SAP, had tracked down 115 000 stolen cattle. The rustling units had slashed the theft of Eskom power lines, decreasing losses from R3m to R600 000 a month.

Reward fails to draw out weapons

Argus 8/1/91 (SVA)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — No AK47 assault rifles have been handed over to the police, in spite of an offer by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to pay large sums for any unlicensed weapons in the townships.

Police stations in Soweto and the East Rand, where an alarming increase in the availability of firearms has fuelled the continuing violence, have reported no response to the police offer.

The police have offered to pay R6 000 in cash for any AK47 handed over, a reward which would handsomely profit the owner who would have bought the gun for about R1 000, the going township rate.

Captain Eugene Opperman, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said yesterday reward money would be paid out for any "terrorist weapons" and for information leading to the confiscation of these weapons.

Indemnity

Although a general indemnity granted to owners of unlicensed weapons had expired last year, it still existed in terms of all "terrorist weapons" in the townships.

"People should not be afraid to hand these weapons over. They may remain anonymous. However, if they are apprehended walking around with AK47s, having no intention to go to a police station, they will be arrested," Captain Opperman said.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, suggested there may be a number of reasons for the failure of the police strategy to remove lethal hardware from the townships.

"Some people might not believe they will be indemnified from prosecution. On the other hand, ANC militants may not be willing to hand in arms caches, considering the armed struggle has only been suspended. They would want to wait for negotiations to clarify their positions," he said.

Criminal elements in possession of these weapons would probably intend continuing their criminal activities while others would keep the weapons for self-defence, he said.

"It's a difficult situation. There may have to be more political manoeuvring before the scheme can take effect," Professor Hough said.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The

Three win R700 in Money Game

Staff Reporter

THE sixth Argus Money Game Competition has yielded nearly R700 in prize money.

First prize winner of 500 Community Chest Challenge scratch cards, Miss Connie Clarence of Grassy Park, won R452.

Mrs Thelma Pillay of Rylands state, who won the second prize of 200 cards, said this was the first competition she had won and was thrilled with her prize money of R160. She regularly supports the Community Chest.

Third prize winner, Mrs Mildred Arendse of Lansdowne, won 100 cards and R82.

FAIR PASSAGE: Relatives and friends wave goodbye as the SA Navy co-support vessel SAS Tafelberg leaves 1 Bay harbour yesterday on a three-month operational training cruise to South America. The ship, commanded by Captain Harrison, will visit the Chilean ports of Valparaiso, Talcahuano and Puerto Montal during the recent visit to Cape Town by Chilean Navy sail training ship Esmeralda. The Navy's racing yacht Voortrekker is on board and will take part in a series of regattas known as the Mil Milas (1000 miles), off the South American coast.

Rewards for AK-47s *Star 8/11/91* are ignored

By Helen Grange

No AK-47 assault rifles have yet been handed over to the police, in spite of an offer by the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to pay large sums for any unlicensed weapons.

Police stations in Soweto and the East Rand, where an alarming increase in the availability of firearms has fuelled continuing violence, have reported no response to the police offer.

Police have offered to pay R6 000 in cash for any AK-47s handed over, a reward which would profit the owner who could buy the gun for about R1 000, the going township rate.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that rewards would be paid out for "terrorist weapons" and for information leading to the confiscation of weapons.

84A Indemnified

"People should not be afraid to hand these weapons over. They may remain anonymous. However, if they are apprehended with AK-47s, having no intention to go to a police station, they will be arrested."

Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria Professor Mike Hough suggested a number of reasons for the failure of this strategy.

"Some people might not believe they will be indemnified from prosecution. On the other hand, ANC militants may not be willing to hand in arms caches, considering the armed struggle has only been suspended. They would want to wait for negotiations to clarify their position."

Criminal elements in possession of these weapons would probably intend continuing criminal activities, he said.

2 die, 2 hurt in attack on Bop police post

JOHANNESBURG. — At least two people were killed and two seriously injured in an attack on a Bophuthatswana Police post at Braklaagte on the border between the homeland and South Africa yesterday, Bophuthatswana Police spokesman Colonel David George confirmed.

He said the attack, which occurred about lunchtime, involved more than 100 people.

He said the situation late yesterday night was "quiet but tense" and could not comment on reports that many people had

fled Bophuthatswana and taken refuge in the nearby town of Zeerust.

Earlier, several people fleeing the fighting said about 70 women, children and elderly people had been moved out of the village by ANC members in Klerksdorp and given shelter at a nearby Roman Catholic church.

They said vigilantes, allegedly backed by the homeland police, burnt down homes of known ANC sympathisers.

South African police denied roadblocks along the road to Zeerust had been erected to prevent refugees entering the town.

Several people were allegedly shot and were reported to be under armed guard at Lufuruti Hospital in Bophuthatswana, said Mr Zack Malogane of the ANC's Western Transvaal regional office.

As Mr Malogane gave details of the fighting over the telephone, sobs of the refugees were heard in the background.

"It is a very tense situation and we are concerned about the number of people being held by the Bophuthatswana Police, as we have been refused access to the township and the hospital." — Sapa

Black market AK-47s on sale as low as R200

ARC 4-84
9/1/91
[Handwritten initials]

THE (Avtomat) Kalashnikov assault rifle, better known as the AK-47, has long been a symbol of revolution and resistance in South Africa - but most recently, it has become a primary instrument of death in the Witwatersrand's war-torn townships.

TERRORISM

In such abundance on South Africa's black market, this weapon is currently fetching prices as low as R200 - although the going retail price on the streets is anything from R1 000 upwards.

The soaring numbers of these rifles, which are smuggled into the country from virtually every bordering state - particularly Mozambique, has recently prompted the police to take drastic steps.

They have offered a reward of R6 000 in cash to anyone who hands over an AK-47, in an attempt to coax this lethal hardware off the streets of Soweto, Tokoza, Katlehong, Tembisa and every other township wracked by violent internecine fighting.

Southern Africa - specifically Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa - has for decades been a major dumping ground for the Soviet made AK-47, a weapon that has become synonymous with third-world, anti-government resistance worldwide.

Criminal purposes

According to several military analysts, the fact that so many of these rifles are available means they will be in use - either for political or criminal purposes - for a long time to come.

In his book 'The AK-47 story', Edward Clinton Ezell identifies this weapon as the most widely distributed and best-known military shoulder weapon of the post World War II era.

It has been used by government and anti-government forces from Indochina to central America and Africa - in combat in Beirut, Lebanon, the Iranian desert, the jungles of El Salvador and the mountains of Afghanistan.

Thousands of AK-47 assault rifles have recently found their lethal way to South Africa's war-riving townships, a situation that has prompted police into drastic action. **HELEN GRANGE** traces the origin and route of this deadly weapon.



In Africa, it is a standard weapon of Unita and the MPLA government in Angola, the Zanu and Zapu parties in Zimbabwe, Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique, Swapo in Namibia, and now to an increasing extent, the ANC and Inkatha in South Africa.

According to Helmut Heitman, spokesman for Jane's Defence Weekly, most of these rifles have been brought into South Africa from the frontline states by the ANC, gunrunners supplying the ANC, and private warlords in Mozambique.

Ezell, in his book, proposes that there will be much enthusiasm on the part of consuming countries to purchase the AK-47, as they can update their weapons and improve performance without having to introduce a completely new weapon that will require training troops with an entirely new design.

Profitable market

Conflict-ridden third world countries in Africa would certainly fit Ezell's scenario, for the Soviet Union found a very profitable market in this part of the world.

"The Soviets deliberately supported many opposition movements and governments in southern Africa, and sold the AK-47 to them as a commodity," says Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for

Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria.

SA Defence Force sources have in the past confirmed that AK-47 rifles are sold in Mozambique for as little as R100 each from deserters or members of Frelimo and Renamo, or from villagers who sold the arms and ammunition cheaply in return for rands.

Recently, a major international gun-running racket was discovered in Mbabane, the Swaziland capital, involving AK-47's being routed through the Kingdom from Mozambique to South Africa.

"The point is that although it is understood that the Soviet has cut down the supply of this weapon to southern African states, they are now more readily available in South Africa," says Professor Hough.

Millions produced

According to Ezell, an estimated 30 million to 50million Kalashnikov-type rifles and light machine guns have been manufactured since the introduction of the AK-47 design in the Soviet Union in 1949. (The AK-47 was fully evolved by 1947).

"At least a dozen countries have manufactured or are manufacturing versions of this weapon, and at least 55 nations and an untallied number of guerilla and terrorist organisations use these guns daily," he says.

Appropriately, the inventor of the AK-47, Mikhail Kalashnikov, was hailed by the Soviet government in 1949 as the Hero of Socialist Work.

Since its mass manufacture in the Soviet Union, many countries, including the People's Republic of China, the former East Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, North Korea, Hungary and Yugoslavia have manufactured the AK-47, says Ezell.

In addition, Finland, Israel and Egypt have produced their own variants of the weapon. (The safety/fire selector markings are one of the quickest ways of identifying the nature of origin, Ezell says).

Ezell's book concludes: "It was once noted, only half in jest, the Americans export Coke, the Japanese export Sony's and the Soviets export Kalashnikovs".

Instrument of death

841

THE (Avtomat) Kalashnikov assault rifle, better known as the AK-47, has long been a symbol of revolution and resistance in South Africa — but most recently, it has become a primary instrument of death in the Witwatersrand's war-torn townships.

Available in abundance on South Africa's black market, this weapon is currently being sold for anything between R200 and upwards of R1 000.

The soaring incidence of these rifles, smuggled into the country from virtually every bordering state — particularly Mozambique — has recently prompted the police to offer a reward of R6 000 to anyone who gives information leading to the seizure of an AK-47.

It is an attempt to coax this deadly weapon off the streets of Soweto, Tokoza, Kattlehong, Tembisa and every other township wracked by violent inter-necine fighting.

Southern Africa — specifically, Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa — has for decades been a major dumping ground for the Soviet-

made AK-47, a weapon that has become synonymous with worldwide third-world anti-government resistance.

And according to several military analysts, the fact that so many of these rifles are available means they will be in use — either for political or criminal purposes — for a long time to come.

In his book "The AK-47 story", Edward Clinton Ezell identifies this weapon as the most widely distributed and best known military shoulder weapon since World War 2.

It has been used by government and anti-government forces from Indochina to central America and Africa — in combat in Lebanon, the Iranian desert, the jungles of El Salvador and the mountains of Afghanistan.

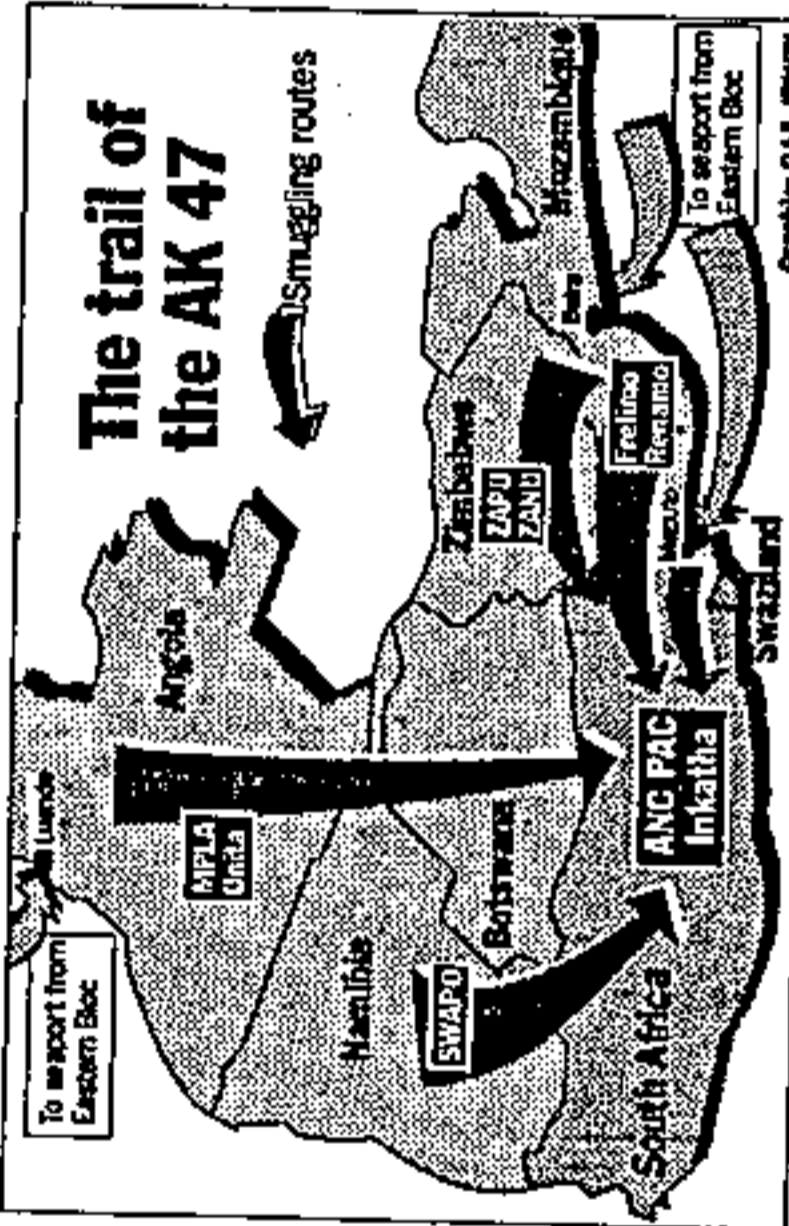
Stev 9/1/91

In Africa, it is a standard weapon of Unita and the MPLA government in Angola, the Zanu and Zapu parties in Zimbabwe, Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique, Swapo in Namibia, and now to an increasing extent, the ANC and Inkatha in South Africa.

According to Helmoed-Römer Heitman, southern Africa correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, most of these rifles have been brought in to South Africa from the frontline states by the ANC, as well as by gunrunners supplying the ANC and by private warlords in Mozambique.

Ezell, in his book, proposes that there will be much enthusiasm on the part of consuming countries to buy the AK-47, as they can be updated and improved without the need for a

Thousands of AK-47 assault rifles have found their way to South Africa's townships, through almost every neighbouring country, as the graphic below illustrates. HELEN GRANGE traces the history of this lethal weapon.



AK-47 was fully evolved by 1947). "At least a dozen countries have manufactured or are manufacturing versions of this weapon, and at least 55 nations and an untallied number of guerrilla and terrorist organisations use these guns daily," he says.

The inventor of the AK-47, Mikhail Kalashnikov, was hailed by the Soviet government in 1949 as a Hero of Socialist Work.

Ezell says that apart from its mass manufacture in the Soviet Union, the AK-47 has also been manufactured in the People's Republic of China, the former East Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, North Korea, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

In addition, Finland, Israel and Egypt have produced their own variants of the weapon. (The safety/fire selector markings are one of the quickest ways of identifying the nature of origin, Ezell says.)

Ezell's book concludes: "It was once noted, only half in jest, that the Americans export Coke, the Japanese export Sonys and the Soviets export Kalashnikovs." □

villagers who sold the arms and ammunition cheaply in return for rands.

Recently, a major international gun-running racket was discovered in Mbabane, the Swaziland capital.

It involved AK-47s being routed through the mountain kingdom from Mozambique to South Africa.

"The point is that although it is understood that the Soviet Union has cut down the supply of this weapon to southern Africa, they are now more readily available in South Africa," says Professor Hough.

According to Ezell, an estimated 30 million to 50 million Kalashnikov-type rifles and light machine guns have been manufactured since the introduction of the AK-47 design in the Soviet Union in 1949. (The

completely new weapon that would require familiarising troops with an entirely new design.

Conflict-ridden third-world countries in Africa would certainly fit Ezell's scenario, for the Soviet Union found a very profitable market in this part of the world.

"The Soviet deliberately supported many opposition movements and governments in southern Africa, and sold the AK-47 to them as a commodity," says Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria.

SA Defence Force sources have in the past confirmed that AK-47 rifles are sold in Mozambique for as little as R100 each by deserters or members of Frelimo and Renamo, or by



Reward for AK47s: Police clear confusion

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Indemnity will not be granted to owners of illegal firearms should they hand over the weapons, say police.

In addition, a R6 000 reward offered last week by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok for the recovery of "terrorist weapons" was not for the weapon itself but for information leading to the recovery of such weapons.

Confusion has reigned since the weekend after reports appeared stating that the police would pay R6 000 for an AK47 assault rifle in an effort to get them off Reef township streets.

No AK47s have been handed over in Soweto or the East Rand townships.

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said the police reward applied to information leading to the seizing of an illegal firearm.

"But there is definitely no in-

demnity to a person handing over an illegal firearm. Obviously we will investigate whether the person is linked to any crime.

"If he is not, his case will be referred to the Attorney General, who will make a decision."

Captain Kotze added that the firearm would be sent for ballistic tests and an investigation would be launched into the origin of the weapon and the circumstances of its handler.

"But the main aim is to get these weapons off the streets, and cases will be treated sympathetically by the police," he said.

A man who contacted The Star yesterday said he had an AK47 rifle, but had discovered he may be prosecuted if he handed it over for money.

● Meanwhile police say that Operation Sentry has been a tremendous success and 337 people have been arrested since the crackdown on crime in the city

began on Tuesday.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the people had been arrested for motor theft, possession of stolen property, drugs and dangerous weapons and for robbery and violence. Suspects were being held in custody until they appeared in court.

The operation, which began in central Johannesburg, has been extended to high crime suburbs, including Booysens, Brixton, Westdene and Mondeor.

Foot patrols

"The co-operation between the public and police has been excellent, with many people helping the police arrest criminals," Captain Opperman said.

Criminals have been arrested as police patrol on foot and in vehicles, conduct random searches and use communication drives aimed at making people more crime-conscious.

No indemnity for an illegal gun - SAP

By Helen Grange

Indemnity would not be granted to owners of illegal firearms should they hand the weapons over, police said yesterday.

In addition, a R6 000 reward offered last week by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok for the recovery of "terrorist weapons" was not for the weapon itself but for information leading to the recovery of such weapons.

Confusion has reigned since the weekend, when reports appeared stating that the police would pay R6 000 for an AK-47 assault rifle in an effort to

get them off Reef township streets.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the police reward applied to information leading to the seizure of an illegal firearm.

Captain Kotze said the firearm would be sent for ballistic tests and an investigation would be launched into the origin of the weapon and the circumstances of its handler.

A man who contacted The Star said yesterday he was in possession of an AK-47 rifle, but had discovered he may be prosecuted if he handed it over for money.

84A



ANC denies involvement in armed attacks in Border ^{8/4/91}

The Argus Correspondent ^{Argus 16/1/91}

EAST LONDON. — The ANC has dissociated itself from recent armed attacks in the Border region.

"Our position is very clear. We have suspended armed action and we abide by that," said spokesman for the Border region of the ANC Mr Hintsa Siwisa.

He referred to the reiteration of this policy by the ANC at its consultative congress in Johannesburg last month.

Mr Siwisa said he would go as far as to say that the ANC dissociated itself from the actions, but would not

speculate on who might be responsible.

There have been several actions in the Border and most seem carefully targeted to support local struggles. There has been speculation that the attacks have been carried out "unofficially" by ANC guerrillas operating on their own.

Police spokesman Major Christo Louw said no arrests had been made in any of the cases. He said he thought a robbery at the weekend was a straightforward robbery rather than a guerrilla attack. He could not say who might be responsible for the other attacks and police investigations had not proved them to be the work of a particular organisation.

CPA 7197
January 16 1991

84A

Slain PAC men linked to attacks on police

EAST LONDON. Police yesterday linked two dead Pan Africanist Congress members to armed attacks in the Eastern Cape which left two policemen dead and three injured.

A police spokesman said that "intensive investigation" had linked Mr Mongezi Colin Cakata of Duncan Village, and Mr Jabu Jeremiah Mdunge of Tembisa, to two attacks on policemen in the Eastern Cape.

The PAC men were shot dead at a scrapyard at KwaZakhele near Port Elizabeth on January 2, after allegedly firing on police.

According to a police spokesman, ballistics tests carried out on the AK 47s used by the two men on January 2 had established that the same weapons were used in the previous attacks on the policemen.

Three other men were arrested at the scrapyard shootout, and weapons were seized.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said in a statement on Monday that Mr Mdunge would be buried at Tembisa on Saturday. — Sapa

841 (2/2/81)

Ex-Koevoet men used in arrests

PRETORIA. — Police, assisted by former Koevoet members, arrested five men and seized three AK-47 rifles, an AKM automatic rifle, four AK-47 magazines and almost 100 rounds of ammunition near the Komatipoort border gate in the eastern Transvaal

earlier this week. *Off-Topic 19/1/81*
In a statement yesterday, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said the five men were Mozambicans who entered the country illegally, and they were being kept in custody. Charges in

terms of the Arms and Ammunition Act were being investigated and the five would appear in court soon.

The men were arrested after an SADF patrol spotted them near the Komatipoort border gate. — Sapa

Man killed in handgrenade attack

A MAN was killed and another seriously injured when handgrenades were hurled and shots fired at a house belonging to a KwaZulu policeman at KwaMashu near Durban yesterday.

A spokesman for the KwaZulu police said Sergeant Simanga Mdluli's house was attacked for the sixth time.

A relative of Mdluli's was killed and

another one "severely injured".

The lounge, a bedroom and Mdluli's car were extensively damaged in the attack.

Police found seven AK-47 rifle cartridges, three handgrenade safety pins, three spent bullets and pieces of metal at the scene.

Durban 2/1/91

844

Activist boombombed

By Shadley Nash

A PAN-AFRICANIST Congress member who died in a mysterious bomb explosion may have been the first victim of a "hit squad" operating in the Eastern Cape, the PAC claimed this week.

Minutes before Uitenhage PAC activist Mr Dumile Stootman died in the explosion, he received a telephone call from a

person speaking fluent Zulu, PAC regional organiser Mr Timothy Jantjies, told SOUTH this week.

Stootman had received several anonymous calls previously and his house had been bombed last year, said Jantjies, a close friend.

Stootman had behaved strangely after receiving the telephone call. Jantjies claimed Stootman was a "hit squad" victim and that a "hit list" existed and that he (Jantjies) and other PAC members were on it.

Recounting the events before the explosion, Jantjies said Stootman had re-

ceived a telephone call at his house.

"The person on the phone spoke Zulu when he requested to speak to Stootman," Jantjies said.

After Stootman had spoken on the telephone, he left without saying anything.

Hurry

"I only noticed that he had left when I heard the door close.

I went to his house, across the road, to find out why he had left in such a hurry, but he was not there."

"On my way back I heard two huge blasts. I rushed to fetch my binoculars and saw two clouds of black smoke wafting into the air about a kilometre

away."

A police spokesperson in Uitenhage, Major Chris Maritz, said anybody with information about alleged "hit list" should come forward with the relevant information.

He said the nature of the explosion was still unknown, but police were investigating the cause of the blast.

An inquiry into Stootman's death would be held.

He confirmed that a post-mortem had been held, but declined to give the cause of Stootman's death.

"Evidence points to Stootman having handled explosives." — PEN

South 24/11 - 30/11/91

~~8411~~ 8411

'ANC guerrilla' in armed attacks 849

By LOUISE FLANAGAN: East London

THERE have been more armed attacks in the Border region, resulting in an alleged African National Congress guerrilla appearing in court and several community councillors resigning.

The ANC recently dissociated itself from the attacks. Some observers feel they may have been carried out by ANC guerrillas acting "unofficially" to support community struggles, but local ANC officials have said the armed struggle has been suspended and they are abiding by that.

This week Msimbithi Jezile (38) and Mbulelo Khala (31) appeared in a Mdantsane court to face charges of armed robbery relating to a failed attempt to rob a petrol station in the township last Monday. Police have claimed that Jezile is an ANC guerrilla and recently returned exile, and said they had taken possession of a Makarov pistol.

They were released on bail of R300 each

and the case remanded until February 5.

The petrol station the two tried to rob is owned by Chief Doyle Jongilanga, a supporter of deposed Ciskei president Lennox Sebe.

It was not the first time the garage had been attacked: in December 1988 it was damaged in a bomb blast, and after the Ciskei coup last March it was razed.

A few days after the petrol station robbery, several people were injured when the homes of two town councillors in Queenstown were attacked with hand grenades.

One of those attacked was Mlungisi town council "mayor" Welcome Ratsibe, who subsequently announced his resignation from the council. The Mlungisi council is one of the few still operating in the region.

There have been several other armed attacks in the Queenstown area since the October suspension of armed action, all seemingly supporting local struggles. — elnews

w/m and 25/11 - 31/1/91

'Acid threat' to MK man

By S'BU MNGADI

CIP/nes 27/1/91
84A

A NATAL security policeman allegedly threatened to douse captured ANC guerrilla Mbuyiselo Mkontwana with acid.

The allegations are contained in Mkontwana's founding affidavit filed during an interdict against Law and Order minister Adriaan Vlok in the Durban Supreme Court this week.

Mkontwana, a self-confessed member of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe, was on November 19 last year granted an interim interdict ordering police to stop harassing, abducting or torturing him. The police did not oppose the order when it was made final this week.

In the affidavit, Mkontwana said he tried to return to South Africa as a civilian, using a Swazi passport under the name Stephen Simelane, on November 14 last year. However, his cover was blown and security police apprehended him at the Lavumisa/Natal border post.

Police took him to a doctor and later to a magistrate, who took down a statement about his MK membership.

On returning to the police station at the border, a white security policeman allegedly told him that both the doctor and magistrate had ascertained that the

police had not assaulted him and that it was now their turn "to practice their skills".

The policeman told Mkontwana he was going to throw acid over him.

He said that during his interrogation the policeman questioned him about weapons and told him about Abdul who, after security policemen had "panel-beaten" him, showed them weapons in Port Elizabeth.

He said he was taken blindfolded to a Durban police station, and later driven for 30 minutes to a farmhouse. The police, he claimed, wanted him to assist them in tracking down a Chief.

A white officer made him sign his name and gave him R100. The policeman counter-signed with the name "Du Plessis".

Security police made him to contact his Umlazi contact, Madoda, and telephone ANC contacts in Swaziland to inform them he had arrived safely.

The police dropped him off in West Street, in central Durban. His handler told him to come back on November 17. He was warned should he not do so they would kill him.

The police did not oppose the interdict, and the judge ordered them to pay Mkontwana's costs.



1991 'crucial
for liberation'

PRETORIA. — ANC executive committee member Mr Steve Tshwete yesterday declared 1991 as the year which would determine whether or not the oppressed masses would be liberated.

Speaking at a memorial service for fallen ANC guerillas, Mr Tshwete said to loud cheers: "This is the year in which all of us should bring about the final fall of De Klerk's administration." — Sapa

ANC 'plot'
against SAP
uncovered

LAMBERT'S BAY. — Police claim to have uncovered an ANC plot last week — codenamed Operation Prickly Pear — aimed at eliminating SAP members and establishing military training camps in South Africa.

Announcing the breakthrough here at the weekend, the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, said the plot was also aimed at waging an armed struggle against Bophuthatswana.

Police last week arrested three ANC members, including a foreign-trained guerilla, in Johannesburg and Pretoria and uncovered a large number of weapons, including 26 limpet mines and AK-47 rifles.

In reaction to the police reports, ANC spokesman Mr Sakie Macozoma yesterday afternoon said: "The ANC does not know anything about the alleged operation ... and will adhere to the suspension of the armed action as stipulated in the Pretoria Minute."

He added: "The ANC noted that the police have chosen to make the sensational allegation on the eve of our meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party, and thereby maintain a pattern of making allegations of this nature whenever the ANC seems to be on the brink of a new initiative." — Political Correspondent and Sapa

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC defence units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Mr Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league.

The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mr Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns.

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended."

Defence unit members would not go out

Defence units 'to be armed'

CAP 7145
28/1/91

84A

with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process", life might be lost.

Mr Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part — but not the defensive. If our

ANC 'will arm its defence units'

By way 28/1/91

84A

TIM COHEN

the
the
ban,
and
kers
ling
e in
can
ger
uth-
and
a in
wn.
t of
ier-
and
en-
Del
ish-
ier
as
ers.
you
the
ite.
ide
ate
rld

ANC defence units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league.

The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns.

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended."

Defence unit members would not go out with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process", life might be lost.

Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part but not the defensive. If our members are attacked, I would expect those guns to be used in defence of our people," he said.

He conceded that problems with the

formation of defence units might emerge, "especially when they erupt without the political direction of our organisation".

For example, he said: "We are aware that there are people who have taken up the call in order to conduct their own mischief."

The defence units must be popular structures, "loved by all the people".

The organisation was aware the defence committees were being infiltrated by "agents of apartheid" who wanted to use the league to discredit the ANC. But, he said, the league was "going on a very vigorous and rigorous cleansing spree. Such people will be vigorously exposed and will be vigorously dealt with."

He said it was true that, in anger, members might be forced to act "in any way" and against anyone, but he said the league did not believe in the taking of life.

Criminals would not be handed over to the police, because the police force was "illegitimate".

Instead the community would deal with its own problems. "No matter how big the problems are in our community, we are not going to appeal to apartheid structures," he said.

'Operation Prickly Pear': 3 arrested

LAMBERT'S BAY — Three ANC operatives, one foreign-trained, have been arrested in the Transvaal, security police chief Lieutenant-General Basie Smit announced at the weekend.

He told a media group being briefed in Lambert's Bay on the growing crime rate that a large number of weapons, including 26 limpet mines and AK-47 rifles, had been seized.

The three men had been arrested in Johannesburg

and Pretoria last Monday.

They had identified their mission by the codename "Operation Prickly Pear".

General Smit said more arrests were expected.

He said the aim of "Operation Prickly Pear" was to eliminate members of the SAP, conduct an armed struggle against Bophuthatswana and give military training inside South Africa.

ANC spokesman Sakie Macozoma said yesterday:

"The ANC does not know anything about the alleged operation. (SAPA)"

"The ANC sticks to the agreement reached in the Pretoria Minute ... the ANC will adhere to the suspension of the armed action as stipulated in the Minute."

Mr Macozoma said at this stage the ANC had no information on the police report, but regarded the report as a sensational allegation. — Sapa.

Insurgents out to eliminate SAP

COPIES grab

3 ANC

Sopham 1/16/1982

men

THREE heavily armed ANC insurgents with instructions to fight the Bophuthatswana government, eliminate the SA Police and to conduct military training inside the country were arrested on January 21, chief of the Security Police General Basie Smit said at the weekend.

Addressing journalists at a briefing on the Cape west coast near Saldanha Bay on Saturday night, Smit said two of the men were arrested in Johannesburg and the other in Pretoria.

The three said during interrogation that their

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

mission was called "Operation Prickly Pear".
At the time of their arrest they were armed with limpet mines, handgrenades, rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

Smit said that while there had been a reduction in actual "terror attacks", attacks on the police had increased.

Between January 1 and January 24 this year two policemen were killed and 13 injured while 117 civilians were killed and 90 injured during unrest.

The names of the three captured men were being withheld pending the outcome of ongoing investigations.



Iraqi Chaldean Christians pray in a bomb-damaged church in Iraq's northern Tamlim province, which Iraq said was caused by American air raids.

OWN A DREAM HOME OF YOUR OWN.

ZUNJIL & JULLIANI U Few stands left.

THUONDA GILIN Now open!!

Special offer R31000.00

THUONDA GILIN gift voucher

Police warn ANC
'defence units'
Political Staff

CAC-1615
29/1/91

ANC

844

844

THE Law and Order ministry has warned that armed ANC defence units will not be tolerated if they break the law in any way.

"There are laws which say the police do the policing," said spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

SA Youth Congress chairman Mr Peter Mokaba said at the weekend that the units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed.

Captain Kotze said that if the ANC planned to arm the units with AK 47 rifles "you can be sure they will be removed".

● Captain Kotze also warned that police would act against protesting farmers who planned to jam the streets of Pretoria with hundreds of vehicles early today, "if they break the law".

He said the same laws would apply to the farmers as to any organisation.

"The necessary permission has to be granted. If it is illegal we will have to apply the law," he said.

Govt move
to let MK
fighters
return

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

re: AP

The Government is believed to have agreed to allow military-trained exiles to return to South Africa in an important concession which may be announced by President F W de Klerk when he opens Parliament tomorrow.

Informed sources said the decision by the Government this week was aimed at providing impetus for the stalled negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

They said, as a result, large groups of exiles were expected to start returning next week.

Negotiations between the Government and the ANC have been bogged down for six months largely because the Government has refused to allow military-trained exiles to return until the ANC has given up the military capability of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The Government's move will mean that exiles who have received military training but have not committed any offences will qualify for indemnity from arrest and prosecution.

So far the Government has only been prepared to indemnify exiles who have left the country without passports or through illegal exit points.

The new concession will remove a large obstacle to negotiations which the Government apparently hopes will provide the impetus to move onto the next stage of talks — a multiparty conference to decide on the nature of the forum for negotiating a new constitution.

It is not clear whether President de Klerk will make the announcement tomorrow, or whether it will be the surprise many senior National Party members are expecting him to produce.

● Avoiding anticlimax trap

— Page 20

Reuter

Six soldiers hurt in landmine blast

CMF T... 2/2/91

(22) 841 (22)

PIETERSBURG. — The SA Defence Force has blamed the ANC for yesterday's landmine explosion near Messina in which six soldiers were wounded, two seriously. However, Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, said the ANC was not responsible. He accused right-wing elements of planting the bomb. The six soldiers were injured when their Samel 50 logistics vehicle detonated the mine at Twilight Farm about 26km east of

Messina about 9.15am. Police spokesman Lieutenant Werner Voigt said two of the men, Lance-Corporals J du Plooy — who had been driving the vehicle — and S de Fellice, were seriously injured. Corporals D James and J Steyn and Riflemen P Lourens and C Botha suffered slight injuries. Soutpansberg military commander Colonel Borries Bornman said the SADF had received information about a MK mine-laying unit in Zimbabwe and had

already warned farmers a month ago to prepare themselves for a possible landmine explosion. "It is just the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe that has the capability at this stage, and it's their tactic and their style. So I can tell you that it is the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe that is responsible," said Col Bornman. Mr Hani said the "finger could be pointed" at right-wing elements as they wanted to endanger the negotiation process between the ANC and the government. — Sapa

Girl (9) injured in grenade attack

84A
Soweto 4/29/1

POLICE yesterday confirmed that five people, including a little girl, were injured when two hand-grenades were thrown at the Tokoza house of Mr Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal on Saturday night.

A nine-year-old girl, Mbali Ntuli, sustained serious shrapnel wounds and was in a serious condition in the Natalspuit Hospital, Captain Henriette Bester, a police liaison officer on the West Rand, said yesterday.

The others were

treated for slight injuries, she said.

Bester said the motive for the attack had not yet been established but police were investigating.

Ntuli said the attack took place shortly after 10.30pm.

"I had left the house for a prior engagement. My family and some friends, who were sitting in the lounge, were still awake when they heard the thud of what I suspect were hand-grenades. Then, there were two loud bangs. Three friends in the lounge were hit by shrapnel, which also

penetrated several walls," said Ntuli.

Ntuli, who is also the president of the Tokoza Civic Association, said police arrived at his house in five vehicles to examine the damage.

"They have taken statements and have examined the damage. They said they would also take statements from the injured at the hospital."

He could not give the identities of the attackers.

"They lobbed the devices and just seemed to disappear from the scene," said Ntuli. - Sapa.

		GRAND TOTAL	REF SE ADRES:	
		TRANSPORT	AREA ORDER FORM	NAME: <input type="text"/>
		SUBS	GROUP ORDER FORM	TEAM: <input type="text"/>
		TOTAL	GROUP OR AREA ORDER FORM	
			DATE:	

ATLANTIS BUYERS CO-OPERATIVE

Landmine blast: two transferred

ster 4/2/91
Two defence force members who were injured in Friday's landmine blast near Messina — lance-corporals J du Plooy and S de Fellice — have been transferred from Pietersburg to 1 Military Hospital in Voortrekkerhoogte. (S4A)

This was confirmed at the weekend by a spokesman for the provincial hospital in Pietersburg, where the two men were initially treated after their military vehicle detonated the landmine on Twilight Farm, 26 km east of Messina, at 9 am on Friday.

Lance-Corporal du Plooy was at the wheel of the vehicle when it was wrecked by the blast from the landmine.

Four other soldiers — corporals D James and J Steyn, and riflemen P Lourens and C Botha — were discharged from hospital after they were treated for shock and light injuries resulting from the explosion. — Northern Transvaal Bureau.

84A

Govt to propose centres for handing in MK arms

84A
Stw. 5/2/91
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government is to propose setting up jointly administered points with the ANC where members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, could hand in their arms.

And the ANC is to be given a choice: Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members inside South Africa should surface or face further security force action.

These proposals are expected to be made today at a meeting in Pretoria of the joint ANC-Government working group empowered to deal with suspen-

sion of the ANC's armed struggle.

The group went into deadlock last year when the two teams could not agree on the continued recruitment and training of MK members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

These issues were then discussed at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group had to complete its report by September 15 last year. The group met last month, the first time since November, but apparently only assessed its work.

Proposal to disarm ANC cadres expected

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

A PROPOSAL for jointly administered collection points where Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres would be urged to give up their weapons is expected today in a fresh bid to break the impasse in the government/ANC working group on armed action.

The presence of armed guerrillas within the country is of deep concern to the government whose negotiators insist the cadres should be disarmed and identified in terms of the ANC's commitment to paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute, which refers to a suspension of the armed struggle and "related activities".

But this — and disagreement over whether "related activities" includes categories of mass action such as boycotts, stayaways and campaigns against local government structures in the townships — has bedevilled the working group's job. Both sides were meant to have compiled a report for their principals by September 15, but remain divided.

APRIL 30 DEADLINE

April 30 is the deadline and the government is anxious to see progress.

Furthermore, the release of remaining political prisoners — a fundamental named in the US sanctions law, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act — hinges on a settlement of issues relating to armed struggle and violence.

The government last year linked the release of prisoners to the "satisfactory resolution" of issues surrounding the suspension of the armed struggle.

Sources say the government team will offer a proposal today that both sides set up administered collection points where MK cadres can bring their weapons ... or face arrest by the security forces.

On the question of mass action, the government is seeking the ANC's acknowledgement of its view that boycotts, stayaways and campaigns aimed at destabilisation — against township councils, for instance — should be regarded as "related activities" of the armed struggle because of the intimidation and violence that they invariably generate.

The source said the government accepted that rallies were part-and-parcel of democracy.

Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerit Viljoen said in parliament yesterday that the mass action campaign "creates the impression the ANC mistrusts its own ability to negotiate, that it does not really rely on negotiation".



President Bush

Bush praises De Klerk

Political Staff

UNITED States President Bush telephoned President De Klerk and congratulated him on the "courage" of his speech at the opening of parliament.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed this on inquiry yesterday.

MEETING

The two presidents also discussed the importance of last week's first meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The presidents also exchanged views on the Gulf crisis.

Official sources said that US Secretary of State James Baker had telephoned Mr Botha at the weekend to discuss the speech.

State in bid to disarm MK

THE Government is to propose jointly administered points with the ANC where members of Umkhonto we Sizwe could hand in their arms.

And the ANC is to be given a choice - members of Umkhonto inside South Africa should surface or face further action by the security forces.

These proposals were expected to be made yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria of the joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

The group deadlocked when the parties could not agree on the recruitment and training of Umkhonto members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

These issues were then discussed at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group had to complete its report by September 15 last year. - *Sowetan Correspondent* (S&A)

ANC faces demand for MK to lay down its arms

Sowetan 6/2/91

~~847~~
847

THE Government hopes to convince the ANC to jointly administer a disarmament of the liberation group's military wing.

If the ANC declines, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country are likely to face further action by security forces.

The Government's proposal was on the agenda of a meeting in Pretoria yesterday of a joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the suspension of the armed struggle.

The group struck a serious deadlock last year when the two teams could not agree on the continued recruitment and training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

The deadlock was overcome after these issues were discussed by President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The working group was to have completed its report by September 15 in accordance with the Pretoria Minute.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday in Parliament that the Government insisted that all parties involved in negotiations should be committed to peace.

"In this regard it is imperative that the working group on Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute should urgently conclude its consideration of the full implications of the ANC's undertaking to

suspend armed actions and related activities and of all outstanding questions arising from this decision," he said.

The working group met last month, the first time since November.

Viljoen said the Government is hoping that both parties will formulate proposals for dealing with the suspension of the armed struggle.

He also maintained that the Government distinguishes between mass action such as political rallies and mass action such as boycotts and stayaways.

"The State President has clearly distinguished between, on the one hand, peaceful mass action forming part of recognised

democratic processes and, on the other hand, unacceptable forms of mass action.

"Mr Mandela is therefore completely at fault in creating the impression that the government is indiscriminately rejecting all mass action, thereby depriving the ANC of a legitimate political instrument. This is not true," he said.

The ANC argues that Umkhonto we Sizwe is a legal organisation and as such is entitled to continue its activities.

In November, the Government unilaterally linked the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to the satisfactory resolution of the "armed action" issue.

- Sowetan Correspondent

a Louis Trichardt police station who refused to take him.

They then drove him back to Messina before taking him to the

The youth was due to reappear in court on Tuesday, but his new doctors said he was too sick to appear in court and the case was postponed indefinitely.

ANC unit in jailbreak claim

AN underground unit of the ANC has claimed responsibility for the escape of eight prisoners from police cells at Scottburgh in Natal yesterday.

The prisoners - who included Umgababa ANC treasurer Lee Luthuli and ANC member Joseph Memela - escaped at 5am by sawing through the bars of their cell.

A man who said he spoke for an underground

unit of the ANC later phoned a Durban newspaper claiming responsibility for the escape.

But a Natal regional ANC spokesman has denied ANC knowledge of the jailbreak.

Lawrence Bophela, Percy Bruno, Bhekinkosi Mkuyana, Dumisani Langa, Mxolise Mkhize and Dumisani Majola - awaiting trial on various charges - also escaped. - Sapa

*8/11/91
SAPA*



Outrage as bomb kills top lawyer

So when 18/2/91 -

POLICE would not comment yesterday about allegations of "hit squad" involvement in the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni on Friday night.

Mlangeni (32) died at his Soweto home when explosives hidden in the earphones of a Walkman cassette player blew up when he switched it on.

A police spokesman said: "Investigations are in an early stage. We are trying to trace the perpetrators. We don't have answers at this stage."

The charges of "hit squad" involvement were levelled by the ANC, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Human Rights Commission and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The cassette tape Mlangeni had found in the Walkman was labelled: "Evidence of hit-squads".

Meanwhile in London, self-confessed former hit-squad member Dirk Coetzee, for whom the booby-trapped package was initially intended,

said he was shocked and saddened by the death of his ANC lawyer-friend.

He slammed Mlangeni's death as having all the hallmarks of a "hit squad" job.

Meanwhile, human rights and civic bodies yesterday condemned the killing.

In their strongest condemnation yet, the organisations accused the covert CCB of the action.

The lawyer's employers, Cheadle Thompson and Haysom, said they were saddened by his death.

"He was a candidate attorney who was liked and loved by everyone," they said.

The Lawyers for Human Rights Commission said the "diabolical killing of Mlangeni pointed clearly to the CCB".

A PAC spokesman said: "It's a lie to say that this tape recorder was meant for Captain Dirk Coetzee."

The Azanian Peoples Organisation said in a statement that the movement was appalled by Mlangeni's death.

The ANC blamed "the forces of racism and apartheid" for the assassination. - Sapa.



BHEKI MLANGENI

AK-47S RULE

Then roots

Swavelen 18/2/91

8419



ADRIAAN VLOK

THE country is reeling from crime and violence involving AK-47 rifles.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN Political Correspondent

Crimes involving AK-47s have been reported almost every day since the start of December, South African Police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said in Cape Town yesterday.

If the liberation movements hand in their arms caches, the South African Police could concentrate on eradicating the mayhem in South African society, Mellet said. He added that the police were

"determined to rid the country of illegal and unlicensed firearms".

In terms of Friday's agreement between the Government and the ANC, individual weapons will be licensed under existing legislation.

Last week's working group also agreed that the democratic process obliged all political parties and movements to further their aims peacefully and without resort to the use of force.

In this regard, Mellet yesterday said: "This agreement - and should the ANC hand over their arms - makes it easier for us to

clamp down on the possible armaments of the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging) too."

With the escalation in crime involving AK-47s, he said, right-wing groupings are enticed into arming themselves.

Violence

Mellet said this was particularly distressing because it generates a season of crime and violence.

Last week's pact, hailed by Ministers as "a victory for peace," and which has been approved by both the ANC's national executive committee and the Cabinet, commits the ANC to cease:

- * Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or incendiary devices;
 - * Infiltration of men and material into South Africa;
 - * The creation of underground structures;
 - * Statements inciting violence; and
 - * Threats of armed action and military training inside the country.
- The pact also secured an agreement whereby Umkhonto weSizwe cadres would come into the open and identify their weapons caches, to ensure "vital control" by both parties.
- See also Page 9

Suspension of the armed struggle - full agreement

Source 18/2/91

84A

THIS is the text of the agreement reached on the armed struggle by the Government/ANC working group on February 12 and released on Friday:

1. The Working Group was established under paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, which reads as follows:

of meetings took place. This report was finalised at a meeting on the 12th of February 1991.

"In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe will take place. It was agreed that a Working Group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by 15 September 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

2. Having decided it would not have been possible to submit a final report by the 15th September 1990, an interim report was brought out on 13 September 1990.

3. Since then a number

4. With reference to the word "suspending" as used in paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, the Working Group reiterated what was said in paragraph 4 of its Interim Report, namely that suspension occurred as a step in the process of finding peaceful solutions, with the presumption that the process would lead to the situation where there would be no return to armed action.

Attacks

5. (a) Under the terms of suspension of "armed action" and "related activities" by the ANC, with specific reference also to Umkhonto We Sizwe and its organised military groups and armed cadres, it was agreed that the following will not take place:

(i) Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices.

(ii) Infiltration of men and material.

(iii) Creation of underground structures.

(iv) Statements inciting violence.

(v) Threats of armed action.

(vi) Training inside South Africa.

(b) The Working Group -



DE KLERK



MANDELA

(i) Agreed that the democratic process implies and obliges all political parties and movements to participate in this process peacefully and without resort to the use of force;

(ii) Therefore accepted the principle that in a democratic society no political party or movement should have a private army;

(iii) Noted that the ANC had, in good faith and as a contribution to the process of arriving at a peaceful settlement, announced the suspension of all armed actions and related activities, with the presumption that the process would lead to the situation where there would be no return to armed action;

(iv) Noted that by virtue of the fact that Umkhonto We Sizwe is

where applicable, individual weapons shall be licenced in terms of existing legislation;

(ix) further agreed that the security forces take cognisance of the suspension of armed actions and related activities and that the parties hereto will remain in close liaison with one another according to the procedure prescribed in 6(a) of this document with a view to ensuring prompt and efficient reporting, investigation and redressing, where applicable, of all allegations of unlawful activities or activities contrary to the spirit of this agreement, by the security forces.

(c) The Working Group --

(i) Agreed that the population at large has a right to express its views through peaceful demonstrations;

(ii) Further agreed that it is urgent and imperative that violence and intimidation from whatever

quarter accompanying mass action should be eliminated;

(iii) Further agreed that peaceful political activities and stability must be promoted;

(iv) Further agreed that to this end joint efforts should be made to implement the intentions contained in paragraphs 5 of the Groote Schuur and of the Pretoria Minutes to ensure that grievances and conflict creating situations are timely addressed.

Liaison

6. The Working Group agreed that designated members of the ANC would work with government representatives in a Liaison Committee to implement this agreement, and that the existing nominated SAP and ANC liaison officials appointed in accordance with paragraph 5 of the Groote Schuur Minute shall serve as supporting structures

of the Liaison Committee. (b) It is agreed that this agreement will be implemented forthwith and its objectives attained as speedily as possible.

(c) It is further agreed that in view of the above, the process of attaining the objectives contained in paragraph 2 of the Pretoria Minute will be realised according to the procedures contained in that Minute.

7. It is understood that nothing in or omitted from this agreement will be construed as invalidating or suspending the provisions of any law applicable in South Africa.

8. It is recommended that this Working Group be continued to supervise the implementation of this agreement relating to paragraph 3 and the activities of the Liaison Committee and to give attention to further matters that may arise from the implementation of this agreement, such as proposed self defence units. - Sapa.

Police bar ANC from bomb inquiry

POLICE yesterday ruled out any ANC involvement in investigations into the killing of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni in a bomb blast on Friday.

Mlangeni died at his Jabulani, Soweto, home when a miniature bomb exploded in a portable cassette player's earphone.

The cassette player was posted to self-confessed hit squad member Dirk Coetzee but was sent to Mlangeni, whose name was on the parcel as the sender, after Coetzee refused to pay extra duty to receive it at a Lusaka post office.

SAP spokesman Maj Reg Crewe said yesterday permission had been granted for an ANC representative to be present when police investigated the incident at the

Mlangeni home on Saturday night.

Asked if the ANC would be represented at subsequent investigations, Crewe said: "The investigation is a police matter, and there is no question of any other party getting involved."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus asked yesterday: "What harm would the presence of our lawyers have?"

She said the ANC would ensure that there was a full exposure of death squads, which it believed to be responsible.

Crewe said police had no evidence linking Mlangeni's death to any hit squad.

16/12/81
SID 18/12/91

'Don't disband commandos' ^{84A}

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche yesterday told his commandos to defy all Government orders to disband.

He said the decision by the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), to end its armed struggle "had nothing to do with the AWB commandos".

MK's primary purpose had been to overthrow the Government while the AWB had founded its Wenkommando (victory commando) only as a

civil protection unit. Mr TerreBlanche said. ^{OKO}

"The Wenkommando was founded to protect the legal land-owners and citizens against criminal misdeeds and military-style attacks," the AWB leader claimed.

He urged all officers and leaders within the Wenkommando and their supporting units — the so-called "burgerrade" or civilian councils — to ignore any Government demands to disband the commando units.

19/2/91
SAP

No appeal for 3 ANC convicts

THE Bloemfontein Appeal Court has refused the "Broederstroom Three" leave to appeal against the severity of their sentences on various charges under the Internal Security Act.

Damian de Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Donnelly (Westcott) were convicted by a Pretoria regional magistrate in October 1989 after they had pleaded guilty.

De Lange was effectively imprisoned for 25 years, Robertson for 20 years and Donnelly for 18 years.

All three received military training outside South Africa and infiltrated the country as trained members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Other charges related to explosions that damaged a high voltage electric mast near

Kliprivier, a communication mast antenna, a house at Linksfield, Johannesburg and a military bus and other property.

They also obtained and communicated to the ANC information on military, police, State and economic activities in the PWV area.

Arson

In addition, De Lange pleaded guilty to two counts of arson and one of attempted arson where he and a woman named Marion Sparg set fire to two offices of the Progressive Federal Party and attempted to set fire to another PFP office in Johannesburg in 1981.

An appeal by the three to the Transvaal Supreme Court was dismissed on September 7, 1990. *Sapa*

Sapa 21/2/91

84A

Armed struggle not terminated, says ANC

South 21/2 - 27/2/91

The "accord" between the ANC and the government last week on the armed struggle has raised fears that the ANC no longer regards armed action as an important fourth "pillar of struggle". The ANC had agreed to cease armed attacks, infiltration of men and material, the creation of underground structures and training inside the country. However, ANC working group member **Matthew Phosa** told **Mono Badela** the armed struggle has not yet been terminated, it is merely suspended:

THE African National Congress has assured its members that the organisation has made no major new concessions regarding the armed struggle.

Despite the six commitments made by the ANC at the joint working committee meeting last week, the armed struggle has not yet been terminated, said ANC lawyer Mr Matthew Phosa

"We still do not want to terminate the armed struggle, we have merely suspended it"

"Suspension implies that you still have the option of reverting to the armed struggle."



Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff, Chris Hani

Phosa said the accord was a signal that the government has decriminalised military training by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The state had agreed last week that military training was no longer an offence and ANC members would no longer need indemnity for undergoing

training.

The organisation expects the government to publish this fact in a forthcoming government gazette.

The agreement also meant the door was now wide open for thousands of exiles to return home.

"The government is trying to make it

possible to meet the April 30 deadline set by the Pretoria Minute."

Phosa said the ANC regarded this as a major concession on the part of the government.

The scorecard on concessions was weighed heavily in favour of the ANC at present — there could be no comparison with the number of concessions the government has made.

"They have been forced to this because of the struggle waged by the people."

Concession

Phosa said since the Pretoria Minute the ANC had made no further concessions regarding the armed struggle.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had said on August 7 last year that MK would stop infiltrating units into the country.

"We have made concessions, there is no doubt about it.

"We have said we will stop infiltrating men and material, engage them physically with arms, stop creating new underground structures, stop inciting violence, stop training cadres inside the country.

"It's part of negotiations, it's a give and take situation.

"We cannot build new structures but we can keep and maintain those which already exist."

Retreated

Phosa is of the opinion that on several fronts the government has retreated on important positions.

He said the fact that the government had conceded that the ANC could have an army was an important achievement.

"They used to call Umkhonto we Sizwe a bunch of terrorists.

"That MK can continue training and building a conventional force is an important concession."

He said it was also a concession on the

part of the government to make it possible for former MK members to get licences for pistols.

Last week's accord should not have an effect on the building of defence units in townships and training people to defend themselves, Phosa said.

Legitimacy

He said the government had conceded the legitimacy of defence units.

"All they said is that they want to open discussion on the defence units. We did not have to persuade them on defence units."

Phosa said it had not been necessary for the ANC to consult broadly with members before meeting with the government last week.

He said the National Consultative Conference in December endorsed the entire negotiation process and gave the NEC the mandate to continue with the process.

Consulted

The national executive committee had consulted members via their delegates at the conference on negotiation process.

On this basis, he said, the NEC was allowed some form of "reasonable discretion".

"We were given the full mandate at the conference to engage in these kind of talks."

Phosa said MK members had participated in last week's talks.

"The chief of staff Chris Hani was there, Commander Joe Modise was there as well."

The working group which met with president FW de Klerk last week could not insist on the scrapping of the Internal Security Act as it was not within their mandate, Phosa said.

A working committee provided for by the Groote Schuur Minute was deliberating on the scrapping of the Act.

Independent expert for Mlar

W/ Mail 22/2-28/2/91 84A

ONE of the world's top forensic expert may come to South Africa to investigate the assassination of lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok agreed this week.

This follows a meeting between Vlok and a three-member legal team from Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom, who were concerned about the investigation into the their colleague's murder.

"The minister agreed to allow us independent access to the forensic evidence. It is possible that one of the world's top explosive experts will be coming to South Africa for this purpose," said lawyer Peter Harris.

Normally the police forensic laboratory, still headed by Lieutenant Lothar Neethling, would be involved in such an investigation.

It appears the forensic evidence will stay in its current safe-keeping until the independent expert arrives. The investigation is now being headed by General Rommie van der Westhuizen.

Harris said Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom lawyers have "strong suspicions about who was behind the murder. One has to ask: who had the motive and who had the capability?" he said, without elaborating.

Suspicion is growing that it was elements in the SAP, and not the South African Defence Force's Civil Cooperation Bureau, who were behind last Saturday morning's murder.

Colleagues suspicious of the circumstances surrounding the murder of lawyer Bheki Mlangeni want an independent forensic expert to examine evidence reports **GAVIN EVANS**

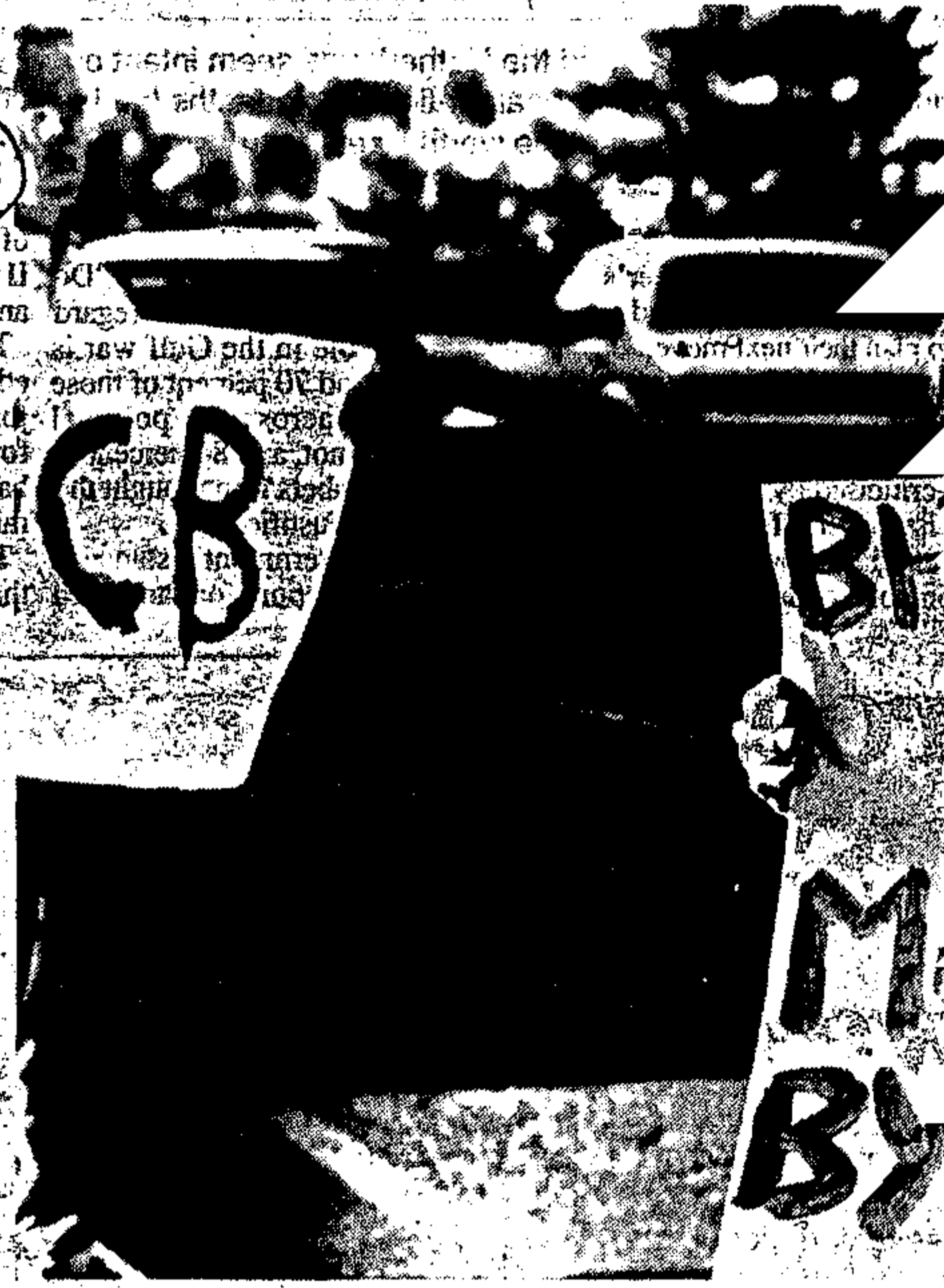
Mlangeni died when a sophisticated explosive device in the earphones of the walkman cassette recorder which he received in the mail — supposedly containing a tape with information on death squads — was detonated by a sound signal.

It had originally been sent to rogue police captain Dirk Coetzee in Lusaka last May — apparently designed to eliminate him shortly prior to giving evidence on police hit squads at a special hearing of the Harms Commission of Inquiry in London.

Coetzee stopped at the post office while he was on his way to the Lusaka airport, but refused to take delivery after a wrangle about payment. Her also gave evidence against Neethling in the general's failed legal suit against *Vrye Weekblad* and *The Weekly Mail*.

The package contained the name and address of Mlangeni, who had been involved in investigating police hit squads, despite the fact that he had not sent it. It took more than seven months to "return" to Mlangeni after Coetzee refused to take delivery.

Mlangeni (32), who was the Jabulani branch chairman of the African National Congress, had been a frequent victim of state harassment.



Eloquent protest ... demonstrators held placards in Johannesburg involvement in the murder of Bheki Mlangeni

MK soldier returns to old varsity

SITews 24 2/91

THIS is the youthful face of a trained ANC soldier. She, together with thousands of others, are coming home after years in exile.

Veena Naidoo, 25, returned to South Africa two weeks ago after five years in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This week she registered at the University of Durban-Westville for a teaching degree.

When she fled the country with three friends at the height of the state of emergency in 1986, she was a 20-year-old law student.

Several of her friends were in detention and others faced charges for being members of the ANC.

"The armed struggle was the only way out," said Veena.

"Those of us who were in the ANC had to run, otherwise, we were at great risk," she said.

Of the four friends who went into exile together, only Veena and one other have returned.

One was killed in a South African Police ambush. Another, Richard Vallihu, is still at the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka.

Veena says she was one of two women trained at a

By SHARON CHETTY

camp in Angola soon after she went into exile.

After further training in several African countries and "elsewhere", she was sent to Swaziland to help set up a base.

"Soon after we had left a camp in Angola, most of another group were ambushed and killed — an attack we narrowly missed."

Arrested

In June 1988, a close friend, Lenny Naido, was one of three people shot dead in a police ambush at Piet Retief near the Swazi border.

She and fellow exile David Madurai were later arrested in Swaziland for one of the biggest arms caches discovered in that country.

Both were acquitted but Swazi authorities warned the ANC High Command in Lusaka that the two's presence in the country would no longer be tolerated.

Now, Veena stays with her six brothers and sisters, mother and schoolteacher father in Chatsworth, Dur-



TRAINED TO FIGHT . . . Veena Naidoo, back after four years in exile

Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

Limpet mine blasts post office

QUEENSTOWN — A mini limpet mine exploded in the entrance hall of the post office here on Sunday night causing damage of thousands of rands. The explosion occurred at 11 pm, smashing doors, windows and fittings in the building, police said. No one was injured in the blast nor has anyone claimed responsibility. — Sapa.

16/2/79
5/2/79

(SAP)

Hani reminds Pretoria of ceasefire deadline

8/10am 11/3/91
UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) leader Chris Hani hinted yesterday the ANC would resume its armed struggle after April 30 if the government did not meet its demands to "remove obstacles in the way of negotiations".

Addressing more than 2 000 students at the University of Durban-Westville, he said the "criminal regime" still had to release all political prisoners, grant full indemnity to returning exiles and remove all forces from the townships.

"If these commitments are not honoured by April 30, the people must review them. The oppressed are fully justified in using all forms of struggle including taking arms.

"It will be left to the members of the ANC to decide whether or not enough ground has been covered towards the building of a constituent assembly."

Hani reiterated that the armed struggle had been suspended and not terminated.

On the role of the military, he said the ANC "totally rejects any suggestion that the SA Defence Force should be the future army of SA".

"It has always been a loyal subject of the white state and we cannot imagine that in a democracy it will become an army of the people," he said.

Hani added that MK, too, would have

84A
Own Correspondent

to be disbanded after democracy had been achieved.

However, he praised the sacrifices made by MK soldiers and believed the country would not have moved towards democracy if it were not for the armed wing.

"A lot of people today tend to belittle the contribution of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and some dismiss it as a ragtag army.

"But through the darkest hours it has been the conscience of the people. The attacks on Sasol, on police stations and the very headquarters of the SADF imbued the people with a new hope.

"Those bomb explosions which shattered the calm of night in the white suburbs of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town were a call to action."

Hani said: "The task of forming a new army will be in the hands of a new government — and I seriously doubt whether (Defence Minister) Magnus Malan will be around then."

He warned that situations like those in South America, where army generals had led coups against their governments, must not be allowed to develop in SA, and he stressed the need for a neutral army.

ANC

84A
Weekend-Agus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Fugitive ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils has announced from hiding that the ANC "underground" will not be disbanded following the latest De Klerk-Mandela agreement on the cessation of armed activities.

In the first public reaction from the underground leadership since the agreement, Kasrils said in a telephone interview: "We maintain our underground structures, intact and in place. The maintenance of the existing underground structures is an insurance in case things go wrong."

He insisted that contrary to widespread speculation, he and his "underground" colleagues were fully committed to the negotiation process and the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela and the ANC National Executive Committee. They did not regard the agreement, announced on February 15, as a "snub" to underground cadres.

Justifiable

"Our understanding is that the existing underground is not at issue in the latest agreement. Rather the ANC has undertaken not to create new underground structures. We don't feel isolated."

The ANC's was a justifiable concession, he said, in that it "places the ball in De Klerk's court. The Cape Town agreement binds the government to the release of prisoners, the return of exiles, progress on indemnity and the suspension of security laws."

Kasrils said the ANC's underground structures were distinct from its military struc-

tures ("the underground is primarily for political, not military work"), and were "perfectly legal".

"We're not doing anything treasonous, and we're not acting as a secret force to sabotage negotiations."

Political groups like the Broederbond, some businesses, and "even government in aspects of talks with the ANC", felt the need for some secret activities, Kasrils said.

"It's not a crime to conduct a certain degree of activities in secret where prudence is demanded. And in view of the maintenance of the Internal Security Act, prudence is a necessity."

Kasrils said he and his colleagues would "love to come out of the shadows and be part of healthy democratic debate and activities, but we remain in place until instructed to surface by the ANC leadership, and until indemnity is granted."

Camouflage

There was still deep concern in ANC circles about the Government's capacity to "return to the use of violence and repression," Kasrils added.

"This is a cloak to camouflage repression as reform, and I believe it poses the greatest threat to the democratic process in the coming years."

Kasrils, a member of the ANC's NEC and a former intelligence chief who has been sought by police since the middle of last year, raised the possibility that some of his underground colleagues might be able to surface before him.

Kasrils bitterly attacked newspaper reports depicting him as "a sinister figure waiting in the wings," saying this was "irresponsible".

'Underground' to stay



Nelson Mandela (centre) introduces his grandson Bambata to musicians he invited to lunch at his Soweto home yesterday. The musicians have returned from exile.

Russia curses: Vodka rationed

MOSCOW. — The traditional home of Russian vodka has introduced a monthly ration of one small bottle a person to the sound of curses, moans and a sober year ahead.

limited to a half-litre bottle a month. Green and blue coupons marked "March Vodka", "April Vodka", "May Vodka" promise a sober year ahead.

Shelves heaved under full stocks delivered on the eve of the rationing. Many customers, unaware of the advent of the rationing, appeared from Moscow shops at the advent of the rationing.

ANC underground intact: Kasrils

FUGITIVE African National Congress leader Ronnie Kasrils has announced from hiding that the ANC "underground" will not be disbanded, despite the latest agreement between President de Klerk and ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela on the cessation of armed activities.

In the first public reaction from the underground leadership since the agreement, Mr Kasrils told Saturday Star in a telephone interview: "We maintain our underground structures, intact and in place. The maintenance of the existing underground structures is an insurance, in case things go wrong."

Mr Kasrils insisted that, contrary to widespread speculation,

he and his underground colleagues were fully committed to the negotiations process and the leadership of Mr Mandela and the organisation's national executive committee.

They did not regard the agreement — announced on February 15 — as a "snub" to underground cadres.

"Our understanding is that the existing underground is not at issue in the latest agreement — rather the ANC has undertaken not to create new underground structures. We don't feel isolated."

The ANC's was a justifiable

concession, he said, in that it "places the ball in De Klerk's court. The Cape Town agreement binds the Government to the release of prisoners, the return of exiles, progress on indemnity and the suspension of security laws".

Mr Kasrils said the ANC's underground structures were distinct from its military structures. The underground was primarily for political, not military work and was "perfectly legal".

"We're not doing anything treasonous, and we're not acting as a secret force to sabotage negotiations."

Political groups like the Broederbond, some businesses, and

"even Government in aspects of talks with the ANC", felt the need for some secret activities, Mr Kasrils said. "It's not a crime to conduct certain activities in secret where prudence is demanded. And in view of the maintenance of the Internal Security Act, prudence is a necessity."

Mr Kasrils said he and his colleagues would "love to come out of the shadows and be part of healthy democratic debate and activities — but we remain in place until instructed to surface by the ANC leadership, and until indemnity is granted".

The ANC leadership had in-

● TO PAGE 2.

● FROM PAGE 1.

structed him to remain underground until further notice, he said.

There was still deep concern in ANC circles about the Government's capacity to "return to the use of violence and repression", Mr Kasrils added. "There are now signs that De Klerk and his government are to a certain degree moving away from those methods, but they've got a long way to go."

"For example, our sources are picking up information that might suggest use of the 'low-intensity conflict' tactic developed by US strategists, whereby so-called 'reformers' justify the use of force against 'radicals' who are alleged to be flies in the ointment of transition."

"This is a cloak to camouflage repression as reform, and I believe it poses the greatest threat to the democratic process in the coming years." *Star 2/13/91*

Surface

Mr Kasrils, a member of the ANC's NEC and a former intelligence chief who has been sought by police since the middle of last year, suggested some of his underground colleagues might be able to surface before he did.

He was still named in the "Operation Vula" trial, he said, and was also concerned about recent political assassinations. "In some ways I feel more secure where I am than I would if I was out in the open," he said.

Mr Kasrils bitterly attacked recent newspaper reports depicting him as "a sinister figure waiting in the wings", saying this was irresponsible and could be an incitement to violence against him.

"I wouldn't like to think that these people would countenance the use of violence against so-called radicals like myself, who are simply putting forward ideas which the Government might find a challenge to their agenda."

He said the changed political scenario meant that the underground was less prominent than before, but remained important.

Boer guerillas emerge

84A
~~84A~~

Sowetan 4/3/91

POLICE were stepping up investigations of a right-wing guerrilla movement that sprung up this week targeting Government officials, anti-apartheid leaders and security police for its murder campaign, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said.

Captain Craig Kotze told Sapa police were tak-

ing threats by the shadowy Boer Republican Army seriously.

Extremists

"There are scores of extremist white splinter groups and it would first have to be established whether this alleged group does in fact exist or not," Kotze said.

The document containing names of possible targets including Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk, is being circulated to rightwingers in the Western Transvaal, ac-

ording to a report carried by a Johannesburg newspaper.

"All threats of this nature are taken seriously by the police," Kotze said. - Sapa

CAH TIPS 4/3/91 (BSP) (SAP)

Explosion at farm of Boerestaat leader

JOHANNESBURG. — An explosion occurred at the entrance to the Sandspruit farm, home of Boerestaat Party (BSP) leader Mr Robert van Tonder, on Saturday night.

The BSP leader said yesterday that he and his wife Louise were on their farm when they heard a "tremendous" explosion about 10.30.

He and his adult children — who also live on the farm with their families — searched the entire area that night, but no damage could be found.

Yesterday morning they discovered that the concrete base of the Vierkleur flag — used as the Boerestaat Party's symbol — had been blown away.

An SAP spokeswoman in Pretoria confirmed the explosion at Mr Van Tonder's farm. — Sapa

Bombed Vierkleur flies on

By Norman Chandler

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder escaped unhurt from an attack on Saturday for the second time in a week. *Star 4/3/91*

Mr van Tonder told The Star last night that a bomb exploded at his Randburg farm and damaged a concrete base for the Vierkleur flag which flies close to his home. Last week, the flag was cut down and a note threatening his life was found.

He alleged that Saturday's explosion could have been "the work of the Security Police or

the African National Congress", and has lodged a complaint with the police.

He has asked for an analysis to be made of the explosives which were used.

Mr van Tonder and his wife, Louise, were at their Sandspruit farm — located between Randburg and Muldersdrif — at about 10.30 pm on Saturday when they heard "a tremendous explosion. It was so loud that policemen at Muldersdrif, about 8 km away, heard it as well," Mr van Tonder said.

A search of the area proved fruitless and it

was only yesterday morning that it was discovered that the concrete base for the Vierkleur flag — used as the Boerestaat Party's symbol — had been blown away.

The flagpole, however, remained upright.

Police confiscated a shoe which was found at the scene.

The Vierkleur flag was used by the South African Republic and has become a symbol among right-wingers.

Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen of the SAP public relations directorate said an explosion had taken place but damage had been minimal.

Arrest over Pretoria bomb

By MONK NKOMO
Sowetan 8/3/91
AN African National Congress cadre has been arrested in connection with murder, theft and the planting of a bomb at the Hallmark Parkade in Pretoria last year.

The 30-year-old suspect, a member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, was arrested on February 12 this year in connection with the death of Mr David Shongwe, whose bullet-riddled body was found in Brits on July 28 last year, Security Police chief General Bassie Smit said in Pretoria yesterday.

S Suspect *84A*

Although he declined to release the name of the suspect, security sources yesterday confirmed that the arrested man is Sipho Mabena.

Shongwe, of Saulsville, was sought by police for questioning after a powerful bomb was found inside a minibus taxi at a parking garage in

● To Page 2

Arrest over bomb

● From Page 1

Vermeulen Street on July 28.

The bomb, which was made up of *84A* S23 demolition charges of communist origin, was deactivated by police before it could explode.

Speaking at a Press conference, Smit said a 30-year-old member of the ANC was arrested in Atteridgeville.

He made a confession before a magistrate on February 13 admitting his involvement in Shongwe's death and the explosives. *Sowetan 6/3/91*

Smit said police records showed that the suspect left South Africa in 1980.

"We are now looking for another suspect who is also a member of the ANC," Smit said.

Smit said he did not know whether the suspects were given instructions by the ANC to plant the bomb, which, according to police bomb experts, could have resulted in a great loss of human lives.

He declined to give further details and said most of the facts were evidence to be submitted in court. It is not known when the suspect would appear in court.

Shongwe, who was earlier named a suspect, "is now absolutely exonerated", Smit said.

Car bomb: ANC man ^{84A} is arrested

PRETORIA ^{6/2/91} — An Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadre has been arrested, accused of planting SA's biggest car bomb in a Pretoria parkade last July and of murdering a taxi driver.

The 114kg bomb was defused by police after they received a tip-off from a bystander who noticed suspicious objects, including detonators, in a minibus.

The body of the minibus driver, David Shongwe, 33, was found shot at Hartbeespoort Dam.

At a news conference in Pretoria yesterday, SAP chief of security Gen Basie Smit said a 30-year-old ANC man was arrested in Atteridgeville last month.

Police said he made a full confession before a Pretoria magistrate in connection with the minibus theft, murdering Shongwe and planting the explosives.

Smit said police were still searching for accomplices, and the investigation was at a delicate stage.

The arrested man will be charged with murder, terrorism and robbery.

It was unlikely he would be given indemnity as it was not just a political crime, but involved the murder of a civilian, Smit said. — Sapa.

Car bomb: ANC man's admission

84A
8/27 6/3/91

By Monica Nicolson
Crime Staff

An Umkhonto we Sizwe member arrested last month has confessed to planting South Africa's biggest car bomb, which was defused in the parade of the Hallmark building in Pretoria in July, police say.

The man has also confessed to murdering a taxi driver and stealing his minibus.

The 114 kg bomb was defused by the police after they received a tip-off from a bystander who noticed detonators in a white minibus.

The minibus driver, soccer player David Shongwe (33), was later found dead at Hartbeespoort Dam. He had been shot in the head.

Police security chief Lieutenant-General Basie Smit said in Pretoria yesterday that a 30-year-old ANC man had been arrested in Atteridgeville last month.

The man had made a full confession before a Pretoria magistrate in connection with stealing the minibus, killing Mr Shongwe and planting the explosives.

General Smit said the arrested man would be charged with murder, terrorism and robbery. It was unlikely he would be given indemnity as it was not just a political crime but involved the murder of a civilian, he said.

Police no longer had any suspicions that Mr Shongwe had anything to do with the crime.

Slain Azanla cadre named

By MATHATHA TSEDU

A CADRE of the Azanian National Liberation Army who was killed in a shootout with security forces at Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus, on Tuesday has been identified.

He was Mr Thabang Jan Motlhodisi (25) of Kroonstad, described by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as a "long-serving fighter of the Azanla forces". *Sowetan 7/3/91*

He died in a grenade explosion during a skirmish with members of the South African Police and the South African Defence Force in which a police lieutenant, Calvin Kgasago Dikgale (41), was also killed.

A member of the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Food and Beverage Workers Union, Mr Ronald Malatji, was shot dead after injuring three policemen, Lieutenant ML Tlomatsana, a police spokesman in the area, said yesterday.

Tlomatsana identified the injured policemen as Lieutenant Jairus Mafafo (44), Sergeant Phuti William Poopedi (43) and Constable Moremi Francis Masete (27).

Describing the skirmish as "a daring shootout",

Tlomatsana said it ended when a third man surrendered. Tlomatsana said the group was cornered in a house near the AME Church following the fatal shooting on Monday night of Mr Elias Nkuna.

Motlhodisi tried to escape when police started surrounding the house. Dikgale tried to apprehend him when the grenade exploded, killing both instantly, Tlomatsana said.

Two weeks ago the BCMA claimed responsibility for an attack on a Transvaal Provincial Administration roadcamp about 5km from the township.

It said it estimated the damage at several millions of rands.

The media officer of the BCMA, Mr Gilbert Mokoena, said in a statement from Harare yesterday that Motlhodisi had been "one of the most dedicated and selfless members of BCM formations".

"He carried out all his duties in the trade union, in political activity and in the army diligently and thoroughly," Mokoena said.

'90 Pretoria *CAH*
car bomb: *Temp's*
Man arrested *8/3/91*

JOHANNESBURG. —
Police yesterday announced the arrest of an African National Congress guerilla in connection with South Africa's most powerful car bomb, found and defused in downtown Pretoria in July last year. *CAH*

But officers had "no evidence" that the unnamed 30-year-old suspect had planted the bomb — containing 114kg of explosive — on ANC instructions, police security chief General Basie Smit said.

Police arrested the man, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, on February 12 in Pretoria's black township of Atteridgeville. — UPI

Buy guns
for target
practise

S/ Times 10/3/91

By DE WET POTGIETER
THE SA Communist Party
has urged its members
to arm themselves and
train for self-defence in
the townships.

A two-page article in the
latest issue of the SACP
mouthpiece, Umsebenzi,
tells members of the party
and the ANC to buy airguns
and pistols for target
practise.

These weapons have the
advantage that no licence
is required "and they are
an excellent, cheap and
safe way for teaching
people how to aim and
shoot correctly", according
to the article.

Despite the militant tone
of the article, security
sources said they were
not unduly concerned.

A police spokesman said
he believed the ANC
leadership would handle
the issue with "great care
and responsibility".

C

How Azanla guerillas died in clash

PIETERSBURG. — Details of the bloody shootout last week between Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) guerillas and police emerged at the weekend.

Two guerillas and a policeman died in the attack in Lebowa on Tuesday.

The two guerillas were former trade unionist Mr Mashapu Ronald Malatjie and Mr Thabang Mothlodisi, who died in a hand-grenade blast which also killed a policeman.

The names of the two guerillas, who will be buried over the next two weekends, were confirmed by Black Consciousness Movement of Azania spokesman Mr Gilbert Mokoena in Harare.

Two weeks ago an Azanla

Capt Tink's 11/3/91 84A
squad had attacked a Transvaal Provincial Administration road camp outside Potgietersrus, causing damage which the BCMA estimated at millions of rands but police set at R5 000.

Last Tuesday police surrounded a house in Mahwelereng township in Lebowa. When Mr Mothlodisi tried to escape through a window Lieutenant Calvin Dikgale of the Lebowa police hurled himself at him. Mr Mothlodisi detonated a grenade and both men were killed.

Mr Malatjie, a member of the Food and Beverage Workers' Union and Azanla, came from the house with his gun blazing, wounding three policemen before he was killed.

One of the wounded was the

well-known Constable Jirus Mafafo, an ANC marshal who showed ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela around the area last year.

Lebowa police spokesman Lieutenant LM Tlomatsana described the latest incident as "a daring shootout and the bloodiest clash".

A spokesman for the BCMA said this was a significant development politically, as the organisation and its sister internal organisations had rejected negotiations with the South African government.

At Pietersburg at the weekend the Azanla attacks were praised by the regional congress of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). — Sapa

Row as Indian MP bars blacks from new area

By MONK NKOMO
A ROW has erupted over enforcement of the Group Areas Act by an Indian MP concerning Lotus Gardens, near Atteridgeville in Pretoria.

This follows the rejection of black applications for the occupation of houses at Lotus Gardens by Chairman of the Ministers Council Dr JN Reddy.

Reddy told the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Organisation that Lotus Gardens was being developed strictly for the Indian community in terms of the Group Areas Act, which had at the time not yet been repealed.

Backlog

Asro representatives said yesterday they complained to Reddy recently following reports that scores of applications from Atteridgeville residents to occupy houses at Lotus Gardens had been rejected by the Indian authorities.

The organisation condemned the stance taken

by the Indian authorities and said their residents also had a serious housing backlog.

Asro has now sought a meeting with the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, to resolve the matter.

In his reply to Asro, Reddy said although his administration supported State President Mr FW de Klerk's initiatives to scrap apartheid, he was still bound by the country's constitution.

Needs

"I and my administration are, until such time as these measures are enacted, obliged, in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 110 of 1983, to provide first and foremost for the needs of the Indian community in South Africa, which includes their housing needs.

"In this context Lotus Gardens is being developed for members of the Indian community of whom several thousands

have been on our waiting list for many years," said Reddy.

Mr Sattar Cassim, chairman of the Laudium Management Committee, yesterday distanced himself from Reddy's stance and said his committee was in favour of the area being shared by people of all races.

"Reddy's attitude is bad and not in line with the new South Africa that is being planned," Cas-

sim said.

In their reply dated March 7 this year, Asro told Reddy that South Africa was a racial state because its constitution entrenched separate development.

"Your allegation that you and your administration subscribe to non-racial principles as advocated today by all peace-loving South Africans are misleading and discouraging," Asro said.

84
J. S. S. S.
13/3/91.

Battle-scarred exile returns

BATTLE-SCARRED and war-weary, exile Thobile Zondani is "very, very much happy to be back home", but an insecure future stares him in the face.

When he left the country in early 1979, Zondani thought he would be back within six months to fight the "Boere", but it took 12 years for his return, and "its all very funny here, lots of things have changed".

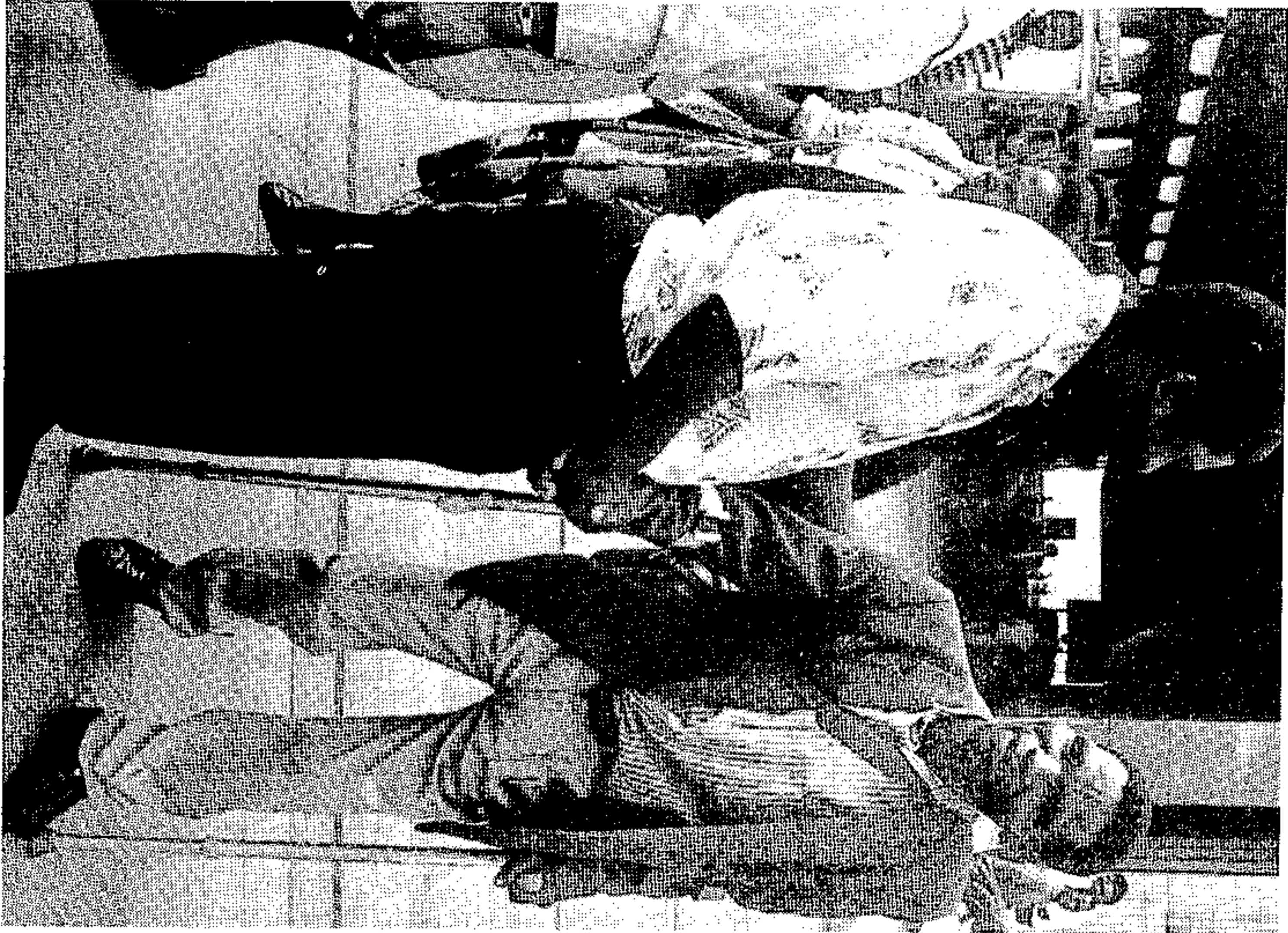
He and his Zambian wife, Daphne, and 20-month-old son, Tembani, were among the 94 members of the ANC who returned from exile last Thursday.

Zondani returned with an artificial leg and a damaged eardrum to a very insecure life. He told SOUTH he sustained his injuries when he kicked a bomb planted outside an ANC Department of Information and Publicity office in Lusaka in 1989.

"As I entered the office, I walked past what looked like an alarm system — an object like a PM9 battery with a cord leading to the office. I said to myself that I am going to kick the system and check if the ANC's security was up to scratch. "I went inside the office and on my way out I casually kicked the thing. The next thing I found myself lying in the University Teaching Hospital without my right foot. People say I was thrown several metres by the powerful blast."

A former rugby scrumhalf at Masibambane High School in Kwazakhele in Port Elizabeth, Zondani does not regret joining the ANC.

He received extensive military training in Angola before joining DTP as distribution officer of the ANC's publications. During this time he also trained in office machine maintenance.



BATTLE-SCARRED: Thobile Zondani, a victim of a bomb attack on the ANC offices arriving in Johannesburg last week

ANC to train

defence units

South 14/31 - 20/3/91

From Muff Andersson
Durban

THE African National Congress' military wing Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) is to assist in the training of self-defence units (SDUs) — regardless of the agreement with the government that the ANC would stop recruiting and training MK cadres inside the country.

MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani says there is a clear distinction between MK cadres being trained and MK cadres training others to defend themselves.

Hani's statement has come amid a new cycle of violence in black townships.

"Self-defence units are not MK units. They are units that will be at the service of all the people of South Africa," he says.

"It's not just the ANC that is being attacked. Cosatu, the mass democratic movement, progressive student organisations, civics are all being attacked.

"There is an agreement not to train MK inside the country but certainly no agreement not to train self-defence units."

He said there was a standing resolution which emanated from the December consultative conference which called on the ANC to immediately prepare self-

defence units to eliminate the menace of violence.

Although the government would probably oppose the formation of SDUs and consider these to be against the "spirit" of the Pretoria Minute, the ANC felt the Pretoria Minute had nothing to do with the legitimate right of the people to defend themselves.

Hani argues that the South African Police cannot be relied upon to defend people under attack because there have been numerous cases where the police have either sided with the attackers, or stood by and watched the people being "butchered by Inkatha-aligned organisations".

Offensive

He pointed out that SDUs would not be offensive and would not be used to attack the government or its installations. They are there at the service of the community and controlled by a range of democratic organisations.

"Their posture will always be a defensive one. They will only act on their people's being subjected to violence. If there is no violence they certainly will be there, deployed and watching. But they are not going to embark on offensive action."

Too many people have died, he said, and it was clear that the death squads were very much alive and active.

Hani says there have been some "small beginnings" in several areas in forming the self-defence units. — A/A

Bloed Street bomb: three in court

Star 15/3/91
Pretoria Correspondent (84A)

Three men have appeared in the Pretoria District Court in connection with the Bloed Street bomb blast and a parcel bomb in Durban last year.

Adrian Hendrickus Maritz (43) of Seederberg Street, Arcadia, Henry Guy Martin (49) of Hornsoord, Pretoria, and Lodewyk Grobler van Schalkwyk (53) of Hartbeespoort, Brits, did not apply for bail during their brief appearance before Mr M Kilian yesterday.

Deputy Attorney-General

PHH Fick, for the State, asked for the case to be postponed to March 27 by which time the State hoped to have a date for trial in the Supreme Court.

Maximum

He asked that Mr Maritz be held at the maximum security section at Pretoria Central Prison and that Mr Martin and Mr van Schalkwyk be held respectively at the Moot and the Sunnyside police cells.

The three are facing 25 charges, including 11 charges of attempted murder, one charge

of murder, charges relating to the possession of explosives, detonators, grenades, teargas and ammunition, and one charge of theft and malicious damage to property.

The Bloed Street bomb blast occurred at 9.30 am on Saturday August 11 last year when an explosive device, concealed in a dustbin outside a fast food outlet, exploded. Another bomb was found at the scene, but was defused by the police.

Durban computer consultant Ian Cruse was killed on October 20 last year when he opened a parcel bomb.

Detained by ANC

ST Times Feb 17/3/91
Top MK officer Aaron Makhari, accused of disloyalty, is back home after 15 years. (84A)
But he still prefers to stay in the shadows

WHEN Aaron Makhari left South Africa 15 years ago to fight apartheid, the only possible captors he feared were those in Pretoria.

He was mistaken. In May last year the former Umkhonto We Sizwe officer was arrested by the ANC's security department on suspicion of disloyalty and held for eight months in a detention centre in Zambia.

Makhari eventually escaped and arrived back illegally in South Africa in July last year. Since then he has been lying low — wary of the authorities, unsure of his former colleagues-in-arms, awaiting his indemnity from Pretoria.

This week the 37-year-old former top MK officer emerged from hiding to recount his experiences as soldier, propagandist — and eventually fugitive — in the ANC.

Struggle

Makhari, son of poor Soweto parents, slipped into Botswana in July 1976 — soon after the student revolt — convinced that only armed struggle would persuade whites to share power.

He was given the code-name Francis and was trained in Moscow and Angola — ending up in a small camp called Quibaxe in northern Angola.

There were 500 ANC cadres but only 100 plates. Breakfast was tea and then the camp commander had to choose whether the next meal — rice and beans — would be lunch or dinner. It could not be both.

Makhari remembers the day the cadres caught a hyena: it was the first meat some of them had eaten for months.

Song

"Everybody was itching to go back home and engage the government. Any slight news that something had happened in South Africa — a worker had been dismissed from a factory for having identified with the ANC, for example — was something which would lift the spirits."

There was no entertainment — "not even a Monopoly set". Song helped keep spirits high. Every night there would be two hours of revolutionary song-singing. It was known irreverently as "Jazz

By BRIAN POTTINGER

Hour".

Makhari served Umkhonto in a number of capacities: head instructor in military and combat work at Novacatengue Camp in southern Angola until its destruction in a SAAF air raid late in 1979, political commissar in Benguela Camp and then, finally, head political instructor at Pango — a camp established in northern Angola after the bombing of Novacatengue.

He left the military wing in January 1981 to join Radio Freedom — three years before the ANC camps in Angola were to erupt in bitter factional fighting between loyalist ANC members and rebels who were tired of waiting in the camps to return home to fight.

Makhari later became a journalist and information officer in the ANC's Department of Publicity and Information.

By 1988 he had been in the service of the ANC for 12 years as soldier and propagandist. It was here that things started to go sour.

Ailing

Makhari asked the ANC for a transfer to Lesotho to be nearer his ailing parents. The ANC agreed — but red-tape caused delays. Makhari took his own initiatives — contacting the Lesotho government, who suggested he should make a direct approach to the South African trade mission in Maputo inquiring about the possibility of returning to Lesotho.

None of this went down well with some of the ANC members in the security department. "They did not regard me as subversive, they just thought it was their prerogative to say yes or no.

His case was hardly helped when a close friend of his, nom-de-guerre Thami Zulu, was arrested by the ANC security services for alleged disloyalty. Zulu was to die two days after emerging from detention.

On May 9 1989, Makhari was picked up by members of the ANC's security department in Lusaka. He was taken to a detention centre known as the "White House". He was told he would be held only for a short time.

It was the beginning of an eight-month detention

during which he was never to face any direct accusation of disloyalty.

Interrogations were reasonably civilised — he was only slapped once or twice. It was the guards that were the problem.

"The guards really used to give it to us. The problem was that most of them were very young and inexperienced.

Blame

"The perception was that anybody detained there must be a South African agent. He was delaying the struggle. I have only the ANC leadership to

blame for that.

"I understand they are not going to instruct these people to do that (beat prisoners) but the training and selection of these people is very important for such a sensitive role.

"The guards kept saying this is not detention nor is this a prison. It is a rehabilitation centre."

Makhari estimates there were about 50 people at one time or another in the centre. Some, he believes, were undoubtedly South African agents.

"But there were people there who should not have been there — in my opinion."

Makhari's release came through illness. He developed acute chest and

stomach pains. On January 21 last year, the ANC rushed him to Lusaka General Hospital, where he was able to persuade nursing staff to call the Zambian police.

They heard Makhari's story sympathetically. "This is a straightforward case," said a young officer. "You must be handed over to the United Nations. The ANC must be told we have had enough of this."

There followed the next stage of Makhari's life: at the whim of UN bureaucracy. He was kept for a while in a Zambian refugee camp and then, because of his "problems" with the ANC, sent to Malawi.

"Then I decided I could

no longer take it. I left and came back home," said Makhari. He is reticent about how he managed to slip back into the country in July last year.

Makhari approached the International Red Cross, who took up his case with Home Affairs. His indemnity is still pending. Still, he prefers to remain in the shadows — refusing to have his photograph taken, waiting for the moment he is "legal".

On his return, Makhari tried to mend fences with the ANC.

Is he bitter?

"My detention was because of the influence of certain individuals, I am not bitter against the movement at all," he said.

No action on doctors' unethical methods

THE South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) said it would not take disciplinary action against doctors who were involved in unethical practices, if the complaint was not formally lodged.

This follows Saturday Star's recent reports about some doctors, particularly in the platteland, not keeping records for cash-paying black patients.

Although SAMDC's registrar Nico Prinsloo stressed that while it was official policy that doctors keep records of "all patients for a reasonable period", the council could not rely on press reports to act against doctors.

Some doctors investigated only

Star 23/3/91
ABBEY MAKOE

issued small slips to the patient as the sole record of a visit.

The onus, according to the doctors, lay with the patient to keep the slip.

In an interview this week, the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), the representative body of doctors, said it noted "with concern" allegations that some doctors were involved in some unethical practices.

It said its ethical committee, established specifically to ensure doctors practiced properly, had not yet received any complaint or "substantiated evidence".

A formal complaint has to be lodged against a specific doctor or a group of doctors, MASA said.

MASA stressed it would always investigate allegations and make recommendations to the SAMDC, which has the power to take disciplinary action against doctors.

It was in the interest of doctors that those who did not follow norms be called to account, said MASA.

Asked about the consequences of doctors not keeping records, Mr Prinsloo said doctors who failed to do so could either be cautioned, suspended or removed from the registrar, depending on the seriousness of the cases and the circumstances surrounding them.

'ANC lured children into camp ordeal'

SCHOOLCHILDREN were allegedly duped into travelling to an ANC camp in Zambia, where they were urged to undergo military training.

The first of a group of 160 pupils from Pretoria and the Rand made their own way back to the South African border last night after what they claim was a month-long ordeal at the hands of the ANC.

After repeated attempts to reach the ANC, no comment could be obtained from the organisation at the time of going to press.

During a Security Police-organised press conference at the posh Mount Grace Hotel near Magaliesburg, pupils alleged they were "recruited" by a Rockville priest and the wife of a Soweto school inspector.

"We were offered scholarships in Kenya for a R160 fee."

The first seven pupils transported by police from Zeerust last night said they were:

- Forced to live under abominable conditions in an ANC camp near Lusaka.
- Guarded by armed ANC cadres.

Star 23/3/91

OWN CORRESPONDENT

● Subjected to political indoctrination.

● Forced to do manual labour.

"In Soweto, a Mrs Mokoepe collected our passports and said she would fax our particulars to the Kenyan authorities. We were told the scholarships were sponsored by foreign investors."

On Friday, February 22, a group of 160 pupils in their late teens and early twenties left Soweto in three buses and crossed through Bophuthatswana and Botswana.

At the Zambian border they were told to cross the Zambezi river by ferry and were met on the Zambian side by a Mr Nduma.

"We demanded food and wanted to know where we were going, but he said we would be told only what we needed to know."

They were taken to a place on the outskirts of Lusaka identified as the Charleston Transit Centre.

"We were told this was an ANC camp and we were under ANC command.

"Our passports, money and personal possessions were confiscated and we were not allowed to leave the camp or make telephone calls."

Pupils said they were forced to do manual labour every day and ablution and cooking facilities were primitive.

"We defied threats of physical violence and went to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka and demanded to go back home."

During a three-week ordeal, the pupils said, ANC officials refused to hand over their passports and frustrated their efforts to leave the camp.

"We eventually persuaded them to give back our passports and we bought our own bus tickets back to South Africa."

Security police said they had no reason to detain the pupils as, by their own admittance, they had not undergone any military training.

"We were approached for assistance once they reached the South African border and we agreed to transport them to their homes in safety."

Operation Vula was a means of last resort

S/Times 24/3/91 (84)

By TERRY VAN DER WALT
OPERATION VULA — the "red plot" — was never a threat to the negotiation process because it had been set up by ANC president Oliver Tambo to be used only as a last resort.

This was said by Billy Nair, one of nine terror trialists granted indemnity on Friday by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The nine were alleged to have set up an international computer network, a national underground, an arsenal of weapons and a string of safe houses with the aim of training a "people's army" to seize power from the government by armed insurrection.

Eight people were arrested in July last year and made several court appearances, the last being in the Durban Regional Court in January soon after they had been grant-

ed bail totalling almost R300 000.

Mr Nair was not arrested. Even when he appeared in court no efforts were made to arrest him as he agreed to stand trial.

While celebrating the good news in Durban with three of the nine accused, Mr Nair, 60, said Operation Vula, set up in 1986 by Mr Tambo, had undertaken from the outset never to use violence unless directed to do so.

"Mac Maharaj (commander of the operation) and Ronnie Kasrils (leading SACP member) were accused of trying to scuttle the talks through their involvement with Vula.

"But Mac had played a part in drawing up the document on the suspension of the armed struggle (announced at the Pretoria Minute on August 6) and this was to be part of our

defence had the trial gone ahead."

Mr Nair said that, far from being a small group of conspirators acting on their own in direct conflict with the ANC, Operation Vula came under direct orders from the ANC high command.

The Durban members of Vula, Mr Nair, Pravin Gordhan, 41, Dipak Patel, 26, and Amnesh Sankar, 22, said their actions had been vindicated by the indemnity.

Mr Nair said: "We were fighting the apartheid system which, by the state's own admission, was a crime.

"It must be appreciated we were victims of apartheid rather than criminals."

The other Natal member, Raymond Lala, 32, could not be reached for comment.

Police are set to smash arms ring

Sanderson 25/3/91

SA

By IKE MOTSAPI

POLICE have made a breakthrough in their investigations into the smuggling of AK-47 rifles and other weapons of foreign origin.

So far police have confiscated more than 1 800 AK-47 assault rifles, pistols and 53 544 rounds of ammunition since the beginning of the year.

These figures were released to the Press during a visit to Natal last week.

The use of AK-47s by robbers, car thieves and petty criminals has risen in recent months, especially in black townships.

Police maintain that these

weapons are being smuggled from Swaziland and Mozambique via Natal to the Reef.

Lieutenant-Colonel R Reynolds, head of the police public relations division for Natal, said the weapons were being used in the current "black on black violence" countrywide.

Route of death

Reynolds, who described the trail of foreign arms from Swaziland and Maputo as the route of death, said the main area of distribution to the Reef was Weenen.

"The police have been working hard to solve the problem and this has been no easy task. I must say that the problem is not totally solved as yet.

"What we have established is that the weapons are smuggled into Natal by certain people from those areas who either demand cash or cattle as the form of payment.

"We have also noted that some cattle are normally stolen from neighbouring white farms.

"We are succeeding and I want to assure the public that we are going to smash this racket eventually," Reynolds said.



These arms were confiscated by police since the beginning of the year.

FW grants
Star 26/3/91
indemnity to sun

Rudolph aides

President F W de Klerk has granted indemnity to two people who assisted Orde Boerevolk leader Piet Rudolph while he was a fugitive from justice.

The two were named as Elsie Johanna Tubb (25) and Rudolph Christiaan Tubb (26).

They were also indemnified from prosecution for the possession of arms, ammunition and explosives.

Mr Tubb was also indemnified for having kept observation of the Swartruggens Commando with the intention of stealing arms and ammunition.

Others indemnified were:

● Allen Marnewick, for arson of the Roman Catholic Church and other buildings at Boekenhoutfontein in June last year and the unlawful possession of arms.

● Barend Bartlomeus Burger, for arson of the same church, theft of ammunition from the SADF and the unlawful possession of arms.

● Izak Wybrand Venter, for keeping observation on the Swartruggens Commando with the intention of stealing arms, and the unlawful possession of arms. — Sapa.

State acts on MK pair

Sowetan 27/3/91
(84A)
(R00)

Political Staff

TWO of South Africa's most wanted men - Umkhonto we Sizwe officers Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Hein Grosskopf - have been indemnified against prosecution for undergoing military training.

Their names were published in the Government Gazette on Friday along with 1 817 other names, including that of "Operation Vula" trialist Mr Mac Maharaj.

A police spokesman said yesterday that nine people accused in the "Operation Vula" trial had been granted indemnity.

Indemnity

Four people also wanted in connection with the operation have applied for indemnity.

They are Kasrils, Miss Janet Love, Mr Charles Ndaba and Mr Christopher Manye.

Their applications were being considered, the police spokesman said.

ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation expected the four to be granted full indemnity as part of the process of

● To Page 2

MK's Kasrils on list

Sowetan 27/3/91
(84A)
(R00)

From Page 1

normalisation.

In particular, the ANC expected the Government to guarantee Kasrils, as a member of the organisation's national executive committee, safety of movement and freedom of political action.

SA Communist Party spokesman Mr Jeremy Cronin called for the "immediate full indemnity without ambiguity" for Kasrils.

The Government notice listed mainly ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe members who met the following criteria:

- * They endorsed the principles of peaceful solutions and development;
- * They underwent military training before noon on October 8 last year;
- * They have not participated in military activities after noon on October 8;
- * They fully furnished information required in the application for indemnity.

Magnus slates Hani 'war talk'

Staff 27/3/91 (84A)

Political Staff

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has lashed out at the "war talk" of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani, in one of his sharpest attacks yet on African National Congress hardliners.

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

He also repeated earlier accusations that the ANC had a hidden agenda to use MK in intimidating and mobilising people in the townships.

Criticised

He also criticised ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for his "transparent" practice of "evading realities and blaming everything on the Government".

General Malan's attack followed reports of Mr Hani's statements this week in which he said, among other things, that the question of whether the ANC would resume the armed struggle depended on the "behaviour of the regime".

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

He said Mr Hani and his "bed-fellow" Joe Slovo, the gen-

eral secretary of the South African Communist Party, simply wanted the parliamentary system destroyed and wanted to create in its place an interim government with dictatorial powers and full control over all security forces.

Yet, he said, MK was nothing more than a "paper tiger which has no right to exist".

"They say piously that they gave up the armed struggle as a sacrifice. This is absurd, since MK never had a military capability."

General Malan said statements by Mr Hani and Mr Slovo reflected a "dangerous tactical shift" which boiled down to power hunger.

"Those committed to the new South Africa have seen through this and will not be blackmailed by it."

He said "reasonable South Africans seeking a government in which representation for all is guaranteed can no longer afford this sort of cold-bloodedness."

"In the name of an orderly and stable future, the people of South Africa have a right to demand that Mr Mandela says precisely where he stands."

He added: "Time is running out for the destroyers of the process of building a new SA."

"The sooner the ANC ditches the illusion that it is the sole government of the future and can do just as it pleases, the sooner an orderly process can begin."

Own Correspondent.

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has partly indemnified "Red Pimpernel" Mr Ronnie Kasrils and alleged Krugersdorp bomber Mr Hein Grosskopf — but the two remain wanted men.

As the April 30 deadline for ANC members' indemnification draws closer, the government faces the prospect of having to deal with hardline and politically "difficult" cases like Mr Kasrils, Mr Grosskopf, Magoo's bomber Robert McBride and right-wing mass murderer Barend Strydom.

Death Row prisoners Strydom and McBride have yet to be indemnified.

But Mr Kasrils and Mr Grosskopf, who have been indemnified from prosecution for having undergone military training, will still have to answer for other deeds.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Mr Kasrils was still being sought in connection with Operation Vula — an alleged SACP plot to overthrow the government if negotiations failed — while Mr Grosskopf was wanted in connection with 1988 bombings in Krugersdorp — in which three people died — and one at the SADF Wits Command headquarters.

"If we find Grosskopf, we will arrest him in connection with those bombings," Captain Kotze said last night.

While the other Operation Vula accused applied for and received indemnity last week, Mr Kasrils has not yet applied. He has been on the run since late last year.

Yesterday the ANC demanded indemnity for McBride, saying his case fell within government guidelines.

ANC
27/3/91
bomber
freed,
but still
on run

C

Grosskopf, Kasrils indemnified

Pretoria Correspondent

Star 27/3/91

Two of South Africa's most wanted men — senior Umkhonto we Sizwe members Ronnie Kasrils and Hein Grosskopf — have been indemnified against prosecution for undergoing military training.

However, lawyers and police have advised the African National Congress that NEC member Mr Kasrils and Mr Grosskopf are definitely still liable

for other charges, spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said that unless Mr Grosskopf had been granted blanket indemnification, he could still be charged in connection with three separate car-bomb blasts on the Witwatersrand — which killed seven people and injured 102 — to which he was linked by police during 1987 and 1988.

At the time of going to press,

the Department of Justice had not responded to The Star's questions on this issue.

The two men's names were published in a Government Gazette on Friday with 1 817 other names, including Operation Vula accused Mac Maharaj

The other three wanted by the police in connection with Operation Vula are Janet Love, Charles Ndaba and Christopher Manye.



MR CHRIS HANI

THE army in a new South Africa will be made up of present SADF members, the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and elements of homelands' armies.

And, when MK initially returns, it will have to be confined to barracks along with the South African Defence Force, the ANC's military chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani said in a report in *New Era*, a Cape Town magazine.

Hani also said Umkhonto could only be brought back into the country once an interim government was set up.

"Before there is an interim government and a constituent assembly, the National Party will resist the question of building a future South African army.

"But once we come into the period of an interim government foundations for integration must

MK should merge with SADF - Hani

Sowetan 28/3/91

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

be laid," Hani said.

There was no way that MK cadres would be brought back earlier. This would be tantamount to dissolving the ANC's military wing, and this was unacceptable, he said.

"Whilst we have not reached a certain stage in negotiations, it would be incorrect, and unwise, both from a tactical and

strategic point of view, to bring the army into the country," he said.

Hani said the future South African army would have to be accountable to "civilian authority" in parliament. He also stressed the need for mechanisms to block the military from interfering in politics.

As an interim measure, when MK was brought back into the country, they would have to be supported on a par with the SADF by an interim government, said Hani.

Vula matter 'not closed'

THE Operation Vula trialists who received their indemnity last Friday, may still be charged.

One of the accused, Mr Mac Maharaj, claimed on Monday that although the trial was over the Vula matter was not closed.

Maharaj, Mr Sipiwe Nyanda and their legal team, went to see the head of the security police in Durban to get clarity on property confiscated from them during the investigations and to inquire about the whereabouts of two ANC men, Mr Mbuso Shabalala and Mr Charles Ndaba.

They left the meeting "very unsatisfied", the worst news being the state's refusal to return their property and the property of the ANC, saying that there may be another trial.

Maharaj said the police denied any

South 28/3-3/4/91
knowledge of the whereabouts of Shabalala and Ndaba, who the ANC thought had been detained in the first week of July last year.

According to Maharaj, Shabalala was a teacher in the South Coast and had always lived in Durban. Ndaba, he said, was an Umkhonto We Sizwe member trained and operative in neighbouring countries until three months before his arrest when he re-entered the country.

He said they were leading members of the Southern Natal underground head committee.

"The two were detained towards the end of the first week of July, in fact they were the first among us to be detained."

"We condemn the police for listing Ndaba and Ronnie Kasrils on Police File and for describing them as 'dangerous'.

This was a license to have these com-

rades killed," said Maharaj. Kasrils was listed as "indemnified" in last Friday's Government Gazette.

Maharaj said the Vula trialists did not think that their indemnity was unconditional.

"Our actions were consistent with the search for a negotiated settlement of our country's problems. We thus urge the state to honour the spirit and letter of all agreements reached."

Nyanda, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Maharaj and six co-accused, Mr Rayman Lalla, Mr Billy Nair, Ms Catherine Mvelase, Mr Dipak Patel, Mr Anesh Sankar, Mr Pravin Gordhan and Ms Priscilla Tshabalala, were excused from further court attendance.

They had faced charges of terrorism and illegal possession of arms, ammunition and explosives.



Mac Maharaj

Hani talks of 'new' SADF

Star 30/3/91
DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has started training pilots and naval officers to prepare to serve in a future South African defence force, according to an interview with MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani.

In the interview, due to appear next week in the ANC publication, Mayibuye, Mr Hani says MK has expanded its camps in a number of countries "to accommodate the growing inflow of recruits".

He is also "negotiating with many more countries" to increase the number of cadres undergoing air force and navy training.

"We are under tremendous pressure from young members of the ANC to provide them training," Mr Hani says.

'Rehabilitation'

He says the formation of a future army for the country will be dealt with during the negotiation process. He rejects the notion that the present SA Defence Force will continue to operate in its present form and says MK will play a role in the building of armed forces to serve a democratic society.

"We accept that we cannot wish away the SADF. It is an army with thousands of soldiers and officers. I think it is possible for those elements to undergo rehabilitation and reorientation to be part of a new SA army.

ANC ready

to move

MK men in

"The new army will have to have specific guidelines so that in future it is not used to entrench the hegemony of any particular political group," he says.

Mr Hani says the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle was "unilateral" and the movement "received nothing in return".

He says the agreements reached with the Government imply that MK can continue "recruiting and training people within the country in the fields of drilling, physical preparedness, martial arts, tactics, etc".

"The only thing that would be illegal in terms of the regime's laws would be training in the use of firearms and explosives."

However, he makes it clear that the ANC will proceed with the creation of "self-defence units". Discussions on this subject are also being held with other groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"We have to allay their fears. Some feel we are building these units to strengthen ourselves against them. We have to show them we are totally frank and above-board on the question of self-defence."

He also rejects the suggestion that the training of these units contradicts agreements made with the Government.

"We shall continue this (building self-defence units) and we know that the Government is going to take exception to this.

"We cannot accept double standards. If it is okay for whites to have their neighbourhood watch, it should be equally acceptable for blacks to have self-defence units."

Mr Hani admits for the first time that the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle has led to tensions and unhappiness "and a ripple of uncertainty" within the ranks of MK.

"We had to convince our cadres that this was not a betrayal of the armed struggle

'Uncertainties'

"We also had to convince them that MK will never be demolished but will remain intact as an integral armed wing of the organisation. These explanations have helped in clearing the uncertainties and now the situation has been stabilised, more or less."

Mr Hani emphasises that the negotiation process will not mean the dismantling of MK structures in countries neighbouring South Africa.

"Those in the camps have to remain there for a longer time as a cohesive army because we have not yet achieved our freedom.

"If, tomorrow the Government was to go back to the old ways of harassing and brutalising the people, surely the ANC would have a right to deploy its army to defend the people," he says.

Azanian fighter 'killed in battle'

DAR ES SALAAM — An Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) fighter was killed in a gun battle with South African security forces near Vereeniging, according to APLA, the PAC's military wing.

Police were not immediately available to confirm the report.

A statement from Dar es Salaam by APLA's high command on Thursday named him as Mike Phokwane Mosadi (26). The statement, issued by chief information officer Johnny Majozi, did not specify a date, but said Mr Mosadi, from Kagiso near Krugersdorp, was killed "at Small Farm near Vereeniging

recently". Star 30/3/91

84A

It said a party of four APLA members were "making a tactical retreat following an earlier skirmish in the area. Although some of the unit members were slightly wounded, they made good their retreat."

In Johannesburg, a PAC official said the incident took place on March 15.

Mr Mosadi was described as a seasoned APLA fighter who joined the guerilla army in 1986. He would be buried on April 6, the 32nd anniversary of the formation of the PAC, the statement added. — Sapa.



'NOT INTIMIDATED'
... Mr Chris Hani

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

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

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

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

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

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

"It is my country.

"They can do whatever they like, you see.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MK furthermore had played a significant part in the fight against apartheid rule, Mr Hani said. "MK has contributed to the struggle for liberation in this country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

84A
BRL

Blasts rock hostels

Sowetan Reporter

THE motive for the explosions at two Soweto hostels on Tuesday night was still unknown yesterday.

Merafe and Nancefield hostel dwellers said they did not know who planted the explosives, which police believe were limpet mines.

The blasts occurred about 11pm within 15 minutes of each other.

Police did not suspect the attacks were linked, Lieutenant Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said.

The hostels - about 3km apart - were flash-

points of bloody violence that erupted on the Reef in August last year and left hundreds dead.

Musawenkosi Zondi was one of the 10 men who survived the blast at Merafe Hostel.

He said they were asleep when they heard a loud bang which ripped open part of the roof and shattered all the windows.

At Nancefield, the device was planted under a parked minibus.

No-one was injured in the two explosions.

191
11
14
SOWETAN

Umkhonto training continues — Hani

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders have been travelling around the world looking for places to upgrade cadres' training, Umkhonto's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, says in an interview with the ANC's official magazine, *Mayibuye*.

Mr Hani says training and upgrading of Umkhonto is continuing outside South Africa.

"We have expanded our camps in a number of countries to accommodate the growing inflow of recruits," he says.

"We have opened up new avenues for training a regular army, naval officers, pilots, etc.

"Now we are negotiating with many more countries to increase the number of our cadres under-

going this type of training."

Mr Hani says the ANC is under tremendous pressure from young members to provide them with training.

"They want to become soldiers in a future democratic South Africa."

While he rejects the notion that the SADF will continue being the army of a future South Africa, he says the SADF cannot be wished away.

"I think it is possible for those elements to undergo rehabilitation and reorientation to be part of a new South African army."

On Umkhonto's role during the transition phase, Mr Hani says he expects the interim government to confine the SADF to barracks, start creating facilities for Umkhonto cadres to

return and set up barracks where Umkhonto will also be confined.

"We do not want (Umkhonto) and the SADF to come out of barracks and interfere in the political processes that will be taking place."

But he adds: "In order to build an atmosphere of confidence in the police I expect the interim government to consider a role for Umkhonto cadres in the police force."

"There exists a justifiable perception within the black community that the police force is racist because of its history of terrorising and suppressing the oppressed."

"It is going to be very difficult for the people to accept that the police are now playing a facilitative role in the process of transition," Mr Hani says.

847

Hani planning to train naval officers, pilots

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commanders have been travelling around the world looking for places to upgrade cadres' training, Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani says in an interview with the ANC's official magazine, Mayibuye.

Hani says training and upgrading of Umkhonto is continuing outside SA.

"We have expanded our camps in a number of countries to accommodate the growing inflow of recruits," he says.

"We have opened up new avenues for training as a regular army, naval officers, pilots, etc.

"Now we are negotiating with many more countries to increase the number of our cadres undergoing this type of training."

Hani says the ANC is under tremendous pressure from young members to provide them with training.

"They want to become soldiers in a future democratic SA."

While he rejects the notion that the SADF will continue being the army of a future SA, he says the SADF cannot be wished away.

"I think it is possible for those elements to undergo rehabilitation and reorientation

TIM COHEN

to be part of a new SA army."

On Umkhonto's role during the transition phase, Hani says he expects the interim government to confine the SADF to barracks, start creating facilities for Umkhonto cadres to return and set up barracks where Umkhonto will also be confined.

Police

"We do not want (Umkhonto) and the SADF to come out of barracks and interfere in the political processes that will be taking place."

But he adds: "In order to build an atmosphere of confidence in the police I expect the interim government to consider a role for Umkhonto cadres in the police force."

"There exists a justifiable perception within the black community that the police force is racist because of its history of terrorising and suppressing the oppressed."

"It is going to be very difficult for the people to accept that the police are now playing a facilitative role in the process of transition," Hani says.

Alleged bombers appear in court

THREE rightwingers, allegedly responsible for Pretoria's Bloed Street explosion and a parcel bomb in Durban last year, yesterday withdrew their application for bail. *Sowetan 16/4/91*

Pretoria magistrate Mr M Kilian transferred the case to the Supreme Court for trial on May 27.

The accused are Mr Adrian Hendrickus Maritz (43), of Cedarberg Street, Arcadia, Pretoria, Mr Henry Guy Martin (49), of Horns Oord, Pretoria, and Mr Lodewyk Grobler van Schalkwyk (53), of Hartbeespoort.

They allegedly detonated 400g of explosives at the Bloed Street taxi rank in Pretoria last August 11. Twelve people were injured in the explosion.

A Durban computer consultant, Mr Nick Cruse (23) was killed on October 20 last year when a parcel bomb exploded in his hands. - *Sapa*.

The price of violence: Three AK-47s for R70

From IKE MOTSAPI
Argus Africa News Service

MBABANE. — Behind the post office at Lomahasha on the Swaziland-Mozambique border a man opened a plastic bag and showed me three AK-47 assault rifles. He said I could have all three for just R70.

I knew then I had succeeded in tapping into the smuggling route along which the Soviet-made military rifles are entering South Africa in growing numbers, to be used in faction fighting, political killings, bank robberies and other crimes.



REPORTER Ike Motsapi with an AK47 assault rifle smuggled into South Africa, probably from Mozambique by way of Swaziland. This picture was taken when smuggled guns were shown to the Press by the police at Weenen.

Lomahasha, the main border post on Swaziland's boundary with Mozambique, is the main conduit through which the guns are coming into South Africa. I proved that almost anyone can buy one there for a few rands.

The little dorp, whose name means "to itch", is described by local residents as "a bed of criminals and arms smugglers". Arms smuggling from Mo-

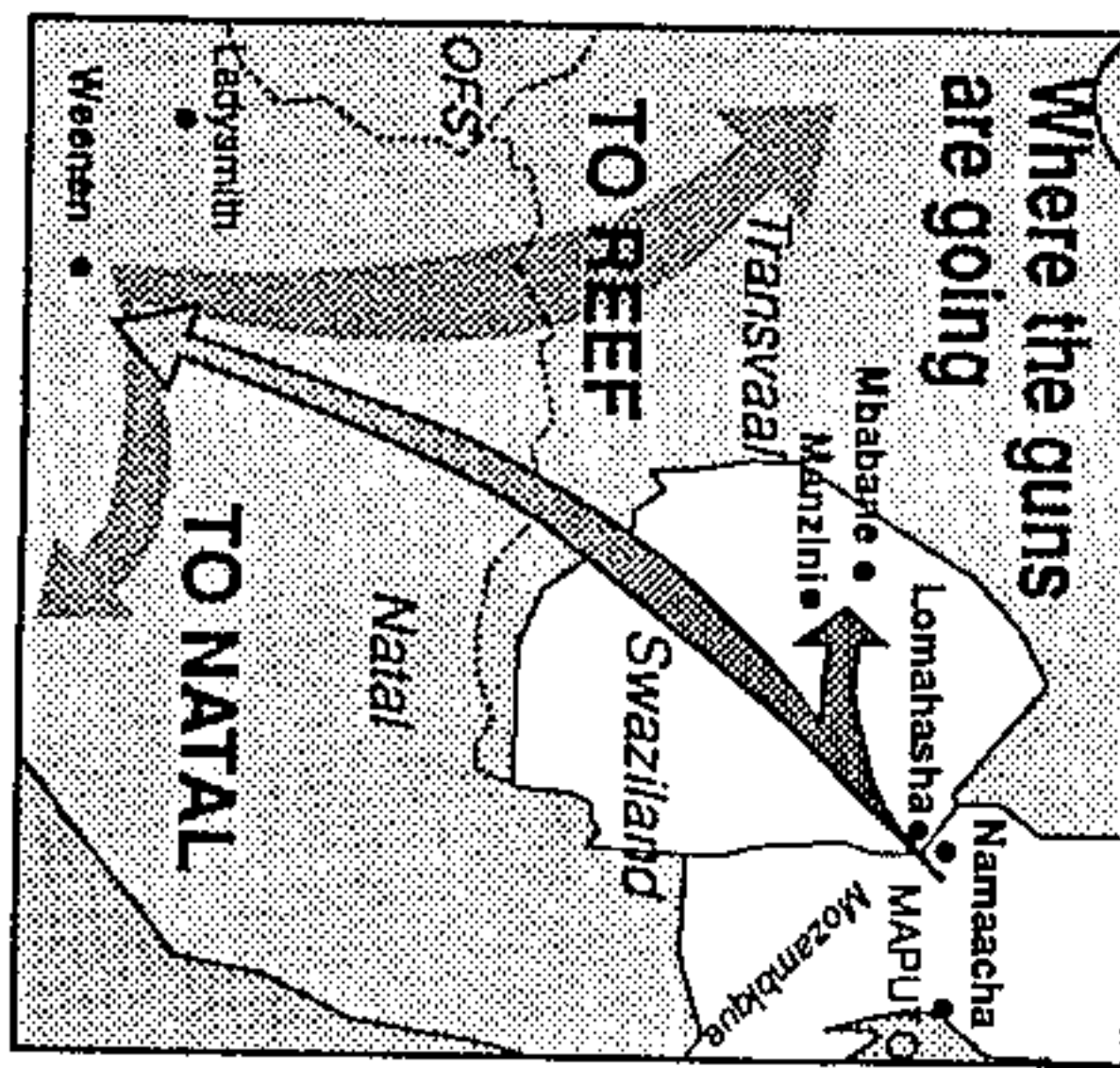
zambique to South Africa by way of Swaziland is big business for people who have been making money out of the killings in South Africa's townships.

There are two types of smuggler: the small, occasional dealers, who may be regarded as amateurs in the business, and the big buyers, the professionals.

The former are usually those who cross the border illegally from Mozambique into Swaziland with AK-47s, looking for someone who will buy them for as little as R20 a gun. They then use the money to buy food before crossing back into Mozambique.

The big dealers normally travel into Mozambique to fetch arms which, if they can

THE little border dorp of Lomahasha is the main channel for the smuggling of guns from Mozambique into Swaziland and on to lucrative markets in South Africa.



and other goods. I went to Swaziland to investigate reports that AK-47s could be bought for as little as R20 at Lomahasha. The area near the border post was so congested with people and vehicles that it looked like a beehive. Many people were carrying big bags filled with goods bought on one or other side of the border. Most of the people crossing the border are Mozambicans. I was met with great suspicion when I began questioning people about AK-47s. People did not want to talk to me.

I approached Alfonso, a Mozambican who said he had three children and no job and had to find food for his family every day. I told him I was interested in buying an AK-47. "Are you serious?" he asked. He took me and my Swaz guide to an area behind the post office. We stood there for some time; it was obvious Alfonso was making sure nobody was watching us. Then he opened the plastic bag he was carrying and asked me to look inside. There were three AK-47s. My mind was filled with thoughts of being ar-

be smuggled through the Swazi police and army roadblocks, are sold in Natal and on the Witwatersrand for large sums — as much as R6 000.

The source of the supply of the AK-47 Kalashnikovs, as well as of Makarov pistols and ammunition for both, is the Renamo guerrilla group that is fighting the Frelimo government in Mozambique.

The London newsletter, Africa Confidential, recently reported that Renamo had taken to selling its surplus weapons in South Africa to get funds.

However, my information is that Renamo as an organisation is not directly responsible for the smuggling. It is individual Renamo members who sell the weapons or exchange them for food, clothing, cigarettes

I gave her two pieces of chicken remaining from some I had bought on my way to Lomahasha and I bought her a cold drink. This started a conversation that led to my meeting the man who called himself Alfonso.

"Talk to those people there," the woman said, pointing to Alfonso. "You should be very careful, though, because the police are always here."

rested for arms smuggling. "Give me R70 and take the lot," Alfonso said. "The police can come here any time."

I asked Alfonso where he got the guns and he said he usually got them from Renamo soldiers in exchange for food. "They come around to my place looking very tired and hungry," he said.

19/4/51

(Turn to page 4, col 1)

MK cadres 'to take lead'

TRAINED Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres will lead the controversial re-activated township defence units and that's official.

The ANC's Sphiwe Nyanda, a former "Operation Vula" accused and now Secretary for the National Campaigns Committee, vowed that he would be among scores of other MK members who would lead the defence units.

However, Mr Nyanda was also quick to point out that "the move should not be seen in a sinister way". The ANC should not be seen as forming a "private army", he said.

It was the duty of the civic associations to form the units, he said. "The ANC would participate through train-

ing schemes in self defence. Sakkie Maezoma, an ANC spokesman, confirmed the defence units were the initiative of the civic associations throughout the country. The programme, he said, had the blessings of his movement.

Mr Nyanda stressed that the units would not be affiliated to any political organisation. They would protect the entire community, he said.

Members of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and those of the Azanian People's Organisation, would play a role

● TO PAGE 2.

MK cadres

● FROM PAGE 1.

equal to that of MK members in the units, said Mr Nyanda.

He described self-defence as an "inalienable right that cannot be denied by any law in any country".

And in the case of the units in the townships, they would be answerable to no one but the community they served, he added.

Asked what weapons the defence units would use, he replied: "Anything." Residents had been urged to apply for fire-arm licences in large numbers. He would also not rule out the use of cross-bows.

He spoke of guns, spears or what-

ever residents had for retaliation against right-wingers in the police force and vigilantes in particular.

He was especially critical of the Inkatha Freedom Party, saying the police did nothing to stop it from "killing township residents".

Training, he said, would be based on discipline. This would be prevent the units from degenerating into "com-tsotsis" — township slang for a "comrade" who is also a thug — or vigilantes.

Surveillance of the enemy would be a priority, said Mr Nyanda. It was time black communities identified these enemies. He could not say what type of uniform unit members would wear but promised: "We are going to be able to identify one other."

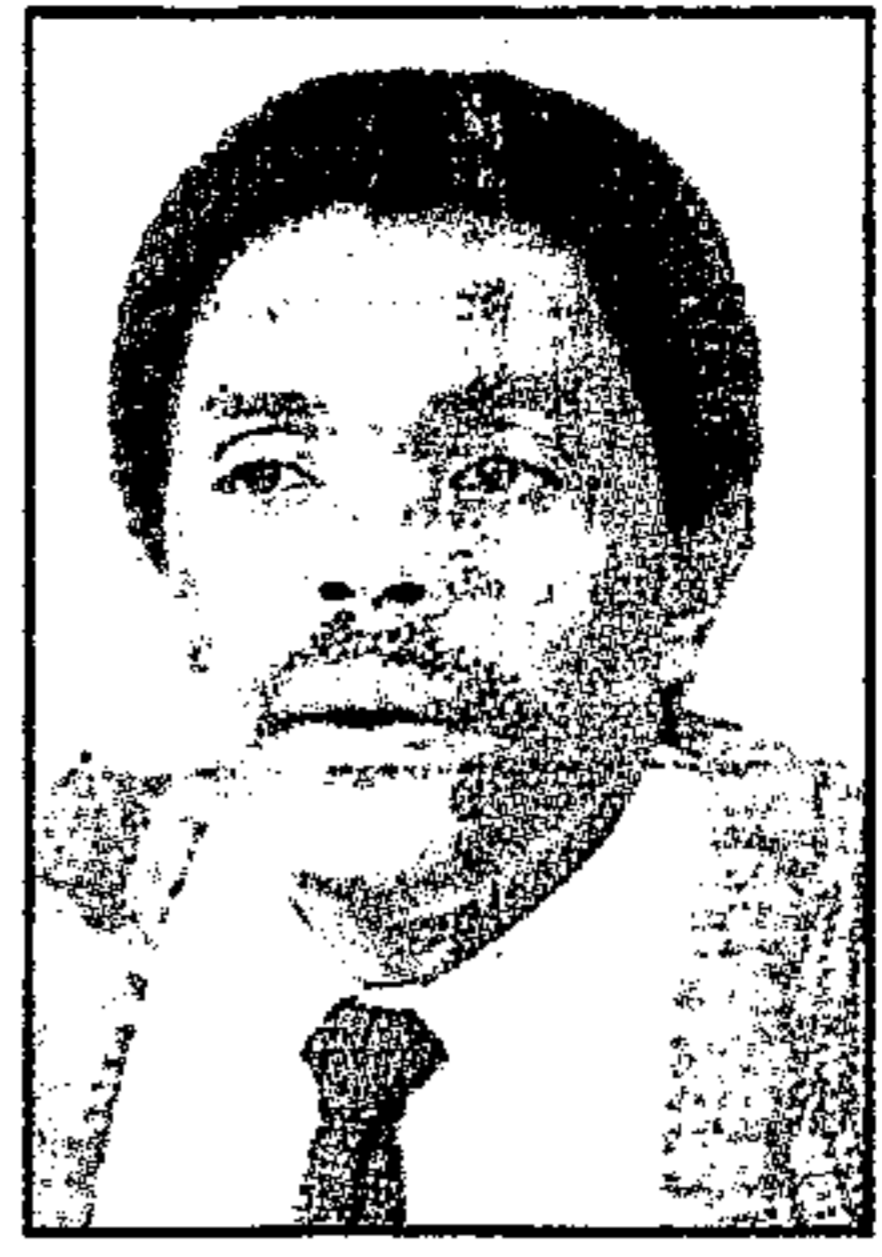
16/7/91
20/4/91
Spar

ABBEY MAKOE

Network 'has been in place for 5 years'

Star 20/4/91

EXCLUSIVE REPORT
by **ABBEY MAKOE**



SIPHIWE NYANDA: A trained MK cadre and former "Vula" accused, his ANC portfolio includes organising defence units.

AN underground network of paramilitary township defence units has been in place countrywide, ready to be activated, for the past five years.

But as a result of former president P W Botha's clampdown on political activity in the mid-1980s, the secret residents' groups had remained "sleeper" units since 1986, Saturday Star learned in a series of exclusive interviews this week.

And only now — as the ANC and the Government prepare for a showdown over the issue — are they being activated.

This emerged at a secret meeting of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) in Johannesburg this week. Among other things, the meeting was aimed at formalising the duties of the resuscitated units.

Kgabisi Mosunkutu, Cast's vice-president, said the activation of self-defence units was a direct result of the incompetence of the "special constables" in the townships.

And Cast general secretary Sam Ntuli said the units should not be seen as a "fashion show".

● TO PAGE 2.

See Speak Out on Page 2.

Earlier this week, the ANC disclosed it planned to establish defence units in the townships. Each unit would be headed by a trained Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier. The organisation indicated that defence unit members would be in uniform and carry weapons, including cross-bows.

This prompted condemnation from the Government, which lashed out at the ANC's booklet "For the Sake of Our Lives", which outlines the structures of the defence units.

Captain Craig Kotze, Law and Order Ministry spokesman, described the booklet as a "recipe for civil war".

Now, the right wing is planning to form a people's security network (*volksbeveiligings netwerk*) to counter the ANC's self-defence units.

The Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) said last night it had no choice but to establish such a network because of the ANC demand for one man one vote, the united front between the ANC and PAC, the self-defence units and the inability of the Government to prevent a transfer of power.

Defence units

● FROM PAGE 1

Among the duties of the defence units, it was said in interviews with Cast leaders, would be the barricading of streets during attacks on residents and the slowing down or delaying of "the enemy's vehicles".

Training of the defence units' members would also include the "surveillance of red head-banded vigilantes", with whom Cast said it would not cooperate. Star 20/4/91

Richard Mdakane, also a Cast executive member, revealed plans for a "defence rally" to be held in Pretoria between May 6 and 9 — the expiry date of the ANC's ultimatum to the Government.

ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma confirmed the defence units were the brainchild of Cast and, before that, the civic associations. Now, he said, the ANC was throwing its weight behind the programme.

He would neither confirm nor deny earlier reports that the ANC had about 50 defence units already in place. Cast admits to having more than 50.

ANC secretary of the National Campaigns Committee, Siphiwe Nyanda, said MK's trained cadres, "including myself", would not sit back while "our people suffer at the hands of red head-banded vigilantes and extremist members of the SAP".

However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet yesterday issued a stern warning. "If any person is found in possession of any weapon that police believe will be used in an offensive manner, they will be detained," he said.

PAC information chief Barney Desai said his organisation would be having an "in-depth discussion on violence", which would include the defence units issue.

"It is a common-law right recognised throughout the world that if a person is attacked he has a right to self-defence."

BVB chairman Professor Alkmaar Swart said his organisation had been forced to take the initiative "in making the *volk* ready for action by helping to develop a disciplined and united security network".

BVB spokesman Jan Groenewald said the first step would be a *volk* security conference.

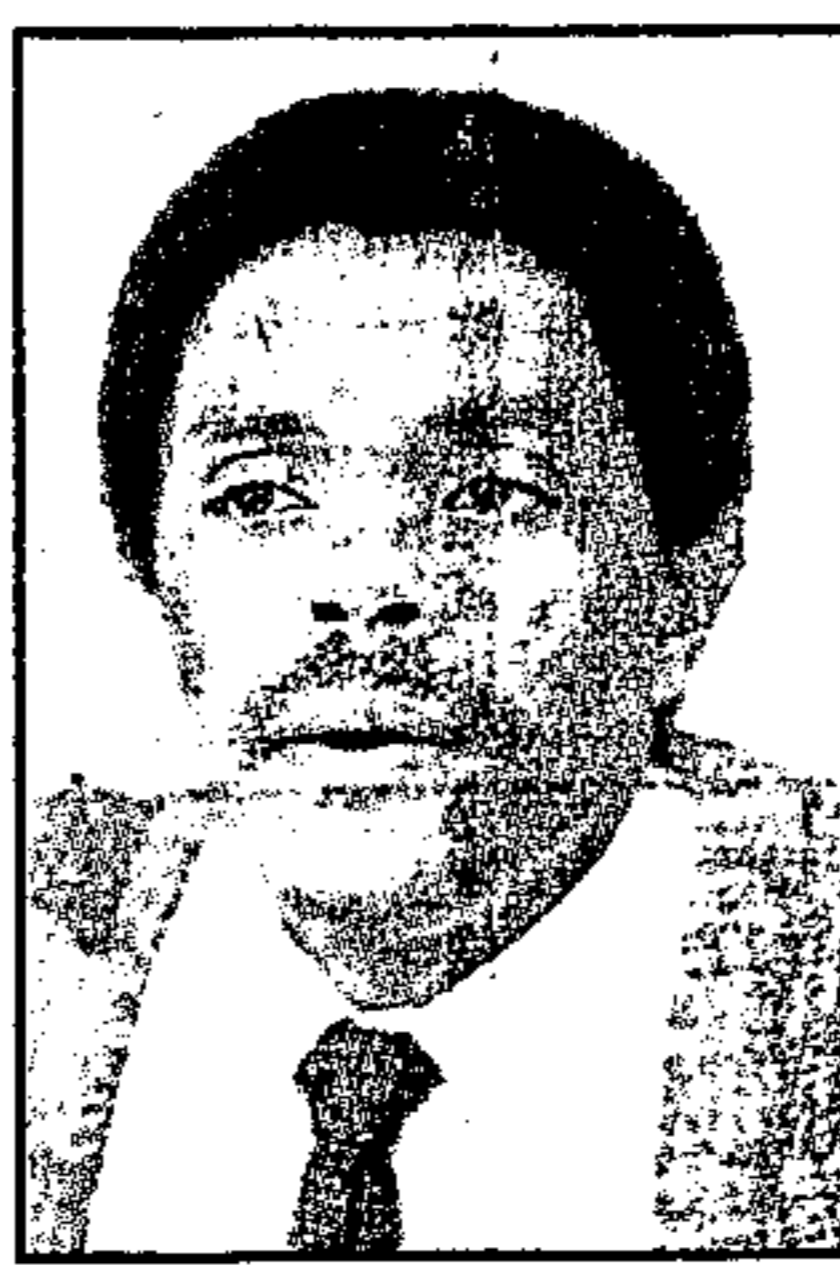
posed

Secret defence units

Network 'has been in place for 5 years'

Star 20/4/91

EXCLUSIVE REPORT
by **ABBEY MAKOE**



SIPHIWE NYANDA: A trained MK cadre and former "Vula" accused, his ANC portfolio includes organising defence units.

AN underground network of paramilitary township defence units has been in place countrywide, ready to be activated, for the past five years.

But as a result of former president P W Botha's clampdown on political activity in the mid-1980s, the secret residents' groups had remained "sleeper" units since 1986, Saturday Star learned in a series of exclusive interviews this week.

And only now — as the ANC and the Government prepare for a showdown over the issue — are they being activated.

This emerged at a secret meeting of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) in Johannesburg this week. Among other things, the meeting was aimed at formalising the duties of the resuscitated units.

Kgabisi Mosunkutu, Cast's vice-president, said the activation of self-defence units was a direct result of the incompetence of the "special constables" in the townships.

And Cast general secretary Sam Ntuli said the units should not be seen as a "fashion show".

● TO PAGE 2.

See Speak Out on Page 2.

Earlier this week, the ANC disclosed it planned to establish defence units in the townships. Each unit would be headed by a trained Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier. The organisation indicated that defence unit members would be in uniform and carry weapons, including cross-bows.

This prompted condemnation from the Government, which lashed out at the ANC's booklet "For the Sake of Our Lives", which outlines the structures of the defence units.

Captain Craig Kotze, Law and Order Ministry spokesman, described the booklet as a "recipe for civil war".

Now, the right wing is planning to form a people's security network (*volksbeveiligings netwerk*) to counter the ANC's self-defence units.

The Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) said last night it had no choice but to establish such a network because of the ANC demand for one man one vote, the united front between the ANC and PAC, the self-defence units and the inability of the Government to prevent a transfer of power.

Defence units

● FROM PAGE 1.

Among the duties of the defence units, it was said in interviews with Cast leaders, would be the barricading of streets during attacks on residents and the slowing down or delaying of "the enemy's vehicles".

Training of the defence units' members would also include the "surveillance of red head-banded vigilantes", with whom Cast said it would not cooperate. Star 20/4/91

Richard Mdakane, also a Cast executive member, revealed plans for a "defence rally" to be held in Pretoria between May 6 and 9 — the expiry date of the ANC's ultimatum to the Government.

ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma confirmed the defence units were the brainchild of Cast and, before that, the civic associations. Now, he said, the ANC was throwing its weight behind the programme.

He would neither confirm nor deny earlier reports that the ANC had about 50 defence units already in place. Cast admits to having more than 50.

ANC secretary of the National Campaigns Committee, Siphiwe Nyanda, said MK's trained cadres, "including myself", would not sit back while "our people suffer at the hands of red head-banded vigilantes and extremist members of the SAP".

However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet yesterday issued a stern warning. "If any person is found in possession of any weapon that police believe will be used in an offensive manner, they will be detained," he said.

PAC information chief Barney Desai said his organisation would be having an "in-depth discussion on violence", which would include the defence units issue.

"It is a common-law right recognised throughout the world that if a person is attacked he has a right to self-defence."

BVB chairman Professor Alkmaar Swart said his organisation had been forced to take the initiative "in making the *volk* ready for action by helping to develop a disciplined and united security network".

BVB spokesman Jan Groenewald said the first step would be a *volk* security conference.

posed

Secret defence units

Vula: Threat from missiles averted

Capit 27/4/91 **84A**

GROUND-TO-AIR missiles, limpet mines and light offensive missiles would have been brought into South Africa if Operation Vula had not been exposed in good time, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Operation Vula, under the leadership of prominent SA Communist Party members among others, "aimed at abusing the process of negotiation by establishing underground structures, creating internal bases and developing a revolutionary army".

During the investigation a communications network between South Africa and foreign countries was uncovered, he said in his 1990 report, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Information was gained about the planned shifting and storage of a large number of weapons on secret premises and a number of these were seized.

"Furthermore, it became clear from

the investigation that large quantities of weapons, such as ground-to-air missiles, limpet mines and light offensive weapons would have been brought into the country had the operation not been exposed in time."

South Africa was also hit by a violent far-right terror campaign last year.

"Altogether 23 bomb explosions occurred in which one person died, many were seriously injured and damage amounting to thousands of rands was caused.

"Twenty bomb explosions have already been solved through clever investigation and interrogation."

Unrest and violence not only represented the most important internal security problem last year but also had a primary influence on the process of negotiation.

In 1990, 254 terror attacks occurred and 87 of these attacks were directed against the police.

Call from supporters for protection ANC's self-defence units will be armed

W/L Mbus 27/4/91

84A

By DENNIS
CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE ANC's controversial self-defence units, some of which have already been formed, will be armed with rudimentary weapons and automatic rifles — and trained by black policemen, soldiers and Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

The structure and rationale behind the units was sketched this week in an interview with senior ANC member Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Before December's consultative conference, the ANC leadership had calls from supporters for protection against the violence ripping across the Reef.

Emasculated

But the ANC — or at least its military wing — had been emasculated by the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

As one senior MK member said: "In the past people knew we would retaliate if they were attacked. In a sense we have been grounded by the suspension of the armed struggle."

The response from the consultative conference was a well-supported initiative that the ANC should start a well-supported national self-defence structure, Mr Cronin said.

This was a month after the ANC, South African Communist Party and Cosatu alliance had produced a 35-page document called *For The Sake Of Our Lives*, a publication which has since been sent to townships.

"It is not a set of orders or a blueprint; it offers advice for people on the ground on how to set up self-defence units."

According to the document, a township of some 20 000 residents should have a command structure of eight people, elected or selected by organisations on the ground.

This command would comprise a commander, deputy commander, first aid and communications specialists, company commanders and platoon and section leaders.

Times of crisis

In times of crisis, according to the document, the command structure would assume control.

"But only then. At all other times the command is answerable to the community. It is not a military elite," Mr Cronin said.

A company would be 500-strong and could be sub-divided into five platoons of 100 each which could be further broken down into sections of 20.

Mr Cronin said uniforms had not been mooted because "we are talking of a civilian structure".

However, it was likely that units would wear uniforms to boost morale, bolster discipline and make members visible.

All residents, irrespective of sex or political affiliation, could serve in a self-defence unit if they so wished.

"These units must not become the private armies of the ANC, SACP or whoever. They must be structures answerable to the community and their objective must be to defend residents and the community."

If self-defence units were to be effective and serious, they had to be organised on para-military lines, he said.

"Some people may balk, but the answer is simply that the fire-brigade

and ambulance service operate on para-military lines. When there is a crisis, such as a township being invaded by some 5 000 men under escort from people in uniform, no domestic civic organisation, ANC or SACP branch can defend them.

"They must have a command structure, people who have been drilled, trained and equipped to defend them."

He said the greatest victory for any unit would be forcing an advancing party to retreat without a single shot fired or anyone being injured or killed.

Asked if the self-defence units would not plunge South Africa into a Lebanon-like situation, he said they were necessary to bring an end to the violence.

"Some people may reap short term gains from the violence, but in the end all South Africans will be losers. We want to stop the violence."

The ANC and SACP had not given up on negotiations, he said.

Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for South African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, said having all kinds of militia around would create a danger of conflict.

There was an added danger of the "emergence of a warlord situation where armed bandits become the propelling force in society".

However, this had to be offset against the fact that the SADF, police and "murky people, who have not been called to heel are protecting, whether overtly or covertly, a political system and an ancient regime".

The response of whites was to hire security firms which were militias or armed men riding around. "They, too,

are unaccountable."
His own response had been to put a fence around his home, he said.
"What are the people in the townships supposed to do? That seems to me to be the heart of the matter: how are people going to get security when there is no intrinsic security in society?"

It would be ill-advised "if you are arming your way to security. I can arm myself to the teeth and be as insecure as the man who leaves his window open at night."

He said there was no substitute for a political settlement of which all South Africans could be part. "That's the greatest security all of us could have."

Speaking in her personal capacity Ms Hilary Elliott, of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, said that seen from the ANC's perspective, establishing self-defence units was a "natural" thing to do.

Vigilante groups

"Where the fear comes in is in terms of the violence that is happening and the question of arms if we are talking about vigilante groups, whichever part of the community they come from."

It was not a question of colour, but a question of whether self-defence units were desirable.

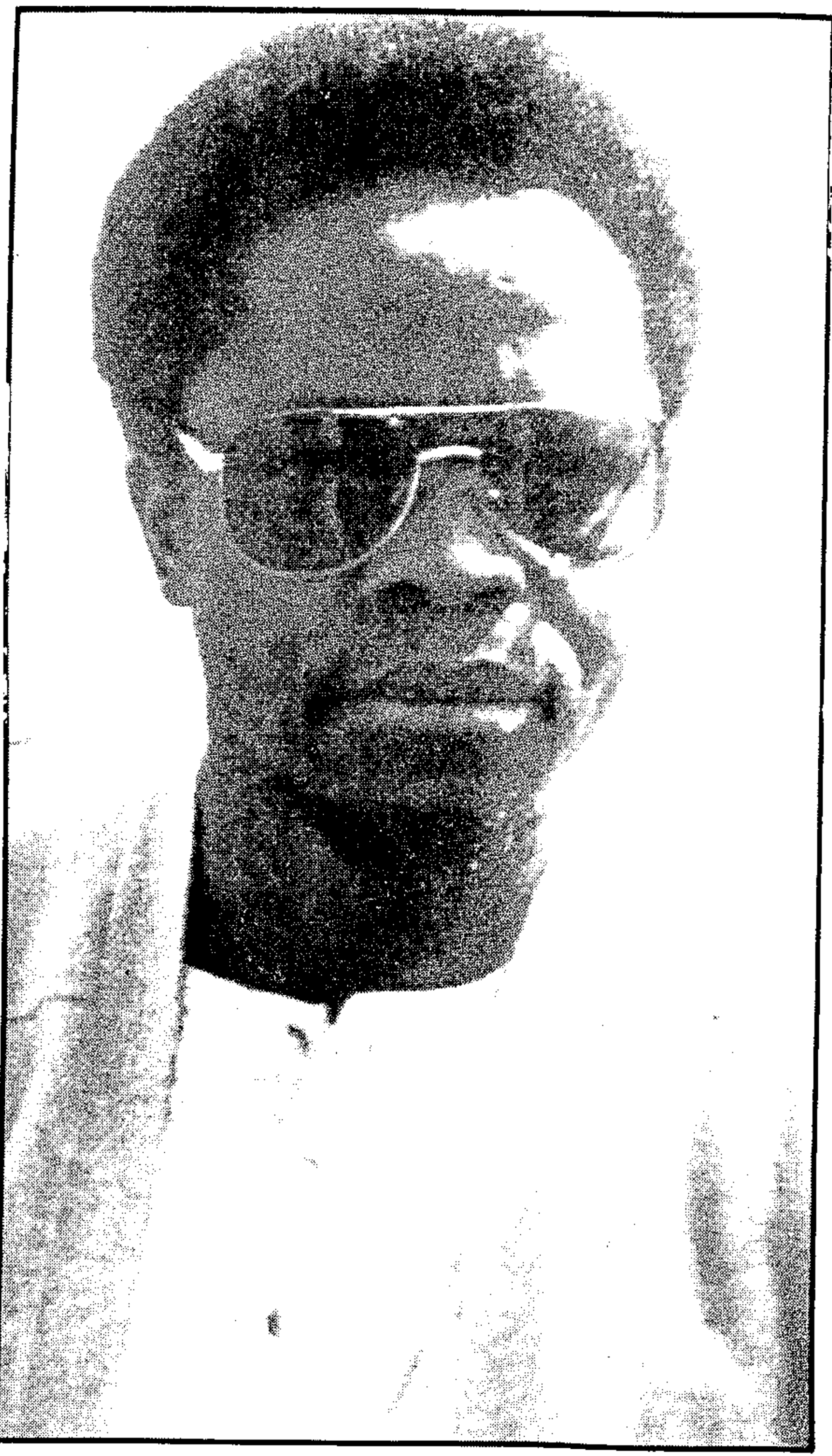
"If they are, it is a sad commentary on the state of our society."

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were completely opposed to private armies such as self-defence units, so-called *wenkommendes* or vigilante groups.

Inside the mind of an ANC fighter

84A
Ⓢ

Star 27/4/91



MILITANT: Although politically immature, George Molebatsi was aware 'of the soldier within him'.

FIFTEEN years ago, at the height of the Soweto uprisings, George Molebatsi did not know who Nelson Mandela was. Neither was he aware that the African National Congress existed. The only organisations he knew of were students' representative bodies.

But the one thing that he was conscious of was the soldier inside him, waiting "to come out and fight for the liberation of the black man".

'Politically immature'

"Although I was aware of the kind of conditions that we lived under, I was not politically mature," he admitted. "At that time I somehow felt the only way to fight apartheid was by using weapons that were used against us by the police."

Molebatsi was one of the ANC fighters released from Robben Island two weeks ago. As the commander of the ANC unit responsible for the "Silverton siege", he was sentenced to 20 years in jail.

Talking about the siege, Molebatsi said the Volkskas Bank held up by members of his unit was not the target.

"Our target was the Silverton oil refinery tanks. The decision to go for the bank was taken in my absence and was against the policy of the organisation. We had strict instructions to avoid civilian targets," he said, adding that he was detained a month before the operation was due to take place.

When in 1979 a friend suggested that they leave the country for military training, Molebatsi accepted the idea without thinking twice.

Noting his militancy, his uncle, Velaphi Makhubo, constantly warned him: "If you go on like this, you will end up in Robben Island with the likes of Nelson Mandela ..."

Molebatsi was not deterred by the warning. "I

did not know who Mandela was at that time, so that did not bother me. What I wanted was to fight for freedom of our people," he said.

He underwent military training at the ANC's Kibashe and Funda training camps.

He then took part in "small" operations, such as planting landmines on railway lines and spray-painting ANC slogans on

walls and bridges.

The Silverton operation was scheduled to be his first major one.

A former freelance photo-journalist with The World newspaper, Molebatsi said the decision to go for military training was "foisted on me by the conditions that we lived under".

His involvement with Umkhonto we Sizwe operations and the 12 years

that he spent in prison have thrown his family life into disarray.

The mother of his two children, who are now 17 and 15 years old, married another man while Molebatsi was serving his prison term.

However, he still sees his children.

Despite the fact that members of the SAP had

killed some of his colleagues and, he alleged, severely tortured him during his detention, Molebatsi insisted he did not harbour any resentful feelings against the police.

He said he hoped the SAP felt the same about him and other MK members.

Molebatsi has not made up his mind about what he wants to do for a living.

He is studying towards an honours degree in commerce and is waiting for further instructions from the ANC.

Saturday People **GEORGE MOLEBATSI**
Star 27/4/91
Written by JOVIAL RANTAO

Ⓢ

84A

Torture victim who escaped and fled home faces necklace threat

STW 28/4/91

the South African mission. "I ran straight there at 7am Mr Makhanya was flown to South Africa on Tuesday 1 week.

"It is still like a dream. Outside the country, there is a struggle. We've all been told we'll get a bullet or a decklace. But so far we have survived. I cannot be so selfish as to forget those who are still in prison. Four more people were arrested before I left.

"That is what I don't understand. Chris Hani said he would release prisoners before December. Why can't they come home now?"

Tired

ANC information spokesmen Saki Macozoma said it would be possible to verify Mr Makhanya's story by finding someone who knew him.

Of the alleged threats to Makhanya's life, Mr Macozoma said: "We're getting a bit tired of this kind of thing. We have a policy or intent of harassing a body. People are free to choose their own politics."



Lawrence Makhanya, who lives in fear of his former comrades

By CAS ST LEGER
Lawrence Makhanya fled Africa 10 years ago, he was arrested by the SA police. Now he is afraid of his former comrades in the ANC. Mr Makhanya, 33, arrived back from South Africa last week after being held in a container on a ship hidden in a container on a ship.

Rotten

He says, "It's more than just the pain of the torture he has undergone. He has come home to find that his parents have died and his friend has married, taking his friend with her. He has been threatened with being necklaced or shot."

"I had some money so I ran away to Swaziland. I bought a ticket to Breyten and walked through the Makhamba border post. I had no passport. The SAP didn't notice me."

Once in Swaziland, Mr Makhanya made his way to Manzini and tried to contact ANC members. He did not succeed until May when he met an attorney, Penwell Maduna, who asked him to write his autobiography to prove his credentials. He was then allowed to join the ANC.

In September, he was taken to Maputo, again crossing the border illegally. There he was interrogated until December on suspicion of being an enemy agent. He was taken to Namuli prison camp where 47 ANC members were guarded by five trained men.

"Conditions were very bad. We had one meal a day - rotten beans. We were woken up at 5am and told to take the worms out of the beans. The only water we had to drink was half a cupful from the slimy river. Many fell ill," said Mr Makhanya.

In 1983, under threat from rebel forces, the camp inmates were moved back to Maputo. "I wanted to go home because of the ill treatment. I was told that the leadership of the ANC was waiting in Angola."

Mr Makhanya was flown to Angola where he was kept under guard at Vian camp, again in poor conditions. Then he was given six months' basic military training. They were pleased with me. I was selected to go to the Soviet Union. In November 1983, 10 of us flew from Luanda to Moscow.

The party was met at Moscow airport by a KGB agent, given fur coats against the cold and driven to a house in the Moscow suburb of Spodnia. Here they were told they were communists - and Mr Makhanya was given a course of his life were renewed.

Burnt

"I was frightened," he said. Then followed 10 months of theoretical and practical combat and military intelligence training, which took place some 10km from the Kremlin.

The recruits graduated in Leningrad as trained revolutionary commandos. Present ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo was there with high-ranking officers of the Soviet Army.

Mr Makhanya flew back to Angola and was eventually asked by the then ANC security head, Mervel Phillips, to work with him at intelligence headquarters - the Green House in Lusaka.

"I was involved with screening people from home," said Mr Makhanya. In 1985, on the farm Chongela near Lusaka, he claims he witnessed the burial of the bodies of six people who had undergone interrogation.

In 1986, four AK-47 rifles went missing and Mr Makhanya was accused of having sold them.

"I was forced to admit the theft. I was interrogated and tortured. I was burned with a hot poker and beaten with a plank until my kidneys were damaged," he said.

After five months of such treatment, he was left in a cell without blanket and no food for three days and then taken to Quatro camp in Angola, where he was beaten until he fainted.

He was in Quatro - first in Angola and then, when the camp was moved in Uganda - until February 24 this year.

In 1989, 69 Quatro prisoners were "smuggled" out of Angola into Uganda and Chris Hani was on board the plane, Mr Makhanya said.

He added that the 69 were taken to a new "Quatro" in Ghini province, where Mr Hani addressed the prisoners on several occasions.

When Mr Makhanya was released from Quatro he was taken to Tanzania where he was kept under guard and was at first chained at the ankles. He was warned that if he caused problems he would be "camouflaged" (killed secretly). He escaped and went to the Tanzania/Zambia border post at Tunduma where he met a South African PAC member who arranged for him to hide in a lorry to cross the border into Zimbabwe.

The truck driver gave him R21 for food in Harare and pointed out

84A

NATIONAL

PAC call to take up arms and form patriotic front

By JACQUELYN SWARTZ
Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress has called for the taking-up of arms and the formation of a patriotic front of all black organisations, including those of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and General Bantu Holomisa.

Speaking at a Cosatu-organised May Day rally yesterday, PAC Western Cape organiser Mr Michael Siyolo said the inclusion of groups like the Inkatha Freedom Party would mean they could no

longer be manipulated by the government.

"It is our belief that all the oppressed must unite. In Azania the line is drawn between the ranks of the oppressors and the ranks of the oppressed," he said.

He told the crowd, which consisted largely of ANC supporters, that it was clear arms would have to be taken up "because De Klerk is the biggest fake that this land has ever seen".

"On the one hand he says he is prepared to negotiate peacefully, while on

the other hand he is busy killing and maiming lots of Africans.

"He goes further to say that after negotiations have been completed he will take the decisions to the white electorate and they will be the ones to say yes or no.

"The PAC says we have no time to play. This is not a game because the enemy is ruthless. We must gain ascendancy over the forces of oppression," he said.

Fellow-speaker Mrs Hilda Ndude, of the ANC in the Western Cape, also called for a strengthening of alliances.

CP councillor, ^{84A}
two others in
court over blasts

East Rand Bureau ^{skw} 13/5/91

A Kempton Park CP town councillor and two other men appeared briefly in the town's regional court on Friday on charges of sabotage, attempted murder and alternative charges of causing explosions and being in possession of explosives.

Erasmus Bezhuidenhout (36) and two others, Andre Naude (24) and Hendrik de Kok (34), appeared before magistrate H H van der Watt.

No charges were put to them and the case was postponed to May 29 pending a decision by the State President following their application for indemnity.

Bail of R500 was extended.

The three were allegedly responsible for a blast in Kempton Park and one on a railway line last year.

additional remuneration in the execution of their duties during unrest-related situations; if so, (a) on what basis is or was this remuneration paid and (b) on what date was this system initiated;

(2) whether this system still applies; if not, when was it discontinued;

(3) whether a similar system applies to members of the Police involved in the combating of non-political crime; if not,

(4) whether he is considering introducing such a system; if not, why not; if so, as from what date?

B956E

*THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.
(a) and (b)

Members who perform duty permanently at Riot Units and who are utilised solely in unrest and riot situations, have received a special allowance since 1 December 1990 as they must perform duties at irregular hours and the nature of their duties, to a large extent, exposes them to injuries and even loss of life.

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(4) No, already since 1 April 1990 improved Police allowances have been paid to all members of the South African Police to provide for, *inter alia* general occupational risks as a result of potential or actual confrontation with dangerous situations, and continual contact with undesirable elements and criminals.

Assistance to the poor: committee

*13. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether a committee has been established by his Department to investigate ways of targeting assistance to the poor; if so, (a) what are the terms of reference of this committee, (b) who are its members and (c) when does he expect to receive a report from the committee;

Bombing of certain premises: persons convicted

*14. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 28 of 27 March 1990, any persons have been (a) detained, (b) arrested, (c) charged and/or (d) convicted in connection with the bombing of certain premises, particulars of which have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (i) what are the relevant details in regard to each of the bombings and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B959E

*THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and (b) Yes.

(i) Only one person was questioned in connection with the explosion at Khoiso House.

(ii) 12 April 1991.

(c) and (d) No.

(i) Fall away.

(ii) 12 April 1991.

NOTE: All the incidents to which the hon member refers, are still being investigated.

Police on duty: incidents/crimes

*15. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

In respect of 1989 and 1990, respectively, (a) how many complaints were laid against policemen and policewomen arising out of incidents that occurred while they were on duty, (b) how many policemen and policewomen were prosecuted for crimes committed whilst on duty and (c) (i) how many policemen and policewomen faced disciplinary hearings and (ii) how many of those who faced such hearings were dismissed from the Police Force?

B960E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

I refer the hon member to my oral reply to Question No 9 in the House of Assembly on 7 May 1991 and I am of the opinion that the furnishing of further particulars of this nature

may not only prejudice the individuals involved, but also the South African Police as a whole.

Disciplinary procedures in the South African Police are a domestic affair and I do not regard the publicising thereof to be in anyone's interest.

I am, therefore, not prepared to furnish the information in public except to say that 219 members were dishonourably discharged from the Force in 1989 and 291 members in 1990. I am, however, prepared to inform the hon member personally and confidentially in this regard.

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

Hillbrow police station: staff/vehicle statistics

*16. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) What is the estimated population served by the Hillbrow police station over the latest specified period of five years for which information is available;

(2) whether he will furnish details on the staff and vehicle complement at the Hillbrow police station; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the (i) staff and (ii) vehicle complement at this police station as at the latest specified date for which information is available, (b) (i) how many of these policemen were (aa) White, (bb) Coloured, (cc) Indian and (dd) Black and (ii) what were their ranks in each case and (c) how many policemen are on foot patrol in Hillbrow (i) by day and (ii) at night;

(3) whether it is envisaged to increase the complement of policemen at the Hillbrow police station in 1991; if so, what percentage increase is envisaged?

B961E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) 1987 — 138 080
- 1988 — 136 974
- 1989 — 138 482
- 1990 — 140 026
- 1991 — 141 609

(2) No, it is not in the interest of the members at the relevant police station, and policing

Seven diners hurt in rubbish-bin bomb blast

The Argus Correspondent ARGUS 17/5/91

JOHANNESBURG. — A huge explosion has rocked Hillbrow, seriously injuring at least seven people and shattering hundreds of windows.

The bomb, which exploded last night outside Garbo's restaurant on the corner of Claim and Pretoria streets, was placed in a rubbish bin and reverberated for kilometres around the high-rise residential and entertainment centre.

The Flying Squad, riot police, traffic officers, firemen, and ambulancemen were on the scene within minutes and the injured people were taken to Johannesburg Hospital.

Extensive damage was caused to parked cars and buildings had their windows shattered from the force of the blast.

The area was immediately cordoned off while police searched for a possible second explosive. Police said they could not speculate on the type of explosive used or how many people had been inside the restaurant when the blast took place.

A patron of Garbo's, Ms Karen Badenhorst, said she was being served her food when the explosion took place.

Covered in dust and shaking with shock, she said: "I felt myself being blasted forward, then there was a deafening explosion.

"Next thing, the window fell on to our table and the roof caved in."

A Hillbrow reveller said he heard a "very, very loud bang, glass shattering and people screaming" and rushed across the road to find a huge cloud of dust.

"Everyone was running around panicking and people were just slumped over their tables. I thought lots of people had been killed," he said.

A freelance photographer, Mr Maurice Dingli, arrived at the scene within seconds.

"I heard a large resounding explosion and rushed around the corner.

"There were huge clouds of dust and the steel girders around the building had been blasted away," he said.

"Then the walking wounded were evacuated and led to ambulances."

Inside the restaurant, chairs lay overturned, although most of the damage appeared to be only structural.

Hundreds of onlookers gathered, including many anxious friends and relatives of the restaurant's customers.



VICTIM: One of seven people injured in the blast at a Hillbrow restaurant last night is given first aid in the street. Police said a bomb had been placed in a refuse bin.

Limpet-mine blitz baffles Rand police

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bombers launched a mystery blitz on Johannesburg last night.

Three mini-limpet mines — including one that caused devastation at a Hillbrow restaurant and injured seven people — were planted in the city.

Today a police operation was launched in the city centre to search for more bombs.

Following last night's blast at Garbo's Restaurant in Hillbrow, police today found a second bomb outside a city centre bank, and discovered a third attached to a car outside the city's police headquarters.

Police said they were mystified by the blast and the finds.

At 6.34 am today police used a "controlled detonation" to blast a second Soviet-made mini-limpet found on the pavement outside the Volkskas bank on the corner of Commissioner and Sauer Streets.

"Police bomb disposal experts rendered the device harmless by exploding the detonator which was unstable," police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

Within an hour they had found and disarmed a mine found attached to a car outside John Vorster Square.

As police scoured the city streets for more bombs, Captain Opperman appealed to the public to be on the lookout for unattended parcels and suspi-

cious looking packages.

At Garbo's, while bomb disposal experts sifted through the rubble this morning, the owner, Mr George Christodoulou, said he could not understand why his restaurant had been attacked.

"It's a decent place. They are not troublemakers. There has never been any fights between customers.

"All this violence is like the middle ages in Europe".

Mr Christodoulou said he would not be stepping up security but would "turn my waiters into sniffer dogs" - "make them more aware of any strange parcels and offer a R500 bonus if one of them finds a bomb".

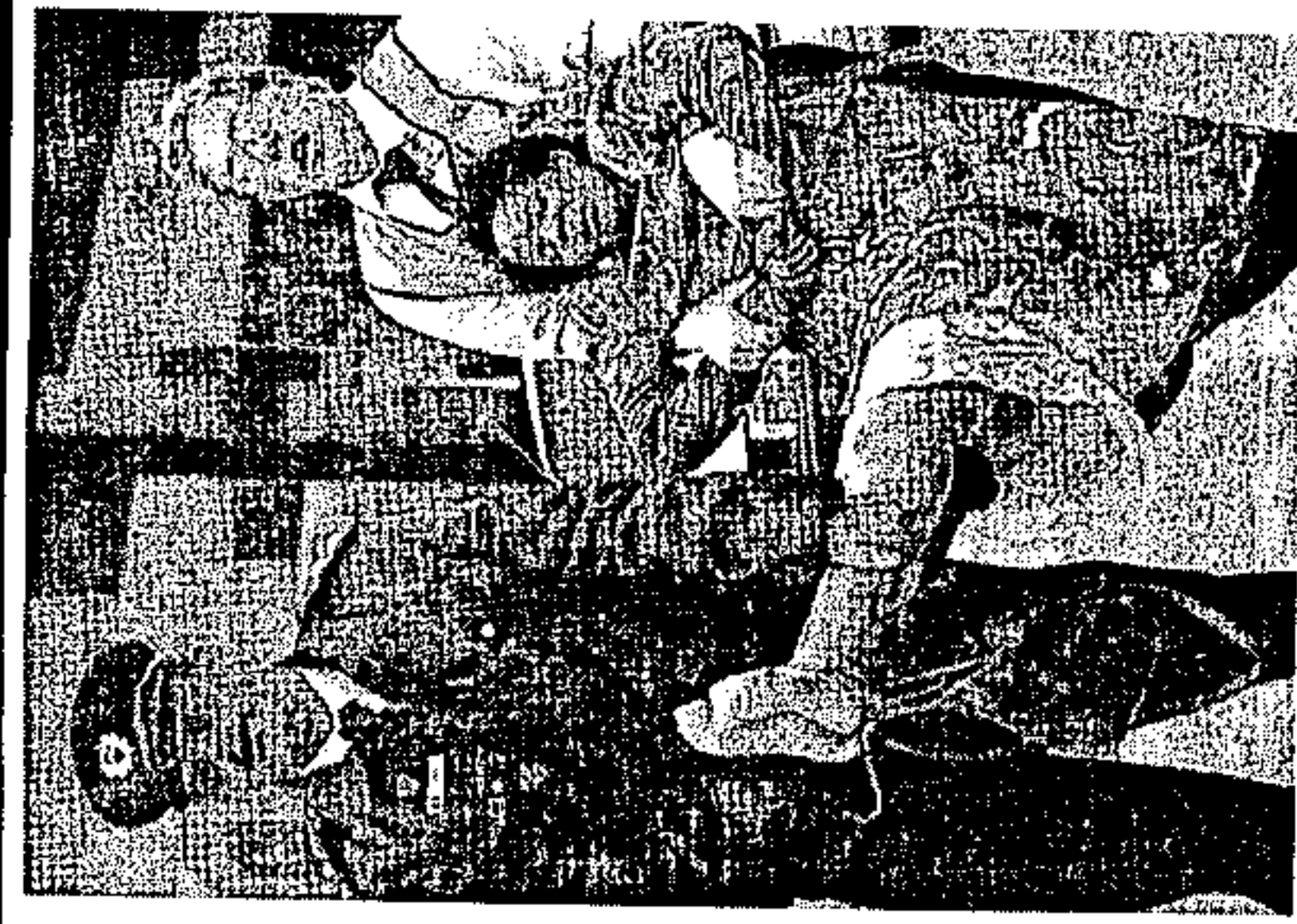
Captain Opperman refused to speculate on possible motives but said police had not excluded the possibility of the incidents being linked.

"We really want to make an appeal to the public not to think that terrorist attacks of this nature can no longer happen in South Africa — like any other country in the world, they can still happen," he said.

Asked to comment on the incidents, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said today the ANC had suspended the armed struggle.

● Restaurant blast report and picture — page 2.

12 HURT AS LIMPET-MINE BLASTS ROCK JOBURG



BOMBING VICTIMS ... From the left: A doctor carries an injured child, a woman who was hurt in one of the blasts is helped to safety and ambulancemen treat an injured man.

Picture: AP

BOMBING BLENZ

ANC blames 'settlement-wreckers' for blasts

JOHANNESBURG. — Two limpet mines have rocked the city during the past 36 hours, injuring 12 people, and two more unexploded bombs were found by police.

The first blast, which injured seven people, exploded late on Thursday night at a popular Hillbrow restaurant.

The second blast came yesterday afternoon, injuring four women and a young child.

No organisation has claimed responsibility for the attacks and the ANC has condemned the attacks.

Last night ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the blasts were probably carried out by

people "who did not want to see a settlement of the violence in South Africa."

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert Sear said the bombings were definitely not the work of right-wing organisations. He blamed the ANC for the blasts.

Hidden in toilet

Last night Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police did not have any leads on who might be responsible.

"We are not pointing fingers at this stage. We have theories but no facts to support them at this stage."

Captain Kotze said the police were not ruling out any group in a search for the culprits.

In the latest attack a limpet mine, concealed in the toilet of the Tony Factor shopping centre, exploded just after 2pm.

An eyewitness, Mr Corrie du Plessis, said he was on an escalator close to the toilets when the bomb detonated.

The force of the blast threw him to the floor and when he looked up he saw injured women running from the toilet.

"Her (one of the victims) leg was full of blood," he said.

The injured were taken by ambulance to Hillbrow Hospital and later discharged after treatment.

Police searched the shopping centre for more devices and also conducted a block-by-block search of the city for more limpets.

Thursday's blast — which injured seven —

occurred shortly before 11.30pm in one of Hillbrow's main streets. Police said damage to the restaurant was extensive and parked cars were also damaged.

Yesterday police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said that whoever was responsible was "trying to scare the public".

Police search

Police were being "chased around" as several bomb threats had been received during the day.

He said one of the SPM limpet mines which had been defused was found on the steps of a Volkskas bank. The second was discovered yesterday morning the Inkatha Freedom

Party had to evacuate its offices here after receiving a bomb threat. No bomb was found when police searched the premises.

● Yesterday Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok expressed concern that there are people willing to use urban terrorism to solve political differences.

Speaking at the opening of the police academy at Graaff-Reinet, Mr Vlok said this sort of terrorism had not worked in the past and would not be allowed to succeed in the future.

A statement from his office in Cape Town said police would use their anti-terrorism capabilities "to track down the perpetrators of these latest bomb outrages against innocent citizens". — Own Correspondent, Political Staff and Sapa

ET 18/5/91
348

City's 24 hours of terror

Child hurt as new blast rocks shopping centre
Star 18/5/91

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

IN a night and day of terror and screaming sirens, recalling the worst days of the "armed struggle", 12 people, including women and a child, were injured in a series of bomb incidents in Hillbrow and central Johannesburg.

In the latest outrage, a bomb exploded at the Tony Factor Discount Centre in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon, injuring five people.

On Thursday night, a mystery blast badly damaged a Hillbrow restaurant, injuring seven.

Then, early yesterday morning, police discovered another two limpet mines in Johannesburg's central business district.

The first mine was detonated by explosives specialists and the second was defused.

A child was among the five people hurt and taken to hospital when a bomb exploded at the Tony Factor Discount Centre yesterday at about 3 pm. The bomb was hidden in the women's toilet adjoining a Foschini store.

Blown through wall

Andy McMeeking, regional manager of Foschini, who was making a store visit, said a woman who was in the toilet when the bomb exploded was blown through the wall into the Foschini store. He said the blast had left a 4-m hole in the wall.

When Saturday Star visited the scene, two injured women were shaking uncontrollably as ambulance staff attended to them in the street outside the building.

A little girl, whose face was bleeding, was carried out of the centre in an unconscious state. Paramedics bandaged her eyes.

"Two women came out of the toilet covered in blood," said an eyewitness, who added that he was 2 m from the blast.

He said he went into the toilets and found another woman lying face down, seriously injured.

A student at the Unisa study centre, inside the building said she saw a packet in the toilet minutes before the explosion.

Police combed the area around the shopping centre using sniffer dogs to check for more bombs. Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman described as "rumour" reports that police had found



TRAUMATISED: An injured woman is carried

ANC denies bombs are work of its renegades
Star 18/5/91

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

angry, embittered or deliberately trying to undermine the negotiations. "It used to be fashionable to say if the explosives were Russian it must be the ANC."

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen told Parliament yesterday that there was a new tendency to use arms such as limpet mines, hand grenades and AK-47s and that these must come from the arms caches of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

But he did not directly accuse the ANC or MK of responsibility. Among the suspects — apart from ANC radicals — are the PAC, "dirty

wingers in the security forces and even ex-Rhodesians. But the intelligence sources believe that any one of a recent series of "emotionally provocative" events might have pushed ANC radical elements to resume the tactics of the past.

These include the conviction and sentencing of Winnie Mandela, the right-wing attack on squatters at Goedgevornden this week, the visit of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, next week's Government-sponsored summit on violence, violence directed against the ANC by Inkatha and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's warning on Thursday that if the violence continued blacks might export violence into white areas.

They believe ANC radicals might have planted the bombs to remind Mr Mandela and the country that the armed struggle was still a force to be reckoned with.

But the intelligence sources also point out that some PAC cadres have in the past been trained in ANC military camps in Angola and might also have had access to ANC arms caches inside SA.

The sources concede however, that right-wing sympathisers within the ranks of the security forces — police or military — would have had access to Russian limpet mines and could have planted the mines to disrupt negotiations.

They also point out that police have recently intercepted Russian-made limpet mines among consignments of AK-47 automatic rifles smuggled into SA from Mozambique — probably from the rebel Renamo movement — and that these could be available to just about anyone.

An ANC department of information spokesman said neither the ANC nor its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe were responsible for the latest spate of bomb blasts.

Bombs *Star 18/5/91*

FROM PAGE 1.

MERCY MISSIK

TO PAGE 2.

Mystery bomb wave leaves 12 hurt

Star 18/5/91 (84A)

● FROM PAGE 1.

a second limpet mine outside the shopping centre.

Shortly after the blast, a hoax sent bewildered crowds and police stampeding from the centre to a nearby building site.

Attention soon shifted to a United Bank branch in Joubert Street and police rushed off to investigate.

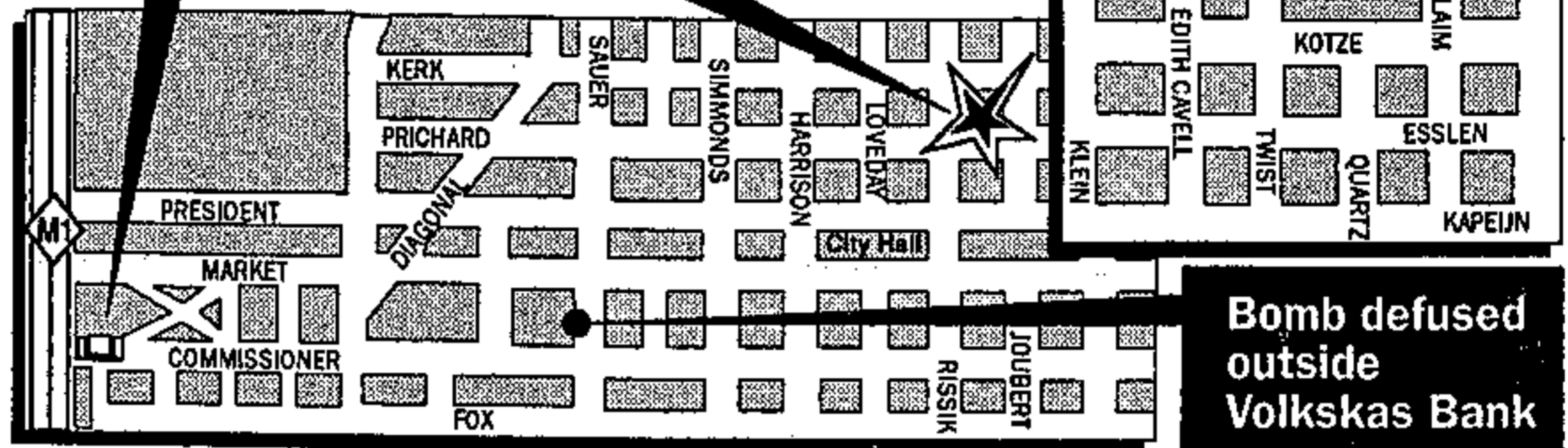
There they found one of the women injured in the shopping centre explosion. In a state of shock, she had stumbled into the bank and collapsed. She, too, was transported to hospital.

In Thursday night's blast at Garbo's, a Hillbrow restaurant, seven people were injured and

Car with bomb found parked outside John Vorster Square

Bomb blast at Tony Factor Centre

Large bomb blast in Hillbrow



Bomb defused outside Volkskas Bank

rushed to the Johannesburg Hospital.

Police disarmed two limpet mines yesterday morning — one outside the Volkskas bank on the corner of Commissioner and Sauer streets and the other attached to a car near John Vorster Square, Captain Opperman said.

man said.

Police investigated a bomb threat at the offices of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the morning, but explosives were not found.

He could not confirm rumours of other bombs.

Captain Opperman said nobody had claimed

responsibility for the blasts.

The African National Congress condemned the Hillbrow explosion.

A spokesman said the use of violence was contrary to the ANC's policy of reconciliation. The ANC had renounced violence, he said.

Bombs not ours - AA

Fear grips (84A) Johannesburg as two blasts rock city ^{C/P News} 19/5/91

By **EULAMA LUTI**
and **THEMBA KHUMALO**

JOHANNESBURG is caught in the grip of terror following two massive bomb explosions in 24 hours, which left 12 civilians injured.

Just two days before the explosions ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned in an off-the-cuff speech in Swanieville, West Rand, that unless the government curbed the violence, it could spill over into the "white" areas.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for the explosion at a Hillbrow restaurant and at Tony Factor's Intown Centre complex, and the ANC has denied that renegade supporters could be involved.

At least 12 people, including women and a child, were hurt in the explosions on Thursday night and Friday.

One victim, a part-time University student, told *City Press* from her hospital bed how she was wounded near the toilets of a Johannesburg shopping complex when a Soviet-made limpet mine exploded on Friday afternoon.

Speaking from her Hillbrow Hospital bed, Unisa student Jeanette Phuthudi, 22, of Tladi in Soweto, said: "I heard a loud explosion. Everything around me went dark and I could hardly breathe.

"I felt a burning sensation on my legs and as I ran in panic I realised my clothes had caught fire."

Phuthudi stumbled into a nearby clothing store.

"I lay writhing in pain while the shop assistants phoned the ambulance and police. It was terrible. All the time I was praying to God to save my life."

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman told journalists at the scene that 12 people were injured in the explosions.

At least seven people were wounded, some seriously, in the explosion that rocked a Hillbrow restaurant on Thursday.

In the Friday explosion, five women and a nine-year-old girl were injured. They were treated for shock and minor injuries and were later discharged.

They are Nonkululeko Mthembu, 9; her mother, Nompumelelo; Maureen Chuene, Maria Mokgema, Peggy Mokoena and Maria Letsoalo.

Minutes before the Friday explosion police detonated a big SPM limpet mine at the Commissioner Street branch of Volkskas Bank and another near John Vorster Square in downtown Johannesburg.

Capt Opperman said that because of the "new wave of terror" police patrols would be intensified and members of the Reaction Unit had been called in as reinforcements. Block searches would be mounted and vehicles would be searched at random.

"At this stage we don't know the motive for the bombs. All I can say is that this is the work of maniacs. We deplore the harassment of civilians in this fashion."

Police follow up ^{84A} bombing theories

WILSON ZWANE ^{BIDAN} 10/5/71

POLICE had various theories on who was responsible for the two bomb blasts that rocked Johannesburg late last week and injured 16 people, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Capt Craig Kotze said, however, police had not ruled out any organisations as "various groups have shown themselves capable of committing such acts".

"We can't point fingers at anyone at this stage until we have gathered evidence to support our theories," he said.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for the explosions at a Hillbrow restaurant and at Tony Factor's Intown Centre.

□ Police said that five people were killed — four of them on the Reef — in unrest-related incidents at the weekend.

Soweto police spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn said a clash between residents and Inkatha supporters occurred on Saturday when a group of youths went to the Dobsonville hostel, apparently intent on attacking inmates.

"While inside the hostel one youth was hacked to death while another was seriously injured," Halgryn said.

Sapa reports that police shot dead a man and a woman at a house in Soweto yesterday.

The man had escaped from detention last year and was traced to the house. When he produced a hand grenade, police shot and killed him. The woman was killed when she "charged" the police.

3/10/64

Police kill suspect, companion

84A
227

By Gien Elsas *Star*
West Rand Bureau 20/5/91

A terror suspect who escaped from custody in Johannesburg last year and his companion were shot and killed by Soweto policemen at a house in Phiri, Soweto, yesterday morning.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Soweto police said the dead man, whose name has not yet been released as his next of kin have to be told of his death, was wanted on five charges of terrorism in Soweto.

The Soweto police received information that the man was at a house in Phiri and they went to arrest him at 4 am.

When they entered the house and shone a torch at the suspect he grabbed a hand grenade. The police shot the man and he died before the grenade could be activated.

Suddenly a second person stormed at the police in the dark and this person was also shot and killed. The lights were switched on and the police saw it was a woman.

Two hand grenades and an unlicensed pistol were found at the house.

The incident is being investigated.

Two die in Alex hand grenade explosion

By Montshiwa Moroke *S4A*

Two men died in Alexandra township yesterday when a hand grenade exploded.

Police confirmed the incident but said the men had not yet been identified.

But a friend of the deceased

said they were Dan Maemetja and Albert Sebola, both in their 20s, from 7th Avenue.

Witnesses said the explosion occurred at about 7.30 am at the 9th Avenue shack of the brother of one of the dead men.

Moses Lebea, who lives at the shack, said Mr Sebola had got

out of bed when Mr Maemetja came to the house.

"They sat outside near a brazier while I stayed in bed. At about 7.30 I heard an explosion.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said one of the men had been holding the grenade when it exploded.

S for 3/6/91

DAVID Moisi spent nearly a decade in solitary confinement as a Death Row prisoner in Pretoria Central, and as a lifer on Robben Island — but he remembers almost every detail of the guerrilla mission he carried out which got him into prison.

About 10 years ago, Moisi and his co-accused, Bobby Tsosobe and Johannes Shabangu, were sentenced to death for their part in bombing the Sasol One oil refinery at Secunda and Sasol Two at Sasolburg in 1981.

However, the Appeal Court changed the sentence to life imprisonment and they spent the next eight years in solitary confinement on the island.

It took three days to put out the fire and the damage cost millions of rands to repair.

“We split into two groups — one for each refinery, Barney Mokoane, our commander, went to live with other comrades at Zandela Hostel in Sasolburg, while others were accommodated at the local police station under the pretext of being migrant labourers looking for work.

In terms of the law, the exact details of the operation cannot be published. However, Moisi said the group decided to carry out the mission on a Sunday to minimise any possible casualties.

The East German-made limpet mines.

Mission of the decade

It was the first time limpet mines had been used in guerrilla sabotage in South Africa

tary targets, but on strategic installations as well.

“We chose the two refineries as targets because they supplied fuel to the SADF, which had been occupying the black townships and staging military raids into neighbouring states to kill and destabilise them.”

However, Moisi's excitement was short-lived. In October he and four other guerrillas were instructed to infiltrate South Africa again to bomb another oil refinery in Cape Town.

“After crossing the Swaziland border we hired a taxi to take us to Witbank where we would get another car to the Reef. However, we were arrested after the taxi driver betrayed us.

“He drove us straight to Malelane Police Station. He told us he was going to tell his policeman father that he was taking us to Witbank and we believed him. He parked outside the police station, went inside and came out with the police.

“The rest is history,” said Moisi.



David Moisi was on Death Row for nearly 10 years after being convicted for blowing up Sasol

'Still need for armed force'

Biday 11/6/91

TIM COHEN

THE ANC is maintaining underground structures, according to a document being distributed to its branches around the country for discussion at the organisation's July conference.

The document, called Guidelines to the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, is a simplified and reprinted version of an already published document by the same name.

In the new document, which contains suggestions on how discussions on the document should take place, the ANC says it decided to suspend armed actions in the interests of moving towards a peaceful solution.

"But we have not totally abandoned the armed struggle. The process of change is not yet irreversible," according to a section on the

armed struggle.

"For instance, we do not yet have a democratic constitution and the regime's army and police still remain. Therefore we need to keep our own armed forces — the peoples' army, MK (Umkhonto we Siswe).

"MK has the responsibility to ensure people's self defence at all times," the document says.

Under the section "the underground", the document says that since the ANC's unbanning last year, most of the tasks that the underground used to carry out can now be carried out openly.

But free political activity is not yet possible and the process of peaceful

change is not yet irreversible.

"Therefore the ANC has a duty to keep those underground structures which are needed now and may be needed in the future."

The document also repeats a statement made in the previous document which suggests that government has been more successful than the ANC at the "game of negotiations", particularly since last August.

The document says the "balance of forces" is always changing and points out that past strengths do not guarantee success in the future.

"Just because we were strong enough to force the government to talk does not automatically mean that we will be strong enough to get what we want from the negotiations," the document says.

SA International

23 blasts investigated

OF the 23 bomb explosions carried out by right-wing groups last year, 20 of the incidents, or 87 percent, had been "solved", the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said.

The police were continuing their investigations of rightwing groups and "extremist activities of all persons and groups", he said in a written reply to a question by Mr Tony Leon (DP Houghton).

- Sapa.

84A

ARGUS 14/6/91

Vula agents come in from the cold

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ELEVEN members of Operation Vula, the ANC's underground organisation, made their first public appearance yesterday after a year in hiding.

Among them were Ronie Kasrils and activist Janet Love.

They went underground last July after police smashed what was alleged to be a Communist Party plot for armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed. *S/imes 23/6/91*

Other operatives who were arrested — including internal commander Mac Maharaj — made brief court appearances before being granted indemnity earlier this year.

The 11 emerged yesterday at the Soweto home of Mr Nelson Mandela, who pointed out that the indemnity was for specific offences and said the group still faced arrest.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said the ANC had masterminded Operation Vula.

"It was geared to create on-the-spot, integrated military structures charged with the task of giving day-to-day leadership to the struggle and enhance the work of the National Executive Committee," he said.

A spokesman for the SAP said yesterday: "The exposure of Operation Vula was one of our most successful operations."

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

THOUSANDS of ANC cadres in camps in various African states are being retrained to prepare them to take over the army in a new South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise told City Press in an exclusive interview.

He said the guerrillas, whose exact figure he would not reveal for security reasons, were being trained by military experts in conventional army methods.

"Their training is being upgraded. It is no longer the old guerrilla training. They are now being trained as professionals and their morale is very high because they are being prepared for the future protection of a democratic constitution," Modise said.

The softspoken ANC commander left this week for the camps, which are scattered around various African states, to assess the progress made with the new training. He disclosed that thousands of youths were still leaving the country to undergo training with MK.

Speaking from the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters before his departure, Modise confirmed allegations of a mutiny within the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe in the late 70s.

"There was a mutiny and naturally if you are a military man during such a crisis people are killed. In this instance some mutineers had shot down senior commanders and had occupied part of the camp. Naturally one could only stop that by force of arms, and that is what happened."

Modise also said the controversial Quattro Prison, run by the ANC in Angola, no longer existed and almost all its in-

MK readies for new role

CIP/rev 23/4/91 84A



Joe Modise ... inspecting the progress made with the conventional training of MK soldiers.

mates had been freed. Those that were not out were waiting for the International Red Cross to repatriate them. The Red Cross appeared to be having difficulty in securing indemnity for them.

Modise said many of the former prisoners had been sent by the South African regime on various tasks.

"Some had come to poison people in the camps, including children

at school. Others had come to murder ordinary guerrillas and their leaders within the camps.

"There were those who had come for ordinary spying. Some of them succeeded in sketching one of our camps in Angola and it was subsequently completely flattened by the South African commandos.

"Fortunately we had prior information about the planned attack and

Training for war, hoping for peace

we removed everyone from the camp, leaving a few cadres to guard major installations. The attack took place and three of our comrades who were on guard were killed during that raid. This is the work which was carried out by the people that we apprehended."

Modise said in view of the fact the government was releasing political prisoners, his organisation had decided to reciprocate that gesture with the freeing of its captives.

Asked if there was any possibility the negotiations might collapse and force the ANC to return to the bush, Modise said it was highly unlikely the talks would fail. It was in the interest of all South Africans to ensure the talks did not reach a point of collapse.

"Frankly, we see no reason why these negotiations should fail. There will be hiccups. It will not be the first time this has happened. Many other negotiations elsewhere had been through a lean spell before.

"I believe ours won't collapse because it is not only in our interest that they succeed, but in the interest of the govern-

ment as well. De Klerk doesn't have much time. Time is on our side.

"In fact the onus is on him to see these talks succeed. Naturally, if all the avenues to a peaceful settlement are closed to us, then we will have no option but to return to other methods of struggle, including the armed struggle."

Reacting to a recent statement in which Defence Minister Magnus Malan had vowed that the government would not allow a neutral figure to oversee the defence force during the transitional period, Modise insisted that the government could not be the player and referee at the same time. It was therefore important that the defence force be as neutral as possible.

However, he pointed out that the question of a neutral referee during the transitional period was a matter for discussion by all involved in the peace process.

Asked if guerrilla warfare could bring down the government, given the strength and sophisticated nature of its army, Modise said guerrilla warfare would be too costly to the country's economy, which

was already in a shambles.

"If we have to resort to armed struggle we will succeed in that. All countries that had embarked on that type of struggle have succeeded, but all I'm saying is that violence is not in the interest of all.

"The best option at our disposal is a peaceful settlement of our country's problems," said Modise.

He scoffed at suggestions that Magnus Malan had preferred to deal with him rather than with outspoken MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

Modise said he met Malan only once during one of the major meetings between the ANC and the government. "That was the last time I met Malan, and there is no personal relationship between the two of us."

Modise also said his organisation had infiltrated the South African security forces through a spying network.

Modise issued a veiled warning to anyone who planned to attack or disrupt the forthcoming ANC national conference in Durban.

The ANC was going to Durban with peaceful intentions and they must be left in peace to hold their conference peacefully, he said.

"We don't expect an attack from Inkatha. At the last peace conference between us and them they committed themselves to the maintenance of peace and we believe that they will stick to that commitment. But if there are individuals who are not going to honour that commitment, we shall take steps to protect ourselves."

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THOUSANDS of ANC cadres in camps in various African states are being retrained to prepare them to take over the army in a new South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise told City Press in an exclusive interview.

He said the guerrillas, whose exact figure he would not reveal for security reasons, were being trained by military experts in conventional army methods.

"Their training is being upgraded. It is no longer the old guerrilla training. They are now being trained as professionals and their morale is very high because they are being prepared for the future protection of a democratic constitution," Modise said.

The softspoken ANC commander left this week for the camps, which are scattered around various African states, to assess the progress made with the new training. He disclosed that thousands of youths were still leaving the country to undergo training with MK.

Speaking from the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters before his departure, Modise confirmed allegations of a mutiny within the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe in the late 70s.

"There was a mutiny and naturally if you are a military man during such a crisis people are killed. In this instance some mutineers had shot down senior commanders and had occupied part of the camp. Naturally one could only stop that by force of arms, and that is what happened."

Modise also said the controversial Quattro Prison, run by the ANC in Angola, no longer existed and almost all its in-

MK readies for new role

CIP 23/6/91 84A



Joe Modise . . . inspecting the progress made with the conventional training of MK soldiers.

mates had been freed. Those that were not out were waiting for the International Red Cross to repatriate them. The Red Cross appeared to be having difficulty in securing indemnity for them.

Modise said many of the former prisoners had been sent by the South African regime on various tasks.

"Some had come to poison people in the camps, including children

at school. Others had come to murder ordinary guerrillas and their leaders within the camps.

"There were those who had come for ordinary spying. Some of them succeeded in sketching one of our camps in Angola and it was subsequently completely flattened by the South African commandos.

"Fortunately we had prior information about the planned attack and

Training for war, hoping for peace

we removed everyone from the camp, leaving a few cadres to guard major installations. The attack took place and three of our comrades who were on guard were killed during that raid. This is the work which was carried out by the people that we apprehended."

Modise said in view of the fact the government was releasing political prisoners, his organisation had decided to reciprocate that gesture with the freeing of its captives.

Asked if there was any possibility the negotiations might collapse and force the ANC to return to the bush, Modise said it was highly unlikely the talks would fail. It was in the interest of all South Africans to ensure the talks did not reach a point of collapse.

"Frankly, we see no reason why these negotiations should fail. There will be hiccups. It will not be the first time this has happened. Many other negotiations elsewhere had been through a lean spell before.

"I believe ours won't collapse because it is not only in our interest that they succeed, but in the interest of the govern-

ment as well. De Klerk doesn't have much time. Time is on our side.

"In fact the onus is on him to see these talks succeed. Naturally, if all the avenues to a peaceful settlement are closed to us, then we will have no option but to return to other methods of struggle, including the armed struggle."

Reacting to a recent statement in which Defence Minister Magnus Malan had vowed that the government would not allow a neutral figure to oversee the defence force during the transitional period, Modise insisted that the government could not be the player and referee at the same time. It was therefore important that the defence force be as neutral as possible.

However, he pointed out that the question of a neutral referee during the transitional period was a matter for discussion by all involved in the peace process.

Asked if guerrilla warfare could bring down the government, given the strength and sophisticated nature of its army, Modise said guerrilla warfare would be too costly to the country's economy, which

was already in a shambles.

"If we have to resort to armed struggle we will succeed in that. All countries that had embarked on that type of struggle have succeeded, but all I'm saying is that violence is not in the interest of all.

"The best option at our disposal is a peaceful settlement of our country's problems," said Modise.

He scoffed at suggestions that Magnus Malan had preferred to deal with him rather than with outspoken MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

Modise said he met Malan only once during one of the major meetings between the ANC and the government. "That was the last time I met Malan, and there is no personal relationship between the two of us."

Modise also said his organisation had infiltrated the South African security forces through a spying network.

Modise issued a veiled warning to anyone who planned to attack or disrupt the forthcoming ANC national conference in Durban.

The ANC was going to Durban with peaceful intentions and they must be left in peace to hold their conference peacefully, he said.

"We don't expect an attack from Inkatha. At the last peace conference between us and them they committed themselves to the maintenance of peace and we believe that they will stick to that commitment. But if there are individuals who are not going to honour that commitment, we shall take steps to protect ourselves."

TO

...was called for an investigation into the supply

We planned Vula - ANC

84A

C1 Pres 23/6/91

By THEMBA KHUMALO and Sapa

THE ANC yesterday acknowledged for the first time it had masterminded "Operation Vula", which the authorities charged was a Communist Party plot to wage armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed.

The ANC timed the acknowledgment with the first public appearance of key figures in "Operation Vula" - smashed by the police last year - soon after they were granted immunity from prosecution.

The 11 activists emerged from hiding yesterday to attend a news conference at ANC leader Nelson Mandela's Soweto home. Among them were Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils and Si-phiwe Nyanda.

"All these and many others comrades associated with Vuhndlela (Oper-



Nelson Mandela and Alfred Nzo address yesterday's ANC press conference at which key figures in Operation Vula were introduced.

ation Vula) and the underground in general were acting on the instructions of the ANC," said ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, reading a statement on Mandela's behalf.

Nzo said "Operation Vula" was part of the ANC's long-term strate-

gy to fight apartheid and was not a "quick fix" to undermine the talks which had already started between the government and the ANC.

"The operation, whose members had successfully infiltrated the country without detection by the police, was meant to give

the masses daily guidance and to enhance the strength of the National Executive Committee inside South Africa.

The ANC was informed almost daily about developments that took place in the country.

Maharaj said he was on two occasions punched

and pushed against the wall by his captors, led by a Col Venter at Sandton. "But last year's torture was a picnic compared to my assault by the police when they arrested me in 1964," he said.

Maharaj blamed the police for the disappearance of Mbuso Tshabalala and Charles Ndaba.

"We have circumstantial evidence that these comrades, who were also members of this operation, were arrested by the police. The nature of questions the police asked us in jail and the houses they raided proves to us they could only have had that information from our two comrades."

Maharaj added that Umkhonto weSizwe had so infiltrated the South African security forces that "Operation Vula" members knew in advance about the pending arrest last year.

MY LIFE AS A FOOTBALLER

844
C/News
23/6/91

844

BY SEKOLA SELLO

FOR the past 11 months Ronnie Kasrils played hide and seek with the cops as he topped the list of South Africa's most wanted men.

Frustrated by their inability to nail the Operation Vula co-conspirator, the government placed an undisclosed price on his head and whipped up an anti-Kasrils fervour - but to no avail.

In a sudden about-turn Pretoria last week called off the search and indemnified Kasrils and other Vula co-conspirators.

Kasrils jokes that by indemnifying him a few weeks before completing a full year on the run, the government denied him a "well deserved celebration". However, he's pleased the indemnity comes in time for the ANC's important July 2 congress in Durban.

Soon after being partially indemnified, but still keeping in hiding, Kasrils granted City Press the first interview since his indemnity. Our meeting place in a park east of Johannesburg had all the features of a James Bond movie.

Kasrils was not taking any chances. His cap came to his eyes while a blue scarf partially covered his face, making him hard to recognise. While on the run he wore a fake moustache, he told me later.

The killing of ANC member Mziwonke "Pro" Jack on Thursday, by people Kasrils described as State security agents, added to his apprehension.

Kasrils fondly described Jack as a "great guy".

The ANC's former chief of intelligence says he spent the 11 months making clandestine contacts with leaders like Mandela, Nkobi and Nzo and also liaising with the movement's underground military and political structures - while also making sure he stayed one step ahead of the clutches of the law.

Although Kasrils says life was far from easy while on the run, he brought a touch of romantic adventurism to his escapades with the numerous letters he wrote to the press, particularly to newspapers known for their pro-government stances.

On a few occasions Kasrils became

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibhya, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

Ronnie Kasrils breathes free and easy after almost a year's hide-and-seek

even more daring. Unknown to government agents, he was among 50 000 fans at Soccer City three weeks ago watching Iwisa Kaizer Chiefs beat his favourite team, Orlando Pirates! The only disguise Kasrils had was a black and white balaclava.

Kasrils has been described by critics as belonging to a clique of hardcore communist ideologues in the ANC who are hellbent on derailing the fragile negotiations.

He reiterates for the umpteenth time that he is committed to negotiations. "At present I don't see any way of a peaceful transfer of power to the masses, other than through negotiations."

The 53-year-old Kasrils, who has been a member of the ANC since he was about 20, emphasises that power must be transferred to the black masses. "This is what the struggle is all about. I stand by this principle of black majority rule. If this makes me a hard-liner, so be it."

Kasrils says he is hopeful the ANC's five day congress will "clarify what is the best policy and strategy to follow. This congress must not not degenerate to a mudslinging about personalities".

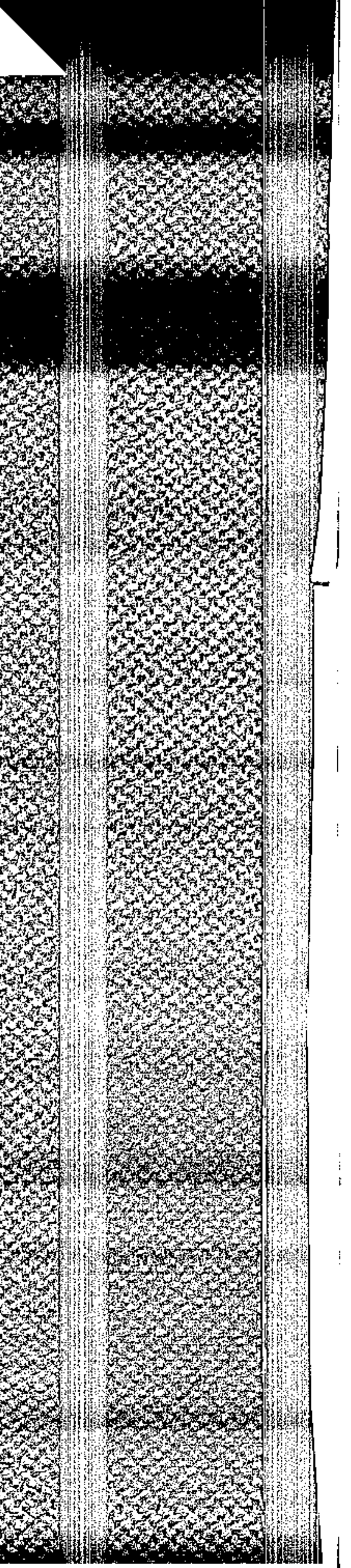
"It must be about issues facing the organisation, and people must be elected on the positions they take on these issues."

Although committed to the negotiations, Kasrils is distrustful of State President FW de Klerk, whom he suspects of having a "double agenda". He says De Klerk's reforms look "spectacular", but are in fact aimed at perpetuating white domination.

If De Klerk wants to win his trust, Kasrils says, he must "move towards a democratic constitution - a constitution which enfranchises blacks".



We meet again . . . SACP chief Joe Slovo chats to an official in Durban. Kasrils at left. Operation Vula



JONATHON REES

THE PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), has rejected negotiations and a constituent assembly and adopted "one settler, one bullet" as official policy. *by [unclear] 26/6/91*

PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenke said yesterday the resolutions were obviously inconsistent with a clear PAC commitment to political solutions within a constituent assembly.

Delegates to Azanyu's third national conference, held in Soweto at the weekend, decided negotiations were an imperialist strategy, the organisation said yesterday.

~~(H)~~ PAC youth wing in armed action call

A constituent assembly was a ploy to maintain capitalism and colonialism.

The conference decided a patriotic front was not founded on required revolutionary principles, and condemned the OAU for its "betrayal of the Pan-Africanist mandate".

Azanyu said armed action should be the principal form of struggle. It should be intensified, along with international sanctions and the cultural boycott, in the "struggle to repossess the land and establish a socialist order".

MK receives homage, but is it a sop?

W/stand 5/7-11/7/91
THE legend of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) has permeated and inspired this week's African National Congress conference.

In the speeches on the opening day, the 2 000 delegates burst into applause every time MK was mentioned and in his address, deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "This conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us where we are today."

Mandela also insisted that the ANC had "not terminated the armed struggle. Whether it is deployed inside the country or outside, Umkhonto weSizwe ... has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition of a democratic society."

But is Mandela acknowledging a real role to be played by the ANC's army, or was this comment merely a diplomatic but insubstantial sop to an MK that is known to be discontent?

Many members of MK believe that their role has been sidelined since negotiations began, and that, even though they are supposed to be "deployed", lack of funds and lack of commitment from leadership have rendered them impotent.

A strong MK delegation is present at the conference and, while MK commander and ANC head of special projects Tokyo Sexwale commented that "we are here to look specifically at MK issues", he did acknowledge that the cadres present were to decide on "the type and nature of support that MK would give to the negotiations process" and that the army did have specific concerns it would raise, among them the welfare of demobilised soldiers and the role that MK would play in a national army.

But Sexwale is adamant that "MK is committed to the negotiations process. If not, you would have seen terrifying mutiny, you would

The ANC cannot afford to leave disgruntled Umkhonto weSizwe cadres out in the cold, reports **MARK GEVISSER**



Chris Hani

have seen bombs blowing up all over South Africa. But there hasn't been one incident since the ANC announced its suspension of the armed struggle."

Other MK delegates have commented that while they have obeyed suspension orders, they are unhappy with concessions made in the negotiations process. They told *The Weekly Mail* they would raise the issue of accountability: isolated in the camps in Uganda and the "forward areas" surrounding South Africa, they feel they have been left out of the thought process behind negotiations.

"Our leaders have made some mistakes," one said, "and we feel that they made these mistakes because they didn't consult widely enough. Mandela might say publicly that we are still deployed, but if our role isn't clarified at this conference, it will be impossible for us

to continue operating. MK commander Chris Hani admitted that "because of the preoccupation with the talks, we probably have not paid enough attention to the cadres in the camps". But, he added, it must be remembered that "those talks led to the release of MK cadres from prisons".

Hani said MK was in the process of being transformed into a conventional army. "Only a professional army will be competent to man a future democratic order. MK is preparing to be part of this."

And Sexwale emphasised that "upgrading and recruiting of MK soldiers is continuing" in preparation for this professional army. "We have 15 different armies running around South Africa. If we don't integrate them soon, there will be carnage here — a bloody civil war."

He maintained that the integration of armies was a logical outcome of the negotiation process. "If peace is a national desire, General Magnus Malan has no choice as an individual but to fall in line with the general trend."

Sexwale said that "MK will push very hard for the establishment of an integrated national army, but this is not a precondition for a settlement." Other MK delegates, however, said they would try to persuade the conference to make this non-negotiable.

If the conference were to adopt this stance, it could serve to polarise the ANC and the government further on the issue of MK's role.

Minister for constitutional development Gerrit Viljoen said earlier this week that the "dirtiest" comment he could make about the ANC's commitment to peace was that MK was still mobilised. With government holding this position, the issue of MK can only remain a stumbling block in the negotiations process and, unless the conference translates its obvious emotional support for the ANC's army into a clear policy, the army will continue to be sidelined.

MK to be an ordinary army

Sowetan 5/7/91

84A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

STEPS are being taken to transform the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from a guerrilla army to a more conventional army.

MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday told delegates in the ANC's conference in Durban that the army in a new South Africa had to serve society.

Under a new dispensation, political parties will not be allowed to have private armies. There will be a single army - which would hopefully be made up of MK, the South African Defence Force, the military wings of the PAC, Apla, and of the Black Consciousness Movement, Azanla, Hani said.

Rumours

The MK chief was commenting on rumours that his army was being "retrained".

He also said that the ANC was committed to the agreements in the



CHRIS HANI

Pretoria Minute, which included the suspension of armed struggle.

This week's conference will stress the importance of negotiations. He agreed that a multi-party conference was the next step, but added that the biggest stumbling

block to an MPC was the violence in the country.

In this regard the ANC has encouraged people to establish defence units.

MK would not be used as defence units, but they had a role to play in instructing people, Hani said.

Warning

"Defence units must not entrench the hegemony of political organisations. They will not be defence units of the ANC. They will serve the community," Hani said.

He warned that the ANC would not allow defence units to degenerate into vigilante groups.

Turning to the present race for elections to the top five position as office bearers in the ANC, Hani said that if he were to be nominated from the floor he would not stand.

There was still a lot of work to be done in the organisation and in MK, Hani said.

'Guns found in Inkatha man's car'

Star. 5/7/91
By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

Five machineguns, ammunition and what appeared to be a homemade explosive device were found in the car of the leader of Inkatha's Transvaal Youth Brigade at Sebokeng hostel, the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court heard yesterday.

That same day, September 4 last year, more than 40 people were killed in violence at the hostel.

Warrant Officer Arthur van der Gryp was testifying at the trial of Themba Khoza (32), who is charged with unlawful possession of firearms, ammunition and explosives.

He has pleaded not guilty.

The warrant officer told the court a crowd of 3 000 to 5 000 had "trapped" a group of policemen and other people in a hostel courtyard.

After someone in the crowd shouted that the "trapped group" had an AK-47, he asked Mr Khoza to unlock his car. While searching the vehicle he found four AK-47s, an R-4 rifle and six magazines.

He arrested Mr Khoza and took him to Sebokeng police station.

There, a 5-litre drum, which looked like an explosive device, was also discovered in the car.

The weapons were fingerprinted, but the policeman said he was told that no prints could be found on the rifles.

Asked during cross-examination by Morris Basslian, for the defence, exactly how the rifles were found in the car, Warrant Officer van der Gryp said they were in a blanket.

Mr Basslian said a videotape filmed at the hostel showed that the guns were merely covered by a blanket.

The hearing continues today.

ANC TO

12 JUL 1991

GIVE MK

C/Pres 7/7/91

84A

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
LDRU LIBRARY

BOOST

By SEKOLA SELLO
and S'BU MNGADI

THE ANC conference in Durban yesterday resolved to strengthen its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe in a move that could strain relations with the government.

The conference, however, also fully endorsed its president Nelson Mandela's commitment to negotiations.

The ANC yesterday resolved at its five-day conference that:

- MK shall remain combat-ready;
- the ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres taken to court in the execution of their duties, defending their people;
- the ANC would establish MK structures throughout the country at all levels, including the opening of offices; and
- the ANC would maintain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force created into which MK cadres would be integrated.

Until such time MK equipment would not be surrendered.

The organisation stressed that the suspension of armed action did not mean abandoning the struggle.

The conference also resolved to mandate its national executive to continue with talks about talks.



HE'S OUR MAN . . . Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's new secretary-general, is held aloft by exuberant supporters. ■ Pic: AP

It stressed the need to build unity among those committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa and resolved that a Patriotic Front be established as soon as possible.

The conference said the gains made in the mass struggle would be reflected at the negotiations table and noted that the government had not yet removed all the obstacles to negotiations.

It criticised the "campaign of terror" it claimed was being

carried out to destabilise society, intimidate people and undermine and weaken the ANC and its allies.

The NEC was asked to implement a policy to defeat this strategy.

The conference set out the steps that would lead to a democratic constitution and a representative parliament, and resolved that a time limit be set to reach these objectives.

It also resolved that immediate steps be taken to put together a comprehensive team of ne-

gotiators, working groups and researchers.

It resolved to retain the four pillars of the struggle, namely Umkhonto weSizwe, international isolation of South Africa, underground operations and mass mobilisation.

However, In a shift of emphasis, however, The fact that mass mobilisation and organisation replaced the armed struggle at the centre of the battle for democracy.

The meeting also endorsed and supported the initiative taken by church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.

■ The ANC's commission on strategy and tactics yesterday made it clear the movement was not going to be converted into a political party and was determined to step up mass action.

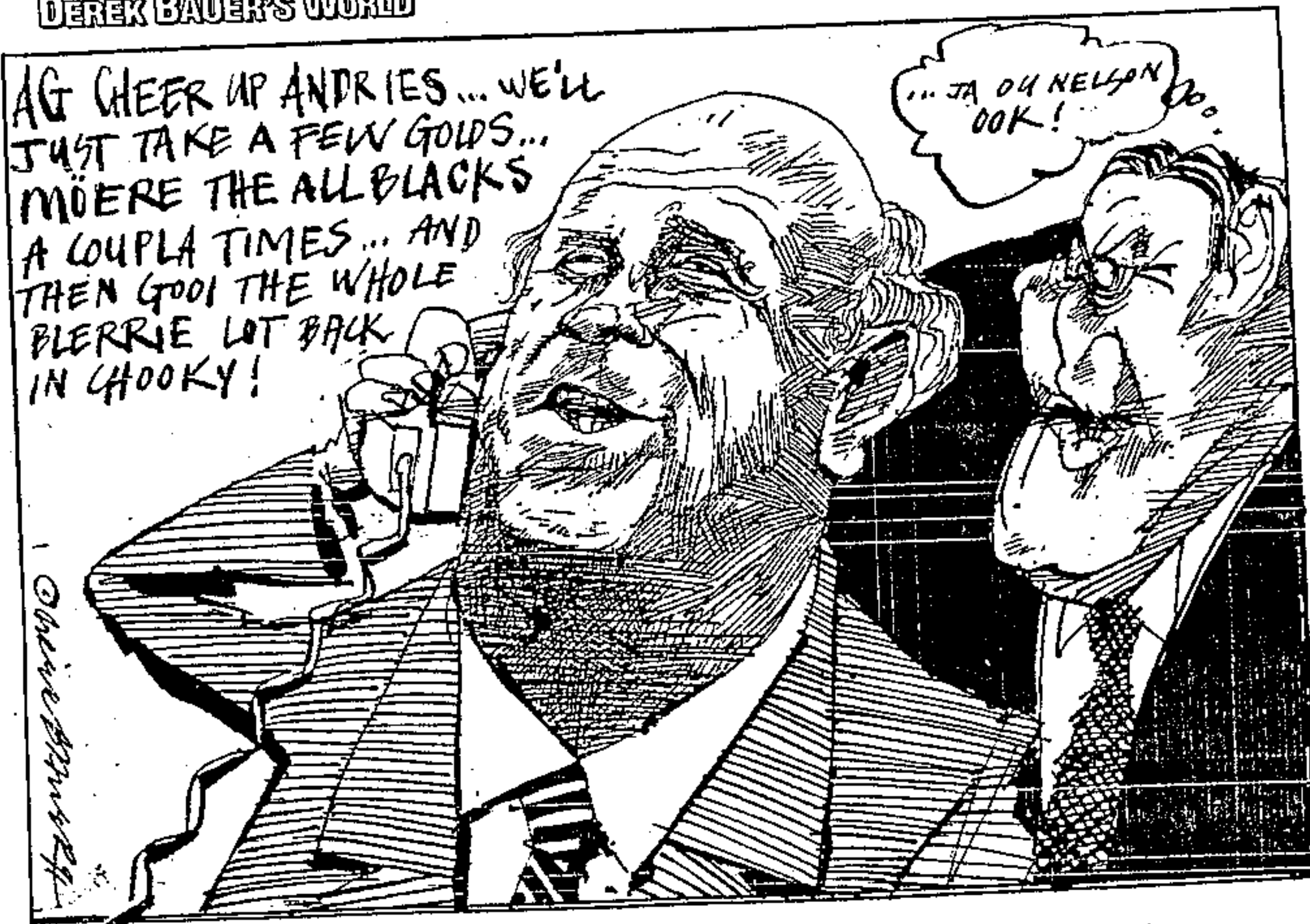
Chairman Ray Suttner, with two other high-profile members, Ronnie Kasrils and Cheryl Carolus, conveyed the ANC's position on strategy to a media conference.

Suttner said the ANC was receiving "a lot of unsolicited advice" to become a political party.

"The government feels it easier to deal with a political party and with one of a particular type," he said. "We say, no."

■ The election of a new national executive committee was still being held last night.

■ See pages 4, 5 and 13



The Seven Samurai come to the townships

W/M cut 12/7-18/7/91.

AT last week's African National Congress conference, Umkhonto we-Sizwe scored a minor Cuito Carnivale over the catering corps: after yet another appalling meal, MK delegates marched in to the conference hall and, slamming their plates down in front of their leaders, asked, "Do you expect us to eat this?" There had been grumbles since the first meal on Tuesday, but when MK took a stand, the caterers were fired — and the inedible gruel was replaced with Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Proof, perhaps, of MK militancy and bolshiness — and symbolic, definitely, of more significant victories won by MK last week. MK's greatest complaint is it was left out in the cold while the ANC negotiated it into impotence — and its greatest victory is the conference effectively nullified many of the "concessions" the ANC made in the negotiations process over the past year.

While previous agreements strongly curtailed the workings of MK, the ANC resolved last week to "recruit, maintain and develop MK until the advent of a democratic constitution" — and gave its army a job to do inside the country: it committed MK to "act in the defence of the people" by operating and training self-defence units answerable to local civic structures.

To explain this decision, senior MK strategist Ronnie Kasrils invoked the Japanese classic, *The Seven Samurai*: "MK will work just like those Japanese warriors. We will empower communities to protect themselves by showing them how to organise, and then bow out." He paused. "Except, the difference is, we won't bow out."

In Kasrils' pause lurk serious questions about MK's newly-defined role as "defender of the people". What precise role will MK play in organising these self-defence units? To whom will the units be answerable? Can an army that is by definition political operate as a non-partisan peacekeeping force? And even if they can, how will a defence-unit organised by the ANC be able to avoid the stigma of political allegiance?

In a panel discussion reported in the latest *New Era*, ANC PWV organising committee co-ordinator Andrew Mapheto said he understood the frustration that had led to the call for self-defence units, but com-

The ANC has resolved to move its army into the townships as a 'non-partisan' peacekeeping force. Can MK provide a solution to the increasing spiral of violence, or will it function as a political militia that further fuels political fires?

MARK GEVISSER
looks at the issue

mented: "If you don't deliver, our people will judge us on that."

And the initiative might, perhaps unintentionally, provoke more violence: by further militarising conflict in the townships, by giving the security forces even more excuse to take action against ANC officials involved in the units — and by further incurring the wrath of political organisations like Inkatha. Security forces also might use the existence of the self-defence units as an excuse to be even more laggardly in stemming the violence.

While Kasrils quoted Nicaragua and El Salvador as successful self-defence units, Mapheto made the critical point that "the concept of defence committees was also employed by Frelimo, which armed people with machetes and such. But the violence itself escalated".

The conference's MK Commission was adamant that MK would not be rolling into townships with "truckloads of AK-47s". MK, it said, would isolate the weapons already in the townships and train people to use them in a disciplined, responsible manner. It wouldn't necessarily train people to fight — rather, it would help with defence and information-gathering strategies.

The ANC initiative is a direct response to a request by the civic associations, who are growing more and more desperate as vigilante groups and "third forces" wreak havoc and the security forces prove themselves incapable — or unwilling — to do anything about it.

"If there are people skilled in defence," commented National Civics co-ordinator Zohra Ebrahim, "then we must rely on them to organise us in an effective and constructive way, rather than having panic set in." She did emphasise, however, that the civic associations and the ANC had not yet discussed the units at a national level.

Both the ANC and the civics believe that

the non-partisan self-defence units should have representatives from all political groupings. But the Pan Africanist Congress does not have an army, and the notion that Inkatha might become involved in training its perceived enemy, the progressive civics, is preposterous. MK, then, will provide the only trained soldiers organising the self-defence units.

MK cadres are not mercenaries, neither are they paid security guards: they cannot be seconded to the civics as a non-partisan "Sandton Sentry" style security force. Will the cadres comply, for example, if a civic association asks them to assist it in bringing to order ANC-affiliated "com-tsotsis" who are out of line? What if they are asked to act in a way that is against their own ideology? It is clear that the higher god they will obey is the ANC: even if the MK Commission emphasised that the units would "fall under the authority of the township's civic associations", the conference resolved that "the ANC is to assume full responsibility for cadres".

It does make sense that MK — which has nothing else to do in this hiatus between armed struggle and a future democratic army — gets involved in self-defence training and puts its skills to use. But does the initiative have real potential to resolve conflict, or is it just an unemployment bureau, placing malcontent cadres in new jobs and making them feel useful? And is there any way that the self-defence units can avoid operating as political militias?

Of course, the ANC could argue that there is already a successful counter-revolutionary militia in operation in the townships. In the face of all other failed options and an utter breakdown in law-enforcement, self-defence units are the last remaining option of desperate communities already under siege: both the ANC and the civics have no choice but to organise their own self-defence.

But both would be wise to remember the lesson of the people's courts: there too, a breakdown of law forced communities to take justice into their own hands; there too, an understandable attempt at crisis-management degenerated into the sanctioning of atrocities as violent as anything committed by the apartheid regime. When a state's abdication of its duties forces civil society to dispense justice and uphold the law, things can go horribly wrong.

Anger over 'ANC failure to condemn camp atrocities'

Star 12/9/91 84A

African National Congress dissidents have voiced their anger at the apparent failure of the organisation to formally denounce during its conference in Durban alleged atrocities committed in its training camps.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee said: "The ANC 48th conference has come and gone, while the question of the killings and brutalities committed in its jails, like Quatro and other places, was treated as if it never happened.

"The way the conference behaved through its delegates left us — victims of such actions by the ANC — with a deep sense of anger and despair," the committee added.

"The only conclusion that we now have reached is that this organisation, together with its followers right through the country, have less regard for life, justice and fundamental human rights in general.

"We did not expect the conference to sentence those whom we accuse of brutalities to capital punishment. What we expected was that the general membership should denounce and dissociate itself from these crimes. Those responsible should not have been allowed to

hold any position in the NEC."

It said that as a result of this, it was doubtless that all the evils done to the victims had allegedly been endorsed by the ANC followers. It added that its previous position — the belief that the crimes were the deeds of only some of the leadership — no longer applied.

"The policy of the ANC should, from now on, be well understood that as long as one is killed by that organisation because one happened to have been in disagreement with it, then there are no qualms about it at all."

The committee further said it never believed that the ANC, like a leopard, would never change its spots, but the Durban conference had demonstrated that the contrary was the truth — that the ANC would never change from what it was.

"This is a sad episode that is to be characterised by more violence if such an organisation can ascend to power in this country."

The committee called for support for the setting up of a public inquiry into the camps "so that the truth can be known to our people and the international community". — Sapa.

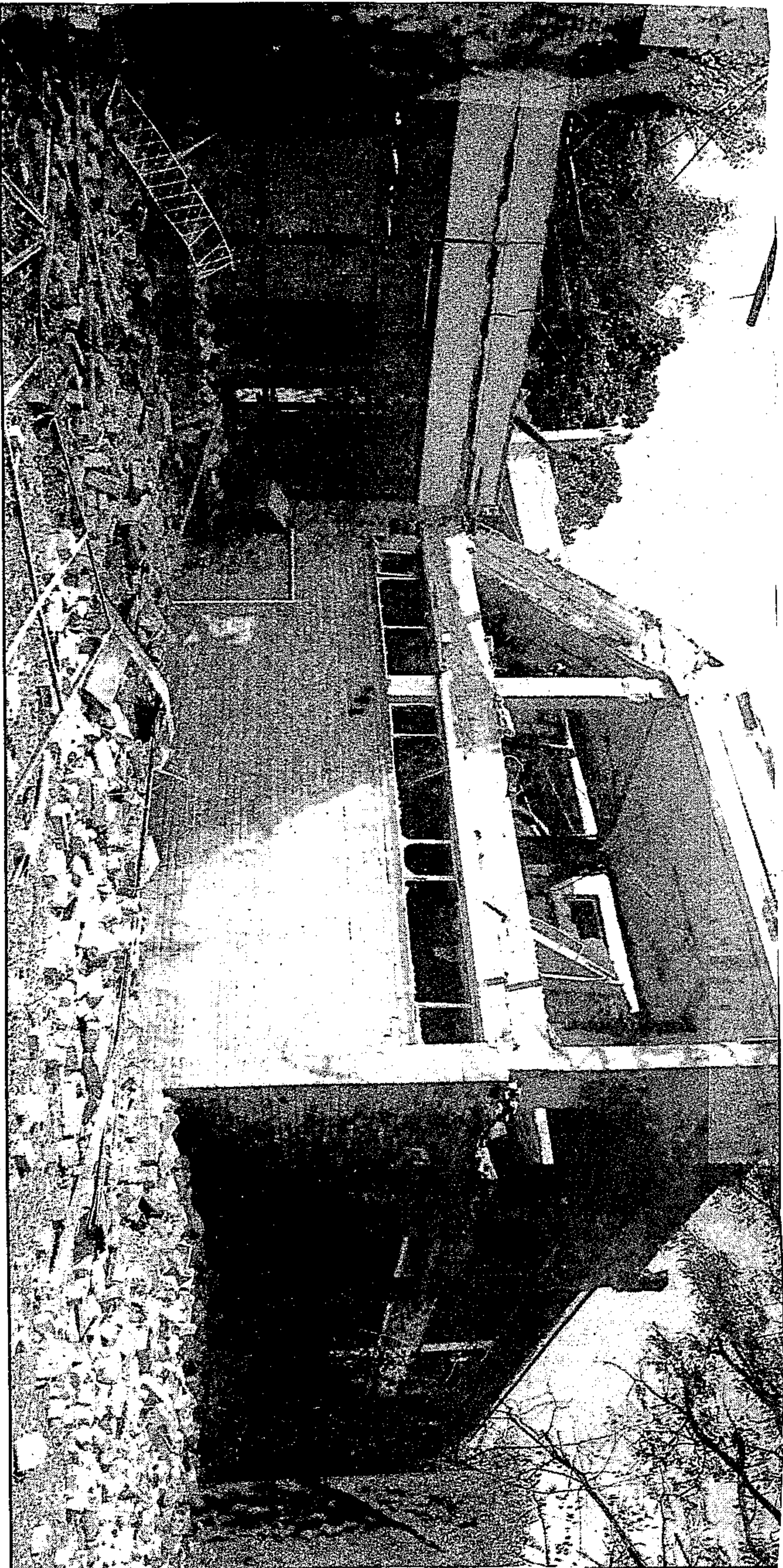
Star 12/7/91. (S) (84A)
**Possession of arms.
three men arrested**

Three Kagiso Civic Association and ANC leaders were arrested by the police early today, said an ANC spokeswoman.

Nomvulu Mokonyane said her husband, Serge, secretary of the Civic Association and Kagiso ANC vice-chairman, was one.

A West Rand police spokesman said two men had been arrested for possession of Makarov pistols and one for possession of a homemade firearm.

They will appear in court today. — West Rand Bureau.



Devastated . . . a section of the bombed Hillview High School in Pretoria. Damage to the school, which has been earmarked for use by the children of ANC exiles returning to South Africa, was estimated at R800 000. Picture: Pretoria News

Bomb destroys 'ANC school'

Staff Reporters
and Pretoria Correspondent

844

304

Stuur 1517/91

Jan Groenewald, chief secretary of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging, said last

An explosion extensively damaged Pretoria's Hillview High School — earmarked for use by ANC exiles children later this month — in the early hours of yesterday morning.

No one was hurt in the huge blast, which caused damage estimated at R800 000 and all but demolished the school's main building, leaving glass and rubble strewn over a 50 m radius.

Police say they believe the bomb was placed near a first-floor classroom.

Lieutenant Jan Crouse, police liaison officer for the northern Transvaal, said about 25 kg of an as yet unknown explosive was used.

"We are still waiting for results of the tests. Explosives experts went in but were hampered because the building is unsafe."

Lieutenant Crouse said police had no suspects as yet and no witnesses have come forward. The bombing was being investigated as a case of terrorism.

The explosion occurred just one day before the newly renovated building was due to be handed over to the Government for the use of about 700 children of ANC exiles who are expected to be flown to South Africa from Tanzania later this month.



'An act of provocation' . . . Robert van Tonder.

The ANC yesterday said it believed a lunatic right-wing fringe group was responsible for the blast.

An ANC spokesman for the PWV region, Ronnie Mamoepa, said the act was designed to destabilise the plan to take over the school. The group responsible was trying to turn the clock back to the darkest days of apartheid, he added.

"The problem of the right-wing is the problem of the Government, which has, through its propaganda, produced this type of people."

The blast follows threats by rightwingers, who pledged that the school would be a target for Boer resistance.

make the school available to the ANC was an "act of deliberate encroachment and occupation of historical Boer territory".

He called on the Government to revoke the decision "in the interests of stability, peace and order", adding that "the ANC school is an object of revulsion for the Boer nation and will be a target of Boer resistance".

In his reaction last night, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the Government had committed an act of "extreme provocation" by selecting a school "in the heart of the Boere State and Paul Kruger's Boer capital".

"These peoples have no right of . . . permanence in the Boere State and the Government can be grateful that the school was not totally flattened because the mistrust and resentment produced by their deliberate provocation is not easy to describe."

Nightwatchmen at the scene said although they had heard a whistling sound immediately before the blast, they had seen nothing.

Large sections of the school are still usable, but it is unclear whether the ANC will still use the school to house the children.

Star 15/11/91

We will not beg, says PAC leader

Own Correspondent

The Pan Africanist Congress would not negotiate indemnity for its members in jail or exiles, PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya told a rally at Sibasa at the weekend.

"Enoch Zulu (PAC military commander freed recently by the Government) never signed papers for his release and the same will be for our exiles."

"All this should be unconditional."

"We shall not beg for anything that is ours", Mr Madzunya said.

He said the PAC would comply with a 1989 United Nations agreement dealing with exiles and prisoners.

US President George Bush's lifting of sanctions had not come as a surprise, but reflected US meddling in South African politics, Mr Madzunya added.

R800 000 damage to ex-white school

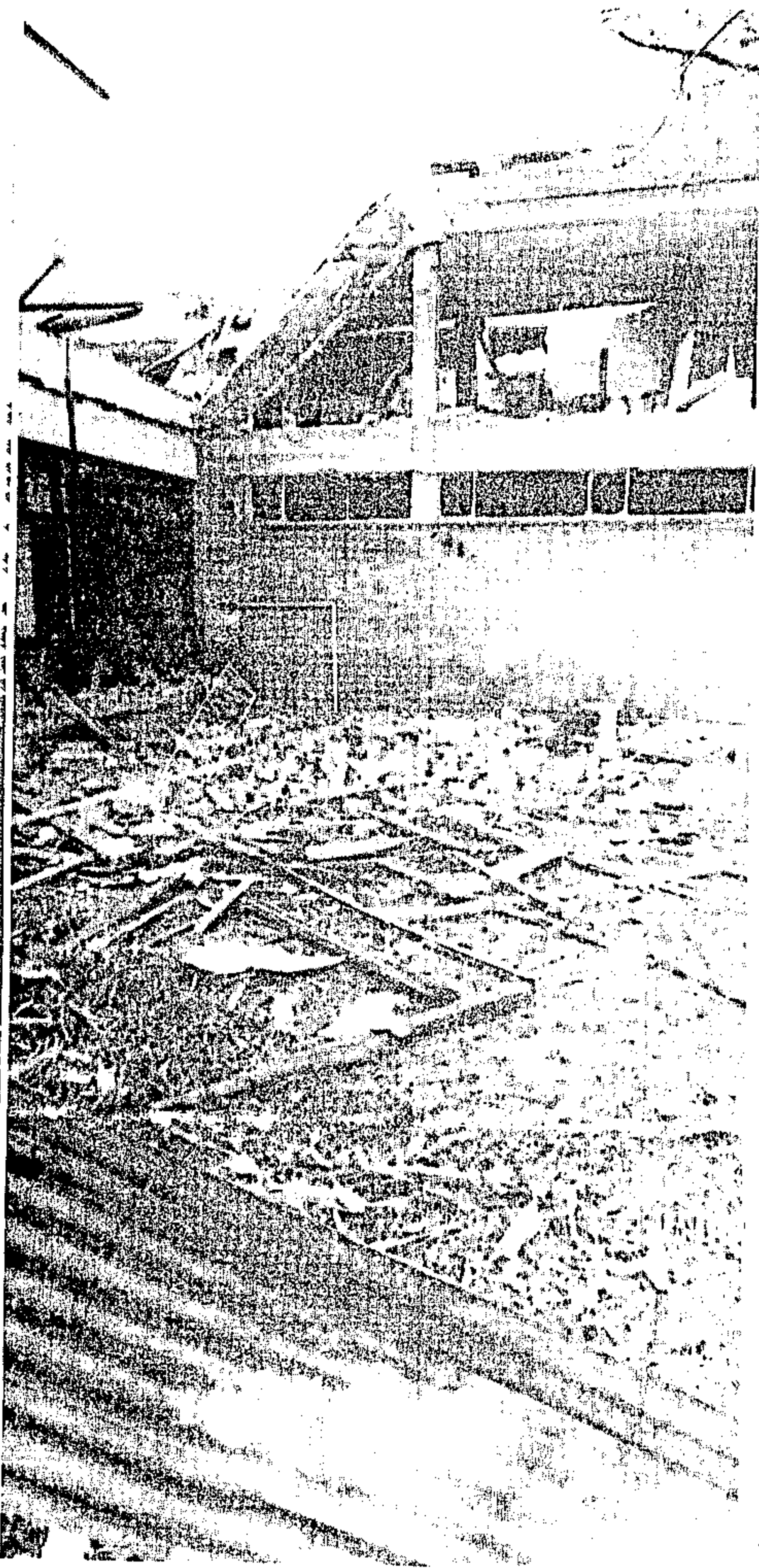
ANC's school bombed

84A

~~2/24~~

CT 15/1/91

~~5/2~~



From PATRICK COLLINGS
PRETORIA. — A powerful bomb has devastated a former white high school which was earmarked for occupation by children of ANC exiles.

The school, Hillview High, in downtown Pretoria, was to have been handed back to the government today after extensive renovations, and occupied by the 700 children later this week.

The children are all from the ANC-run Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania. They are due to arrive later this week.

No one has yet claimed responsibility for the blast, which caused damage of about R800 000.

Last night Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the blast was a message to the National Party and the ANC that the "boers" would not allow their land to be handed to other people without striking a blow.

He said these people had no claim to live in or have permanency in the Boerestaat.

He said the government could be glad the school was not completely flattened.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Jan Crous said the bomb exploded at 1.50am yesterday. Brick walls were blown down and rows of windows shattered.

Cave in

He said the explosive used had not been determined, but experts estimated that 25kg of it had been placed on a first floor in the middle of the school complex.

Investigations were being hampered as police feared the roof of the school could cave in.

A terrorism docket had been opened, Lieutenant Crous said.

Two security guards at the school said they did not see anyone enter the building and heard only a "whistling sound" before the bomb exploded.

Neither guard was injured.

Mr Eben Beukes, owner of the construction company which had just completed a R150 000 renovation of the school, said

damage was "extensive".

"The middle block was demolished by the blast," he said. "Walls will have to be rebuilt and the classrooms are all in bad shape." Repairs would take "weeks" if not months.

Last night Ms Gill Marcus, ANC spokesperson, said the ANC found the attack "totally unacceptable and regrettable".

Any attack on an institution for children, ANC or not, did not bode well for the future. "The ANC hopes the government will take steps to find the perpetrators."

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs yesterday said no final decision had been taken about the return of the children.

The children, many of whom were orphans of ANC exiles, had a legitimate claim to South African citizenship, he said.

They were scheduled to be housed at the school until they were settled in communities elsewhere.

The government had made provision to house the children at the school until the end of March next year.

We won't be intimidated by bombing, says ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC says it will not be intimidated by the bomb blast at Hillview High School, Pretoria, and has warned it will defend its properties if the security forces cannot do so.

Spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma condemned the bombing and said the ANC believed it was entitled to the school's facilities.

An alternative place would have to be found for the re-

turning orphans, for security reasons.

"If they can bomb (the school) now, they can bomb it when the kids are in there."

A spokesman for the ANC PWV region, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, said the ANC suspected that a lunatic right-wing fringe group was responsible.

He said this type of act was designed to destabilise the plan to take over the school. He also blamed the government for right-wing action.

IRREPARABLE . . . The administrative block of Hillview High School near Pretoria was shattered by a powerful bomb blast at the weekend and is now in danger of collapsing. The explosion blew scores of windows out of an adjacent classroom block.

FANCY SCHOOL blast damaged Hillview High

SUA
15/11/91
Soweto

R800 000
damaged to
Hillview High

By ALINAH DUBE and Sapa

A BOMB blast at Pretoria's abandoned Hillview High School about 2am on Sunday had caused about R800 000's damage, police said.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Jan Crous said this figure had been supplied by contractors renovating the school for use by 700 children of African National Congress cadres, expected to be flown to South Africa from Tanzania on Thursday. Their return follows extensive negotiations between the ANC, the Department of Home Affairs and the Department of National Health.

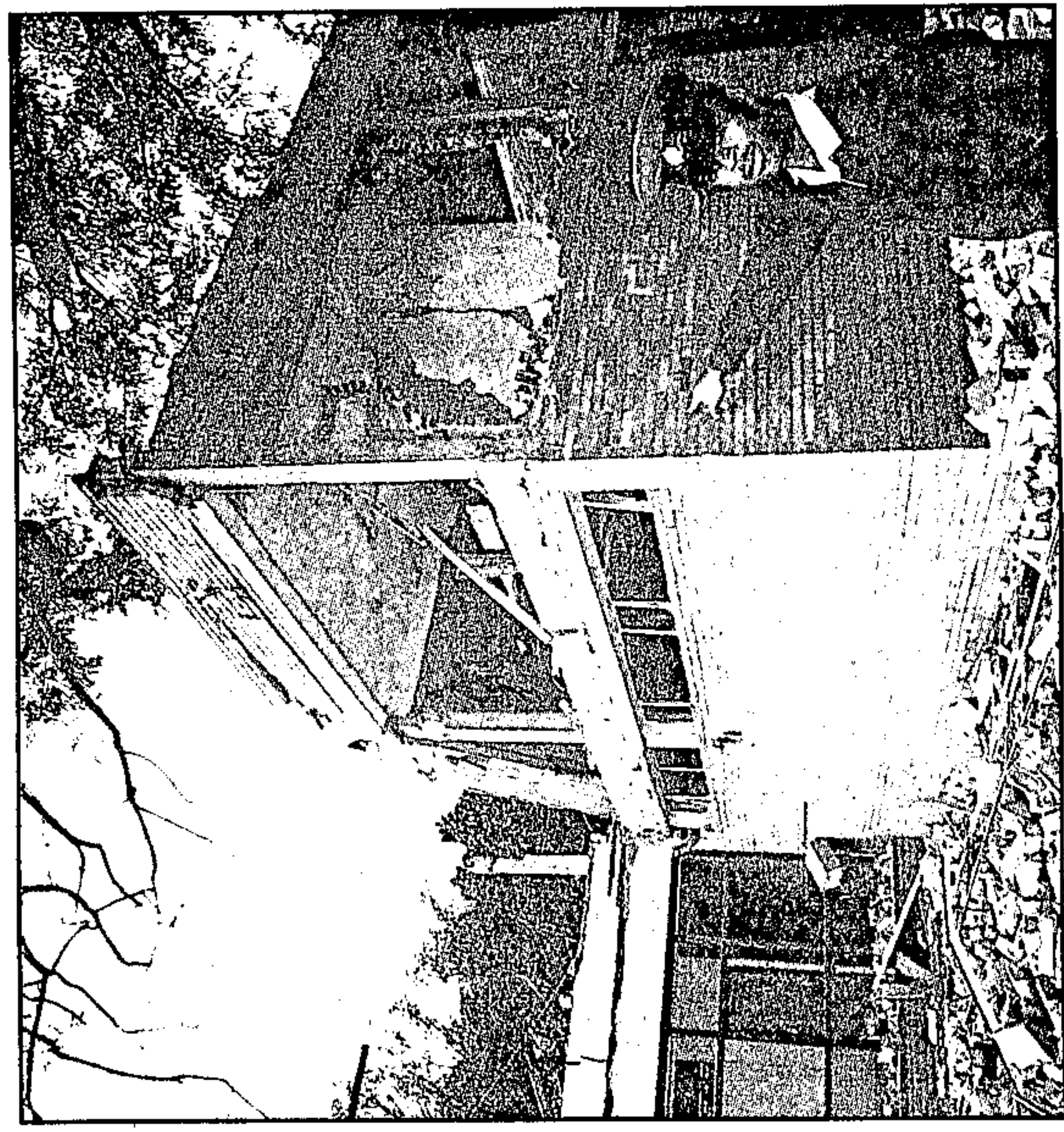
The children were to be temporarily accom-

Today is the first hour-long show of the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show. And the time-slot changes.

Today's topic is: Do you think that the Government acts with equal force against terrorism from the far rightwing as it does against acts from the left? If not why not? Telephone popular Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 5pm and 6pm today and share your opinion with the nation. The hotline number is 714 8063. Listen to Radio Metro, and the Sowetan/Radio Metro talkback programme, on mediumwave at 576 KhZ.

modated at the school before being transferred to other schools in the area, according to the Department of National Health.

Page 2



Pretoria Constable William Lebombo points at the devastation caused by the Hillview blast. Pic: PAT SEBOKO

WAKERS

SILKY TOUCH
Hair Grower
100 ml
EACH

BLACK JAZZ
TWINPACK
250 ml
EACH



P.T.O

Bomb wrecks school for ANC children

A POWERFUL bomb yesterday devastated a Pretoria high school which was earmarked for occupation by the children of ANC exiles.

Police said the bomb at Hillview High School near the Pretoria city centre caused R800 000 damage.

It was not known yesterday who was responsible for the 2am blast which wrecked most of the school. Police refused to be drawn on speculation that the bomb was placed by a right-wing organisation as a protest against plans to accommodate the ANC children there.

A Boere Vryheidsbeweging spokesman warned last week it would not allow the

B/day 15/7/91
VERA VON LIERES

school, situated "inside the borders of the Boere Volkstaat", to be used by black children, and that it would become "a target of Boer resistance".

Hillview High was abandoned about 10 years ago when a new and bigger school was built 5km away.

84A
● Picture: Page 2

The empty school is situated close to a minibus taxi rank and the Pretoria Zoo. It was due to have been handed to government today as contractors had just completed renovation work.

SAP liaison officer Lt Jan Crouse said police estimated the bomb to have contained about 25kg of explosive. He said police had opened a terrorism docket.

He said the school had been damaged extensively and it was uncertain whether it could still be used for teaching.

Crouse said no one had claimed responsibility for the explosion. Two security guards had been on the scene at the time of the blast but had not seen anything suspicious. No one had been injured.

According to recent reports, the ANC had negotiated with government to accommodate 700 children affected by the clo-

□ To Page 2

Bomb

B/day 15/7/91
sure of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania.

Nearby residents said the administrative section of the building, which included a number of classrooms, was so badly damaged that police warned bystanders it could collapse. An adjacent classroom block did not suffer any structural damage, although scores of windows were blown out.

A Department of Education and Train-

84A
From Page 1
ing spokesman yesterday confirmed government had held talks with the ANC on Hillview but was unable to confirm that it had been taken over by the (white) Education and Culture Department. Education and Culture spokesmen were not available for comment yesterday.

The ANC reportedly accepted government's offer of Hillview after discussing several other proposals, including a site at Stilfontein in the western Transvaal.

Bombing delays orphans' return

5/16/79

84A

From PATRICK COLLINGS

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday announced it was delaying the return of exiled children, after a Pretoria high school earmarked for their occupation was devastated by a powerful bomb on Sunday.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the children from the ANC-run Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania would not be flying to South Africa until his organisation had assessed the situation following the blast.

Late yesterday government departments involved in the repatriation of exiles were locked in discussion to determine whether the school, Hillview High School, could

still be used to house the estimated 400 to 700 children.

The bomb, situated next to a row of first-floor classrooms, exploded at 1.50am on Sunday, causing damage estimated at R800 000.

National Health and Population Development Minister Dr Rina Venter said the children, many of them orphans, would definitely be accommodated.

A spokesman for her department said alternative accommodation existed, but because of the "sensitive nature of the issue" its location was not being revealed.

Right-wing organisations have denied responsibility for the explosion, but said it was the direct result of the government's

decision to house the children in a traditionally white area.

Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Nic Strydom said the destruction of the school could have been expected, as many people in Pretoria were "particularly hurt" that the school had been earmarked for future use by the children of ANC exiles.

The AWB described the bombing as "part of the boer freedom struggle due to the conditions being created by the government".

Police are still trying to determine what explosives were used, but investigations are being hampered by the fact that parts of the school are still unsafe.

New plans over bombed school

THE extent of damage to the old Hillview High School at the weekend may force the African National Congress to look for alternative accommodation for children of returning exiles later this month.

Reacting to the bombing of the school, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said it would not be possible to use the building "in the foreseeable future". The organisation was still assessing its position.

16/7/91
S4A
"However, we are expressing our outrage at the bombing. We call on everyone in South Africa to stop this kind of behaviour and that the perpetrators be brought to book."

Over
"We also hope that the SAP will act swiftly to bring those responsible to book," he said.

Colonel Frank Alton, Press liaison officer for the Northern Transvaal police, said yesterday no one had been arrested in connection with the inci-

dent. Forensic experts were still conducting tests.

Sapa reports that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph yesterday said the bombing did not come as a surprise to him.

"If the Government continues on this path, we will be heading for such chaos, disaster and a civil war which will make the French and Russian revolutions look like a Sunday school picnic."

School was 'open target'

Sowetan 16/7/91

THE Government is not prepared to stop rightwing terrorism and violence, callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show told host Tim Modise yesterday.

However, Mava from Emdeni said he was disillusioned with the African National Congress' decision to use the school exclusively for returning exiles' children.

"That school was targeted and was exposed

to such an attack. The school should have been for everybody, not just for exiles' children," Mava said.

Most callers, nevertheless, agreed that the Government was warned before the blast occurred and security measures could have been taken to prevent the blast.

They also linked the blast to Piet "Skiet" Rudolph's storming out of court on Friday and his

84A

refusal to be prosecuted by a "coloured" magistrate and a black prosecutor.

"The Government wanted that school to be bombed before any measures could be taken," said Norman from Witbank, adding that the Government was still not doing anything to stop rightwing terrorism.

"If there was a black government in the country, those responsible for the blast would be arrested as soon as possible because that act would be regarded as high treason," said Smilo.

He accused the Gov-



ernment of being in favour of the rightwingers and pursuing a secret agenda.

He added that the Government was still not prepared to react to terrorism from the rightwing.

Colleen from Meadowlands also agreed that the Government was not prepared to act against rightwingers.

We blasted school - rightwingers

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Star 17/7/91
Two right-wing groups have claimed responsibility for the Hillview High School bomb blast - but police said yesterday they had no concrete leads yet.

A woman, claiming she was a member of the "Wit Wolwe" - and a man saying he belonged to the "Wit Republikeinse Leer" (White Republican Army) have claimed to newspapers their organisations were responsible for the blast.

Neither caller revealed any identity. This is also the first mention of an organisation called "Wit Republikeinse Leer", although there is an organisation called the "Boer Republikeinse Leer".

Both callers expressed their outrage at the ANC's plans to accommodate 700 exiled children from Tanzania at the school.

The woman said seven women members of the Wit Wolwe were responsible for Sunday's blast.

Asked how they had acquired the explosives, she replied: "That remains our secret. We did it because we do not want

ANC children in our city and we are prepared to blow it up again - children and all."

The man said the action was to show the ANC that it was not wanted in the "Boer Republic". He claimed his group had been trained by the Irish Republican Army and was the "brother of the 'Wit Wolf' murder squad".

Police have decided to treat the calls "with circumspect". "We can't add too much value to the claims," a police spokesman said.

ANC education and repatriation spokesman Caleb Bush said yesterday that the organisation was waiting on the Government to contact it regarding alternative arrangements.

The children's arrival has been postponed.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, reacting to allegations that the Government was not prepared to stop rightwing terrorism and violence, said everything was being done to trace the bombers.

The police also had a high success rate in investigating rightwing terrorism and thus far had solved 90 percent of such cases, which was a higher percentage than their success

rate in solving leftwing terrorism.

Captain Kotze added: "The police do not ever underestimate the rightwing's far greater capacity to commit terrorism."

A number of rightwing organisations, while denying involvement in the planting of the bomb, have applauded the action.

Deputy leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Coen Vermaak, said yesterday he believed the bomb could have been the work of the "Boer Republikeinse Leer", which recently distributed advice on how to commit sabotage and had identified specific targets by name.

This organisation, whose leadership is unknown, has circulated at least two documents among Boer independence groups over the past six months - advising people to act alone in sabotage or terrorism so they could not be identified on membership lists.

Captain Kotze said the police had taken note of the "Boer Republican Army" and would take a "very close look at the origin of this organisation to see if it actually existed" or might just be a hoax.

Bomb: 'Menlopark will be next'

Star 18/7/91
Pretoria Correspondent

Menlopark Hoërskool "will be the next old Hillview school", rightwingers have threatened.

A man, who refused to identify himself, told the Pretoria News in a telephone call yesterday that he was part of an organisation comprising immigrants from Africa "who were helping to fight the cause".

The man said his organisation had spray-painted a message on the walls of the school after it had voted in favour of Model B, which

opens a school to all races.

"Nee vir kaffirs N", followed by a hammer and sickle, was painted on the wall.

Asked whether his organisation had planted the explosive device at the Hillview school, the man would not accept responsibility for the blast but said his organisation was "involved".

A spokesman for the police public relations directorate said this was the first direct indication that right-wing elements could be responsible for the Hillview school blast at the weekend.

Renewed fears for rightwing terror backlash

By Mono Badela

FEARS of a violent white backlash against President FW de Klerk's political reforms have been renewed by the bombing of Hillview High School in Pretoria.

Concern has been increased by the firing of three teargas canisters at a hostel housing black students at the University of Pretoria on Wednesday in what is believed to be a right-wing attack.

Students said police suspected two of the canisters were fired from a R1 or R4 rifle.

For months, many right-wingers have been arming themselves against

what they see as the "swart gevaar" (black danger). There has been a spate of bomb blasts aimed at government leaders, anti-apartheid activists and trade unionists recently.

Of the 23 bomb blasts perpetrated by right-wing groups during 1990, 20 of the incidents (or 87 percent) had been solved, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok told parliament last month.

He said the South African Police were continuing their investigations of right-wing groups.

Since June last year, bombs have exploded at two offices of the National Party, the homes of two Johannesburg city council members, a Jewish synagogue and the offices of

the alternative weekly newspaper, Vrye Weekblad.

No one was injured in the blasts, which occurred in the early morning. In each case commercial dynamite appears to have been used — the kind of explosives readily available to the country's certified miners. Right-wing groups have claimed credit for several of the bombings.

Other acts of right-wing terror took place at the Bree Street bus and taxi terminus in central Johannesburg where a massive explosion left several people, mostly blacks, injured and the windows of nearby shops were shattered. Other incidents of right-wing terrorism include the killing of a black taxi-driver and the bombing

of the Johannesburg flat of journalist Ms Jani Allan in 1989.

In December last year, a Foreign Affairs official was detained in connection with the blast in October at the residence of the US ambassador, Mr William Swing, in Pretoria.

The previous month, political risk consultant Mr Wim Booysse predicted that incidents of right-wing violence would increase in areas where rightwing organisations were well-structured and where they had a "captive audience".

These areas include the northern Free State, western Transvaal, far northern Transvaal and eastern Transvaal where conservatism had a stronghold.

KIDS' HOPEES hastened by school bomb

South 18/71 - 2417191

By Mono Badela

THE explosion that rocked Hillview High School in downtown Pretoria on Sunday has not only delayed the return of 400 ANC primary school children but also shattered the hopes of local children who had hoped to use the facilities.

The arrival of the children from Tanzania has been delayed until alternative arrangements can be made. ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus said the safety of the children was paramount and warned that the ANC would not tolerate this kind of "rightwing thuggery".

Responsibility

The bomb, at 2am on Sunday, was detonated in a first-floor classroom, and occurred just one day before the newly-renovated school was due to be handed over to the government for the use of about 700 children expected to be flown from Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania to South Africa this month.

Two right-wing groups have claimed responsibility for the bombing but police have not yet made any arrests. A woman, claiming she was a member of the "Wit Wolwe" and a

man who said he belonged to the "Wit Republikeinse Leer" (White Republican Army) have claimed they were responsible for the blast.

Other rightwing organisations, while denying involvement in the planting of the bomb, have applauded the action. Reacting to the bombing of the school, Niehaus said the rightwingers were trying to wage their "racist war" against defenceless children.

Tolerate

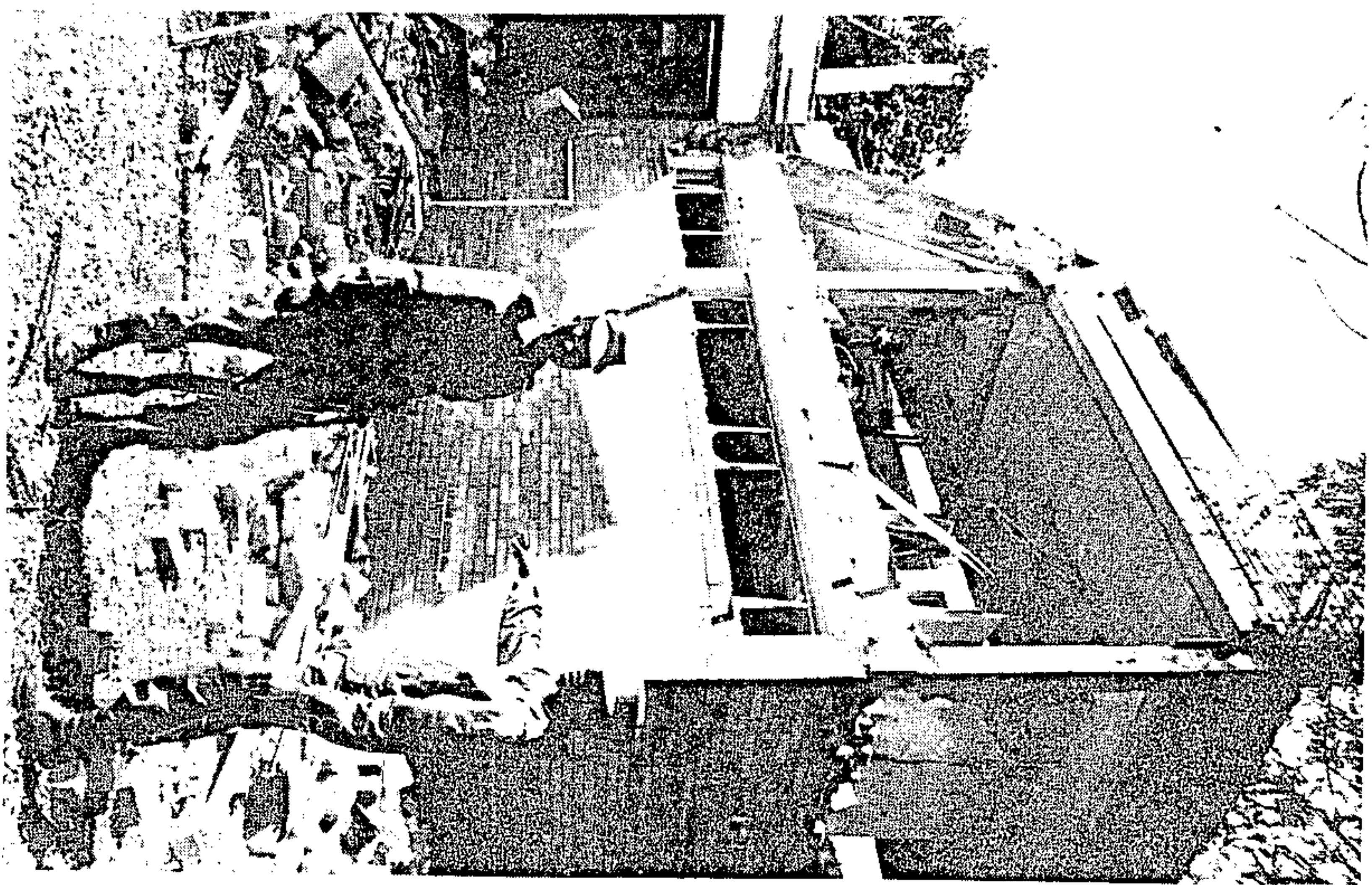
"We are not prepared to tolerate a situation where rightwing groups want to make use of violence to try to circumvent the normal democratic process in this country.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Pretoria on Monday he was "appalled" by the bombing, which he called "abominable".

The police at times had given the impression that they were "not always as zealous as some of us might want to see them be".

A mother of seven travelled 35 kilometres from Soshanguve outside Pretoria to inspect the damage.

Mrs Roseline Majokano had hoped that her three young sons would be admitted to Hillview High School when it was to open next month. She said schools in black townships



BOMBED-OUT: Security guards at a section of Hillview High School extensively damaged by a bomb

PICT: DYNAMIC IMAGES

were in a "terrible state" with no blackboards or desks, and the classrooms in winter were cold because they had no windows.

Meanwhile, the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) warned this week that pupils of Alexandra township would occupy an empty white school situated at Orange Groove on July 29, after which black pupils would invade 50 other empty white schools in the area.

Exiled MK cadre returns to testify

Sowetan 19/7/91

84A

A MEMBER of the African National Congress' military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe has returned to South Africa temporarily to give evidence into the death of ANC members killed by police at Piet Retief.

Mr Richard Vallihu, who arrived in the country on Saturday, will leave Durban for Piet Retief next week to help piece together the baffling circumstances surrounding the deaths of Mr Surendra Lenny Naidu and three women, Ms Makhosi Nyoka, Ms Lindiwe Mthembu and Ms June-Rose Cothoza.

All four were crossing into South Africa from Swaziland on

June 8 in 1988 when the vehicle in which they were travelling was shot at by police under the command of Major Eugene de Kock, based at Vlakplaas.

Vallihu said this week he was the last person to see Naidu alive.

The inquest court has heard from De Kock that the police believed the people in the vehicle were trained ANC members.

The court has been told that police approached the group at the Swazi border.

De Kock said when police approached Naidu's vehicle and ordered out the occupants, Naidu fired at police from inside the car.

Lawyers acting for the families

dispute this and claim that De Kock and his command intended to kill all those in the vehicle.

Former Death Row prisoner, Butana Almond Nofomela, whose shock allegations about a police hit squad helped uncover the Civil Cooperation Bureau, testified at the inquest that De Kock was a police officer "who specialised in destruction" and was involved in stealing motor vehicles and kidnapping.

On Sunday, Naidu's family hosted a memorial service at the Chatsworth cemetery which was attended by hundreds of ANC members.

Vallihu spoke briefly at the service. He joined the ANC with Naidu in 1986. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



No sweet return for kids after school bombing



By PORTIA MAURICE (17-25/7/91)
PUPILS at the African National Congress' Solomon Mahlangu College in Tanzania are likely to return to school there while the future of Hillview High School in Pretoria is negotiated.

A major part of Hillview — which had been allocated for use by the children of returning exiles — was destroyed by a bomb on Sunday. Damage has been estimated at between R800 000 and R1-million. Extensive renovations had just been completed at the school, which had been abandoned for 10 years.

Two right-wing groups — the "Wit Wolwe" and the "Wit Republikeinse Leer" (White Republican Army) have claimed responsibility for the blast, but police say they have no concrete leads. According to last week's issue of the Conservative Party newspaper *Die Patriot*, a delegation of rightwingers visited Hillview just days before the bombing. Among the visitors were Dominee Mossie van der Berg of the Afrikaner Kulturbond, Jan Groenewald of the Boere-Vryheidsbeweging and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Groenewald was reported as saying the school would be the "teiken van Boere weerstand" (target of Boer resistance). Meanwhile, an ANC representative involved in repatriation said this week although communication with the pupils was difficult, their lives would continue normally in order to minimise disruption when they returned to South Africa.

He remained tight-lipped though about the progress of government/ANC talks on the issue, and would not be drawn on whether the ANC would wait for Hillview to be renovated a second time or demand alternative accommodation.

"We need to bring the children back urgently, so Hillview may be eliminated as an option by virtue of the need," he said, adding that the security of the students should be of paramount importance.

The ANC had not yet received any police reports on the bombing, although they had been reassured that investigations were continuing, he said.

"We are owed a report as part of the committee arranging the school. The culprits must be apprehended and the state must prove its sincerity on this issue."

Hillview school 'bombed by amateurs' says expert

DARIUS SANAI

THE terrorists who bombed the Hillview High School in Pretoria on Sunday "did not know very much about blowing up buildings", a demolition expert said yesterday.

The expert told Business Day that 25kg of explosives, properly placed, would "raze a school building to the ground".

Police reports said that 25kg of explosives had been used in the blast, which partly demolished the empty school building earmarked for use by children of exiled ANC members.

Sapa reports that the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) met two government ministers in Pretoria yesterday to request that the school not be used to house children of ANC exiles.

BVB chairman Prof Alkmaar Swart said in a statement he and Jan Groenewald met National Health Minister Dr Rina Venter and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. *B/day 19/7/91*

"The BVB stated its case and said the decision to use the school to accommodate ANC children was unfeeling. We seriously asked Minister Venter to ensure, in the light of the pent-up resistance, to reconsider her intention."

The minister gave her assurance that her options were still open and that she would inform the BVB of any other decisions, Prof Swart said.

Leadership lessons are top drawcard

TANIA LEVY

WOULD-BE township leaders are queuing to attend Wits Business School and learn the sort of skills previously reserved for senior corporate managers.

The school's community-based development programme is part of a thrust to ensure that it not only serves big business, but provides leadership to public sector and community organisations.

Programme co-ordinator and former Cosatu education officer Frank Meintjies said in an interview that community organisations which previously relied on political slogans to mobilise people, now faced the challenge of converting slogans into plans with time limits and results which could be measured.

Programme director Dave Adler said the politics of mass mobilisation, which previously sustained these organisations, was often used to hide organisational inefficiency.

Funding

After the abolition of apartheid and repressive laws, members of trade unions, civic associations and other anti-apartheid groups had become less militant and were increasingly questioning organisations' leadership, structure and accountability.

Adler said cutbacks in funding, particularly from overseas, were forcing community-based organisations increasingly to analyse their effectiveness.

Funding previously made available to human rights causes was now being channelled into specific development work.

Community-based organisations had to

become more effective to attract funding — and make it go further.

Areas covered in the four-month course included problem-solving, decision-making, strategic leadership, needs analysis, budgeting, fund-raising, progress evaluation, labour law, marketing, adult learning and media relations.

Meintjies said the main difference between the programme and other courses offered by the business school was that the programme's students were drawn from non-profit organisations which usually had a strongly political culture. These groups also had a strongly collective approach.

Meintjies said the anti-apartheid "sector" had grown remarkably in recent years and pulled in hundreds of administrative people. But it suffered from one of the major problems facing SA big business; it was drawing its human resources from a pool of unskilled people with a disadvantaged educational background.

Adler said the programme started from the basis that development consisted of four equally important facets — the economic, social, political and psychological or spiritual.

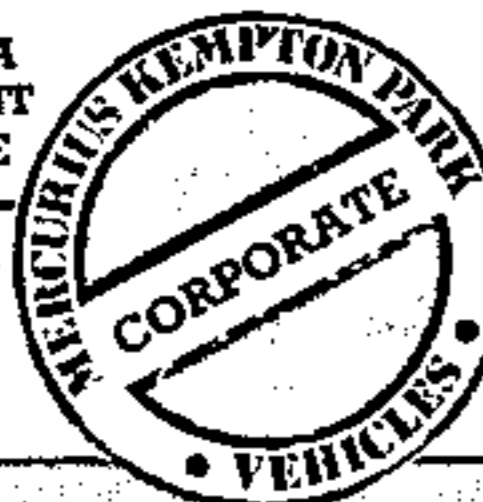
Participants were taught to assess the broader context within which they worked.

For example, community-based organisations that were concerned about redistribution of wealth must learn about wealth generation, said Adler.

Meintjies said the programme was not party political, but it fitted into and identified with the broad extra-parliamentary democratic movement.



MAKES A PLEASANT CHANGE



Mercurius

53 West Street, Kempton Park
Tel: 970-2250

20 years of service to the corporate and private market.

Drive a
MERCEDES BENZ
today!

Your car allowance can afford this...

20/7/91

2 die as kids detonate ⁽⁸⁴⁴⁾ grenade

PRETORIA. — Two women were killed when children detonated a handgrenade they were playing with in White City, Soweto, on Thursday night.

Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said police were investigating how the children came to have the grenade.

And at Brandfort, a Majwemasweu Town Committee councillor, Mrs Suzan Phetlane, burnt to death earlier this week when her cafe was set alight. Two youths who were with her were stabbed.

A man was arrested after unidentified gunmen opened fire, killing another man, in Greytown, Natal.

At Mhluzi outside Middeburg in the Transvaal, a youth was arrested when a group stoned a police vehicle.

July 21 1991



MK conference in SA next month

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
and **CP Correspondent**

8473

ANC military wing Umkhonto we-Sizwe will hold its first legal conference in South Africa next month, ANC spokesman Karl Niehaus said this week.

MK was formed 30 years ago when the ANC was banned.

According to Niehaus, the congress - which will be attended by representatives from inside and outside the country - will probably take place either in Venda or KwaNdebele.

Sources close to MK said the conference was originally scheduled to take

place in the Transkei in May.

However, senior officers decided on the postponement to allow the ANC national conference to take place first.

Niehaus, who served a jail term for being an internal MK recruit, said next month's conference would be dominated by the ANC's Durban conference resolutions on its armed wing.

The plight of returned members who were experiencing personal and social problems would also be addressed.

Among its conference resolutions the ANC decided to strengthen MK and to cater for the needs of its combatants. It also resolved to take responsibility for cadres prosecuted over the execution of

their duties in defence of their people.

Delegates also resolved to maintain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force created into which MK cadres would be integrated.

Sources close to MK predict that heads are going to roll at next month's conference because of complaints by returned combatants that the ANC has not met most of its promises to them since their return.

Those who returned from Angola claimed they were promised jobs and houses.

Many soldiers still outside the country are now said to be reluctant to

return to the same political situation which they turned their backs on more than 20 years ago.

The ANC, however, has reported financial difficulties in supporting members to their satisfaction. Because of high transport costs it has also instructed its Frontline States structures to bury members who die in exile at their places of death.

MK commander Joe Modise told City Press last month that his cadres were undergoing conventional training to prepare them to take over a new army under a future government. He said hundreds of youths were still leaving the country to join MK.

★★★
PRESS

Second bomb blasts Hillview High School

Sowetan 22/7/91
A SECOND bomb has exploded at the old Hillview High School in Pretoria, damaging a boundary wall and shattering windows at a block of flats across the road.

No one was injured in the blast, which occurred at 1.24am yesterday - a week almost to the minute after the previous explosion which caused serious structural damage to the building.

The building was to have housed about 700 children of ANC cadres returning from Tanzania.

Police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg said nobody had as yet claimed responsibility for the blast and the type of explosive device used was still unknown.

He said the explosives had been placed on the ground next to the boundary wall in Dr Savage Street. The explosion ripped a 5-metre hole in the concrete wall.

No one was injured, but windows of flats above Pro-Auto Service Station, across the road from the school, were

broken.

Several rightwing groups have claimed responsibility for the first blast on July 14, which followed threats by the Boere Vryheidsbeweging that the school would become a "target of Boer resentment" should the Government go ahead with plans to house the ANC children there.

BVB leader Mr Jan Groenewald, however, denied that his movement had been responsible for the blast.

Spokesmen for several

84A *69A*
rightwing organisations have denied responsibility for yesterday's explosion.

The future of the children is as yet undecided. Repair work on the building had not yet started after the first blast.

White schools earmarked for use by the ANC or organisations not representing the "Boer" nation would suffer the same fate as Hillview school, deputy leader of the rightwing Orde Boer-volk, Mr Coen Vermaak, has said. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Another ~~bombing~~ bombing at ANC school in Pretoria

ARCTIS 22/7/91

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A second bomb has exploded at the Hillview High School in Pretoria, damaging a boundary wall and shattering windows at a block of flats across the road.

No-one was injured in the blast at 1.24am yesterday, a week after the previous explosion, which caused serious structural damage.

The building was to have housed about 700 children of ANC exiles returning from Tanzania.

Police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg said nobody had claimed responsibility for the blast and the type of explosive used was unknown.

The explosion ripped a five-metre hole in the concrete wall.

No-one was injured, but windows of flats above a service station across the road from the school, were shattered by the blast.

Several rightwing groups claimed responsibility for the first blast on July 14, which followed threats by the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) that the school would become a "target of Boer resentment" should the government go ahead with plans to house the ANC children there.

BVB leader Mr Jan Groenewald denied that his movement had been responsible for the blast.

Star 22/7/91

Warning as second blast rocks Hillview

84A

Pretoria Correspondent
and Sapa

A second bomb has exploded at the old Hillview High School in Pretoria, damaging a boundary wall and shattering windows at a block of flats across the road.

And right-wing Orde Boerevolk (OB) spokesman Coen Vermaak warned yesterday that other schools would suffer a similar fate.

No one was injured in the blast, which occurred at 1.24 am yesterday — a week almost to the minute after the previous explosion, which caused serious structural damage to the building.

The building was to have housed about 700 children of ANC cadres returning from Tanzania.

Police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg said nobody had as yet claimed responsibility for the blast and the type of explosive device used was still unknown.

He said the explosives had been placed on the ground next to the boundary wall in Dr Savage Street. The explosion ripped a 5 m hole in the concrete wall. Windows of nearby flats above the Pro-Auto service station were broken.

The motive for the blast was unknown.

Spokesmen for several right-wing organisations yesterday denied knowledge of who was respon-

sible.

Several right-wing groups have claimed responsibility for the first blast on July 14, which followed threats by the Boere Vryheidsbeweging that the school would become a "target of Boer resentment" if the Government went ahead with plans to house the ANC children there.

However, BVB leader Jan Groenewald denied his movement had been responsible for the blast.

Yesterday Mr Vermaak, deputy leader of the OB, said vacant white schools earmarked for use by the ANC or organisations not representing the "Boer" nation would suffer the same fate as Hillview school.

"We don't blame the people who have done this. We understand them and we expected it," Mr Vermaak said.

Conservative Party spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said those responsible were sure to be amateurs and not part of any organisation.

"It sounds like somebody is trying to get on the bandwagon," he said.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the bombing was the reaction of rightwingers against the "misdoings of the Government".

"It just stresses the Government's mistake to bring people from other nations into Paul Kruger's capital."

The home of a senior ANC man in Khayelitsha was petrol-bombed yesterday morning, as Cape Town's black townships experienced two days of rampant violence.

The home of Mr Richard Makeleni was gutted by fire, in what the ANC said was a sequel to several attacks on him.

In other incidents, two people died in violence linked to the taxi war yesterday while four men, two of them Webta taxi drivers, were shot and wounded in an attack on Monday.

The ANC described the attack on Mr Makeleni's home as being pre-

ANC man bombed

ceded by events similar to those which culminated in the recent assassination of civic leader Mr Michael Mapongwana.

The attack allegedly followed a daylight raid on his house last month by police, the ANC said.

"This event is similar to the events that took (Mr) Mapongwana's life."

Mr Makeleni is vice-chairman of the Khayelitsha ANC Zone and an executive member of the Western Cape Civic Association.

Damage to the house at M42 in Site B, Khayelitsha, was estimated at R15 000, according to the ANC.

"The ANC Khayelitsha Zone deplures the at-

tack. We call on police to stop the attacks and killings of the innocent people," the statement said.

"We call on the SAP to honour their words and catch these evil actors and put them into the court of justice, or they must immediately resign."

A taxi driver and a woman passenger were shot dead and a second passenger was wounded yesterday when gunmen attacked a taxi rank in Nyanga.

● Two killed as local township violence soars
— Page 2

Five on petrol-bomb charge

(84A) South 25/7-31/7/91
FIVE residents of Zwelihle township in Hermanus are due to appear in court next month in connection with an alleged petrol-bomb attack on the home of a community councillor.

They face a charge of attempted murder in connection with the incident, which took place on July 6 this year. At a previous hearing the matter was postponed to August 7

for further investigation.

The five were arrested soon after police used teargas to disperse a group of about 200 following a meeting attended by community councillors which was allegedly disrupted by residents of the township.

The five are: Melville Makalini, Kumuhela Pawoawe, Richard Magogotha, Mbalelo Sampani and a youth.

Soviet weapons found in Pimville

Sowetan 31/7/91

84A

SOWETO police have discovered an arms cache of Soviet-made explosives stashed away on the eastern side of the Pimville golf course.

There were 10 handgrenade detonators, five mini limpet mines and two loaded AK-47 assault rifle magazines.

Colonel Jac de Vries, of the Soweto police, showed the explosives to the media.

"The find indicates that guerillas are

bringing weapons into the country from across the border. All the weapons are of Soviet origin," he said.

The explosives were found in a bag wrapped in aluminum foil. Police say the weapons appear to have been there for about two weeks.

De Vries said there was a lot of intimidation in the township and the weapons were obviously for that purpose.

Arms cache uncovered

B1000
31/7/91 JONATHON REES *84A*

SOWETO police discovered a recently buried cache of new East Bloc weapons on Monday.

SAP Soweto spokesman Col Jac de Vries said yesterday five "shiny new" mini limpet mines, five RGDS hand grenades with detonators, SPM limpet mine detonators and two fully loaded AK-47 magazines were found.

He said the arms were all expertly vacuum-packed in silver foil bearing the name of a Manchester packaging company and bearing a Windhoek telephone number. The number could not be reached yesterday.

De Vries said the cache was discovered after police doing a routine inspection of open ground east of Soweto's Pimville golf course saw people acting suspiciously and found a recently disturbed area of ground. The cache was not more than a week old.

The arms were found wrapped in the silver foil inside a plastic handbag. De Vries said police had no idea how the arms had entered the country, but suspected the British packaging might have been used as a decoy.

Wits students march on Hillbrow police station

JONATHON REES

ABOUT 300 Wits University students marched on the Hillbrow police station yesterday after a mass meeting at which speakers questioned government's ability and integrity to rule SA through the transition to democracy. *B1000*

An open letter demanding an apology from former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for allegedly funding and training the "right wing" National Student Federation was handed to acting station commander Capt Charl Annandale, who promised to hand it to the relevant authorities.

The letter also called for the resignation of the entire

Cabinet and the establishment of a multi-party interim government.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber told the meeting he was disappointed at indications that Vlok would not sue the newspaper for alleging he had lied over the Inkatha funding scandal. *31/7/91*

Harber, who received a standing ovation at the meeting, said the newspaper would have liked to test Vlok's credibility in court.

Harber said the government was following a double strategy, which entailed sabotaging the fairness of the process and destabilising its opponents, while propping up other groups to oppose its opponents.

The National Student Federation this week denied receiving government funding.



Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber addressing a Wits University student meeting on the Inkatha funding scandal yesterday.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

FOCUS HOLDINGS LIMITED

("Focus")
Bsn No. 82/11813M7



Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Thumbs up for MK

By THEMBA KHUMALO

MILITARY leaders Gen Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brig Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda have given their support to Umkhonto weSizwe's plan to establish itself as a regular army.

Addressing 500 delegates at MK's three-day national conference, which ends today at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, Holomisa and Ramushwana said MK was free to organise in the two homelands.

Holomisa said: "We could well be on a course of national reconciliation, peace and unity where the interests of one South Africa will reign supreme and oblige us to defend them as one unit."

Ramushwana said MK was free to organise support in Venda as long as its activities were peaceful and did not violate any laws of the homeland.

He received a standing ovation after calling on MK commanders to retrain their forces with a view to establishing democracy in a unitary South Africa.

He added that his military council would be announcing a process which would facilitate the reincorporation of Venda back into South Africa.

The council was preparing a comprehensive document which would be taken back to the people for discussion, he said. The contents of the document would be publicised in two weeks time, he added.

High-tech 'dirty tricks'

South 1/8-7/8/91

From Eric Naki
East London

RIGHT-WING pamphleteers have gone high-tech, sending their material out on fax.

Several different pamphlets have been circularised over the past few weeks, bearing no hint of their source.

Issued under the title "Factsheet", the pamphlet claims to have "no fixed editorial policy, but the editors are committed to the

free market system.

The publication claims to come from a team of "highly-informed and well-connected information brokers".

Most of the pamphlets so far have been taken up with long lists of names of about 170 trade union officials who are allegedly members of the SA Communist Party (SACP). It claims the SACP is using the ANC and Cosatu as "tools" to further its aims.

A spokesperson for the Post Office said numerous complaints had been received, but nothing could be done about it because there was no senders' number on the faxes. — *Elnews*

Suspended

sentence for

MK man

South 1/8-7/8/91

A PORT Alfred regional magistrate suspended the sentence of an Umkhonto we Sizwe member this week after he pleaded guilty to possessing two hand-grenades and two detonators.

Phakamile Mtya, 27, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, suspended for five years, on condition that he is not found guilty of a similar offence during that time.

— *Ana*

Right-wing bomb suspects out on bail

By Helen Grange
and Philip Zolo

Three rightwingers ended their hunger strike yesterday after being given bail.

Leonard Veenendal and Daryl Stopforth of the Orde Boerevolk (OB) were granted R1 000 bail each — after a Johannesburg magistrate, two lawyers and the two rightwingers gathered for a "court session" in Johannesburg Hospital.

Mr Veenendal had his first meal in 32 days and Mr Stopforth his first in 18 days.

Fellow OB member Horst Klenz, who had been on hunger strike for 26 days, is expected to be released on bail from Pretoria Central Prison today after a successful

application yesterday.

The three, who have been in custody since June 1990, face extradition to Namibia to stand trial in connection with the bombing of a United Nations base in 1989.

They decided to start eating again after a meeting between Mr Veenendal, Mr Stopforth and attorney Wim Cornelius. They discussed a representation made on July 24 by Mr Cornelius to Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Kobie Coetsee, urging the Minister to block the extradition by applying the terms of the Pretoria Minute.

The extradition case will be heard on August 30.

● Divided Right faces crisis — Page 9

star 2/8/91

84A

253

...to move from place to place. Scores of families have daily been fleeing the violence-wracked squatter camp in the past few weeks. See also Page 4. Pic:MBUZENI ZULU

Two bomb blasts rock Soweto

Soweto 6/8/91

8/4A

By DON SEOKANE

TWO separate bomb explosions rocked Soweto last night.

The blasts occurred at Mshenguville squatter settlement in Mofolo and at a bottlestore in White City Jabavu owned by former Soweto mayor Mr Ephraim "ET" Tshababala.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Johan de Vries last night confirmed the explosions

and said the blasts occurred five minutes of each other.

De Vries said the blast at Mshenguville occurred at 9.20pm and the one that hit Tshababala's bottlestore took place at 9.25pm.

He said he was not aware of any casualties. The extent of the damage was not known at the time of going to Press.

• To Page 2

Bomb blasts

From Page 1

De Vries could also not disclose the nature of the explosive devices used in the bombing. He said police were still investigating.

Tshababala's businesses were targeted for a consumer boycott at a meeting held in Soweto at the weekend following several attacks on residents of Mshenguville.

The Mshenguville Crisis Committee said the decision to boycott Tshababala's business was agreed upon after residents felt he had a hand in a decision by Inkatha to start a branch at the squatter camp.

This claim has been denied by his family. More than 10 people have been killed and many injured at the squatter camp since last month.

Yesterday the Soweto Council issued a statement appealing to all parties "seeking to end the violence at Mshenguville which could create conflict and confrontation within the community".

Sapa reports that Mr Floyd Mashele, convenor of a crisis committee formed to try to end the violence in the squatter camp, last night said the explosions shattered windows of nearby houses.

He believed people had been injured as there were ambulances in the area.

However, a spokesman at Baragwanath Hospital said no one had been admitted for treatment.



CHRIS HANI

MK, SADF merger is out - Hani

~~SADF~~
SADF
Sowetan
7/8/91

THE ANC will not accept integration of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe with the SA Defence Force, MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Hani, addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg to announce arrangements for MK's three-day national conference in Venda over the weekend, said the ANC regarded the SADF as "the military wing of the National Party Government".

A new democratically-elected government would have to create a new

defence force which would have to be orientated to defending democracy, Hani said.

Such a force could well contain elements of the SADF, MK and other military elements.

The ANC was awaiting the response of the new Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, to the formation of a new defence force representative of all South Africans.

"We hope Meyer will be more open-minded on the issue," Hani said. - Sapa.



We're keeping our word, says Umkhonto

By Kaizer Nyatsuraba
Political Staff

The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), has steadfastly observed agreements entered into between the Government and the ANC, including the suspension of the armed operations, MK leaders said in Johannesburg yesterday.

A press conference to announce MK's national congress to be held in Venda at the weekend, the MK leadership said in a statement that trained cadres had made "a major contribution and sacrifice to the peace pro-

cess now unfolding in the country" by observing agreements reached with Pretoria.

"This was no easy decision. However, it was made possible due to the strong discipline of our cadres and their deep-seated commitment to peace, freedom and the establishment of democracy in South Africa," the statement said.

However, the MK leaders — chief of staff Chris Hani and commanders Tokyo Sexwale, Goodman Moloi and Lambert Moloi — said they viewed the Government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the United Workers Union of

South Africa as a serious threat to the peace process.

The three-day MK congress at the University of Venda will be opened by ANC president and MK commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela on Friday morning, and will be attended by more than 240 delegates.

Among the issues to be discussed are the creation of a new security force in a democratic South Africa, negotiations, the suspension of armed activities and the welfare of MK cadres.

Mr Hani said the leaders hoped the right wing would not interrupt the congress.

Operation Vula trialist mooted for hot seat

South 8/8 - 14/8/91



84A

ALL indications point to Operation Vula trialist Siphwe Nyanda assuming the hot seat as the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe when Chris Hani moves to head the South African Communist Party.

This week a cagey and non-committal Nyanda said while he would see the position as a big responsibility, he would nonetheless see his promotion as "no big deal".

According to ANC sources, Nyanda's name is the only put forward to replace Hani.

While Nyanda insisted that the talk of his promotion to chief of staff is "pure speculation at this stage", ANC insiders say that his ascendancy to the high-powered position is a foregone conclusion. Nyanda said that, although he rec-

ognised that Hani was a man "with a great deal of charisma", he will not be daunted by it.

"I see the task as a big responsibility but I would simply see it as one that has to be done."

Apart from the publicity surrounding his key role in Operation Vula, not much else is known about Nyanda.

He is reported, however, to have built a track record in the ANC underground over the past 16 years, which makes him the ideal candidate for the position.

Nyanda was born and raised in Jabavu, Soweto. He matriculated at the Orlando West High School and entered the University of Zululand as a science student in 1971.

In his first year, he was expelled as a result of his role in food protests

at the university.

"I was found guilty of puncturing smelly cups with my divider."

For the next four years he worked at various jobs, including a stint as sports writer for the defunct newspaper "World".

He joined the ANC underground in 1975 and at the beginning of 1976 he left the country, on the instruction of the ANC, and was sent to the German Democratic Republic to further his training. He returned to Africa in 1977 — managing to sneak into South Africa for three months — then based himself in Maputo, Mozambique.

He was appointed the political commissar of the Transvaal Urban Machinery set up in Maputo, and later promoted to commander in 1978. In 1983 the Urban Machinery was

transformed into the Military Command and he was appointed chief of staff for Transvaal.

The signing of the Nkomati Accord put paid to ANC operations in Mozambique, resulting in Nyanda and others moving to Swaziland where the base was re-established.

In 1985 Nyanda was sent to the Soviet Union for further training and returned to Swaziland later that year.

In 1987 he was appointed Maharaj's deputy commander in Operation Vula. He was arrested in 1990 and, earlier this year, granted indemnity from all charges relating to the operation.

Nyanda was elected on to the National Executive Committee at the recent ANC National Conference. — NEW AFRICAN



Siphwe Nyanda

Romance and realism: MK at the crossroads

South 8/8/91 - 14/8/91.

84A

The armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is holding its first conference inside South Africa this weekend. On the agenda is the return of the thousands of MK cadres still in exile, their deployment and welfare, and a united army in a post-apartheid South Africa. **REHANA ROSSOUW** reports:

BEFORE the unbanning of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe last year, ANC activists tended to hold somewhat romantic notions of the "people's army".

Their freedom songs lauded the guerillas training in "the bush" and praised the heroes of the Sasol and Koeberg bombings. Umkhonto we Sizwe was going to roll down Government Avenue towards the Union Buildings, tear down the South African flag and hoist the ANC colours.

After February 2, another picture of MK emerged. This was no victorious army marching into the cities to liberate the people, but rather a guerilla force facing the challenge of integrating its members into the ranks of its former enemy — the South African Defence Force (SADF).

Problems Integrating

Unlike the guerilla forces in Zimbabwe and Namibia, MK faces major problems in integrating into a united, post-apartheid South Africa.

When the SADF withdrew from Namibia, the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) was almost the same size and strength as Swapo's armed wing, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

At the end of the war in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian army numbered 74 000 and the combined strength of the liberation movements' armies was 40 000.

In both countries it was possible after independence to merge the opposing sides without friction.

A major factor militating against integrating MK into the SADF is the disparity in the size of



UMKHONTO WE SIZWE: Potent force or romanticised army?

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

the two armies.

The SADF, the largest army in Africa, is a modern, sophisticated force consisting of an army, navy and airforce with extensive conventional battle experience, a highly-developed infrastructure and state-of-the-art weapons and equipment.

It is estimated to have a permanent force of 75 000, a standing operational force of 125 000 (including conscripts) and a reserve of 455 000.

In comparison, military analysts estimate MK's size at 10 000 trained guerillas who, although they might have won propaganda victories against the state, were never considered a serious military threat.

While some MK cadres underwent rigorous and conventional training in friendly countries abroad, a large number had only a few months' training in African states before being shipped back to South Africa to be deployed in the field.

In African states, the ANC's guerilla army trained with limited material

support and outdated weapons and equipment.

Unlike the SADF, MK is an ill-equipped and ill-trained army. Many of its members are unlikely to become career officers or soldiers and are not available to join the post-apartheid defence force.

Officer training

In the past year, MK cadres have been sent abroad for officer training and training as pilots, navy personnel and mechanised battalion personnel. Recently, a number of cadres have been seconded to the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) to upgrade their skills.

Despite this, there is little the ANC can do to transform its guerilla forces into an army that compares favourably with the SADF. There is little it can do to produce officers with the skills and sophistication of the SADF.

The immediate challenge facing MK is to transform its forces into a conventional army requiring strict routines of accountability

and logistical structures.

MK needs to distinguish between the civil and military roles of its cadres. These have been blurred by the political involvement of nearly all its guerilla fighters.

The army needs to decide upon rank designations and relate these to strict educational requirements.

It is becoming clear that a balanced integration of MK guerillas into the SADF will not be achieved as smoothly as in post-independence Zimbabwe and Namibia.

What is likely is that the post-apartheid army will make a few political appointments of key MK individuals into top posts in the new defence force, but the army will continue to be controlled by white officers.

At present, only SADF officers have the skills and experience to manage the large and complex organisation that is the SADF.

The officers corps of the South African Police is also likely to remain unchanged, as the new government

will not have the experienced police personnel with which to replace them.

This presents a host of problems for the post-apartheid defence force.

The continued domination of whites in the army and police is unlikely to promote legitimacy and public confidence.

This dilemma is already being experienced in Namibia, where the Swapo Youth League is campaigning for the dismissal of white officers who retained their positions after the SWA Police was disbanded.

The white officers have been accused of attempting to destabilise the government, and black officers complain that the command structure is as racist as it was before independence.

If the SADF does not become a truly integrated army, another concern could be the unwillingness of Frontline states to divert spending from defence to repair the havoc unleashed on them for decades by the SADF.

Post-apartheid defence

Leaders of the Frontline states will be hesitant to accept the bona fides of the post-apartheid defence force if its command structure is still dominated by whites.

The conference will also consider the effect of MK's weaknesses on the negotiation process.

The inequality between the SADF and MK has already given rise to an unequal balance of power between the ANC and the government during their talks.

At present, the government enjoys a virtual monopoly of military and police power while the ANC relies on its popular support to add weight to its demands at the negotiation table.

The government will no doubt seek protection for its constituency in the new South Africa and an obvious choice would be to retain control of the defence force to ensure the preservation of white interests.

Judging from both the SADF and the SAP's record of involvement in the political process, the possibility exists that they could disregard or interfere in the political process after apartheid.

The danger here to the ANC is that while it could enjoy political power in a future South Africa, the security establishments will remain under the control of their present political commanders.

MK meets for three days of 'tough talk'

SKR 9/18/77
By Patrick Laurence

THOHOYANDOU — Members of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), converged on Thohoyandou yesterday from all over South Africa — and beyond its borders — for the start of a three-day conference.

The conference will be opened today by ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is also MK commander-in-chief.

Discontent

Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, chairman of the Military Council which took power in Venda after a bloodless coup last year, will read a paper at the start of the conference.

His presence is an auspicious sign for the ANC, which is involved in a contest with President de Klerk's administration for the allegiance of "homeland leaders".

There were consistent reports of discontent in MK ranks during the ANC conference last month. Mr Mandela himself alluded to these.

"A separate conference of MK cadres, at-

84A/111
tended by leading members of the ANC national executive committee, is necessary if justice is to be done to their complaints," he said.

"The question of the suspension of armed action will be an important question on the agenda as dissatisfaction continues to surface."

MK men and women feel they have not been consulted sufficiently on major ANC decisions — of which the suspension of armed struggle a year ago is a major example — and that they have been insufficiently involved in the new phase of struggle in the political arena.

There is no question of rebellion, however. As Chris Hani, MK's chief of staff, has noted, MK's tradition is one of complete loyalty to the ANC and its leaders. But there will undoubtedly be much tough talking.

The conference will almost certainly discuss a South African Communist Party request for Mr Hani to take up a full-time post in its head office, a move which would result in his vacation of the number three position in MK.

whom have fought in air battles in Angola and Ethiopia, and who are now mostly employed commercially in Ethiopia and Lesotho. There will also be MK cadres with naval training, including Hani, as well as strategists, intelligence officials and weapons experts.

For most of the delegates, the arrival in SA last week was the first visit in many years as non-combatants. The focus of discussions will be on integration with the SADF, and the creation of a "depoliticised" SADF to oversee and "defend" the negotiations process.

Tokyo Sexwale, an MK senior commander, told the *FM* it is hoped that another conference will be convened by a group such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa). This might enable the SADF, MK and the various military groupings in the country (including those of the Left, the Right and homelands) to discuss integration and military policy for a new SA.

Says Sexwale: "We have to hold discus-



Hani ... full-time with the Communists

sions about a united, depoliticised army that will defend the process of negotiations, and thereafter protect the constitution."

These talks could begin soon after the "patriotic front" conference in Cape Town at the end of August, where the ANC, PAC, Azapo and other groups will try to form a united front for negotiations. They are also expected to look at future military strategies for SA, and the possibility of linking their forces. It will be the first time the three armies (such as they are) have held talks.

In February 1976, when he was a sports reporter and underground ANC activist, Nyanda left SA. While in exile he became commander of MK's Transvaal urban region from 1977 to 1983. He was appointed chief of staff for the Transvaal from 1983 to 1987. In 1988 he was seconded to Operation Vula, a key ANC-Communist Party project designed to overthrow or undermine the State, under direct control of Oliver Tambo (then ANC president).

Nyanda infiltrated SA in 1988 and was detained for four months last year when government detected Operation Vula. Since

January he has been at ANC head office, where he has been involved in organising township defence units.

Since last week senior MK commanders from camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola have been arriving in the country. MK has increased its training in conventional warfare, particularly in its Ugandan camp. Some senior commanders are versed in conventional warfare: Hani, for instance, was trained in the Soviet navy, and Sexwale specialised in explosives and anti-aircraft artillery. But most MK soldiers are trained in guerrilla tactics.

Sexwale would not reveal how many combatants MK has. Journalist Howard Barrell, in his book, *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle*, estimates the total at no more than 5 000 men and women. But the figure could be higher, given the establishment of defence committees over the last two years.

The ANC envisages a small professional army for SA, according to Sexwale, with size determined by "threat analysis." There would be no conscription.

The MK conference will discuss training programmes to ensure that those MK members who do not wish to join a future army will have civilian skills in the technical, administrative, farming and para-medical areas. "Some senior MK members, who have indicated that they would like full-time military careers, are already undergoing specialist training," says Sexwale. Apparently such training still takes place in the Soviet Union.

Sexwale cautions against viewing integration in terms of "technicalities." He acknowledges SADF superiority in terms of numbers, budget, military schools and technical skills. But he argues that MK combatants have skills in certain areas — in particular, communications and guerrilla warfare — that the SADF could benefit from. Each side, he suggests, can learn from the other.

Sexwale rightly points out that for political reasons many blacks who might have been inclined towards military careers were prevented by political considerations. He also criticises the SADF for the low complement of black officers — though this has increased markedly in recent years.

SADF statistics provided to the *FM* show it has 162 non-white officers from the rank of second lieutenant upwards. Twenty-five are blacks, including two colonels; 14 are Indian, including one with the naval rank of commander; and the remainder are coloured officers, including two colonels. There is only one non-white pilot.

Sexwale was critical of suggestions that MK is inferior to the SADF. "We received advanced military training in Warsaw Pact countries. This was recognised when MK cadres were captured and brought before the courts. Then officials said these people were highly trained and dangerous."

The future role of Armscor will be discussed. MK is against its privatisation, and wants it to expand research to compete in the arms market.

Charlene Smith

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE FM 9/8/91. Winning the peace

Operation Vula commander Sipiwe Nyanda (41) is expected to replace Chris Hani as chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Nyanda is at present the third most senior MK commander in SA, after Joe Modise and Hani (who is taking up a full-time position with the Communist Party).

Nyanda's appointment could be announced this weekend in Venda, at the first MK conference to be held inside SA. The 300 delegates to the conference include more than a dozen Soviet-trained pilots — some of

Give up control of army, Mandela tells FW

THOHOYANDOU — Hundreds of trained African National Congress guerrillas yesterday heard their commander-in-chief, Nelson Mandela, call on President de Klerk to surrender control of the security forces to an interim government of national unity.

Speaking at the first legal conference inside South Africa of the ANC army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Mandela used the occasion to step up pressure on Mr de Klerk to accede to growing demands for an interim government "within an unambiguous time-frame".

Time

In the text of the speech, Mr Mandela set 18 months as the "outside limit", but in his actual address he did not stipulate a specific time.

Later, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa drew loud acclaim from ANC combatants when he advised them to ensure that the ANC leaders did not compromise in their negotiations with the Government.

General Holomisa, who has a close friendship with Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, said: "We would like to witness a situation where the ANC would not bend its resolve to have an interim government established as a matter of extreme urgency."

Star 10/8/91 844
PATRICK LAURENCE

The Transkei leader rejected as "malicious" the allegations that the Transkei Defence Force was integrating ANC insurgents into its ranks.

He did, however, admit that there was co-operation between the Transkei Defence Force and Umkhonto, and called on the ANC to evaluate Transkeian soldiers to see whether their training was good enough to assure them of key positions in the new South African army.

Another leader who spoke at the conference was Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, the military ruler who seized power in Venda in a bloodless coup last year. He is committed to the reincorporation of Venda into South Africa, and was given a standing ovation before and after his address.

At the same briefing session, the ANC introduced to the public for the first time several of its military commanders, at least half of whom are members of the SA Communist Party.

The commanders who fielded questions from journalists included Mr Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, former ANC intelligence chief, Tony Yengeni, Che O'Gara, James Makhaya, Rashid Patel, Walter Matshingana and Jackie Molefe (the only

woman on the panel).

Mr Hani said Umkhonto was accountable to the ANC, not the SACP. He and his comrades refused to quantify the proportion of communists in Umkhonto's upper echelons, arguing that the secrecy which shrouded the SACP until very recently made it impossible for them to give an estimate.

Asked to comment on grievances (referred to as "complaints" by Mr Mandela) among Umkhonto members, Mr Hani admitted that logistical problems were affecting the flow of supplies to camps in neighbouring countries.

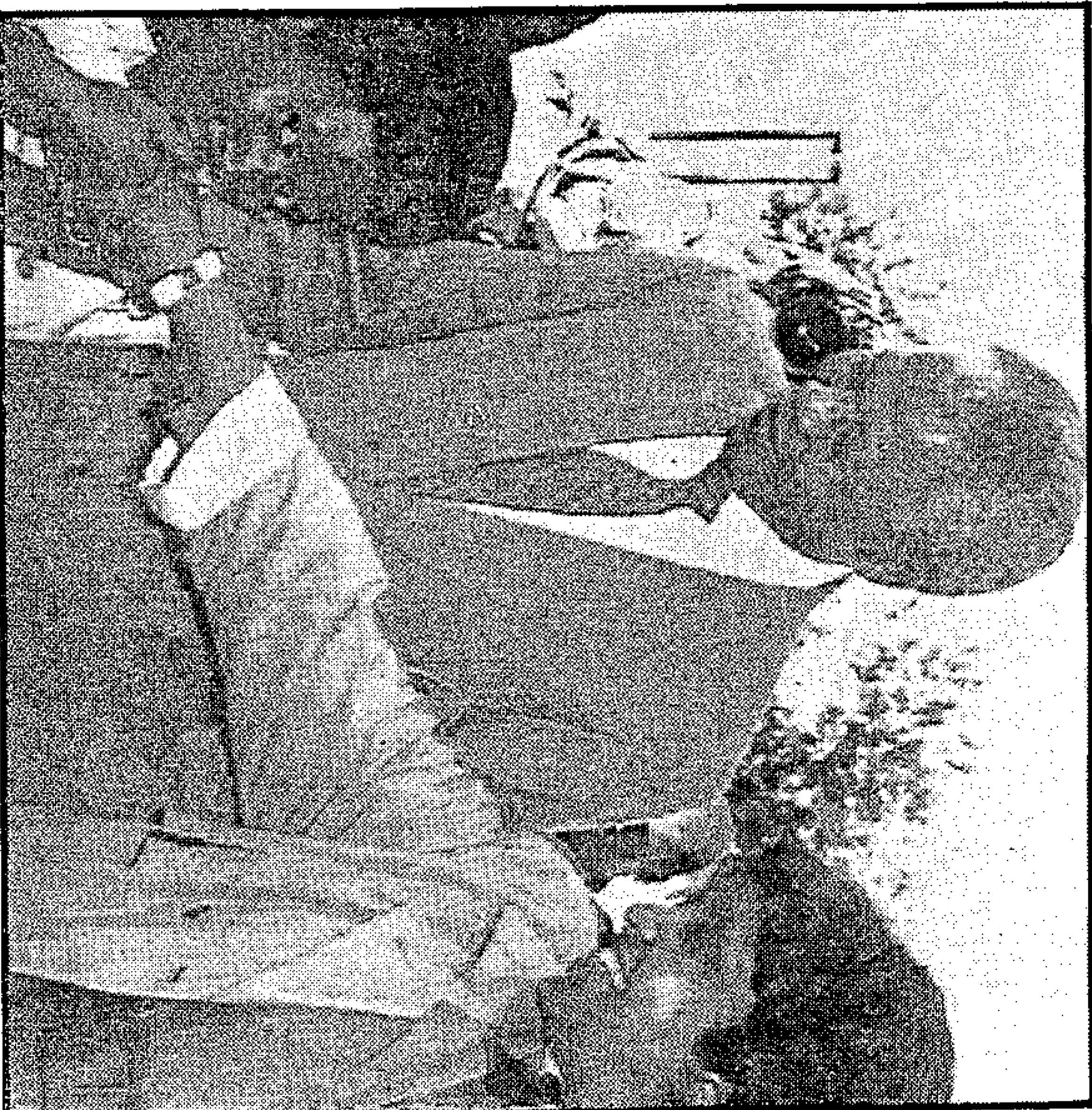
Prisons

Cadres returning to South Africa from exile or emerging from prisons did not have an easy time either, Mr Hani said.

Most former ANC soldiers were unemployed.

Another grievance had been a breakdown of communications between the ANC leaders in South Africa and the men in certain camps, with the result that combatants were angered when they heard about the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

These problems would, however, be discussed openly at the conference and recommendations would be made to the ANC leadership.



PAYING HOMAGE: a cleaning woman at the University of Venda kisses the hand of Winnie Mandela as Nelson Mandela looks on. Mr Mandela yesterday opened the first Umkhonto we Sizwe conference inside South Africa.

It's jackets and ties as

Star 10/18/77
THOHOYANDOU — The much-feared "terrorists" of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress's military wing, put away their camouflage uniforms and AK-47s and came out of hiding this week.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) presented a studiously civilian image at its first national conference, which started in the capital of the Venda homeland yesterday.

Ceremony

At the opening ceremony the only uniform was worn by a non-MK member: Venda leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana when he welcomed the 250 delegates.

The former guerillas themselves — four generations of them from all phases of MK's 30-year armed struggle — were togged out in civvies, many in neat jackets and ties.

If there was any uniform, it was

the cool "urban camouflage" leather jacket and jeans.

And there were none of the irritating youths toting wooden AK-47s who invariably hang around such events. It was clear that this was no co-incidence and that an instruction had gone out.

"This is the first time MK is showing its face to the public. I hope you found it human and not too frightening," said MK chief of staff Chris Hani, sporting a snazzy sports jacket and smart tie.

And indeed, shorn of military trappings, the men and women of MK were, not surprisingly, human.

Like George Molebatsi, the commander of the unit which carried out the bloody "Silverton Siege", the famous occupation of a Pretoria bank early in 1980, when three MK men and two white civilians died.

Lounging at the pool deck of the local hotel, wearing casual slacks,

Umkhonto shows its human face

PETER FABRICIUS

Political Correspondent

shirt and loafers, this slight 38-year-old does not look the part.

He has just served 12 years in prison, even though he was betrayed and captured before the siege happened.

As the former guerillas emerge from hiding, or exile or prison, a different view emerges of events so garishly portrayed at the time.

Mistake

Mr Molebatsi is anxious to explain that the taking of hostages at Silverton was a mistake. When he was captured, his subordinates abandoned the original mission, to sabotage petrol tanks, and did their own thing.

"It was made clear to us that no civilian targets should be attacked," he said.

Although there have been rumblings of dissatisfaction among MK members about the ANC's decision last August to suspend armed actions, this is not apparent when talking to ordinary MK members at the conference.

Another commander, Len Tsela (39), who fled to East Germany in 1975 to receive military training after writing his teacher examinations, captures the general feeling when he says: "The armed struggle was an extension of the political struggle. When the struggle could be suspended and negotiations had a chance, we had to take it."

Mr Tsela frequently travelled in and out of the country through "green borders" (unofficial routes) evading capture until indemnified this year.

He is deliberately vague about his operations — conducted mainly in the Soweto area — describing them

only as "sabotage and even attacking enemy personnel".

Tapsy Diseko, attending the conference from MK's underground structures in Zimbabwe, says there was some unhappiness in the camps when armed action was suspended.

But that was mainly because they were taken by surprise. He heard about it on BBC radio.

"When it was explained, it was accepted as a decision that our leaders saw fit to take. We don't want to see bloodshed."

The conference is all about finding a new role for MK in a peaceful South Africa, and these soldiers — like their white counterparts — are anxious about their role in a civilian future.

It is not yet clear whether they will serve in self-defence units, in the new army which MK hopes will soon be formed, or have to look for jobs in civvy street.

Surrender control, F W

Mandela intensifies pressure at MK indaba

Star 10/8/91
PATRICK LAURENCE (84A)

THOHOYANDOU — Hundreds of trained African National Congress guerillas yesterday heard their commander-in-chief, Nelson Mandela, call on President de Klerk to surrender control of the security forces to an interim government of national unity.

Speaking at the first legal conference on South African soil of the ANC army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Mandela used the occasion to step up pressure on Mr de Klerk to accede to growing demands for an interim government "within an unambiguous time-frame".

In the text of the speech, Mr Mandela set 18 months as the "outside limit", but in his actual address he did not stipulate a specific time.

Later, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa drew loud and prolonged acclaim from ANC combatants when he advised them to ensure that the ANC leaders did not compromise in their negotiations with the Government.

General Holomisa, who has a close friendship with Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, said: "We would like to witness a situation where the ANC would not bend its resolve to have an interim government established as a matter of extreme urgency."

The Transkei leader rejected as "malicious" allegations that the Transkei Defence Force — which is currently expanding — was integrating ANC insurgents into its ranks.

He did, however, admit that there was co-operation between the Transkei Defence Force and Umkhonto, and called on the ANC to evaluate Transkeian soldiers to see whether their training was good enough to assure them of key positions in the new South African army.

Standing ovation

Another black leader who spoke at the conference was Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, the military ruler who seized power in Venda in a bloodless coup last year. Committed to the reincorporation of Venda into South Africa, he was given a standing ovation before and after his address.

At the same briefing session, the ANC introduced to the public for the first time several of its leading military commanders, at least half of whom are members of the South African Communist Party.

The commanders who fielded questions from journalists included Mr Hani; Ronnie Kasrils, former ANC intelligence chief; Tony Yengeni, from the western Cape; Che O'Gara; James Makhaya; Rashid Patel; Walter Mataung and Jackie Molefe (the only woman on the panel).

Mr Hani stressed that Umkhonto was accountable to the ANC, not the SACP. He and his comrades refused to quantify the proportion of communists in Umkhonto's upper echelons, arguing that the secrecy which shrouded the SACP until very recently made it impossible for them to give an estimate.

Asked to comment on grievances — referred to as "complaints" by Mr Mandela — among rank-and-file Umkhonto cadre, Mr Hani admitted that logistical problems were affecting the flow of supplies to camps in neighbouring countries.

Cadres returning to South Africa from exile or emerging from prisons did not have an easy time either, Mr Hani said. Most former ANC soldiers were unemployed.

Another grievance had been a breakdown of communications between the ANC leaders in South Africa and the men in certain camps, with the result that combatants were angered when they heard about the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

These problems would, however, be discussed openly at the conference and recommendations would be made to the ANC leadership.

Vula man new MK chief?

By THEMBA KHUMALO
CHRIS Hani, the controversial Umkhonto we-Sizwe chief of staff, may step down officially from his position today when the ANC's military wing restructures its high command at its three-day national conference in Venda. CP 11/8/91

Conference sources tipped Sphiwe "Gebuza" Nyanda, who led Operation Vula last year, as Hani's likely successor.

The move is seen as a tactical step to make way for the "young lion" to facilitate the transforma-

tion of MK into a viable future regular army.

Asked if he was ready to take over the MK reins, effectively making him second in command to Joe Modise, Nyanda dismissed it as mere speculation. (SAP) (SAP)

"I don't believe in speculation," he said.

Hani, 45, who joined MK in 1963 and fought in the former Rhodesia's Wankie district during 1967 as a member of the Luthuli detachment, has been requested by the SACP to work for the

party fulltime.

Yesterday Hani described the request as reasonable, which indicated his readiness to acquiesce.

However, Tony Yengeni, who was indemnified this year after a marathon treason trial in Cape Town, expressed misgivings at Hani's pending departure.

"If he goes, it would be very bad for MK. My personal opinion is that he should remain in the army. I hope we will have a chance to air our opinions as cadres on this matter," Yengeni said.

Alex tense after killings

By CP reporters and Sapa CP 11/8/91
RENEWED shooting was reported in Alexandra township yesterday only hours after police said two people had been killed in fighting between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha.

By yesterday afternoon reports from the area claimed three people had been killed. The police could confirm only two deaths.

A City Press team found the township tense. Groups of men wearing red headbands were stop-

ping cars and searching them.

Alex resident Simon Selepe told Sapa that shortly before 6 am he heard shots from a shack settlement where the two were earlier stabbed to death.

A mob of more than 200 armed hostel dwellers was advancing on the settlement, he said.

Police Capt Eugene Opperman earlier confirmed two people had been killed and three injured. He said the fighting broke out among a

group gathered near a blazing shack.

Three people were treated for gunshot wounds at the Alexandra Clinic, according to the sister in charge, Legora Marumo.

About 40 women and children had sought refuge from the violence at the clinic, she added.

Alexandra township leader Obed Bapela said unease surfaced in the township last week when Inkatha launched a cleanup campaign that was rejected by most residents.

ANC president Nelson Mandela this week addressed the first public conference of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, on South African soil. At the University of Venda in Thohoyandou he spoke about MK and the road ahead. This is an edited version of his speech.

TODAY, on the soil of our motherland, we have come together to collectively chart the way forward for our army.

We are meeting at a time in our country's history, pregnant with great possibilities for the realisation of our people's most heartfelt aspirations, but at a time also fraught with the gravest dangers of reaction and counter-revolution.

What we do and say in the next two days will and must have a crucial bearing on the entire future course of our people and our country. We have set ourselves an immense task. We dare not fail.

When the ANC met in national conference during July, among the decisions taken were a number with a direct bearing on MK. We resolved at our national conference that:

- MK should remain combat ready.
- MK should establish structures throughout the country at all levels.
- The ANC has the duty to maintain and develop MK as a fighting force until a democratic constitution has been adopted with a view to the integration of its personnel into a new defence force.
- MK should play a role in training and establishing popular defence units, under the control of community organisations, to defend our communities against State-sponsored violence and crime.

We reject the simple equation of apartheid with specific laws and legal measures. We are dealing with a comprehensive system of domination which cannot be unpacked into laws which, if repealed, will imply its demise.

The most visible and dominant conflict in South Africa was that between the oppressed black majority and the oppressor State.

But, while in other colonial systems the colonising State existed outside the borders of the colony, in our case the colonial State and the colonised lived within one territory.

In South Africa therefore the struggle must result in the destruction of the colonial state and not only the system of colonialism.

Our struggle is essentially a struggle for national liberation. Civil rights, civil liberties and the other universally accepted rights would be achieved by national liberation and not the other way around.

Freedom would come as the oppressed black masses themselves consciously engaged in struggle and not as a gift from the oppressor.

Victory is dependent on the active and conscious participation of the masses determining their own destiny through struggle.

For the ANC and its allies to secure that participation the movement must be integrated with the masses, enjoy their confidence and be capable of providing overall leadership.

The ANC and the alliance of liberation forces that it heads, have always acted on the basis that it is in actual struggle that masses will acquire the political experience to mould themselves into an effective and victorious political force.

Strategically this dictated that the regime must find itself confronted with struggles carried out in a variety of ways - strikes, boycotts, mass rallies, civil disobedience campaigns, demonstrations, cultural and other manifestations - all directed at achieving the conscious unity of the masses.

Tactically, this required that the popular movement provide the conditions in which the ANC's underground structures could function and survive.

But, survive to multiply themselves by imparting to the masses the necessary political and military skills.

The forces of national liberation and democracy were also to encourage the formation of organisations of the oppressed to draw the greatest number of our people into active struggle.

The fundamental strategic weakness of the oppressor State is its narrow social political base.

The forces of apartheid therefore continuously seek ways to undermine the potential unity of the



FACING THE FUTURE... ANC president Nelson Mandela this week told the MK conference that cadres had to maintain vigilance against the apartheid regime's will to cling to power.

Plotting the path ahead for Umkhonto

oppressed by encouraging ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious distinctions. They also embarked on attempts to create organisations and encourage movements that represent sectional and other divisive interests.

The renewal of organised, mass opposition and resistance to the institutions of racial domination was the central feature of South African politics during the 1980s.

This period was characterised by mass revolt, near-insurrection; the growth and consolidation of a Mass Democratic Movement; the unification of the democratic trade union movement under the banner of Cosatu and the proliferation of mass organs of struggle among the oppressed.

The single most enduring facet of the upheavals was the emergence of a broad strategic alliance

under the leadership of the ANC.

The ignominious defeat of an abortive invasion of Angola by the South African regime in 1978 created the pre-conditions for the emergence of new progressive forces among the white population who were increasingly attracted into the political orbit of the ANC.

Our demonstrated capacity to challenge the regime militarily, plus the

evident growing influence of our movement exercised among the mass of our people helped concentrate the minds of the regime on a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

We said also that negotiations cannot be a substitute for the national liberation struggle.

They can and must only be an aspect of the movement's strategy, employed at a specific moment to attain our stated

and historic objectives. It was from that perspective that the ANC entered into the negotiations leading through the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

We took this path because we had become tired of fighting.

We took this path because we thought we were incapable of defeating the enemy.

We took it because

APress 11/8/91 (A) 84A



President Nelson Mandela this week told the MK conference that cadres had to maintain vigilance because of the dangers stemming from the

ng the path I for Umkhonto

period was charac-
l by mass revolt,
insurrection; the
and consolidation
Mass Democratic
ment; the unifica-
of the democratic
union movement
the banner of Co-
nd the proliferation
s organs of struggle
s the oppressed.

single most endur-
cet of the upheavals
the emergence of a
strategic alliance

under the leadership of
the ANC.

The ignominious defeat
of an abortive invasion of
Angola by the South Afri-
can regime in 1978 cre-
ated the pre-conditions
for the emergence of new
progressive forces among
the white population who
were increasingly attract-
ed into the political orbit
of the ANC.

Our demonstrated ca-
pacity to challenge the re-
gime militarily, plus the

evident growing influence
our movement exercised
among the mass of our
people helped concen-
trate the minds of the re-
gime on a peaceful resolu-
tion of the crisis.

We said also that nego-
tiations cannot be a sub-
stitute for the national lib-
eration struggle.

They can and must
only be an aspect of the
movement's strategy, em-
ployed at a specific mo-
ment to attain our stated

and historic objectives.

It was from that per-
spective that the ANC
entered into the process
leading through the Har-
are Declaration to the
Groote Schuur and Pre-
toria Minutes.

We took this path not
because we had become
tired of fighting.

We took this path not
because we thought we
are incapable of defeating
the enemy.

We took it because of

our firm conviction that
we should exhaust every
opportunity to resolve
peacefully the terrible cri-
sis into which racism has
plunged our country.

The ANC has loyally,
scrupulously and very
faithfully observed the
letter and the spirit of all
the agreements.

Can President de Klerk
and his Cabinet make the
same claim?

Despite the severe and
trying provocations of

State-sponsored violence,
massive covert destabili-
sation operations, the sys-
tematic assassination of
our regional leaders and
other supports of the
ANC, our movement has
made every endeavour to
keep the peace process on
track.

Can President de Klerk
and his Cabinet make the
same claim?

In the teeth of the or-
chestrated covert cam-
paign to finance, train

and sustain a legion of
dummy organisations and
bodies as an opposition to
the ANC, our movement
has exercised restraint as
a token of our commit-
ment to political plural-
ism.

Can President de Klerk
and his Cabinet, who
have so assiduously plot-
ted to destroy the ANC
and its allies, make the
same claim?

The recent disclosures,
documenting the range of
criminal and near-crimi-
nal activities to which the
South African Govern-
ment has been prepared to
stoop, demonstrate in
the clearest possible
terms the pressing need
for an interim govern-
ment to preside over the
entire transition from
apartheid to democracy.

The modalities of its in-
stallation and its actual
composition can be a mat-
ter for negotiation by all
the players.

We would insist only on
two principles. The first is
inclusivity, so that no
body of political opinion
feels excluded.

The second is a definite
and unambiguous time-
frame. For an interim
government to assume of-
fice will require that the
incumbent government
resign and hand over pow-
er to the transitional ad-
ministration.

The interim govern-
ment would have to take
charge of all armed and
security forces, adopt an
interim bill of rights, su-
pervise and conduct the
elections for a Constitu-
ent Assembly and imple-
ment other measures to
prepare the country for
democracy.

Though we have sus-
pended armed activity;
though our commitment
to the search for peace is
beyond question; it is pre-
cisely because of our keen
awareness of the dangers
inherent in the minority
regime's determination to
cling on to power that we
dare not relax our vigi-
lance and we dare not per-
mit this MK to disinte-
grate or wither away.

We are called upon to
assist the masses in devis-
ing the appropriate re-
sponse to state-sponsored
and vigilante violence.

We are called upon to
prepare ourselves and to
restructure MK so that its
cadres can take their
rightful place in the
armed forces of a demo-
cratic South Africa.

Thirty years ago when
a small tightly knit group
of us took the inescapable
decision to create and
build Umkonto weSizwe,
we were in many respects
taking a step into the un-
known.

I want to use this occa-
sion to salute and address
special words of thanks to
all those friends and al-
lies, from every part of
the world who assisted us
in building, training and
maintaining our people's
army.

'Gebuza' tipped to lead MK

BY LEN KALANE (11/8/91) 84A

THE elusive "General Gebuza" was the most sought-after ANC commander during the underground armed struggle.

As the commander in the Transvaal, his name popped up in most terror trials in the Transvaal. It was a familiar name to a number of judges, magistrates and officials within the State security apparatus. (Press 11/8/91)

It was – and still is – the MK name of Siphwe Nyanda, the man hotly tipped to take over the MK reins from the outgoing Chris Hani, whose leadership is now being sought by the South African Communist Party.

If he does not take over, another senior commander, Tokyo Sexwale, will probably head the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto WeSizwe. But it is expected Nyanda will be appointed chief of staff in Venda this weekend at the first MK conference to be held inside South Africa.

He is at present the third most senior commander in South Africa after Joe Modise and Hani. He apparently got to be well known in larger South African circles during Operation Vula days. He was the commander of the elite unit under the direct command of Oliver Tambo, then ANC president.

Operation Vula was smashed last year by Security Police in Durban. The operation included the infiltration of ANC military commanders into South Africa and the establishment of arms



SIPHIWE NYANDA . . . the man who led Operation Vula.

■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

caches and safe houses in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, with the aim of expanding a revolutionary army in South Africa in order to create a national uprising.

In addition to the four known key members – SA Communist Party members Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils and top MK members Nyanda and Janet Love – seven others were assembled at the home of ANC president Nelson Mandela, then deputy president.

These included former *Daily Dispatch* journalist Charles Nqakula and others, Vusi Shabalala, Christopher Manye, Mo Sheik, Solly Shoke, Mpho Scott, Ivan Pillay, Jabu Sithole, and Faied Jadwat.

Since last week, senior MK commanders from camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola have been arriving in the country for the Venda conference. The 300 delegates to the conference reportedly include more than a dozen Soviet-trained pilots – some of whom have fought in air battles in Angola and Ethiopia.

Nyanda left the country in February 1976 – four months before the June 16 Soweto riots when he was a sports reporter for the banned *World* newspaper – and went underground.

He became MK commander of the Transvaal urban region from 1977 to 1983 and appointed chief of staff for the Transvaal from 1983 to 1987. It was in 1988 that he was seconded to Vula.

He infiltrated South Africa during this period and when Vula was detected, was arrested and detained for four months. The Vula operatives were released after they were granted indemnity and charges against them dropped.

But according to Siphwe himself, he has been in the country on many occasions for special missions successfully carried out without any arrests. During those days, he was strictly known as "Gebuza".

MK warns Hani about leaving

S/Times 11/8/91.

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC'S military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has refused to release its top soldier, Mr Chris Hani, to work full-time for the SA Communist Party.

If he defied this resolution, he would have to accept the consequences, warned one delegate to MK's first public conference in the country yesterday.

The delegate said the final decision on whether he would be released from MK was up to the ANC national executive, but they would have to take note of the MK decision.

Visits

"Mr Hani would be taking a risk if he chose to defy the army," the delegate said.

Earlier this week Mr Hani admitted that his decision to leave MK was likely to be questioned. He said he intended to visit MK camps abroad to explain his decision.

But a delegate at the Thohoyandou conference said it was not up to Mr Hani to take individual decisions. MK needed Mr Hani to assist during the crucial phase of converting

to a conventional army and the integration of MK in the SADF.

The focus of MK's first legal conference inside the country was the role and structure of MK during the negotiation phase and how to structure itself in defence against violence.

It would also have to plan how to convert from a banned guerrilla army to a legal army — and how to prepare itself to become part of an army under a democratic constitution.

Mr Joe Modise, MK commander, in his confidential address to the conference, said the organisation would put its energies into increasing recruitment, building up a con-

ventional force and receiving training from at least five friendly countries.

MK's military headquarters planned to send cadres for long-term training and to upgrade them in academic studies, Mr Modise said.

Lagging

"Steps have been taken to train our men in ground, air and naval forces. It is important that we institute training in those areas in which we lag.

"In other words, it means that the conversion of our guerrilla detachments into a modern regular army should play a pivotal role if the liberation movement is to be present in the future South African defence apparatus.

"That is why the building of an officers' corps is a task which we cannot delay," Mr Modise said.

He told the conference that Tanzania and Uganda were training MK officers and similar arrangements would be finalised with three other countries.

Sources at the conference indicated yesterday that it was likely that the conference would resolve to strengthen its underground structures and step up recruitment and infiltration of soldiers inside the country.

It was also likely to resolve to maintain arms caches inside the country and step up the inflow of arms from outside.

● See Hani's plans for SACP on Page 8

AWB to mobilise commandos for revolution, warns Terre'Blanche

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday the organisation was preparing itself for "revolution" because government could not handle the security situation.

Speaking at a news briefing in Pretoria, Terre'Blanche said the AWB's priority was to strengthen its commando units as quickly as possible.

He warned that government was heading for trouble by misusing the police for political purposes as it had on Friday.

The AWB was sure the SAP had not only been issued with teargas and birdshot, but with deadlier weapons.

Asked to respond to ANC president Nelson Mandela's weekend call for govern-

ment to "destroy" the AWB, Terre'Blanche said no one could ban the AWB.

"If Mandela wants to take our country by force, we'll meet him and level him with the gravel... we'll meet him with force.

"Mandela does not even have the vote, so he cannot tell my movement what must happen in SA."

Referring to a warning at the weekend by CP leader Andries Treurnicht that the "third Boer War" had started, Terre'Blanche said it was in the hands of the government to stop it.

"The government must give its voters the opportunity to vote in an election. If it does not do that, I believe the situation will

become worse," he said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the ANC would not call for the AWB to be banned, despite Mandela's weekend appeal for government to "destroy" the right-wing organisation after Friday's night's violence.

He said it would be "politically dangerous" for the ANC to call for the banning of any political organisation.

PATRICK BULGER reports that Mandela's actual words were: "Any organisation that preaches fascist ideas ought not

to be allowed to flourish in a democratic society. I am not suggesting they should drive the AWB underground — I say they must destroy it."

Macozoma also commented President F W de Klerk for insisting on addressing the NP meeting in Ventersdorp, despite the threats and reality of right-wing violence.

Friday night's clashes between right-wingers and police in Ventersdorp left three people dead and more than 50 injured, including 12 blacks who were assaulted after a minibus they were travelling in was stopped by AWB supporters.

A Ventersdorp police spokesman confirmed yesterday a man had been arrested

and charged with cutting off the power supply to street lights in two Ventersdorp streets at the time the clashes began.

However, Terre'Blanche said he could not comment on the electricity cut as he did not know anything about it.

Treurnicht said yesterday that De Klerk's address on Friday "was like a red flag to a bull", but he stopped short of sanctioning the AWB actions.

"People can only take up arms in extreme cases," he said. But government was using its security forces against its own people, which was extremely provocative.

MK 'no' to ANC control

8/Day 12/8/91

PATRICK BULGER

THOHOYANDOU — The ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) resolved at its first open conference in SA to set up a supreme military council that would put control of the military beyond the immediate reach of the ANC.

Delegates at the weekend discussed the composition of a 20-member body that would oversee MK's activities in place of the recently dissolved political military council.

The supreme military council will take MK through its transitional phase from a guerrilla army to a conventional military force whose members will be trained in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda and India.

The council will also be responsible for the welfare of demobilised MK members.

MK is believed to have about 12 000 members, although MK spokesmen remain secretive about the exact number.

About 400 delegates representing 10 MK regions in SA and in exile were given a detailed explanation of the ANC's undertakings in terms of the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and DF Malan agreements.

MK chief of staff Chris Hani admitted that the decision to suspend the armed struggle had been unpopular with some MK members, although they had fallen under military discipline and accepted the decision.

MK reserved for itself the right to build a military force to oversee the negotiation

□ To Page 2

Control

8/Day 12/8/91

8/Day

8/Day

□ From Page 1

process. Hani said that even when a democratic constitution had been secured, MK would be loyal to the constitution rather than to the government of the day.

The overwhelming thrust of the delegates' discussions was the welfare of MK cadres.

A plan to help cadres integrate into civilian life was discussed but at the end of the proceedings nothing concrete about their future was decided.

The conference took place amid intense speculation about the future of Hani, who earlier last week was asked by the SACP to become its leader.

Hani was ambiguous about his future while other MK delegates indicated that there should be a place for him in MK even if he was replaced as chief of staff.

The conference was attended by most ANC leaders, including president Nelson Mandela and chairman Oliver Tambo.

Mob bombs house in the early morning

(84A)

Sowetan 12/8/91
A MOB of about 50 men attacked a house in White City, Soweto, with petrol bombs early yesterday morning, causing damage estimated at R15 000.

Police liaison spokesman Lieutenant Govindsamy Mariemathoo said four petrol bombs were used in the attack but

only two went off. The lounge, bedroom and kitchen were damaged but nobody was injured in the attack.

He said police had opened an arson docket against the unidentified attackers.

The house belongs to a Mrs Mary Maphumalo. - *Sapa*

MK wants Hani to stay as head

Sweetan 12/8/91

By RUSSEL MOLEFE and Sapa

THE ANC's first military conference inside South Africa ended yesterday with a unanimous decision to have Chris Hani remain as

Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff *(84A)*
The SA Communist Party had requested the ANC to have him work fulltime for the party.

● To Page 2

MK wants Hani to remain as chief

(84A)

● From Page 1

The announcement was made at a Press conference at the University of Venda, Thohoyandou, in the far northern Transvaal, at the end of the three-day conference attended by about 500 MK delegates.

MK commander Joe Modise ruled out the SA Defence Force as an army committed to change. However, there were elements within the SADF who were for change and the MK wanted to meet them.

In an interview with Sapa later, Modise said MK's role as a guerilla army was no longer valid, and the first steps to change MK to a regular

army had been taken.

He predicted it would take MK between two and four years to transform itself into a regular army.

It was also revealed MK would be recommending to the African National Congress NEC that an MK Supreme Council be formed to strengthen the ANC's armed wing.

Hani said he was prepared to abide by any decision which would be taken by the NEC concerning his release to the SACP.

The conference also called on the Government also to commit itself to a ceasefire "in order to facilitate the process of peaceful transformation to a democratic future".

Cadres call for ceasefire

84A
Soweto
12/8/91

THE ANC's military wing yesterday recommended a formal ceasefire.

On the last day of Umkhonto we Sizwe's first conference in South Africa, held at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, its commission on security forces recommended a formal ceasefire supervised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference yester-

day adopted four resolutions from commissions dealing with the restructuring and welfare of MK, negotiations and the armed struggle.

Policy

The conference resolved to recommend that the ANC National Executive Committee formulate policy and programmes on security and defence in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The welfare commission, presented by ANC

department of social welfare head Mrs Winnie Mandela, recommended that the ANC establish a treasury department for MK which should be autonomous.

Despite argument that it would be a duplication, the MK agreed to establish a 20-person Supreme Council to oversee military headquarters.

The council will be chaired by ANC president and army commander-in-chief Mr Nelson Mandela.
- Sapa.

Cadres call for ceasefire

84A
Soweto
12/8/91

THE ANC's military wing yesterday recommended a formal ceasefire.

On the last day of Umkhonto we Sizwe's first conference in South Africa, held at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, its commission on security forces recommended a formal ceasefire supervised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference yester-

day adopted four resolutions from commissions dealing with the restructuring and welfare of MK, negotiations and the armed struggle.

Policy

The conference resolved to recommend that the ANC National Executive Committee formulate policy and programmes on security and defence in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The welfare commis-

sion, presented by ANC department of social welfare head Mrs Winnie Mandela, recommended that the ANC establish a treasury department for MK which should be autonomous.

Despite argument that it would be a duplication, the MK agreed to establish a 20-person Supreme Council to oversee military headquarters.

The council will be chaired by ANC president and army commander-in-chief Mr Nelson Mandela.

- Sapa.

MK soldiers

map out future

84A
Sowetan 12/8/91

THE ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe went public on Friday after a 30-year invisibility inside the country.

There were no wooden or real AK-47s or uniforms at its three-day conference which began yesterday at the University of Venda at Thohoyandou. In fact, the only uniform in the hall was that of Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana.

Among the 250 delegates, representing 10 regional structures and camps in five African countries, were some well-known faces such as Broederstroom trialist Damian de Lange and Operation Vula trialist Sphiwe Nyanda but most of the faces and names were unknown with many still preferring to use their MK nom-de-plumes.

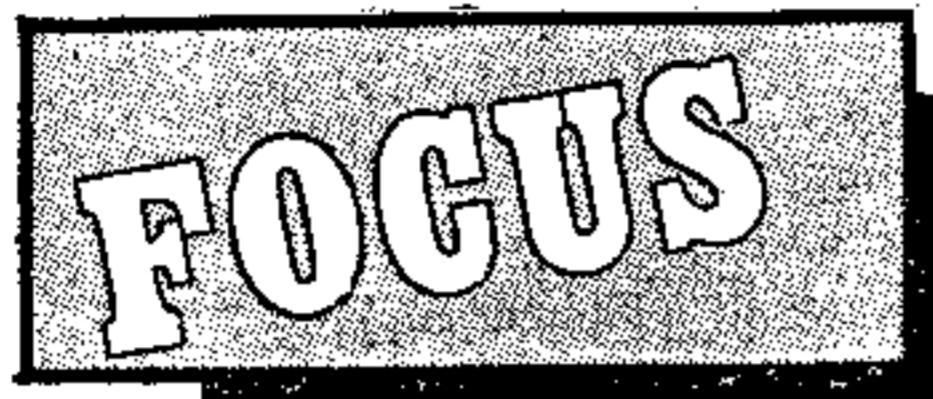
Future

There was no evidence in Thohoyandou that the armed wing was hosting its first ever conference here, except in the foyer of the Venda Sun where MK security men are identified by badges.

They are gathered here to reflect on 30 years in exile and, more importantly, to map out their future.

The rather low-key event was attended by fewer journalists than was expected, with many canceling bookings at the last minute in favour of the expected confrontation in Ventersdorp.

On the surface it appeared to be like any other political conference, but nowhere else would a journalist ask at a Press briefing: "Are you the person who threw the hand grenade at the



police in the Eastern Transvaal?"

One of the delegates was George Molebatsi, who was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment as the commander of the unit which took hostages at the Volkskas bank in Silverton in 1980.

Propaganda

He first left the country in 1977 for a two-week crash course in small arms. On his return, he said, he was involved in propaganda work such as painting slogans but then adds "a little sabotage, nothing serious".

He left the country later that year after one of the men in his underground unit was killed in Soweto.

Molebatsi says he left over the "green border," meaning anywhere along the border except at a border post.

He entered into specialised formal training in urban guerilla warfare. The nine-month course included training in small arms, rifles, pistols, hand grenades, mortars, military and combat work and political training.

"When we left the country, we were not politically advanced and had little understanding of the political setup. We just wanted to leave, get guns and fight back. We believed our freedom was taken by the whites and we could get our freedom back with a gun. We thought it was a racial thing," said Molebatsi.

Political education in the camps, however, taught them that they were not fighting against people but against a system.

"We were taught not to shoot at anything and everything that was white. Whatever you did had to have a political reason."

On completion of his course, Molebatsi was sent to Mozambique, where along with Mr Len Tsela they received new cadres from South Africa.

Tsela says in Mozambique they gave crash courses in political training and urban guerilla warfare to new recruits before sending some of them back to South Africa before their absence was noticed.

Tsela was instructed in urban guerilla warfare in East Germany before returning to South Africa as part of the underground in 1978.

Negotiations

Molebatsi infiltrated South Africa in 1979 as a commander of a unit of five men. Their first target was to sabotage petrol tanks but before they could execute their orders, Molebatsi was arrested.

He left the men behind at their base in Garankuwa to organise logistics for their operation. He says the unit did not know what had happened to him and apparently then decided to attack the Silverton bank.

He said it was not part of their plan to attack civilians.

Molebatsi said he knows who betrayed him to the police but would do nothing to retaliate as the present climate was one of negotiations and not revenge.

He says his unit which went to the bank were not "the devils they are made out to be" and were not terrorists. He says they wrote the ten clauses of the Freedom Charter on a piece of paper and handed it to the bank's manager. They demanded the release of detainees and that of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Disturbed

Asked about reports that MK had not taken kindly to the suspension of armed actions, Molebatsi says it was a "proper" and correct decision. "You can't talk and shoot at the same time."

Another delegate Mr Tapsy Diseko, based in Zimbabwe, says he was disturbed when he heard news of the suspension but on reflection realised it was the right decision.

Regarding the armed forces, Tsela said a new security apparatus was needed as well as a new defence force.

Decision

Molebatsi said a new defence force should reflect the changing situation.

On their decision to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, Tsela said: "If I had to start again, I would do the same but avoid the mistakes. In other words, it was the right decision. Whatever we have lost in our careers as civilians, it was worth it because it was done for a good cause."

Asked about their own futures, he said: "I cannot answer that, it depends on the outcome of negotiations. Our futures depends entirely on negotiations." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

'Bomb attack won't deter NP'

By Shirley Woodgate

Star 12/8/91

Klerksdorp National Party leader Jan de Kock said yesterday's bomb attack on his luxury car would not deter the NP from holding meetings in the western Transvaal.

Claiming a piece of shrapnel from the 3 am blast had also penetrated the 5 cm-thick kiaat front door of his Wilkoppies home, he pointed an accusing finger at rightwingers.

He said police had said the type of explosives used indicated the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was responsible.

It is estimated that damage estimated at about R20 000 was done to the fully electronic BWW 735i in the blast which occurred in a carport adjoining the house while Mr de Kock and his family were in Johannes-

burg.

The damage was discovered later in the morning by a domestic worker who alerted the gardener and then the police.

"If somebody wants to tell me something, they do not have to do it this way.

"I am astounded at the attack," Mr de Kock said.

He said although he had attended the NP meeting in the nearby Ventersdorp town hall on Friday night, he had not noticed many people from Klerksdorp at the gathering.

Commenting on claims that the western Transvaal was the heartland of the AWB, Mr de Kock said: "I believe many of the 2 000 AWB supporters came from outside the area, from Bloemfontein, Randfontein and Boksburg, in response to their general's orders."

84A
344
He said he had personally seen car-loads of AWB supporters driving into Ventersdorp from 4 pm on Friday.

Mr de Kock said it appeared the AWB amounted to a few people making a big noise, using mass hysteria to whip up emotions.

Calling for some form of action to prevent further shock incidents like Friday's killings at President de Klerk's public meeting, Mr de Kock said it was time the carrying of weapons such as baseball bats and teargas was banned at political meetings.

A police spokesman confirmed commercial explosives had been used to blast Mr de Kock's R200 000 vehicle and said identifiable fingerprints had been found near the spot where the bomb was planted.

MK calls for a new army for the new SA

By Patrick Laurence

THOHOYANDOU — The ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), ended its national conference yesterday with a call to the "Pretoria regime" to match the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle by formally committing itself to a ceasefire.

In a communique issued at the end of its first legal meeting on South African soil, MK pressed for the establishment of an independent commission to examine how to form a new South African army and to control the various security forces, including the SADF and the SAP, during the transition to nonracialism.

Three further resolutions taken at the conference were:

- A unanimous call to the ANC executive to retain Chris Hani as MK's chief of staff. (The request came after speculation that Mr Hani would have to forfeit his military post if he took up a full-time position in the SA Communist Party.)
- An expression of grave concern over the refusal of "the regime" to free hundreds of MK combatants who were jailed after being captured, tried and convicted. (Robert McBride.

Mihetheleli Ncube and Euclid Nondula were named specifically. All three were originally sentenced to death for their role in guerilla actions that led to the death of civilians.)

- An endorsement of earlier ANC demands for sanctions to be kept in place until all political prisoners were released and all exiles allowed to return.

In addition, MK called for contact between "all security forces and armies within South Africa" committed to the establishment of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

The resolution came after the conference was addressed on its opening day by Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, both of whom favour the reincorporation of their territories into greater South Africa.

The presence of the two men at the conference — which was held at the University of Venda with the blessing of Brigadier Ramushwana — signalled success for the ANC in its strategy of building a broad front of "progressive forces", including "homeland leaders", for the expected negotiations on how to restructure South Africa.

Another resolution called for the establishment of a social welfare department within MK.

It reflected concern — expressed at the conference and in the run-up to it — that MK cadres have not been cared for fully by the ANC since February 2.

Pending the inauguration of a new constitution and the establishment of a new South African defence force — composed of MK, guerilla fighters from rival liberation organisations, the "bantustan armies" and the existing SADF — MK would remain intact and "combat ready", the resolution said.

One of its functions in the interim period would be the "defence of the people", a reference to its role in the formation of "defence committees" to counter the activities of vigilante forces.

In a confidential address delivered at the weekend, MK commander Joe Modise disclosed that MK cadres were being given instruction in armies of friendly African countries.

"Tanzania and Uganda are currently training our officers," Mr Modise said.

In his earlier address, General Holomisa denied that MK cadres were being integrated into the Transkei Defence Force, although there was co-operation between his army and MK.

THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe — its detractors perhaps unfairly call it the least successful guerrilla army of all time — faces a future as uncertain as its past.

Aside from SA itself, Umkhonto today has no meaningful presence in southern Africa. The Frontline states one by one capitulated to pressure from Pretoria so that Umkhonto today has its largest bases in distant Tanzania and Uganda.

Support from its East bloc allies has dwindled — Czechoslovakia has extended its exports to SA beyond landmines, the Soviet Union has forsaken its internationalist ambitions and East Germany no longer exists. Pretoria, for its part, has replaced silenced pistols with talks.

If armies thrive on war, Umkhonto withers in peacetime. It is separated from home by half a continent, its supplies and finances are in a parlous state and its leaders locked in talks with a government Umkhonto could not blast from power.

These were some of the realities faced and discussed at the weekend by delegates to Umkhonto's first legal conference on SA soil since it detonated its first bombs in Durban in December 1961. What of Umkhonto's future?

The problems are many and obvious — what will become of cadres, especially the maimed and aged? What will become of Umkhonto itself? What if negotiations are derailed and SA's low-intensity civil war resumes? What role will Umkhonto play in township defence and who among the competing negotiators and insurrectionists in the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance will prevail in policy determination?

Conference delegates — well-versed in coining slogans — latched onto "deployment or employment" to crystallise the practical problems facing the army. Cadres trained only in guerrilla warfare have little to offer a modern economy. Some will be trained as officers for a future defence force, but many will join the legions of exiles tramping the streets searching in vain for jobs that simply do not exist and relying on handouts from the ANC's strained coffers.

Demobilised army struggles to come to terms with peace

PATRICK BULGER

B/paw 13/8/91

A social welfare department has been set up with a R10 000 donation from a sympathetic businessman, and co-operatives will absorb some of the unemployed. For many, however, years of arduous sacrifice in the camps will go unrewarded.

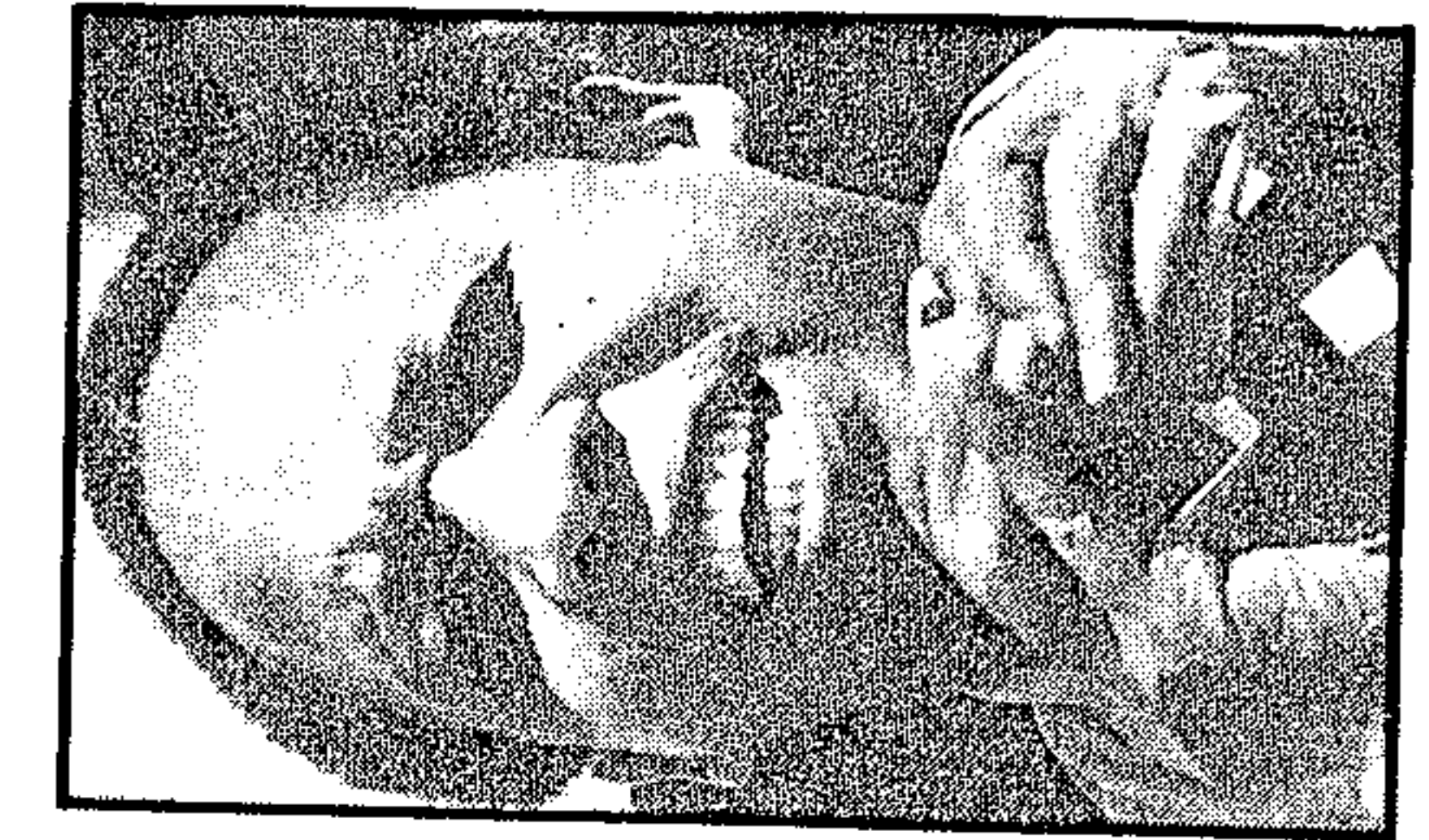
Umkhonto itself will seek to be included in a post-apartheid defence force. Earlier calls for the integration of Umkhonto and the SADF have now given way to calls for an entirely new military establishment. To this end, talks with friendly homeland defence forces — Transkei and Venda — and with a more open SADF under verligte incoming Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, will help chart the future of SA's military.

Conventional training, with assistance from friendly African nations like Tanzania and Uganda, has already begun. Other conventional training countries mentioned are India and France.

Umkhonto will, however, retain a guerrilla or non-conventional programme. While delegates to the conference supported the negotiation process, Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani admitted that selling the negotiations and suspension of armed struggle decisions to cadres was not all plain sailing.

Delegates were, however, not unanimously pleased with the progress in setting up self-defence units

in townships. Umkhonto earned a promise from the ANC's consultative conference last year that its personnel would be involved in helping train and arm defence units. One delegate said no progress had been made at all and the ANC leadership faced charges that it was paying lip service to the defence units.



□ HANI

The units are viewed with some alarm by the older and more conservative of the ANC leadership. Within the ranks of the alliance there is ambiguity about what the defence units are meant to achieve and this ambiguity underlines a deeper uncertainty about where control of Umkhonto actually lies.

During the ANC's exile, Umkhonto fell under a politico-military committee which was dissolved with the suspension of armed struggle. The committee controlled exiled operations in the regions outside SA and was dominated by SACP figures who provided the vital political input that has so heavily politicised Umkhonto members.

While some ANC spokesmen insist Umkhonto is ANC-controlled, others argue it is the army of both the ANC and the SACP. While the reorientation to a conventional army presumably reflects the ANC's nationalist orientation, the SACP's ambitions for Umkhonto are less clear.

The self-defence units — outlined in an SACP-inspired document entitled For the Sake of Our Lives: Guidelines for the Creation of Self Defence Units — dovetail neatly with the insurrectionist perspective sketched in the SACP programme, Path to Power. However, they also fit into the ANC's policy on the creation of these units for purely defensive purposes.

While the more pragmatic elements within the ANC — among them international affairs head Thabo Mbeki — were arguing as long ago as 1979 that the ANC should concentrate more on political activity than on armed struggle, the SACP was developing the insurrectionary perspective outlined in Path to Power.

Hani says Umkhonto is answerable only to the ANC. Yet Hani himself, whom delegates unanimously decided they did not want released from Umkhonto duties, is now being tipped as a future general secretary of the SACP. Here, then, is an army under the de jure control of the ANC president in the person of commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela, but under de facto control of prominent figures in the SACP. Just whose army is Umkhonto?

Hani insists that in a future SA Umkhonto, as part of a national defence force, would be accountable only to the constitution.

But the question became even more uncertain at the weekend when Winnie Mandela — in a confidential welfare report — referred to a hitherto unheard of command body called the Supreme Military Council. ANC and Umkhonto spokesmen have been less than forthcoming on the role and duties of the council, preferring to say only that it was still being discussed by the ANC's NEC.

Mandela, herself, was less reticent. In a confidential briefing paper she spoke of the council as a body on a par with the ANC's inner cabinet, the national working committee. This body would run Umkhonto independently of the ANC and would be composed of about 20 people. One source said the council was simply a way to expand Umkhonto's military headquarters to steer it through difficult times ahead.

If, however, the council operated as an autonomous body — albeit chaired by commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela — the lines of command would once again be blurred.

In the final analysis, Umkhonto is an army responsible to the ANC, commanded by leading SACP figures and controlled on a day-to-day basis by an autonomous and evidently powerful and independent guiding body. Unconventional indeed.

Charges against Rudolph withdrawn

TANIA LEVY

TRESPASS charges against AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph were provisionally withdrawn in the Ventersdorp Magistrate's Court yesterday, investigating officer Lt Wak Viljoen said.

Cases against five other people, including town engineer Cornelius Tereblanche, were remanded until September 24.

Tereblanche faces a charge of subversion after Ventersdorp was plunged into darkness shortly before violence erupted outside an NP meeting in the town on Friday night. *Blow 13/8/91*

The remaining four — Hendrik du Preez, Johan Derkson, Rots Nel and a minor — have been charged with illegal possession of dangerous weapons. They were released and warned to appear in September, Viljoen said. *Blow*

A charge of illegal possession of a firearm against a sixth man was withdrawn after he produced a gun licence.

Viljoen said the charge against Rudolph was temporarily withdrawn after Rudolph objected to the case being postponed.

Rudolph insisted there was nothing to investigate about trespassing, and wanted the case led yesterday.

Charges would be brought against him again in about a fortnight, Viljoen said.

Viljoen added that more people could be arrested after police investigations into the violence had been completed.

He said a docket of public violence had been opened, and the "common cause" of the crowd involved in Friday's violence would be investigated.

Urgent moves afoot to curb private armies

B/Doc 13/8/91

84A

~~275~~ ~~359~~ ~~359~~

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT is planning action against private political armies following the weekend clash at Ventersdorp that killed three members of the ultra right-wing AWB.

A ban on private armies was discussed in depth at a meeting yesterday of the State Security Council, SA's highest-level security planning and implementation body. Other options were also being examined, a government source said.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, speaking at a private meeting at Citrusdal in the Cape at the weekend, raised the possibility of banning private armies. He told his audience the ban was being discussed as a matter of urgency but that it was not aimed at curbing legitimate political activity, Vlok's spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said. He said the Ventersdorp killings had underscored the danger of private armies.

The Law and Order Department has already produced legislation aimed at curbing the proliferation of private armies. It was to be tabled in Parliament earlier this year but was shelved.

The ban would affect organisations such as the AWB and the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, among others.

Vlok said last night an intensive investigation into the Ventersdorp incident had been launched and that judicial inquests and criminal proceedings would follow.

Earlier, the investigating officer in the Ventersdorp court proceedings, Lt Wak Viljoen, said the SABC and various newspapers would be asked for footage showing

people involved in the confrontation.

In another development Defence Minister Magnus Malan — in the face of right-wing criticism of the SADF's role — defended the SADF decision to mobilise Potchefstroom-based soldiers.

Last night Vlok outlined the events leading up to the clashes which accompanied President F W de Klerk's decision to address a meeting in the conservative town.

He said information was received that indicated a possible threat to De Klerk's safety and to public order. On the day before the clashes, Lt-Gen Louw Malan spoke to AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche to try to persuade him to call off planned right-wing protest action. Vlok said he had personally spoken to Terre-Blanche two days earlier.

Nine-hundred policemen were deployed to strengthen the local SAP. They cordoned off the area, erected roadblocks and arranged to protect entrance routes to the hall. Pamphlets were produced to inform residents of the local magistrate's decision to ban outdoor political activity.

During the day a large number of uniformed and armed AWB members entered the town. They later held a meeting.

"After the meeting a crowd moved towards the hall where the President was to give his speech. The group was armed, militant and shouting slogans," Vlok said. Police attempted to prevent the crowd reaching the hall.

Police were attacked by people with

□ To Page 2

P. 1.0

Vlok vows over 'armies'

Sowetan 14/8/91

By MONK NKOMO

THE Government will not ban private armies, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference in Pretoria, Vlok said: "It is not necessary to ban private armies linked to organisations such as the ANC and the AWB.

"But as we have stressed, we can do without these armies - from the left to the right - because we have the police and security forces to maintain law and order in this country.

"If the activities of these armies should at-

tempt to take over the functions of the police, we will definitely take drastic action."

Vlok also indicated that the control of such activities could be through the imposition of emergency regulations.

"It is incompatible with democracy to have private armies," Vlok said.

He warned, however, that private armies would lead to acts of violence such as the battle which erupted between right-wing elements and the police force in Ventersdorp over the weekend.

"The consequences of this kind of violence will always be tragic," Vlok said.

84A

Bomb scare at ER school

Soweto
CLASSES were disrupted yesterday at a school in Vosloorus on the East Rand after the headmaster received a bomb threat from a man who claimed to be in Zambia.

A police spokesman

15/8/91
said policemen with sniffer dogs combed the premises of Ilinge High School but the search was fruitless.

Teachers said that about 9.15am the headmaster received a call from a man calling himself Joe, who said he was in Zambia and that there was a bomb at the school.

● Three classrooms at Hlengiwe High School in White City Jabavu, Soweto, were gutted by arsonists on Monday night.

By Henry Ludski



(84A)

UMKHONTO we Sizwe has been described an army without a war; it now faces the prospect of being an army without Chris Hani.

At the weekend MK conference at the University of Venda the 400 delegates made it clear that they emphatically wanted Hani to retain his role as MK's Chief of Staff.

Said Tony Yengeni, former MK commander in the Western Cape: "Hani is the soul of MK. It's hard to imagine MK without him at the top.

"When it came to the issue of him taking a full-time position with the South African Communist Party MK members didn't want to listen to anything, they just voted with their feet," said Yengeni.

It is clear that Hani will have his work cut out for him if he stays. A key issue is MK's relation with the SADF.

The conference decided to push for an independent commission to examine how to form a new army and control the different security forces, and refused to enter into any discussions with the SADF.

The conference, however, decided to call for individual elements in the SADF to enter into dialogue with MK.

Said Rashid Patel, a member of MK's military command: "We do not believe that the SADF is willing and capable of committing itself to a negotiated settlement."

He said the ANC was drawing up guidelines for a new defence force.

"We have to solve the political problems of this country before the issue of a new army can be addressed."

MK will continue training members as it undergoes a transition from a guerilla force to a "regular" army.

If Hani stays on, another of his tasks will be implement longstanding calls to set up self-defence units.

Said Yengeni: "MK cadres are very concerned about the lack of implementation of defence units and have given the leadership of the movement six months to show some progress.

"Cadres are also frustrated at the lack of creativity of the rank and file when it comes to the issue of self-defence units because often MK members are the first targets of violence," said Yengeni.

Another issue which presents a serious problem for MK is the growing dissatisfaction over the inadequate welfare for MK cadres.

"Cadres feel that they are being neglected by the ANC and don't accept that their welfare should be their own responsibility," said Yengeni.

He said for this reason the conference recommended that the ANC should set aside a special budget for the welfare of returning cadres.

"Cadres don't have jobs, they don't have places to stay and they have their families to look after," he said.

"If the problem of welfare is not sorted out it could lead to serious problems where cadres will either take the law into their own hands or degenerate into social misfits," Yengeni warned.

● See page 10

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE
FM 16/8/91**Ungrasped nettle**~~84A~~ 84A

The ANC is again facing the problem of divided loyalties.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's

FINANCIAL MAIL • AUGUST • 16 • 1991 • 35

CONTINUE →

military wing, has voted against the proposed resignation of its chief of staff, Chris Hani — after it was announced that he would take up a senior fulltime job with the SA Communist Party (likely to be secretary general after the SACP's December conference). Faced with integration with the SA Defence Force and the problems of transforming guerrillas into professional soldiers, MK believes it cannot afford to lose Hani's skills.

Hani says he will rely on instructions from the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC), but otherwise he won't comment.

The MK call has embarrassed the top leadership of the ANC and SACP. But it is hard to see how the ANC can stop Hani moving. SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo has now assumed a fulltime position as an ANC negotiator, with Cyril Ramaphosa, Valli Moosa and Thabo Mbeki. At least half the ANC's NEC are active communists: it is unlikely they will refuse a move that would boost the SACP.

The controversy about the SACP is similar to issues that caused debate in the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the third partner in the alliance. John Copelyn, general secretary of Cosatu's third biggest union, the Clothing & Textile Workers', has attacked the SACP for secretly approaching top Cosatu members to join the interim leadership of the party last year.

Now the same thing seems to have happened with Hani. Two weeks ago, the SACP invited Hani to work fulltime for the party. A few days later, Hani informed the ANC NEC of his resignation.

Angry cadres

This rapidly leaked to the press, including the snippet that former Operation Vula commander Sphiwe Nyanda was Hani's likely successor. All this took place shortly before last week's MK conference in Venda.

Many MK cadres were privately angry that Hani had not waited for the conference to discuss his resignation with them.

The army is angered by what it perceives as shoddy treatment from the ANC leadership in the past year. Commander-in-chief Joe Modise, has spent most of this year trying to quell rebellions in ANC camps in Angola and Uganda. Cadres complain they have been critically short of essentials, including food and toiletries, in all the camps.

They also say the ANC leadership has kept them poorly informed. The Zambian homes of some senior ANC officials were attacked with bombs, grenades and AK-47 fire by, it is believed, angry MK combatants.

The Hani resignation also reflects disillusionment with the ANC leadership. Hani worked harder at grassroots than any other



Hani

top ANC official last year, recruiting and addressing meetings. The FM has learnt that he became dismayed with the jockeying for senior ANC positions before the July conference. According to colleagues, Hani also felt his skills would be diluted as deputy to the often autocratic Nelson Mandela.

Almost a month before the conference, Hani told other leadership candidates he would not be up for election. It is then, apparently, that he decided to assume a more permanent political role with the SACP.

If the ANC agrees to Hani — a superb organiser — moving from MK, the SACP could increase its appeal. Total paid-up party membership is presently around 10 000 members, drawn from the PWV, eastern Cape, western Cape, Border and Transkei.

Such a switch by Hani may undermine the ANC — but it is an outcome that the organisation has done little to avoid. The ANC itself has no core of bright young stalwarts ready to assume leadership positions. Nor is it planning for any future separation of the two organisations — which means it could be severely weakened if at any time the communists walked out.

Despite the ANC's official rejection of personality as an important factor in the "struggle", the organisation's revolutionary period achieved precisely the opposite — with the result that folk heroes like Hani are extraordinarily influential. ■

ANC captives row

S Times 15/8/91

By EDYTH BULBRING

THIRTY-TWO suspected state agents held by the ANC in detention camps flew into Jan Smuts airport last night — and into a row over who was to care for them.

The ANC said in a statement on Friday that they would be the responsibility of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

But Red Cross mission director Tony Pfanner said

yesterday he had informed the ANC that the 32 were the responsibility of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

By last night, however, the Red Cross had reluctantly agreed after discussions with the ANC to care for them until the UNHCR operation could swing into action.

Yesterday the ANC

released the names of its prisoners and details of some of them.

One of them took part in planting a car-bomb at Harare's Avondale shopping centre in May 1986 which maimed anti-apartheid activist Jeremy Brickhill, the ANC said.

Another was alleged to have identified ANC homes in Lesotho to the SADF. During an SADF raid in December 1982, 42 people, including women and

children, were killed.

A third gave short-primed grenades to ANC members which exploded immediately the pins were pulled.

Meanwhile, UNHCR involvement in the repatriation of about 40 000 SA exiles was settled in Geneva on Thursday after 501 days of exhausting negotiations with the government and compromises on both sides.

Deviation

Political exiles wanting to return home will not have to give an account of their political "crimes" when seeking indemnity, officials involved in the process said yesterday.

This is a deviation from the existing indemnity process agreed to between the government and the ANC for political prisoners and exiles.

This concession on the part of the government fulfils the UNHCR's mandate that it will not be party to a process of self-incrimination.

The other area which had prolonged negotiations was the question of the UNHCR's free and unhindered access to returned exiles inside the country.

The government could not give the UNHCR a cast-iron guarantee of this in the case of the independent homelands, but assured the UNHCR that it would use its good offices to ensure that returning exiles would not be interfered with by the homeland leaders.

● The "forgotten five" of

Harare's grim Chikurubi maximum security prison remained firmly locked up in their cells this weekend as Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe showed no signs of relenting towards former Rhodesian servicemen who threw in their lot with Pretoria.

Mr Mugabe has so far ignored repeated pleas by ANC envoys to free the five and create a climate for the release of convicted ANC bombers in SA, including Robert McBride.

In 22-hours-a-day solitary confinement in Chikurubi's 4 + 1.5-metre windowless condemned cells are former Central Intelligence Organisation double agent Kevin Woods, 39, ex-Rhodesian army engineer Michael Smith, 38, and retired Transkei-born Rhodesian police sergeant Phillip Conjwayo, 56.

Raid

They were sentenced to hang for the January 1988 car bombing of an ANC "safe house" in Bulawayo.

Serving life sentences are Barry Bawden, 33, who aided the May 1987 SADF raid on the ANC in Harare, and former Special Air Service paratrooper Denis "Sammy" Beahan, 41, who was captured during the abortive June 1988 bid to free SA agents from Chikurubi.

C

Cadres claim Hani

By THEMBA KHUMALO (SACP)

THE "young lions" of Umkhonto weSizwe have sent a clear message to their political leaders in the ANC national executive committee not to dare remove Chris Hani from his position as chief of staff so he can take up a full-time appointment within the South African Communist Party. *CIPRES 18/8/91*

At their national conference held at the University of Venda near Thohoyandou last weekend, the 500 MK delegates bluntly warned the ANC that it would relocate Hani at its peril.

In a surprise move three weeks ago the SACP asked the ANC to consider releasing Hani from his army duties to enable him to take up a full-time position with the party. The NEC must still decide on the matter.

The young cadres felt their older leaders suddenly wanted to "dump" them with the immense task of transforming the guerrilla army to a regular one.

Hani, who is held in high regard by MK cadres, still does not know whether the NEC will release him from MK.

Cadres even hinted at a mutiny if the ANC carried out its decision as the 45-year old deputy commander was considered indispensable to MK.

Western Cape MK commander Tony Yengeni, whose indemnification this year rescued him from a possible death sentence arising from the marathon Yengeni Trial at the Cape Town Supreme Court, was even more explicit.

"If comrade Chris leaves us, it will be bad for the ANC," he said.

Yengeni, one of Hani's top right-hand men, was probably ex-

pressing the sentiments of other commanders and the rank-and-file.

Yet Hani told journalists he was ready to go.

"In my opinion the communist party's request that I join them full-time is not unreasonable," he said.

After the conference he was at pains to say his fate rested in the hands of the NEC.

"I'll be bound by their decision. I'm a servant of the people."

Whatever the NEC decision, the loyalty of MK cadres drove home the point that Hani was perhaps the best-qualified person to oil the wheels of their proposed social welfare department.

A resolution on the matter read: "We request the establishment of a social welfare department within MK to look into the specific needs of the entire membership both inside and outside the country."

Some of the tension eased after the conference was addressed by Mandela, Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana and his Transkei counterpart, General Bantu Holomisa.

Ramushwana, who came to power after a bloodless coup some two years ago, told the delegates that MK was free to campaign without hindrance in his homeland.

He even offered Mandela and his wife, Winnie, a Rolls Royce and a chauffeur to ferry them to and from conference, and the two were accommodated at his royal house outside Thohoyandou.

Ramushwana knows his public flirtation with the ANC is likely to earn him respect among those who see the ANC as the future government and enmity among those who still regard the ANC as an

"enemy and adversary that is manipulated by the communists".

His government footed the conference bill and provided security for delegates in and around the venue.

The conference also unveiled several rising stars within MK who, if Hani quits, may be considered for his post. Among them were Tokyo Segwale, an ex-Robben Islander and unit commander who served 13 years of his 18-year sentence; Sphiwe Gebhuza Nyanda who headed Operation Vula; Rodney Patel, a popular camp commander; Jeff Hadebe and Sihle Ndlazi, both regional commanders from Durban; Thenjiwe Mtintso, a former Eastern Cape journalist who fast rose to the Military High Command, and Jacqueline Molefe, head of communications in high command.

One of the conference resolutions demanded the immediate release of all remaining political prisoners, especially the two "Messina Trialists", Mthetheleli Mncube and Euclid Nondula, who are both languishing on Death Row, and Robert MacBride, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment this year.

Hani said MK leaders were negotiating with several countries to retrain the cadres as part of their new programme, among them India and Uganda.

However, Joe Slovo, the SACP general secretary who once master-minded some of the MK operations inside South Africa, was not at the conference. It is not known whether the 72-year-old former MK chief of staff was too busy working for his party, or if he is now drifting away from his subordinates.

ARMIES ARE OUT

THE government, ANC and Inkatha have agreed that there should be no private armies in South Africa. *S. Times 18/8/91*

The peace accord states it is the right of all individuals to establish self-defence units. This includes the right to bear licensed arms and to use them in legitimate and lawful self-defence.

However, the parties agreed that no political

organisation would establish self-defence units on the basis of party affiliation as this would be tantamount to forming private armies. *84A*

The accord makes provision for the establishment of liaison structures between self-defence units and the police. It says that the SAP remains responsible for maintenance of law and order and should not be hindered in any way by self-defence units. *254*

'Hani was personally involved'

Released 'spy' tells of torture in ANC jails

84A
B/D cum 19/8/91

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani was personally involved in organising the detention and torture of suspected SA government agents, a returnee "spy" alleged at the weekend.

He also claimed that several other senior ANC officials, including ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, had visited the organisation's prison camps and were aware of the poor living conditions and the torture in them.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday responded by saying the conduct of Hani and other ANC officials was not the issue and maintained that the returnees were security force agents sent to infiltrate, eliminate and attack ANC members.

"Whatever they have said should be seen in that light," she said.

She said the ANC had evidence to substantiate this in the case of each of the 32 "agents" who returned to the country on Saturday night. She would not say if the evidence would be made public.

Jose Ribeiro de Sousa, 29, who said he had been held in ANC prisons for five years, made the allegations in a lengthy interview at a downtown Johannesburg hotel early yesterday. A plain-clothed SA security official insisted on being present throughout the interview.

Some of the returnees said they feared assassination attempts.

The men were released by the ANC and flown home from Uganda via Kenya on Saturday, following an agreement on exiles between government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

LINDEN BIRNS

Of the 32, 19 refused to be processed by the National Co-ordinating Committee because of its ANC links, said De Sousa. He was appointed spokesman by these 19.

De Sousa said he and Hani had a difference of opinion on whether MK cadres should be allowed to womanise, and he thought this was initially the reason for his being jailed by the ANC.

He said he had been held in Pretoria by security police after taking part in several missions in SA for MK.

THE US and Sweden are to contribute \$6m to help finance the return of exiles after last week's agreement between government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The US will provide \$4m and Sweden \$2m. The UNHCR wants at least \$35m for the repatriation operation.

"During this period of detention a Col Dries van der Merwe took me to a farm near Erasmia for a braai and I was asked to consider becoming an agent for government, but I never did join them," he said.

After his release from Pretoria he left SA and went to Lusaka.

"During a meeting with Chris Hani — who was my commander — I told him about my refusing an offer to become an SA government agent.

"Hani said it was okay, and that we would sort it out at a later stage. The next time I spoke to him was a few days later

□ To Page 2

Torture

from behind bars," De Sousa said.

He claimed that he had been held and tortured at an ANC "rehabilitation centre" not far from the UNHCR's Lusaka offices. He was later moved to two prisons in Angola and finally taken to a prison camp in Uganda.

"Tambo, Joe Modise, Steve Tshwete, Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla, Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Sizakele Sixwele all visited us in prison, but never did anything to improve the conditions," De Sousa claimed.

"When Tambo visited us in prison we had a lot of hope. He shook our hands and we were all given a tin of powder milk, but nothing changed.

"Tortures were intensified immediately following these visits. We later found out that they had complained to the prison commander that his staff were not doing their jobs properly in solving our cases."

De Sousa said his torture included whipping and throttling with wet nylon or cloth, baton beatings on the soles of his feet,

84A

□ From Page 1

elbows and knees, and being manacled in a hunched-up position and suspended upside down.

De Sousa, who obtained a BSc Honours degree from New York's Columbia University after joining the ANC in 1981, said: "I was told I was accused of working for the CIA and for the National Intelligence Service (NIS). But I never worked with any intelligence agency or any government."

He alleges that he was beaten and tortured into making a false confession during his detention in Lusaka.

He claimed that Hani and Kasrils had visited him on several occasions during December 1986 and questioned him about SAP spy Olivia Forsyth.

"The ANC can torture me and degrade me, even kill me. But it's worse with a woman. They get raped," he said.

International Red Cross officials booked and paid for hotel rooms for the 19 former prisoners when they arrived.

Exile vows to challenge ANC

ONE of the 32 alleged State agents who were held in detention by the ANC yesterday vowed to challenge the organisation to produce evidence proving he was a State agent.

Jose Ribeiro-de Souza (29) who, with 17 others, was last night in the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross in a Johannesburg hotel said although he had been recruited by the South African security forces when he was in prison, he had never worked for them.

Ribeiro-de Souza, who hoped to rejoin his family

at Eersterus, Pretoria, before the end of the week, was one of many suspected agents and infiltrators released by the ANC on Friday in terms of its resolution in February.

Ribeiro-de Souza and 31 others, described by the ANC as being "among the most notorious", arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday into the temporary care of the ICRC.

The ANC had provided them with air tickets and passports.

The former University

of Western Cape student, who joined the ANC in 1981 and received military training inside the country, left South Africa in 1983 to further his studies at the University of Columbia in the United States.

On his return in 1985 he was stationed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka until he was sent to South Africa on a mission in April 1986. Two months later he was arrested in Pretoria.

"While I was in detention, South African security forces offered to release me if I worked for them. They told me I would face a minimum of 20 years for being a Umkhonto we Sizwe member and having operated as an MK cadre.

"I agreed to work for them and was released in August of the same year," he said.

He said he soon fled from South Africa and rejoined the ANC in Lusaka, where he informed Chris Hani, then MK commissar, about his experience in the country. He said Mr. Hani assured him he could be used as a double agent.

333
84A
19/8/91

Dilemma of the exiles

Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi from the Eastern Transvaal is an exile in Tanzania. In a letter addressed to the ANC president, secretary general and to various regional offices of the organisation he tells of his plight. *Sowetan* has obtained a copy of the letter. Today we publish excerpts from it because it illustrates one part of the exile problem. The ANC's response to Nkosi's allegations is also published today.

~~84A~~ 84A Sowetan
19/8/91.

NKOSI SAYS:

I Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi, hereby formally present to you this letter smuggled out of the Tanzanian/ANC cells in Mazimbu, and I shall not dwell so much into the pros and cons of what happened.

My point of contention is that I do not want to be incarcerated by the ANC as a liberation movement. I left South Africa to escape such actions. It is even worse here because the people in charge are completely ignorant of the proper procedures to follow.

Now that repatriation is approaching I feel very much insecure because the community used to be my best security. Right now anything is done because of personal grudges. I also do not have access to our currently unreliable legal protection due to the high rate of bribery (which is) the order of

the day.

There is a lot of properly calculated and organised anarchy going on here by our "Big Sharks". They, by virtue of the powers vested in them by the ANC, simply manipulate such rights to frustrate the already frustrated exiles.

As I have said before, anything may happen to me due to the fact that I do not want to co-operate at this point in time. The possible answer to accountability, will be either that I was released or I had defected or deserted. My fear is that only the intestines of this earth shall know my whereabouts.

Enough is enough, I want to be home like other exiles.

No more police cell delays.

Down with petty corruption.

Yours in the struggle.

ANC SAYS

Ms Gill Marcus of the ANC's department of information responded to *Sowetan* inquiries with this statement: "With regard to the letter you asked us to comment on, sent to you by Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi from Mazimbu, we have obtained the following report from our chief representative in Tanzania, Manala Manzini.

"Nkosi was, together with another person, a finance officer at the Vocational Training Centre in Dakawa. A certain sum of money was unaccounted for and he disappeared only to be arrested by the Tanzanian authorities at the Zambian border.

"Nkosi was returned to the ANC in Dar es Salaam. He has never been arrested by the ANC. is not presently under detention, and at present he is deployed as an education officer in Mazimbu.

"The other finance officer has accused Nkosi of being implicated in the missing money."

PLEASE, SIR,
I WANT SOME MORE.



Para-military forces look set to increase, says Helen Grange

Private armies left and right

Star 19/8/91.

DESPITE the Government's objection to the evolution of private armies in South Africa, there are indications that these military structures are heading for another phase of expansion and growth.

This trend has already manifested itself in the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) announcement last week that it would review its options with regard to a private army of its own — in the light of the growth of other private military groups.

Referring to the clash at Ventersdorp and the training being given by five African states to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Inkatha appealed to the Government "to take the necessary actions before other parties may be compelled to match the growing number of private armies".

Last week, the Cabinet formally decided against banning private armies following clashes between police and the right wing in Ventersdorp. Driving militant organisations underground introduces a threat of intensified violence of which the Government is only too keenly aware.

In addition, banning rightwing armies would necessitate the same action against other military wings such as MK, a move which would have serious consequences.

With MK's recent announcement that it plans to turn itself into a regular army, the possibility of Inkatha forming its own army and the right wing's announced expansion of its military units, the Government faces a problem with no easy solution.

There are already a number of private armies in South Africa and its homelands — some well organised and others taking the form of self-defence units or para-military groups.

Apart from the ANC's MK and the AWB's Wenkommando (formerly Aquila), there are scores of other politically oriented military wings attached to various organisations.

On the left, there is the Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army and the Black Consciousness Movement's Azanian National Liberation Army. On the right the known militaristic groupings include the

Boerekommando (expected to become the military wing of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging), the Wit Bevydomsleer, the Orde van die Dood, the Orde Boerevolk, the Boere Vryheidsbeweging and the Boereleer.

In addition, there are trained armies in the homelands and self-governing territories, apparently formed to protect their governments, but increasingly perceived as being linked to political objectives in South Africa.

This is particularly the case in Inkatha's stronghold, KwaZulu, and the ANC's stronghold, the Transkei.

On a grassroots level, an increasing garrison mentality can be seen in the form of civil protection units, township vigilante groups and neighbourhood watches.

There is a massive build-up of weapons inside the country, with illegal firearms running into the thousands. The huge influx of AK-47 rifles into the country following the ANC's unbanning means these weapons are relatively easily bought on the black market by

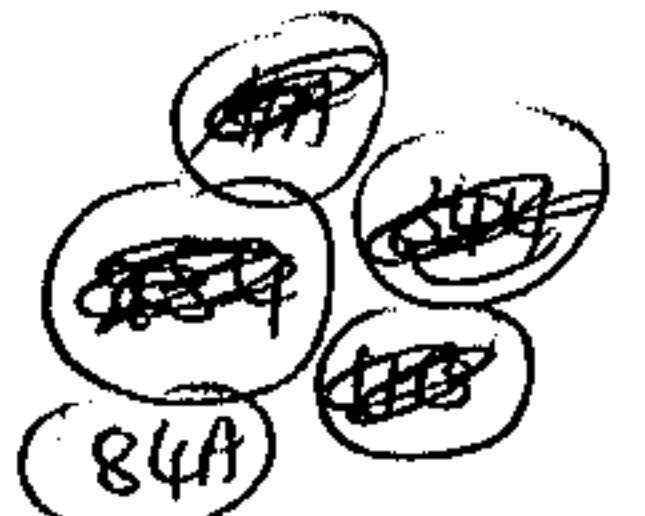
anyone with a military cause.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Unisa, says it is MK which has the most access to such wartime weaponry — while soldiers on the right, most of them having been trained by the SA Defence Force, have the expertise.

Professor Hough feels strongly that despite the proliferation of private armies in the country, violent combat on any significant level will probably never materialise.

"I don't think the right wing wants to escalate conflict to civil war status. There will probably be a continuation of rightwing incidents as there have been in the past, but they would avoid open combat because they are not strong enough to confront the State," he said.

Wim Booysse, an expert on the right wing, says rightwing soldiers may choose to launch a host of weaponry thefts from State security keypoints — "in which case, they will be preparing for a revolution — although they are not nearly prepared at the moment".



Para-military forces look set to increase, says Helen Grange

Private armies left and right

Star 19/8/91.

DESPITE the Government's objection to the evolution of private armies in South Africa, there are indications that these military structures are heading for another phase of expansion and growth.

This trend has already manifested itself in the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) announcement last week that it would review its options with regard to a private army of its own — in the light of the growth of other private military groups.

Referring to the clash at Ventersdorp and the training being given by five African states to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Inkatha appealed to the Government "to take the necessary actions before other parties may be compelled to match the growing number of private armies".

Last week, the Cabinet formally decided against banning private armies following clashes between police and the right wing in Ventersdorp. Driving militant organisations underground introduces a threat of intensified violence of which the Government is only too keenly aware.

In addition, banning rightwing armies would necessitate the same action against other military wings such as MK, a move which would have serious consequences.

With MK's recent announcement that it plans to turn itself into a regular army, the possibility of Inkatha forming its own army and the right wing's announced expansion of its military units, the Government faces a problem with no easy solution.

There are already a number of private armies in South Africa and its homelands — some well organised and others taking the form of self-defence units or para-military groups.

Apart from the ANC's MK and the AWB's Wekommando (formerly Aquila), there are scores of other politically oriented military wings attached to various organisations.

On the left, there is the Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army and the Black Consciousness Movement's Azanian National Liberation Army. On the right the known militaristic groupings include the

Boerekommando (expected to become the military wing of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging), the Wit Bevydomsleer, the Orde van die Dood, the Orde Boerevolk, the Boere Vryheidsbeweging and the Boereleer.

In addition, there are trained armies in the homelands and self-governing territories, apparently formed to protect their governments, but increasingly perceived as being linked to political objectives in South Africa.

This is particularly the case in Inkatha's stronghold, KwaZulu, and the ANC's stronghold, the Transkei.

On a grassroots level, an increasing garrison mentality can be seen in the form of civil protection units, township vigilante groups and neighbourhood watches.

There is a massive build-up of weapons inside the country, with illegal firearms running into the thousands. The huge influx of AK-47 rifles into the country following the ANC's unbanning means these weapons are relatively easily bought on the black market by

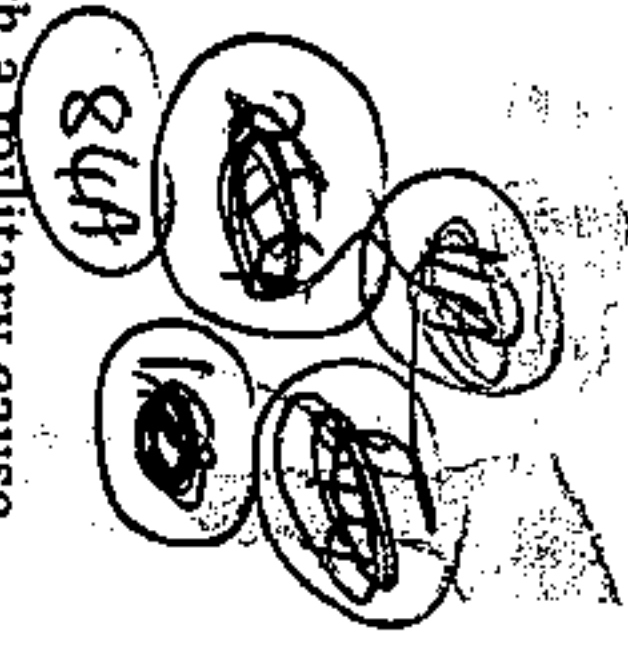
anyone with a military cause.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Unisa, says it is MK which has the most access to such wartime weaponry — while soldiers on the right, most of them having been trained by the SA Defence Force, have the expertise.

Professor Hough feels strongly that despite the proliferation of private armies in the country, violent combat on any significant level will probably never materialise.

"I don't think the right wing wants to escalate conflict to civil war status. There will probably be a continuation of rightwing incidents as there have been in the past, but they would avoid open combat because they are not strong enough to confront the State," he said.

Wim Booysse, an expert on the right wing, says rightwing soldiers may choose to launch a host of weaponry thefts from State security keypoints — "in which case, they will be preparing for a revolution — although they are not nearly prepared at the moment".



ANC tortured me, says man who denies spying for Govt

Star 19/8/91

One of the 32 alleged State agents brought back to South Africa at the weekend has said he was tortured while being held prisoner by the ANC.

Jose Ribeiro-de Souza (29) — who, with 31 others, is now in the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Johannesburg hotels — told The Star that although he had agreed to work for South African security forces after being captured, he had never done so.

He and his fellow ANC prisoners were flown back to South Africa at the weekend by the ANC.

They were described by the ANC as being among the most notorious agents to have infiltrated the organisation.



Jose Ribeiro-de Souza . . . tells of beatings.

Mr Ribeiro-de Souza said that while in ANC detention he had been tortured.

He said he was taken by ANC personnel to a house in Lusaka, known as "RC" or "Rehabilitation Centre", and locked up naked in a cement-floored room for three days.

A man known as Jomo had tortured him by beating him with police batons, particularly on his feet — "I still have problems with my left foot" — and on knees, elbows, and ankle joints.

He also said he was handcuffed and told to crouch while a branch was stuck between his legs and arms. Then, he said, he was suspended between two tables and beaten.

"At one stage I woke up and I found I was hanging upside down. My head felt like it was going to burst. I must have been hanging like that for several hours."

The former University of Western Cape student, who joined the ANC in 1981 and received military training inside the country, left South Africa in 1983 to further his studies in the

United States.

On his return in 1985 he was stationed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka until he was sent to South Africa on a mission in April 1986. Two months later he was arrested in Pretoria.

He said security forces had offered to free him if he worked for them. He said he agreed.

He told The Star he fled from South Africa and rejoined the ANC in Lusaka, where he informed Chris Hani, then MK commissar, about his experience in the country. He said Mr Hani assured him he could be used as a double agent.

Mr Ribeiro-de Souza said the ANC arrested him a few days later and accused him of being a National Intelligence Service officer and an Central Intelligence Agency agent — Political Staff-Sapa.

Red Cross kept away from ANC 'prisons'

THE International Committee of the Red Cross had been trying unsuccessfully to visit ANC detention centres for the past 15 years, Red Cross detention co-ordinator Marc Henzelin said yesterday.

The Red Cross had asked ANC president Nelson Mandela a month ago for permission to visit the centres but had not yet received a reply, he said. They had tried since 1976 to get permission, he said.

Henzelin was speaking to reporters while a meeting was in progress in a central Johannesburg hotel between 20 dissident former members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and ANC leaders. The meeting, which continues to-

6/Day 20/8/91.
PATRICK BULGER

day, was described as "cordial".

In the ANC delegation was Winnie Mandela and Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, who has been singled out for criticism by the group of ex-detainees who returned to SA at the weekend.

Henzelin said the Red Cross had information that there were detention centres in a number of southern African countries but he would not name them.

The former detainees were examined by a Red Cross doctor yesterday, although the results of the examinations would not be

made public.

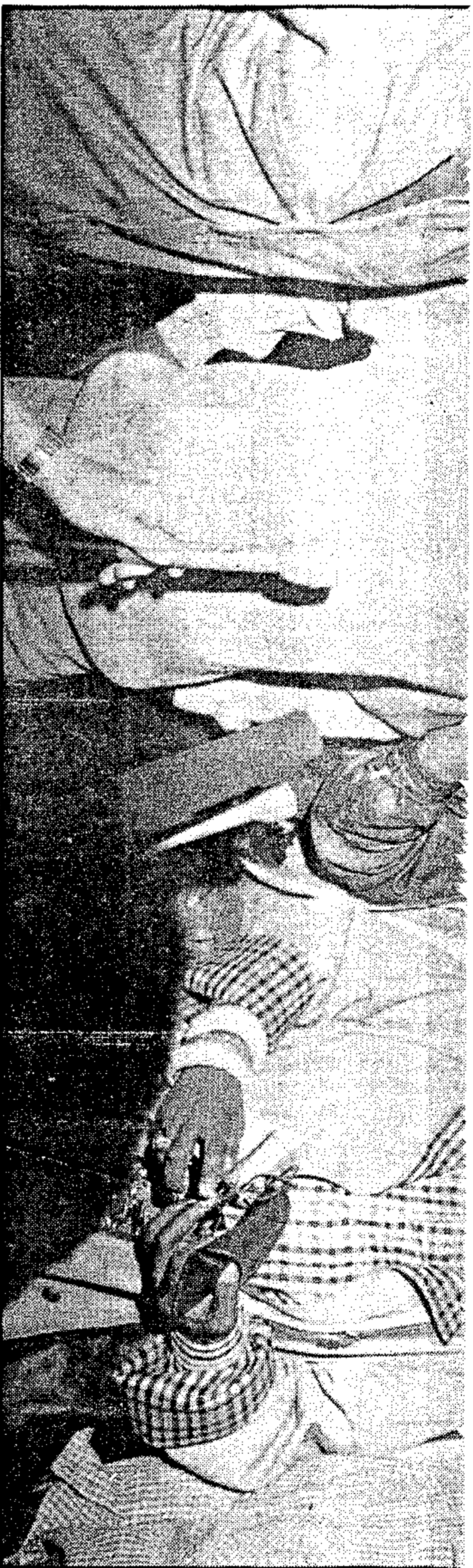
At yesterday's meeting, dissident leader Jose Ribeiro da Sousa came face to face with Hani to discuss the group's problems. He claims to have been tortured in Lusaka, Angola and Uganda.

LINDEN BIRNS reports that De Sousa read out a joint communiqué after the ANC-dissident talks yesterday.

He said: "Both sides have agreed not to have any more Press contact or to give any interviews, or to make any accusatory comments until further notice."

He said the general feeling was that both sides should work towards reconciliation.

● Picture: Page 3



Making up . . . alleged State agents Alfeus Keke Kheswa (left) and Mpho Motjoadi and top ANC members Chris Hanl, Winnie Mandela and Simphiwe Nyanda. Picture: Jacob Rykloff

ANC talks to 'tortured agents'

By Brian Sokuthi

An ANC delegation yesterday met to effect a "reconciliation" with 20 alleged State agents who earlier claimed they had been tortured in ANC prison camps in Zambia and Angola.

The delegation, led by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hanl, and including welfare department head Winnie Mandela, legal department chief Zola Skweyiya, and executive committee member Simphiwe Nyanda, also agreed to arrange further discussions to deal with any complaints the returnees still had against the ANC.

After the meeting at a Johannesburg hotel, the parties issued a joint statement in which they agreed not to talk to the press and to explore ways of resolving their differences. The 20 returnees were part

of a group of 32 prisoners flown back to South Africa at the weekend after years of imprisonment in ANC detention camps.

They had earlier claimed to have been tortured by the ANC after being suspected of having infiltrated the movement.

In an earlier interview with The Star, Patric Dlongwana (32), a former organiser of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), who spent more than five years in ANC camps in Lusaka, said he would never take part in politics again following his torture while in captivity.

"I'm feeling unsafe even now after my release. I would like to go abroad, but I must see my family first. I don't know whether they are alive or dead," said Mr Dlongwana, who left South Africa in 1986.

He said he was arrested in Lusaka immediately after his arrival and accused of being a spy for the Government.

At a "rehabilitation centre" in Zambia, Mr Dlongwana claimed to have been tortured, beaten and told by ANC security officers to admit to being a spy.

He said he was also accused of being involved in the December 1982 raid in Maseru in which many ANC members died, and in the disappearance of three Pebco leaders, Siphon Hashu, Gqawuli Godolozu and Champion Galela.

Strike

"Because of pressure, I admitted to the charges, which included working for the security police and the National Intelligence Agency."

He said he also spent time at Quatro, "a concentration camp" in Angola, where he went on a hunger strike.

"I demanded to be released or die, and they promised to release me. I'm still very sick and suffering from kidney trouble."

Mr Dlongwana said the only time those held had been "re-lieved" was in Uganda, where they were given "good food" and allowed newspapers and radios.

Alfeus Keke Kheswa (26), of Maritzburg, said he left the country in 1987 and was detained and tortured at an ANC camp in Zambia after being accused of being an enemy agent.

He said he and a colleague from Soweto had wanted to further their studies abroad and were not ready to join the military wing.

"Life was tough but we've survived it all," he said.

After the meeting Mrs Mandela said the talks with the former prisoners, whom she described as "former members of the organisation" and "comrades", had been "frank, open and cordial".

She said no statements would be issued to the press because they were likely to be misinterpreted.

"The group, which has just returned, is only interested in being integrated into a normal South African society," Mrs Mandela said.

She said another joint statement would be released after the groups had held final discussions.

● The National Co-ordination Committee for Repatriation said it welcomed an agreement between the Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees which had led to a general amnesty of South African exiles.

"We're however concerned that the terms of the agreement are still formulated within the framework of South Africa's indemnity arrangements with its inherent limitations," NCCR spokesman the Rev Frank Chikane said.

He said the NCCR was committed to helping all returnees and had met the 32 alleged State agents at Jan Smuts Airport and arranged accommodation for 12 of them.

5 hurt in grenade attack

(84A)

~~84A~~

Soweto

22/8/91

FIVE people were injured in a grenade attack at Mshenguville in Soweto yesterday, police spokesman Colonel Jac de Vries said.

Police could not detail the injuries, as the people were removed from the scene before police arrived.

Residents of the squatter settlement said an unidentified car had pulled up just before they heard the blast. The car sped away immediately afterwards.

In other incidents, police dispersed with tearsmoke about 200 demonstrators at a railway station and people threw stones along Soweto Highway, Diepkloof.

A car was damaged by stones, but there were no reports of injuries in either of the incidents. - Sapa.

Winnie's move backfires

AN attempt by Winnie Mandela to persuade alleged African National Congress torture victims not to tell their stories to the media has backfired.

On Monday Mrs Mandela and Chris Hani, the ANC's military chief of staff, met 20 men who returned to South Africa at the weekend after several years in ANC prison camps. *Sowetan 22/8/91*

Mrs Mandela and Hani, assisted by a legal team, were sent to visit the ex-prisoners, who had been jailed as "enemy agents".

After three hours of talks, a joint communique was issued in which a moratorium was agreed on "accusative statements" from either side.

But late on Monday one of the ex-prisoners, Mpho Motjuoadi, rang to say he and two colleagues, Alpheus

Kheswa and Bongane Malinga, had decided to flout the agreement. *(84A)* *(SPP)*

Yesterday morning the three men, who between them spent 16 years in ANC prisons in Tanzania, Angola and Uganda, recounted how they had been beaten with iron bars, bicycle chains and barbed wire, forced into making false confessions and then crammed into small cells.

Motjuoadi rejected the ANC delegation's attempt "to bribe us to keep our silence". Particularly insulting, he said, was a gift by Mrs Mandela of R300 for the 20 men to buy themselves dinner.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the objective had been to convince the 20 not to let themselves be used for "state propaganda". - *The Independent*.

84A 100

MK 'wants to buy our silence'

Star 22/8/91
By Jacqueline Myburgh

A group of former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers have broken an agreement with the ANC not to speak about their alleged torture in the organisation's prison camps in Angola and Uganda, and are accusing the ANC leadership of trying to buy them off.

Mpho Motjuoadi (27), who called himself "chief spokesman" for the group, said discussions with the ANC since they returned to the country had been in "bad spirit and bad faith".

Winnie Mandela and MK chief of staff Chris Hani met the men on Monday to discuss their claims of murder and torture in the ANC camps. A moratorium on "accusative statements" was agreed upon and no further statements were to be issued to the press.

"We said we would facilitate their reintegration into the community and they should not allow themselves to be used in propaganda against the ANC," spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.



Mpho Motjuoadi . . . Umkhonto chief orchestrated our capture.

He was responding to the challenge by the group that they were being bribed to keep their silence.

Mr Macozoma said it was clear the men saw the situation differently, and that each individual's case would be dealt with separately.

The men have alleged they were beaten with iron bars, bicycle chains and barbed wire while in captivity. They were forced into making false confessions and then

crammed into cells.

Mr Motjuoadi has repeated his accusation that Mr Hani orchestrated their capture and torture.

Mr Motjuoadi and Bongane Malinga (32) told The Star the ANC had hijacked the International Red Cross's aid operation "to appear in a good light".

"But they don't care about us," Mr Motjuoadi said. "If they did, they would have responded to us when we were on hunger strike in prison for 32 days."

He said all 20 of the men supported their denunciation of the ANC's efforts.

They accused the ANC of trying to bribe the men to "keep us quiet".

On Monday night, following discussions between the ANC and the group of men, Mrs Mandela gave them R300 to buy dinner, Mr Motjuoadi said.

Mr Macozoma said the ANC was in a no-win situation. "If we help them, they say we are bribing them; if we don't help them, they say we don't care."

Breaking the silence

Alleged ANC spies ignore pact and talk

Sowetan 23/8/91 8:47

IN 1985 Patrick Hlongwane voluntarily left South Africa to "go and clarify" to the ANC in Lusaka that he had been wrongfully branded a South African Government agent by fellow activists in his hometown of Port Elizabeth.

For the next six years, until he returned home last Saturday, Hlongwane (32) would spend his life as a prisoner in rehabilitation centres of the organisation ANC in Tanzania, Lusaka and Angola.

Similarly, had Mpho Motjuoadi, now aged 27, not "volunteered" to tell the ANC security on his arrival in Lusaka in 1986 that he had been recruited - but did not yield - by a South African security agent in Maseru, he would not have been tortured and thrown into ANC cells.

The two men were among 32 former ANC prisoners who arrived in the country via Kenya from Uganda last Saturday.

One newspaper headline said about their return: "ANC releases most notorious spies."

Twenty of them refused to go into the care of the ANC but preferred the International Red Cross Society's offer of aid and shelter. Hlongwane and Motjuoadi are among this group.

Escape

Three days after their arrival a meeting between them and the ANC's Winnie Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, a moratorium on "accusative statements" was agreed upon and no further Press statements were to be issued.

A week later, the group has decided to break the agreement.

Hlongwane said: "The ANC has not kept its side of the bargain. On Monday night, one of us, Bongani Mlangeni, was accosted by ANC security people in the city.

They pressed a Makarov pistol to his neck and accused him of being a paid South African agent and took his money. He managed to escape when a vehicle suddenly appeared and distracted his assailants.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

"We now know that before the world knows what happened to us in those camps, ANC security will have got to us. We would be dead", said Hlongwane.

Motjuoadi said someone posing as a journalist telephoned his hotel room and threatened to shoot him.

Bitter

"Only the ANC and its security knows us by name and sight and the method used to surround Bongani the night he was attacked is that used by ANC guerillas," said Hlongwane.

The men are obviously bitter with the ANC and lament the years they said they spent suffering for what they did not do.

Motjuoadi said: "They still have not and cannot prove that I was a spy or an enemy of the people.

"Had I not volunteered to the ANC security in Lusaka that I was recruited - I even gave

them the name of the security agent - I would not have suffered.

"I am going back to my home in Mamelodi because I am not afraid. I was never a spy."

Hlongwane said he was a Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation/UDF activist in 1983 when he was among several people arrested and charged after a sustained consumer boycott. He was acquitted and the others were convicted. That's when his problems began; he was accused of working with the police. It was for this reason that he went to the ANC to "clarify them".

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said as far as the organisation was concerned, there was nothing more to say. The men were free to go home as the matter had been discussed with the group.

He said as far as the ANC knew the 32 was under the care of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and not the Red Cross.

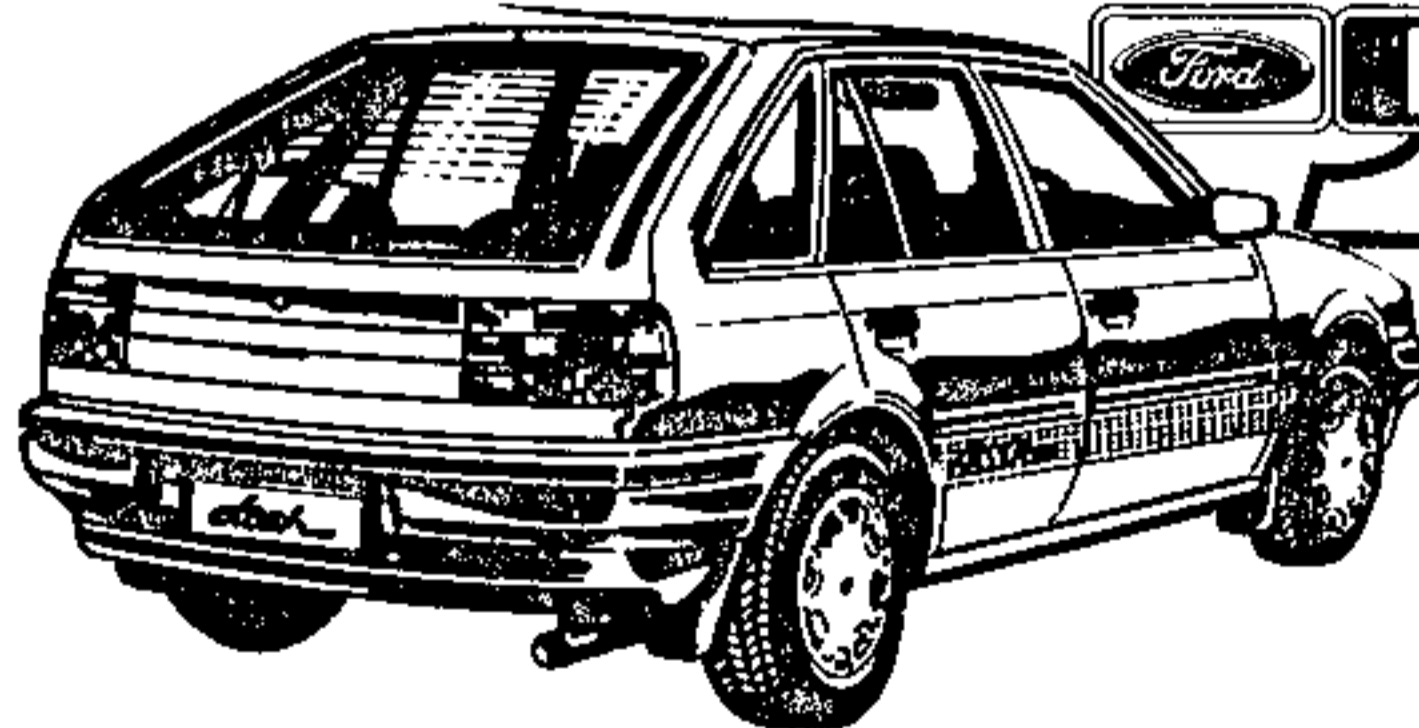


MPHO MOTJUOADI



PATRICK HLONGWANE

ONE LUCKY MOTORCITY CUSTOMER MUST WIN THIS INCREDIBLE CAR WORTH R25,000!



DRAW WILL BE HELD ON SATURDAY 24th AUGUST 1991

at 11h 00 am

Reliable Radio & TV

316 Marshall Street Jeppesstown 2094

Tel: 614-4322

SPECIAL * SPECIAL * SPECIAL

Splash, Celebration, Chicco, Chimora, Stanza, Tracy Chapman & many more

HAWKERS WELCOME

51635

4 Pre-Recorded Cassettes for R20⁰⁰

TRAIN FOR CAREERS THAT PAY!

OUR FREE PROSPECTUS SHOWS YOU HOW

To receive your FREE copy write your name and address below, tick the Careers you like, and send this notice to us by airmail. Each Course Includes four substantial and illustrated Training Manuals, Tests, Model Answers, Stationery, expert Training by airmail, and a British Diploma in 4/6 months. The fee for a Course is only £60 in full on enrolment OR one payment of £25 monthly for 4 months.

PRACTICAL BOOKKEEPING AND ACCOUNTS

~~55~~ ~~477~~ (44A)
Red Cross to visit

ANC detainees

Star 23-2-18/91
The International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa announced yesterday that, following discussions with the ANC, it would be allowed to visit detainees held by the movement. 23/8/91

"The ICRC will carry out visits to detainees according to its traditional criteria.

"The delegates, including a medical doctor, will interview them without witnesses, look at their conditions of detention and their treatment, and give any assistance appropriate.

"In case of repatriation, the ICRC will help to repatriate them in co-operation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Return of Exiles."

'Spies' vow to fight ANC

CP/ren 25/8/91



84A

■ From Page 1

Lekota told *Vrye Weekblad* the ANC had solid proof that all had worked for the SAP or the SADF. He said the ANC would not make known their names to the press as "their blood would be on our hands" if they were murdered.

Two of the agents say in a statement - which Lekota said was made voluntarily to the ANC - that they killed Victoria Mxenge, a prominent UDF leader in Natal, at her home in Durban.

One agent said he was

the person who split her skull with an axe, while the second admitted that he shot her.

The two men said they acted under orders of the security police in Durban.

Gqabi, chief representative of the ANC in Harare, was shot dead in front of his house in July 1981. Make, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, and MK leader Paul Dikelele, were shot dead outside Mbabane, Swaziland, in July 1987.

This week:

■ A former prisoner whose code-name is "Porko" (Portuguese for pig) was robbed at gunpoint in a Johannesburg street by a group of men who accused him of being an "enemy agent".

■ Another alleged agent was assaulted by a group of men in a city street.

■ De Sousa and several other former prisoners received threatening phone calls, De Sousa after giving a TV interview in which he said he was tortured by the ANC.

'Spies' say ANC must apologise

By CHARLES MOGALE

84A

#11

FIVE years ago, Mpho Motjuoadi left South Africa to study for a university degree and to train as an ANC guerrilla.

Last Sunday night he flew back into the country without the degree - or any military training. He came back a bitter, angry man, after spending five years in ANC jails accused of being a South African government agent.

"I am ready to die, if anybody wants to kill me, but I am not going to sit back and keep quiet about how the ANC took away five years of my life, accusing me of something I have not done," Motjuoadi said this week.

When City Press spoke to him, the effects of five years of captivity were glaringly obvious. He was nervous, spoke in a barely audible whisper and when he tried to smile, occasionally, he could only grimace.

His story starts in August 1985 when he enrolled at the University of Lesotho for a BA degree.

He was stopped at the Maseru bridge border post by SAP security men who interrogated him for hours and asked him to spy for them.

"I had to agree, because I was being threatened. But in my heart I knew I would never work as an agent against my own people.

"I was only 21 and could not have been expected to tell those interrogators to go jump," Motjuoadi said.

He returned home for Christmas and because he feared security branch reprisals if he did not keep his promise to spy, he arranged to leave the country "for good".

In January he went back to Lesotho where he joined the ANC officially and flew out to Lusaka.

"I told them the whole story." But nobody believed him.

What followed was a



ALPHEUS KHESWA
... Court threat.

tale of torture and imprisonment in jails in Zambia, Angola and Uganda.

Motjuoadi is one of four former prisoners who broke an ANC moratorium not to speak on prison conditions.

Another former ANC prisoner, Alpheus "Keke" Kheswa, called for an independent inquiry into ANC detention camps.

"They have to withdraw their derogatory references to us," he said.

"We are innocent. And if they refuse to apologise to us we will have to take them to court."

Patrick Dlongwana, who spent more than five years of a 14-year sentence for his alleged role in the SADF raid on Maseru in 1982, was almost in tears when he told reporters this week: "I am not a spy, and I never was.

"I want nothing to do with the ANC and if they do not retract their reference to us as enemy agents, we will meet at the International Court of Justice."

Sabotage probe after blast cuts electricity

The Argus Correspondent (84A) ARG 26/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating a charge of sabotage after an explosion at a Midrand transformer caused damage estimated at R30 000 and cut off electricity in surrounding suburbs.

The explosion went off at the Noordwyk power station just before 8.45pm on Saturday night. Midrand suburbs were plunged into darkness for several hours.

According to police, two more blocks of commercial TNT explosives with fuses were found on a second transformer. These were defused by a police bomb disposal unit.

A charge of sabotage is being investigated, according to Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer.

Police suspect sabotage after blast

Staff Reporter

(84A)

Police are investigating sabotage after an explosion at a Midrand transformer which caused damage estimated at R300 000.

Star 26/8/91
The explosion was at the Noordwyk power station just before 8.45 pm on Saturday. Police said two blocks of commercial TNT explosives with fuses were found on a second transformer.

Blast: 'Azanla was responsible'

Star 2/7/89
The Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) has claimed responsibility for the blast at the Noordwyk power station, Midrand, on Sunday.

A man who identified himself as Molefe Moeketsi of the "Transvaal Command of the Azanla forces" claimed in a telephone call to The Star yesterday that the attack was

a part of the guerilla army's "continuing assault against economic targets".

According to a police spokesman, two blocks of commercial TNT explosive with fuses were found on a transformer.

These were later defused by bomb experts, the spokesman said. — Staff Reporter.



President Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela (partly obscured), national chairman Oliver Tambo and the SACP's Joe Slovo
 some of the 32 former ANC prisoners at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.
 Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

We will probe all claims of ANC torture

Mandela

BY THEMBA MOLEFE

THE ANC is to investigate claims of assault and torture of former prisoners who were held in its camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela made this announcement yesterday after meeting 16 of the 32 former prisoners.

The move also comes after some of the men broke an agreement with the ANC and went public with accusations of torture and maltreatment in ANC prisons.

The 32 men were released from a prison in Uganda and arrived back in South Africa two weeks ago.

ANC to probe claims
 30/8/91
 Soweto
 844

They have been described as the ANC's most notorious spies. Some of them, who each spent up to six years in ANC cells, challenged the organisation to prove they had been State agents. They broke the agreement with the ANC which called for a moratorium on accusations. They said they had decided to talk to the Press because the organisation had not adhered to the agreement. "We will investigate every single case at the highest level," Mandela told journalists flanked by some of the men and senior ANC officials.

Dishonest

He said the ANC would provide the group with the best security. "Let us forget the past and work together to build the organisation," said Mandela. He said a certain newspaper had falsely attributed a letter to one of the men, Mr Gilbert Sethoke, by saying he claimed the ANC was dishonest. Sethoke, who was present at the briefing, had distanced himself from the letter, Mandela said.

Camps

Asked whether the ANC still kept prisoners in its camps, Mandela said he had no knowledge of the existence of ANC prisons. In response to a question about the International Red Cross Society's intention to visit ANC prisons, Mandela said he did not know who the society wanted to see.

Safe

The ANC met the 16 in two separate sessions. The first group comprised 11 men who Mandela said had thrown their lot behind the organisation. The second consisted of five men who were part of a group of 20 which initially accused the ANC of threatening to kill them. One of the five men, Mr Ribeiro de Sousa, told journalists he was fully behind the ANC and that after meeting Mandela he felt safe.

Askaris

"If I were to die it would certainly not be the ANC but maybe the AWB or the Askaris," said De Sousa. In a separate interview Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said seven of the men who had publicly accused the ANC had joined Inkatha while several others were now Askaris. He denied that he had personally taken part in assaulting or torturing any of the men.

From Page 1

ANC has released all its prisoners, says Mandela

THE ANC had released all prisoners from its detention camps in Africa, the organisation's president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela was addressing journalists after the ANC had met two groups of former ANC prisoners.

About 16 dissidents — half the group which returned two weeks ago — agreed to be re-integrated into the ANC and to forgive the organisation for past injustices to which they claimed they had been subjected.

Mandela said the ANC prison camps were now empty and that he could not understand why the International Committee of the Red Cross wanted to visit the detention centres. Last week the Red Cross announced that it had received ANC permission — after 15 years of trying — to inspect its prisons and interview prisoners.

Red Cross spokesman Tony Pfan-

LINDEN BIRNS

ner said a delegation would visit several ANC prisons to verify Mandela's claims.

"If there are still prisoners, it's not for the ICRC to pressure for their release. We simply want to ensure that their detention conditions are up to standard and that smooth repatriation and integration into SA society can take place if they are to be released," he said.

Security

Mandela said that of the more than 30 prisoners who returned to SA 12 days ago, five had joined Inkatha, two had joined the security forces as Askaris and several had returned to their homes.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani denied claims by one of the prisoners that he had been instrumental in ordering detentions and

fortunes.

Hani said seven, and not five, former prisoners had joined Inkatha.

Law and Order ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze denied the claims that some of the former prisoners had been recruited as Askaris.

Mandela said the ANC had undertaken to investigate the allegations made by the former prisoners, and also promised to refer the issue of their personal security to "the highest level of government".

Sapa reports that Inkatha yesterday accused the ANC of hiding behind a smokescreen on the issue of the dissidents.

In a statement issued in Ulundi, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose accused a number of well-known anti-apartheid activists, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, of using "soft gloves" on the issue.



Recently released ANC prisoner Jose Ribeiro da Sousa, left, said yesterday he and other former dissidents would forget past injustices they had suffered in ANC prisons. ANC president Nelson Mandela, right, said all ANC detention centres were now empty.

Picture: JOAO SILVA

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES - 1991

SEPT. — DEC.

WHO killed Thami Zulu?

This is a question that will haunt the African National Congress for years to come.

Zulu, a senior Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, died mysteriously in Lusaka in December 1989, five days after being released after 17 months in ANC detention where he was held on suspicion of spying for Pretoria.

The coroner found his death was due to tuberculosis, but according to a laboratory analyst's report which *Weekly Mail* has obtained, he died of poisoning.

Traces of a deadly organophosphorous pesticide, diazinon, were found in his blood specimens after he died. This intensifies the puzzle that already surrounds the circumstances of his death.

Thami Zulu's real name was Muziwakhe Ngwenya and he came from a well-to-do family in Soweto. Born in 1954, he went to high school at Salesians and then Waterford in Swaziland and, in 1975, slipped away from university in Botswana to sign up as a soldier with the ANC.

TZ, as he was known, was one of the foremost members of the 1976 generation. He was a highly regarded cadre who rose to the rank of MK commander of the Natal region in 1984, a position for which he was hand-picked by Chris Hani from the camps of Angola.

A tribute prepared for his funeral by Hani said that under Zulu's command, Durban became the most bombed city in South Africa.

He died a lonely death in Lusaka in November 1989.

An ANC official told TZ's family that he died of pneumonia. Rumour within the movement was that the cause was Aids. Some said he died, like other suspected agents, at the hands of ANC security.

At the time of his death, he had severe military tuberculosis — which had been untreated during his detention — and, according to medical experts, would probably have died within weeks anyway.

According to renowned pathologist Jonathan Gluckman, the poison that was found in his blood is so deadly that it was probably ingested shortly before his death — indicating that the fatal dose would have been administered after his release.

So who killed Thami Zulu?

A three-man internal commission of enquiry chaired by Albie Sachs into the circumstances surrounding TZ's death found no evidence that he had been an agent for Pretoria.

Though the ANC suspected for a long time that there was a top-level spy in the Natal command, the incident that led to TZ's arrest provides reason why there was so much paranoia within the movement over infiltration by Pretoria.

According to MK sources, TZ was ordered by headquarters to step up operations in preparation for the pending local government elections.

In June 1988, there were two separate crossings of ANC guerrillas, including three women, from Swaziland. But the courier leading them in was an askari, police were forewarned and the notorious hit squad commander Captain Eugene de Kock was dispatched to intercept them.

Marthinus Grobler, a former police constable on duty at the Piet Reüf police station on those two nights, recalled in an interview with the *Guardian* last year how De Kock arrived at the charge office on the evening of the first incident with other security branch men, to collect firearms.

"I asked them what they were going to do and they said special duties." At



Picture from the family album: Thami Zulu relaxes at home

Who killed Thami Zulu?

A highly regarded MK commander is detained by the ANC after his Natal guerrilla operation is smashed by security police. He spends 17 months in detention, although most of his comrades consider him innocent. He is weak and very ill on his release, and dies five days later. A coroner discovers that he has been poisoned. Who killed him, and why? PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK follows the mysterious last days in the life of commander Thami Zulu



Zulu, centre, relaxes with friends at a party

about midnight they returned with the bodies and asked Grobler to help unload them from the police van.

"The security branch people just grabbed them by the leg and dragged them out of the van," he said. "Afterwards we had to get rid of the blood with hose pipes ... we were taking the clothes off and the one black girl was wearing a light blue blouse and you could see the burn marks on it; she had been shot at point blank range."

Grobler said that an askari, an ex-ANC member, had collected the people from the border and brought them to a certain point. When the askari got out of the car to urinate, police moved in.

"One sergeant told me what had happened. He said that when they went closer to the vehicle, this woman opened the door and partly fell out and was screaming: 'Nkosi, don't shoot'. And he opened fire, shooting at point blank range."

The same performance was repeated with a second group four days later.

An inquest into the killings is still sitting.

TZ and his wife Thabiso were on their way to London a few days later when, on their way through Lusaka,

he was told to wait and his wife had to continue the trip without him.

On her return she found that he was being held under house arrest. She was told it was a "routine" enquiry.

Concerned at these developments, TZ's parents travelled up to Lusaka where they met ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, security head Joe Nhlanhla, and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.

They were told that TZ had not done anything wrong and would soon be released.

In December 1988 his parents were able to see him in the Parodzi Hotel in Lusaka where he was "healthy and strong and in their (ANC) custody".

However, in July 1989, they learnt that TZ had been transferred from house arrest to solitary confinement. His father travelled to Lusaka again and spent 18 days trying in vain to see him. He was not to hear from them again until November when he was phoned by the ANC to be told that his son had died of "pneumonia".

MK leaders, meanwhile, also expressed concern at the detention. According to one commander, the department of security had powers to investigate people in the army without

consulting MK.

Chris Hani apparently raised the issue of TZ's detention at the level of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

"TZ's detention was not discussed with us," the commander said. "Our response was one of bitterness and led to a straining of relations between the army and security."

"Security was very powerful — it had the powers of life and death."

"The death of TZ is an indictment of the methods we used against suspects, ignoring his track record and the views of those who worked with him closely."

The Sachs report found that TZ was not beaten while in detention — and this was confirmed by those who saw him during his last days — though he did tell his wife on the phone that in the cell in which the ANC kept him he was only allowed out for 10 minutes a day to clean out his nightsoil bucket.

He was released in November 1989, in a clearly debilitated state. The post-mortem report, after his death five days later, revealed that he had severe military tuberculosis of the lung, spleen and kidneys.

The question as to why he was held so long without any real proof has never been answered. Clearly, there was a top-level spy in the ANC's Natal operations.

However, a military source said: "TZ should never have been detained, even if suspected. There were ways in which a strong check could have been made, without detention."

One of TZ's deputies — known variously as comrade Cyril, Fear or Ralph — had been detained on suspicion of spying earlier in the year and had died in detention, allegedly committing suicide.

Military sources say they have never seen any confession by Fear and that

the circumstances of his detention were never properly explained.

A suggestion has been made that there was rivalry between TZ and intelligence chief Zuma over control of Natal operations. The journal *Southscan* reported that Zulu "won the post (as head of Natal command) in the teeth of opposition from Zuma, who favoured a Natal-born candidate".

But the key to TZ's death lies not so much in the period of detention but in the five days between his release and his death.

The person who administered the poison would have had to have access to him during this time.

TZ was released on a Saturday into the care of a doctor friend called Ralph who, on the very next day, suffered a burst ulcer, and had to be taken to hospital for an operation.

When he came to after the operation, Ralph phoned Hani from the hospital and told him to see to TZ. Hani and MK commander Joe Modise had to vault over a high fence to get to TZ whom they found in a very sick state. After that, two MK cadres were sent to look after him.

"At the time of his release he was very sick," said an ANC official who saw TZ within a day of his death. "His visible symptoms were serious diarrhoea and vomiting." By all accounts, Hani was the one who showed the most diligence in trying to care for TZ in those few days.

"On the Tuesday Hani went back to the house and found Thami ill," said a close family member. "Thami didn't want to go to a doctor because he said the intelligence guys were going to finish him off."

"He wanted to go to Zimbabwe. He tried to organise a passport. A doctor saw him on Wednesday night. On Thursday he started gasping and was rushed to hospital. Hani and Modise battled to save him."

What of the possibility of Pretoria's involvement in the death? One MK commander said the poisoning bore the hallmarks of South African agents.

An entire camp of 700 ANC cadres in Southern Angola was poisoned in the late Seventies and saved only by Cuban doctors.

If Pretoria was involved, the chilling prospect is that its dirty work would have had to be administered by ANC people.

"Pretoria had the opportunity to send its own agents into high levels of the army — what would have prevented it from infiltrating our security?" said the commander. "The screening of people was very cursory and superficial."

The life in exile took its toll on Thami Zulu, it is clear from the coroner's report. It is very unlikely that TZ, sick and abandoned by the movement that he had given his life to, could have died by his own hand.

Despite being one of the most senior commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Thami Zulu was given a lonely burial in Swaziland. A rally called in his honour in Lusaka was cancelled, even though people gathered at the stadium, because it was feared that it could lead to a riot.

The ANC only paid for the body to be moved from the government hospital to a funeral parlour in Zambia. The family had to foot the bill to move the body to Swaziland where he was buried with few ANC comrades in attendance.

A statement from Chris Hani was read out at the funeral eulogising TZ, saying "we shall never forget your theoretical and practical contributions to our armed struggle".

After 17 months in ANC custody and after an exhaustive commission of enquiry failed to find him guilty of spying for Pretoria, Thami Zulu today still lies buried in an unmarked grave in Swaziland.

84A
282

Four held in Natal

over arms

9/9/91
POLICE at the weekend arrested four men in the Table Mountain area of the Natal Midlands, seizing weapons and ammunition.

The men, all in their mid-20s, are alleged to have had in their possession two AK-47 rifles with 97 rounds of ammunition, a 303 rifle, a homemade shotgun and four other homemade firearms, ammunition of various calibres and a flare. - Sapa.



ANC still stands accused

DETENTION without trial, interrogation under torture, the disappearance of political opponents . . .

It could be a litany of ANC charges against South Africa's white rulers, but this time the accusations are levelled against the anti-apartheid movement itself.

Thirty-two former prisoners of the movement returned to South Africa in August, saying ANC jailers were no better than their counterparts in Pretoria.

"They brought false charges against me that I was a spy for the South African police," said one of the group, Mr Patrick Dlongwana.

"They forced confessions out of me with torture."

The prisoners were held in African states by the ANC during the 30 years it spent as an outlawed movement waging guerilla warfare from exile against white minority rule in South Africa.

President FW de Klerk last year launched reforms to end apartheid and include the newly legitimised ANC and other black groups in the drafting of a new nonracial constitution.

Sowetan
9/9/91

The International Committee of the Red Cross first tried to investigate conditions in ANC prisons 15 years ago, but the anti-apartheid movement refused access.

The ANC agreed to allow an ICRC probe only after releasing the 32 prisoners, who it said were the last in its custody.

The Red Cross said it wanted to verify that the ANC had no more prisoners and would discuss the cases of about 50 people alleged to have gone missing in ANC custody.

"If the Red Cross wants to visit the empty prisons, they're free to do so," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said.

Together with senior aides, including his wife Winnie, Mandela met 17 of the 32 in an effort to defuse criticism of the movement.

He promised all their complaints would be investigated and said measures would be taken to protect them against retribution.

The former prisoners include Mr Gabriel Sethloke, whose family wrote a letter to *The Star* naming several people alleged to have disappeared while in ANC custody.

"I'm afraid of this so-called new South Afri-

ca," the letter writer said. "We are going to have a government of crooks."

According to Dlongwana and others released from ANC detention, their experiences were similar to those of anti-apartheid activists who fell foul of the South African Government.

Dlongwana (32) said he first ran into trouble with the ANC in his hometown of Port Elizabeth because his sympathies were with the rival Pan Africanist Congress.

A petrol bomb attack on his home killed his mother.

"I went to Lusaka in 1986 to meet senior ANC officials and sort out my problems," he said. "But they accused me of being a spy and interrogated me under torture."

He said that, after months in detention, an ANC tribunal sentenced him to 15 years hard labour on the basis of confessions extracted under torture.

Most of his time in detention was spent doing hard labour in Quatro camp in Angola.

"We had to crush stones because prison guards said that's what Nelson Mandela was doing on Robben Island," said Dlongwana,

who describes himself as a playwright.

"The ANC destroyed me politically, mentally and physically," he said. "I used to be active politically, but after what the ANC did to me I want nothing more to do with politics."

He said his health had been ruined by two hunger strikes he launched to protest at prison conditions and by beatings from ANC guards. One beating had given him epileptic fits, he said.

"Sometimes in Quatro I thought it would be better to be in a South African jail."

Four other men released with him made similar allegations of wrongful imprisonment and ill-treatment against the ANC.

Most of the 32 promised the ANC they would keep silent about their experiences as part of attempts at reconciliation.

One of them, Mr Jose Ribeiro de Souza, said he had made the promise to ensure his own safety. He said he had received threatening phone calls since returning to South Africa.

Allegations of ANC maltreatment of detainees first emerged last year when some escaped from prison camps.

The detainees, some of whom were being punished for a mutiny, said they had been beaten and locked in metal transport containers in the sun.

Mandela acknowledged at the time that some guards had been guilty of excesses but said steps had been taken to halt abuses.

The ANC, which describes the 32 men who returned in August as notorious agents, says all prisoners in its custody have been accounted for. - Sapa-Reuter

Four held
in Natal

over arms

Sowetan 9/9/91
POLICE at the weekend arrested four men in the Table Mountain area of the Natal Midlands, seizing weapons and ammunition.

The men, all in their mid-20s, are alleged to have had in their possession two AK-47 rifles with 97 rounds of ammunition, a 303 rifle, a homemade shotgun and four other homemade firearms, ammunition of various calibres and a flare. - Sapa.

Sowetan 9/9/91
TPA's no to wage increase demand

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration has rejected the National Education and Health Workers Union's demands for a wage increase.

TPA acting director-general Dr Piet Steyn issued a statement in reply to a memorandum by Nehawu last Friday demanding recognition of the union and a wage increase proportional to the inflation rate for all health workers.

Steyn said a partial salary increase was granted to health workers in April this year. He pointed out that the union formed part of a forum created by the Commission for

Sowetan 9/9/91
By SELLO MOTLABAKWE

Administration (CFA) which is currently negotiating the nature of future collective bargaining processes between the TPA and Nehawu.

Additional matters addressed in the statement include: A commitment by the TPA to consult the union over any proposed retrenchment of workers, the non-victimisation of Nehawu members for their membership and the continuation of discussions on the right to peaceful protests.

(11A7)

C

Sowetan 11/9/91

Shooting leads to arrests in Seshego

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

PIETERSBURG police said yesterday they have arrested four Seshego youths and recovered a pistol and commercial explosives.

Police spokesman for the Far Northern Transvaal Captain Cas Jones said the arrests followed a shooting at Westernburg township near the town on Saturday night.

Two of the arrested youths are members of the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Azanian Students Movement. They are Mr Jappie Kwadi and Mr John Chepape.

A large police contingent surrounded Chepape's home on Sunday morning, watched by a crowd, and dug up weapons in the yard, eye-witnesses said.

Jones said investigations are continuing.

'Guerilla' to ask for appeal

Soweto 16/9/91
LAWYERS acting for an alleged Azanian National Liberation Army guerilla who was sentenced to ten years in jail in Bophuthatswana are to petition the Chief Justice for leave to appeal.

A spokesman for Seriti Mavundla and Associates said in Pretoria yesterday that alleged Azania guerilla Mr George Biya (22) of Phiri, Soweto had been refused leave to appeal by Judge Warrington of the Mabatho Supreme Court last week.

Biya, who was already serving a three-year sentence for illegal possession of

By MATHATHA TSEDU

firearms, was found guilty of robbery with aggravating circumstances for an attack on a Ramatlabama citrus project, during which two cars and a computer were seized. (84A) (84A)

Judge Warrington sentenced him to ten years. He denied leave to appeal, saying no other court could reach a different verdict.

Biya's case has been taken up by people campaigning for the release of political prisoners in Bophutatswana.

SAP find 7 AK-47s in hostel raid

84A
stew
Staff Reporter

16/9/91
Police uncovered seven AK-47 rifles and 104 rounds of ammunition while searching a hostel in Vosloorus on the East Rand on Saturday.

Police spokesman Major Dave Bruce said the AK-47s were fully loaded in a bag "as if they were going to be transported and used". A .32 pistol was also found in the vicinity.

Major Bruce said initial police reports indicated that six people had been killed in political violence on the Witwatersrand since Friday.

The mutilated body of an unidentified man was found in Phola Park on the East Rand yesterday.

In Daveyton outside Benoni on Saturday, five men were injured when a hand grenade exploded on the roof of a private home; a man was shot and stabbed to death; one person was killed and another injured when they were fired on by a group of people.

An Inkatha Freedom Party supporter was killed and three injured outside the Selby Hostel, Johannesburg, on Saturday.

Also on Saturday, a man was killed and another injured when they were fired on from a hostel in Alexandra. Earlier, police found the burnt body of a man.

**'We won't be
bulldozed to
early poll'**

84A
skw 16/9/91

The Government would not be bulldozed by the Conservative Party into holding an election before its present term of office ended, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He also indicated that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), should be disbanded because it was not "in the spirit" of the Peace Accord.

Speaking on SABC-TV's Agenda programme last night, Mr de Klerk said the Government had a five-year term of office and hoped in that period to hold a referendum in terms of the existing constitution to approve the new negotiated constitution.

Concerning private and political armies, he indicated he had received "certain guarantees" days before the signing of the accord from the ANC regarding the future of MK.

In terms of the Peace Accord no private armies may be formed or continue to operate.

Mr de Klerk added it was "high time" that the ANC became a political party.

Questioned about the carrying of traditional weapons — especially at the Peace Accord signing ceremony — Mr de Klerk said the issue was a very emotional one, particularly for the Zulu nation. — Sapa.

MK here to stay - ANC

THE ANC will not disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It is not a private army, the movement has said.

"MK is a national army. Its position is governed by agreements reached between the ANC and Government in the DF Malan Accord and not by the National Peace Initiative," Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC's department of information and publicity said yesterday.

One of the essential parts of the accord bars political organisations from having their own private armies.

President FW de Klerk said on

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

television on Sunday night that MK should be disbanded because its continued existence "was not in the spirit of the peace accord" which was signed in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The ANC's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said at a Press conference after the signing of the accord that, despite the ban on private armies, his organisation would not disband MK as it did not fall within the framework of Saturday's accord.

The future of MK, Mandela said,

was the subject of bilateral agreements between the Government and the ANC. This was why Saturday's gathering did not deal specifically with MK.

De Klerk agreed with Mandela and said that a basic agreement was in place which prevented MK from undertaking certain actions.

Statements by De Klerk on Sunday night were described by other ANC sources as "tangential" and "provocative".

A senior ANC source said that after signing the peace accord "quite happily" on Saturday, De Klerk chose to bring up the MK issue.

"This was typical of the Government to start nitpicking in public about its differences with the ANC.

"The accord can work towards peace, but it cannot stop the political games and the name-calling," the source said.

The continued existence of MK was also scorned by the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi was reported to have said on Saturday that the clause in the peace accord which dealt with private armies was "meaningless" if it did not include MK.

Sowetan 17/9/91

8 CA

Resolution on army issues 'close'

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were close to resolving a number of issues relating to the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, sources said yesterday.

The sources, close to the negotiations of the liaison committee set up after the D F Malan meeting early this year, said the issues of cadre infiltration and arms caches were close to being resolved.

At the weekend President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela said the bilateral talks between government and the ANC on these issues were progressing well. At the signing of the national peace accord on Saturday, Mandela said Umkhonto was not going to be disbanded. The D F Malan Minute and talks flowing

from that and the Pretoria Minute took it out of the ambit of the accord, he said.

It is understood Mandela was pressing ahead with decisions taken at the Umkhonto conference last month, when Umkhonto reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations on incorporation into a new SADF.

Government sources said yesterday a distinction had to be drawn between Umkhonto and its activities. The D F Malan Minute and the negotiations of the liaison committee were concerned with the activities of an army — training, infiltration and weapons accumulation inside the country.

MK will not be dissolved, says Hani

Star 18/9/91

Political Staff *8/11*

The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was not a private army and would not be dismantled, MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

His remarks are likely to continue tensions between the Government and the ANC.

Reacting to a statement by President de Klerk that MK was contrary to the spirit of the peace accord signed on Saturday, Mr Hani said calls for the dismantling of Umkhonto we Sizwe were attempts to marginalise it.

"We will not be dismantled, and we will not be marginalised.

"The arms caches belong to us and we will not surrender them to an undemocratically elected government."

Umkhonto we Sizwe would consider discussing with an interim government the handing over of these caches.

Mr Hani said MK was not a private army but the liberators of the oppressed, and could therefore not be construed as a private army.

The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe subscribed to the principle that no political armies should exist in a democratic society, but South Africa was not a democratic country, he said.

In terms of the D F Malan agreement reached between the ANC and the Government in February, the movement agreed that no political armies should exist.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's statement, Mr Hani said: "I am concerned about him pursuing that line of thinking."

He added that "the issue of MK" was a subject of ongoing negotiations in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan agreement with the Government.

"We know that nothing has been finalised, but we also know there are binding agreements. We are still sticking to the suspension of military operations and related activities."

Contrary to the Government, the ANC argues that "related activities" did not refer to recruitment and training.

In terms of the D F Malan agreement, both sides agreed there would be no attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices, infiltration of men and materiel, the creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action, and training inside South Africa.

Mr Hani said these activities were clearly defined and centred on MK not infiltrating men and materiel as long as the agreement was in place.

MK's activities were the subject of discussions by a joint ANC/Government working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute and by a liaison committee (established after the D F Malan agreement) to ensure the implementation of the agreement.

Mr Hani said MK was clearly not part of the peace accord, but a bilateral issue with the Government.

"I can't see why MK is being dragged in. We have in all frankness not been involved in acts of violence because we are bound by the Pretoria Minute.

"Furthermore, even the D F Malan agreement does not say MK should be dismantled."

The joint working group agreed that because Umkhonto we Sizwe was no longer an unlawful organisation, membership was not in violation of any of the provisions of Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, and the letter and spirit of the Pretoria Minute as a whole.

He said Umkhonto we Sizwe was a lawful organisation which had to reorganise itself since its unbanning.

MK ^{84A} staying alive or going into limbo?

THE national peace accord has focused attention on the ANC's underground Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army, and raised questions about its future.

Even before the ink had dried on the signatures of the contracting parties to the accord, President de Klerk was pressing for the dissolution of MK in its present form as a guerilla army.

Its continued existence was contrary to the spirit of the accord, Mr de Klerk said on television at the weekend.

The relevant clause in the accord reads: "No private armies shall be allowed or formed."

A qualifying clause defines a private army as one which is formed on the basis of party or political affiliation.

The pertinent clause was different in an earlier draft. It said simply: "No private armies shall be formed."

The words "allowed or" were inserted in the final version, reportedly at the insistence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, to extend the prohibition to MK.

As a guerilla army which existed before the peace accord was drawn up, MK — which was made legal with the ANC and SACP after President de Klerk's speech on February 2 1990 — was not affected by the ban on private armies in the first draft.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has, however, not made the same deduction as Mr de Klerk about the need to disband MK.

"We have no intention of dissolving MK, either now or in the future," he said at a news conference after signing the accord. "It is a matter which is under discussion between the ANC and the Government. We are discussing it in a spirit of reconciliation."

At the same conference, Mr de Klerk drew attention to earlier bilateral agreements between the ANC and his administration, insisting that the peace accord supplemented rather than repaced them.

Three bilateral agreements are involved: the Groote Schuur Minute of May 1990, the Pretoria Minute of August last year, and the DF Malan Agreement of February 1991.

In the Groote Schuur Minute, the ANC and the De Klerk administration undertook to end

Star 18/9/91.
PATRICK LAURENCE
looks at the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe in light of the national peace accord.

the "climate of violence and intimidation", and to undertake a process of peaceful negotiations.

At the Pretoria Minute the ANC agreed to suspend its "armed struggle and related activities" as part of a quid pro quo for the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles by April 30 1991.

The months after the signing of the Pretoria Minute were characterised by haggling between the ANC and the authorities over the meaning of the three words: "and relative activities".

There were serious differences of interpretation over whether the ANC's agreement to suspend "armed struggle and related activities" merely meant a cessation of a direct act of war, or whether it precluded the ANC from recruiting and training guerillas or smuggling weapons into South Africa on assumption that the suspended war might have to be resumed at a later stage.

These differences were largely, but not completely, settled at a meeting at DF Malan Airport in February. The interpretation which was agreed on represented, in large measure, a victory for Mr de Klerk's insistence that the Pretoria Minute bound the ANC to more than a mere moratorium of overt acts of warfare by MK guerillas.

The ANC representatives



No intention of dissolving MK . . . Nelson Mandela.

concurred that the Pretoria Minute meant: An end to the infiltration of men and materiel into South Africa; a halt to the building of underground structures; a proscription on statements inciting violence and on threats of armed action; and a prohibition of the training of guerillas in South Africa.

Looking back at the bilateral agreements at Groote Schuur, Pretoria and DF Malan Airport, one overall conclusion can be drawn: MK was in the process of being transformed from a guerilla army into an ancillary political force under the aegis of the ANC.

That process was, however, disrupted by the intensification of the township violence and the ANC's suspension in April 1991 of constitutional discussions with the De Klerk administration.

The national peace accord has put the process back on the rails and the demilitarisation of MK is once again on the agenda under the heading: No private political armies.

Whether the process will be completed depends on the discussions referred to by Mr Mandela, and on whether Chief Buthelezi's IFP can be prevailed upon to abandon its proclaimed right to carry "cultural weapons", a phrase which includes spears and knobkerries.

Assuming that the weapons issue is resolved — the peace accord bans the carrying of weapons to, from or at political meetings — the metamorphosis of MK into a political auxiliary of the ANC seems likely in the short term.

One of its main functions will be look after the welfare needs of the returning or unemployed MK soldiers.

In the longer run, MK, or elements of it, may coalesce with the SADF and the armies of the four nominally independent black homelands, to form a defence force for the emerging new South Africa.

In the interim, some trained MK fighters may serve in self-protection units. The units, unlike private armies, are allowed under the peace accord.

They differ in three important respects from the prohibited private armies: their members may carry only licensed arms; they must not be recruited from one political party only; and they must liaise with the police. □

Umkhonto stops recruiting

B/day 18/9/91
THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe had suspended recruitment because of insufficient resources, Umkhonto commander Tokoyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Sexwale said the decision, which is contrary to a resolution taken at the ANC's July congress, was not a result of discussions between government and the ANC.

He said the decision was taken purely for practical reasons. Umkhonto had many hundreds of applicants but lacked the resources to incorporate them.

Umkhonto leaders have often insisted that they would continue recruitment drives.

Most recently, at a conference last month, Umkhonto commander Joe Modise announced an expanded operations plan.

Government has argued that recruitment of Umkhonto members should end in

(S) *(SLA)*
TIM COHEN

line with the Pretoria Minute, in terms of which the ANC agreed to suspend "armed actions ... and related activities".

The dispute was partially resolved by the D F Malan accord this year where the parties agreed this meant the ANC would not infiltrate men or materiel and would not create underground structures.

The D F Malan accord specifically did not mention recruitment, Sexwale said.

He said the training of Umkhonto cadres would continue and would be improved.

He said Umkhonto's decision was not related to discussions of the ANC/government working groups. Nor had Umkhonto given any undertakings in this regard to President F W de Klerk during discussions before the signing of the peace accord.

MK not private army callers

SOWETAN REPORTER

CALLERS to the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday supported the ANC's contention that its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was not a private army.

The callers said MK was a national army and, therefore, should not be disbanded.

Sowetan 18/9/91
Peace Accord

They told DJ Tim Modise that MK had nothing to do with the Peace Accord.

"It is very disappointing.

"They are provoking the ANC and I do not think we will achieve peace that way," said one caller.

"There is no way MK will be disbanded before there is liberation in SA," said Moses from Rockville.



He said that while people were allowed to march in the streets with dangerous weapons, MK was immobilised and did not contribute to the violence in the townships.

Lorraine from Meadowlands and Kid from Tokoza disagreed.

She said the organisations should all join the SADF instead of criticising it.

Kid said the ANC was making excuses by refusing to disband the MK.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said earlier in the programme there was an understanding that MK fell outside the definition of private armies and State President FW de Klerk did not oppose this at the signing of the accord.

Niehaus said MK would "most definitely not be disbanded, not now and not in the future."

"It has been making an effective contribution to the peace process and it will

Hopes rise for all-party talks

End in sight to clash over ANC's army

B/10aw
19/9/91
84A

ALAN FINE

THE dispute between government and the ANC over the status of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is set to be resolved soon through a system of control over armaments and, possibly, by subjecting any MK "self-defence" activities to multiparty control.

A source close to the ANC said yesterday this issue and the question of cultural weapons were the only remaining barriers to the convening of an all-party conference — which could still take place this year.

The source said the cultural weapons issue would have to be resolved by President F W de Klerk when he issued a proclamation to clarify this "fudged" part of the national peace accord.

He said the ANC — and particularly its president Nelson Mandela — was especially concerned about the matter. This concern had been aggravated by the armed Inkatha demonstration on Saturday at the peace convention.

The working committee on armed action, established in terms of the Pretoria Minute — is likely to settle on a deal whereby the ANC supplies to government the serial numbers of all weapons cached inside the country.

This arrangement would enable government to track down the origin of these weapons if their use for unlawful purposes was detected.

De Klerk and ANC officials said recently the committee was making good progress.

The source said it was possible the code of conduct to govern the SADF's activities — at present being negotiated to supplement the peace accord — or something similar could be made to apply to MK.

A further possibility, in so far as MK personnel would be used in community self-defence structures, would be to put them under the authority of the multiparty local and regional dispute resolution committees established by the peace accord.

At this stage, the source said, there was no question of MK disbanding or handing over its weapons to the state. The eventual integration of MK and the state security forces would be part of the negotiation process.

He said the peace convention had served as a useful model for an all-party conference and there were now readymade solutions to organisational problems, like representation, that might otherwise have arisen.

Meanwhile, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said in Durban yesterday the ANC's commitment to negotiations was resolute and, if all went according to plan, an all-party conference might get under way before the end of the year, Sapa reports.

Speaking at an Idasa forum, Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted to "get moving" to restore stability in the country and added that an all-party conference before the year-end would be a "Christmas present" to all South Africans.

The first phase leading to negotiations had come with the signing of the peace accord, Ramaphosa said.

The next phase would be a patriotic front conference which the ANC hoped to hold in October, following which the organisation would be poised for the all-party conference.

Mine was a damp squib

84A

SOWETO police yesterday destroyed a limpet mine which had failed to explode after being thrown to one side, stoned and driven over by cars.

Liaison officer Col Jac de Vries said a resident of the Mshenguville squatter camp had found the mine outside his house and had thrown it to one side.

1916/22 COM 11/15

THE other day I heard some fascinating stories from a leading member of the ANC who has just returned from exile.

It all began when I said some of the people who left the country had no business doing so.

He agreed in part, but was angry with my way of putting it.

He told a story of two young men who in the early 70s left South Africa for Botswana in an effort to join the ANC and then proceed for military training in Lusaka.

These guys were known in Soweto for their insatiable love of fun. They also had no chance of employment.

But after three fun-filled days and nights in Botswana it was time for them to trek on, and they realised money for wine, women and food was finished. They backtracked and went back home.

Others ran from South Africa after they committed petty crimes like swindle and fraud. They knew going back home meant one thing - jail.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Hani was the Quatro hero



AKA
SKA
22/9/91

"You will be surprised at some of the cases we had to deal with," confided the ANC man.

In some instances South African security personnel would be sent to infiltrate the ANC.

"Most of these men would be smelled out immediately. Please don't ask me how we did it, but 90 percent of the time we would be right," he said.

He told me of a youth who submitted three different CVs in one week.

"Surely no person can forget where he was born, where he attended school and who his parents are."

The most hilarious of them all was when a speaker was addressing new arrivals and looked straight into the eye of one of the freshers and said to him: "Who sent you to come and spy here and why are you doing it. Are you not aware that you are destroying your own people?"

The man said he was sorry to have accepted a job from Le Grange and "revealed all".

Until the Soweto uprisings of 1976, the ANC used to carefully screen members and prospective members.

No one would be allowed to leave the country

and go for military training until he or she was given the green light by the internal and external leadership.

This system was successful until the ANC camps were flooded mostly by youths who ran away from Bantu Education and harassment by the State.

This brings me back to the story of why there was a mutiny among MK cadres in the Quatro camp in Angola, and how it was stamped out.

He told me: "Never, ever underestimate the capabilities of MK chief of staff Chris Hani as a

military man and a highly intelligent politician. His prowess came to the fore that day."

When the camp was taken over by the mutineers, the leader of the group demanded to meet the then president of the ANC and MK Commander-in-Chief, Oliver Tambo.

Tambo instead sent Hani. When Hani arrived at the camp, he got a rude shock when he was told to salute a young soldier who had taken over.

"Any other person in Hani's position would have seen red. But not Chris. He was cool as cucumber, but very calculating. Despite the fact he was not armed, within a few hours the mutiny was over," I was told.

In a full military tribunal where the mutineers were represented by lawyers of their choice, they were found guilty and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Most of these guys are now back with us and they have tried to resolve their problems with the ANC.

84A ~~ESP~~
**MK army of
a democratic**

SA - Winnie

Star 23/9/91.
Umkhonto we Sizwe would be the future army of a democratic South Africa, Winnie Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing 10 000 people at the ANC Women's League rally at Nkowa-Nkowa stadium near Tzaneen, Mrs Mandela said that despite the signing of the National Peace Accord, Umkhonto would not be disbanded — not now or in the future.

Mrs Mandela said the ANC was committed to the accord because it was the only way "to save the lives of our people". But despite the accord, the ANC would look seriously at defending its members.

"The type of arms we will use for defence will depend on the type of enemy."

● Mrs Mandela was yesterday expected at a rally in Alexandra where she was to have welcomed former political prisoners and exiles.

National Executive Council member Popo Molefe addressed the meeting, welcoming 18 exiles and former Robben Island prisoners.

He urged them to continue fighting the struggle "on the last mile of our journey". — Sapa and Staff Reporter.



Anna Dlamini of the Bahlaka Le Barwetsana Ba Morena Choir in full cry at *Sowetan's* "Prayers for the Nation" service at the Regina Mundi yesterday. See page 2.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

ANC calls for one army

Sowetan 23/9/91

~~84A~~ 84A

THE ANC has repeated its call for an integrated army while the Government reacted cautiously to revelations of a secret code of conduct for the South African Defence Force yesterday.

Both were responding after newspaper reports yesterday exposed a sweeping code of conduct for the SADF which would effectively depoliticise the army - and which was seen as a step closer to integration of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, the SADF and homeland armies.

Drafted by the SADF, a copy of the code was

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

forwarded to the national peace initiative working group on security on August 7.

The ANC's reply on the draft code was received by the SADF about 10 days ago and was

To page 2

Merge armies - ANC

Sowetan 23/9/91

~~84A~~ 84A

From PAGE 1

being considered for further discussions, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said yesterday.

The code, which envisages a nonracial army, also calls for talks with the ANC's MK and homeland armies about future relations in terms of the national peace accord.

A main feature of the code details rights and obli-

gations of the individual soldier in which he can disobey orders that are illegal or in conflict with the constitution.

Breytenbach said the subject of a code of conduct for the SADF had been dealt with in the working group set up in terms of the national peace initiative.

In a statement Breytenbach said: "The original draft was compiled by the SADF, discussed with the then Minister of Defence,

General Magnus Malan, and presented to the working group on security matters on August 7."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the document was being discussed at top level by Umkhonto we Sizwe and would later be tabled for further discussion and proposal by the ANC leadership.

However, Niehaus said, it was important the SADF be included if the peace initiative were to succeed.

Umkhonto we Sizwe must help train youth — Hani

Sowetan 26/9/91
84A



SOLDIERS of Umkhonto we Sizwe must help train township youths in combat tactics and set up defence units to retaliate against those who do not want peace, MK Chief of Staff

Mr Chris Hani said in Crossroads on Tuesday.

Speaking during a visit to Crossroads to promote peace in the troubled Cape squatter camp, he said the MK programme would

emphasise discipline and would be aimed at helping the whole community.

He said defence units were necessary as people had a right to defend themselves. - Sapa.



CHRIS HANI

THE



MK man jailed over arms

A GRAHAMSTOWN Umkhonto weSizwe member has been sentenced to an effective six months' imprisonment for illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Tony Yaka appeared in the Kenton-On-Sea Magistrate's Court charged with 20 counts of attempted murder, malicious damage to property and possession of firearms. But he was found guilty only of the charge

Clips 29/9/91
of illegal possession of arms and ammunition, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Two and a half years were suspended for five years.

He had pleaded guilty to the arms charge.

The charges stem from bombing incidents at councillors' houses in Queenstown in January. It was alleged Yaka had attempted to murder the councillors with hand-

grenades. *(84A)*

It was further alleged that an AK-47 rifle, hand-grenades, limpet mines and rounds of ammunition were found in his possession. *(22)*

However, in court the defence argued that a "confession" the State alleged Yaka had made regarding bombing councillors' houses in Queenstown was made "under pressure".

Don't disband MK

Star 1/10/91

For MK to be disbanded at this crucial stage, when blatant distrust, disloyalty and violence are still prevalent, would be suicidal, immoral and illogical with regard to the peoples' struggle.

First of all, MK is the legitimate liberation army which fought the oppression of the indigenous inhabitants of this country. It has absolutely nothing to do with private armies which are busy slaughtering innocent and defenceless people.

To the best of my knowledge, the private armies which were impliedly referred to were: (i) Defence units which are reportedly intended to be established; (ii) Inkatha commandos which were reported to have been trained by the SADF in Angola, Namibia, Northern Natal, Eastern Tvl etc; (iii) the CCB; and (iv) Askaris.

Secondly, MK has never been and is still no threat to Inkatha whose leader seems to be panicking.

(12/10) (84A) (2/4)
What actually prompted Buthelezi to equate private armies and so-called traditional weapons with MK, I just really cannot tell. MK is not involved in the current so-called political violence, whereas private armies and his cultural weapons are intricately entangled in butchering passengers in trains, buses, etc.

I advise him not to allow himself to be used as a bait by tempting and alluring satanic forces, after which he would find himself having drifted further and further away from his brothers and sisters to the point of no return.

Lastly the ANC is still a liberation organisation busy paving way to a genuine negotiation process. Every liberation organisation has an army. In no circumstances would we freedom fighters like to see MK being disbanded.

Thomas Majola

Alrode

844 (S) (RGT 2/10/91)

All private armies must go, Hani told

Political Staff

THE government intended negotiating for the disbandment of all private armies, left and right, including the AWB, said Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers.

He was speaking last night at a debate in Pretoria between himself, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Walter Felgate. The debate was organised by Lawyers for Human Rights and Idasa.

Mr Scheepers was replying

to a question why the government insisted on the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, being disbanded while it allowed rightwing private armies.

Mr Hani reiterated the ANC view that MK would not disband until a democratic government was in place.

Mr Hani was asked whether MK would be deployed if negotiations broke down. He asked in reply whether President De Klerk would not use the army and the SAP "to round up all of us" if negotiations collapsed.

"You must trust us to ensure that MK sticks to its agree-

ments in the same way that we trust the government to keep order in its security forces," he said.

Mr Scheepers said the government would return to the negotiation table if present negotiations failed and would not use the army or the SAP to settle constitutional disputes.

Mr Felgate said MK was the single greatest threat to the peace accord.

Policemen who refused to sign the police code of conduct under the national peace accord would not be allowed to remain in the SAP, Mr Scheepers said.

Mr Scheepers said 30 special police units — each with 16 men — had been established to investigate political violence and unrest as required by the peace accord.

A general had been appointed to take command of these units, he said.

Police training curricula had been adjusted in accordance with the police code of conduct, existing members of the police force would be retrained and all relevant aspects of the peace accord would be included in the curricula, he said.



MK looks at violence, plans for peace

South 3/10-5/10/91

The armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), circulated a discussion document at the regional conference which set out the MK perspective on violence. The text of the document follows:

VIOLENCE should be viewed as a strategy by the apartheid regime to weaken the ANC. The enemy is hoping to negotiate with a weak ANC.

The violence in the region has taken the form of the taxi war. It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the police have a hand in the conflict. Another element in the area is the conflict at Crossroads between ANC members. What must be our response to the violence? Unity, first in the ANC and the alliance, is essential.

There are differences between ANC members in the leadership of the civics and the coming ANC regional executive committee (REC), differences between allied organisations in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and differences between Party members in



PEACE TALK: MK delegation attends the conference

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

the leadership of the civic and some comrades serving in the regional Party leadership. All the above differences are an obstacle to the solution of the violence in the region.

Bad working relations existing in the alliance are another element making it impossible for the alliance to intervene decisively in the conflict. Suspicions between the ANC REC and one of the ANC's most important components, MK, is another problem in resolving this conflict.

We are convinced that the success

of any efforts of our people and organisations against violence depends primarily on the unity of the ANC and its allies.

There is an urgent need for a meeting between all members of the ANC who are leading the civics in the townships, the ANC REC and those members of the ANC who participated in the peace committee on behalf of Cosatu and the SACP.

They must meet to thrash out their differences. Openness and honesty are important here. Straight talk breaks

no comradeship. Joint planning and strategising of the alliance against violence is essential. Therefore we believe tripartite meetings must be convened.

Meetings from time to time between the ANC REC and the MK command are also important. This will make it possible to avoid any suspicions between the two as is the case presently. Never underestimate the capacity of the SADF and other security forces to turn the wheel back. It is clear from the events taking place and evi-

dence gathered that the SAP and SADF are involved in the violence. This calls upon the ANC not to demobilise and disarm its army. The only effective defence is to hit back at those who are attacking our people. Let us first remove the myth created by the ANC — the false hope created in the minds of ANC membership and the people that MK is capable of intervening in the defence of the people.

Yes, MK has the capacity to do that, but without arms this is not possible. ANC members must understand that the suspension of armed actions and the DF Malan Accord means in practice that MK is disarmed.

MK cadres have been made easy targets of secretive state agencies like Askaris, the CCB and other security forces. We are sitting ducks — the security of MK cadres is at stake. This is a dilemma facing MK. It must be clear, MK cadres are not armed.

The ANC must convene a regional peace conference of all the organisations to discuss the violence and come up with solutions. This must include political organisations, trade unions, civics, women, youth, students, business, church and sports bodies.

Self-defence units involving the community must be set up through civics. MK must provide the necessary expertise in setting these up.

Political education must be one of the key elements of these self-protection units.

THE Government intended negotiating for the disbandment of all private armies on the left as well as on the right, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Johan Scheepers said this week.

Scheepers was speaking at a debate between himself, Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani and Inkatha Freedom Party official Mr Walter Felgate.

The debate, held in Pretoria, was organised by Lawyers for Human Rights and the Institute for Democratic Alternative of South Africa.

Hani said MK would not disband until a democratic government was in place.

When asked whether MK would be deployed if the negotiations broke down, Hani said: "You must trust us to ensure that MK sticks to its agreements in the same way that we trust the Government to keep order in its security forces."

Scheepers said the Government would return to the negotiation table if present negotiations failed and would not use the army or the police to settle constitutional disputes.

He said policemen who refused to sign the police code of conduct under the national peace accord would not be allowed to remain in the force. He said 32 special police

All private armies must go - Minister

Political Staff

units - each with 16 men - had been established to investigate political violence and unrest as required by the peace accord.

Scheepers asked why the ANC persisted in justifying the existence of MK while the peace accord clearly stated that no private armies may not be formed or allowed.

Hani said that during the transition the African Defence Force, homeland armies and other private armies should be confined to barracks while the police, under the control of an interim government, would be used to maintain law and order.

Felgate stressed the need for an alliance between the IFP and the ANC to curb violence. Joint action could help to replace a culture of intolerance with one of tolerance.



CHRIS HANI

8/11/91

Southern

4/10/91

Disband MK call by Inkatha

Sowetan 8/10/91
THE ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should be disbanded immediately as it is working against the spirit of the national Peace Accord, according to the regional leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Themba Khoza.

Addressing thousands at Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium on Sunday, Khoza said the MK was not a national army with the interests of the broader community at heart, but the ANC's private army.

He said the training of the ANC's township defence units, organised by MK cadres, was continuing and the ANC's recruitment drive was at its peak.

Both of these operations were causing resentment and creating divisions in many communities and intimidation was rife, all of which led to the perpetuation of violence in the country.

Khoza said this was clearly against the spirit of the national Peace Accord.

He urged all South Africans to support the Peace Accord and to help end political killings. He slammed counter-attacks and retaliation, which only aggravated the violence.

Khoza also called on all youth organisations in South Africa, including those from Inkatha, the ANC, the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan-Africanist Congress, to work together to bring about an end to the violence.

"What good is getting rid of the evil of apartheid if, at the end of our struggle, we have no country left?" Khoza asked. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



Top clerics due in SA

PATRICK BULGER

A MAJOR church conference to examine the role of the church in SA's transformation would coincide with a visit by the general secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC), the director of the Programme to Combat Racism, Barney Pityana, said yesterday.

Pityana said the conference would be attended by church leaders from 20 countries, as well as representatives of all SA churches. It would also examine the relationship between the churches and SA's political movements.

The conference, scheduled for Cape Town later this month, will be addressed by WCC general secretary Emilio Castro and will concentrate on how the churches analyse the SA situation and how the international church community could co-operate with SA churches.

"It is significant in that the WCC is coming to SA for the first time since 1960," Pityana said.

Peace stamp

CAPE TOWN — Nearly 300 delegates will attend today's "violence summit" — the most ambitious attempt yet to resolve a protracted war which has claimed scores of lives, disrupted the local economy and caused endless hardship for towns residents.

Jointly organised by Cape Town Mayor Frank van der Velde and Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, the summit could result in the setting up of a violence monitoring commission in terms of a national peace accord, it was predicted yesterday.

Police Divisional Commissioner General Nic Acker greeted this with caution, saying he was still "awaiting NPA guidelines from Pretoria" and would not rule out the possibility.

He emphasised that a joint anti-police forum was already operating in terms of the Groote Schuur Memorandum.

Among those attending the summit conference at the civic centre will be Cape Administrator Kobus

Firearms haul averted massacre, say police

JONATHAN REES

SOWETO police say they averted a massacre at the weekend when public co-operation helped them to smash an arms ring and seize 11 AK-47 rifles, 13 loaded magazines and two VZOR Czechoslovakian machine pistols.

A further 17 illegal firearms were seized in the township last week after information was provided by residents, said SAP Soweto spokesman Col Tienie Halgryn.

A total of 375 AK-47 rounds and 45 pistol rounds were seized.

Halgryn said the tip-off had led police to a private home where the weapons were found. Three men were arrested and would appear in court today on charges of illegal possession of firearms.

He said police believed the suspects had planned further weapons deals, which involved a smuggling syndicate specialising in stealing cars on the Reef and trading them for arms in neighbouring states.

Police had worked 720 man-hours on the case and had travelled more than 6 000km, which included a trip to Natal to net three stolen vehicles, Halgryn said.

Members of the vehicle theft and firearms units in Natal had aided the investigation.

Halgryn said township residents were "sick and tired of the bloodshed" and were regularly phoning the police to provide information on illegal arms.

THE DEFENCE FORCE FM 11/10/91

Somewhere on the border

How will the SADF be restructured — and who will serve in it?



Outside the office of the Chief of the SA Defence Force, in the elegant Defence Headquarters building in Pretoria, dating back to the time of Paul Kruger, there is a small display board. It lists the unbroken

line of men who have headed the SA armed forces since 1912. There are 14 in all, starting with Brigadier General Collyer, taking in names like General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld and Admiral Hugo Biermann, and ending with the present incumbent, General Kat Liebenberg. The board represents a tradition that the SADF is desperate to uphold.

Not for the first time in its history, it is threatened by politicians.

The immediate worry is financial. Like any army after a war has been concluded, the SADF has suffered drastic budget cuts and it faces more. The navy and armaments manufacturer Armscor have been particularly affected.

The percentage of GNP spent on defence was never excessive, one of the lowest in the world — though there was always a hidden cost in removing skilled people from the economy. However, even if the defence budget was not unreasonably high, the country has such pressing needs elsewhere that the defence establishment must make sacrifices.

The second threat is a political one: more complicated and peculiar to SA. There is a perception, strongest among the former liberation movements, that the SADF has long been an agent of the National Party. The other major political player, the African National Congress, believes that the SADF cannot be allowed to survive in its present form, because for the ANC it is associated with apartheid, oppression and death squads. There is an argument that the SADF should be amalgamated with the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), to form an entirely new and supposedly more balanced force.

There is an understandable political motivation for this, but militarily it verges on nonsense. Even observers sympathetic to the ANC estimate that a maximum of 13 000 cadres have been trained by MK since 1976. About 6 000 were infiltrated into SA; about 700 of these were killed or captured by security forces; and the rest are believed to be "passive deserters," as Howard Barrell puts it in his book on MK. Barrell also admits that there was no revolutionary war, that MK offered "no serious armed or insurrectionary contention for State power." This is in huge contrast to Rhodesia, for instance,

where guerrilla armies effectively controlled half the country by 1978.

Of the MK cadres still outside SA — about 7 000, by Barrell's reckoning — it can be expected that many would not wish to continue as professional or part-time soldiers once a new constitution is in place. Therefore, when the question of amalgamation with the SADF arises, the total MK component is unlikely to be more than 5 000.

Contrast this with the SADF, which has been training thousands of men every year for nearly three decades. There is a Permanent Force establishment of about 30 000; apart from specialist professionals like pilots, this is essentially concerned with administration, command and training. There is only a handful of PF army combat units. The ordinary soldiering is done by the conscripted fulltime National Servicemen (20 000 every year); and by part-time volunteers and conscripts in the Citizen Force (180 000) and Commandos (135 000). In addition there are on the Reserve 155 000 older men.

Thus, in theory, the SADF can call on over half a million trained men. Even though it would be impossible to call them all up at once, and many would be difficult to trace, this is the most formidable defence force in sub-Saharan Africa.

The manpower is combined with a substantial conventional capacity. The army can call on three part-time divisions; there is also a rapid deployment force which includes 44 Parachute Brigade (mainly CF) and 60 Brigade (mainly PF members and National Servicemen). This capacity has never remotely been tested: the largest conventional force deployed in Angola was the equivalent of a single brigade.

This is why MK cannot be taken seriously in military terms. It is an army only in the loosest sense and relatively small. It has no artillery, no tanks, no aircraft, no ships. Its limited successes in the field were almost entirely based on expertise in sabotage and small-scale guerrilla operations. As an army, MK at no stage took on the SADF.

So the question of amalgamation, militari-



Malan



Hani

ly, does not even arise. But it remains a political flashpoint.

The SADF itself would prefer to wait until a new constitution is negotiated, meanwhile maintaining its strength by continuing conscription of young white men. But within a year or two, change will be unavoidable. It is already unfair that only white men should be conscripted, but it would be impractical even to consider a universal non-racial conscription; the cost would be prohibitive.

One seductive option is to have armed forces composed entirely of volunteers, as is the case in the US and Britain. But there are powerful impediments.

Again, there is the cost factor. Full-time volunteers must be treated as career professionals, and competitive packages would have to be offered to draw enough people of quality.

On a more subtle level, a standing army can be a political threat, especially in an unstable country. As General Liebenberg himself points out, a large professional army (which has been suggested by the ANC's Chris Hani) is an invitation for a coup; a citizen's army is an automatic restraint.

Another option would be to combine a small PF element with a selective ballot, as was used to call up white men in the Fifties and early Sixties. Naturally such a ballot would have to be applied to all races, using a post-apartheid voters' roll.

In Namibia, the army's manpower has been doubled in order to alleviate unemployment. This option should be avoided. It would be highly inflationary, and dangerous — in an age of sophisticated weaponry — to arm people for the wrong reasons. If there is a need for a State-organised social services corps, let it be just that.

The SADF's most sensible route would probably be to attract more volunteers on a short-service or part-time basis. Structurally, it will in any case be essential to maintain the CF regiments and the Commando system.

Whatever method is decided on, a symbolic gesture will have to be made to accommodate remaining elements of MK. General Liebenberg refuses even to consider this while the ANC still reserves the right to resume "armed struggle." The SADF objects to negotiating with a body that owes allegiance to a particular political grouping, when the SADF's own members are forbidden any active political involvement beyond voting in elections.

Assuming "armed struggle" is ended, Liebenberg would have no political objection to MK members joining various SADF units, but he is nervous about the effect this could have on the morale of present members. This

F M 11/10/91
is partly a problem of former enemies becoming colleagues — but it is not insurmountable: the old Union Defence Force managed to achieve reconciliation between Boer and Brit remarkably quickly.

What is especially worrying to senior SADF officers is the prospect of imposed affirmative action. Quite rightly, they reject the idea that a man trained essentially as a guerrilla could be appointed to a senior command position above the heads of officers with many years of formal training. It did happen after World War 2: certain Afrikaner officers who refused to serve were promoted to ranks that "they would have had had they seen active war service."

Another option being considered in establishment military circles is the formation of an MK unit within the SADF. This should be strenuously resisted. It would almost certainly cause more problems than it might solve. The same should apply when, as seems likely, the armies of the nominally independent "homelands" have to be incorporated into the SADF. Otherwise the potential for factional violence would be terrifying.

Perhaps the SADF could draw profitably on the running of the Indian Army under the British, who had a deliberate policy of mixing Hindu, Moslem and Sikh. Religious dif-

ferences came to be overridden by loyalty to the regiment.

The Zimbabwean experience is also instructive. After independence, British officers and NCOs were called in to help oversee the amalgamation of forces. Even though there is no comparable colonial power to help SA achieve this, there are traditional military links with the British, Portuguese and Americans (and, for MK, with the Soviets). It might just be worth the SADF swallowing its pride and asking for outside help.

Let us assume that the ANC comes to power after democratic elections. Its defence force will be essentially white, with important black combat components. Though the SADF seems weak in administrative and logistical capacity (this was shown in Angola in the late Eighties) and though some of its equipment is dangerously obsolescent (aircraft and ships in particular), it remains a potent military machine. Operationally it is tough and experienced and its military doctrine has honed the Boer tradition of mobility and quick reaction, along with the British legacy of regimental honour and discipline.

Like the Nats in the Fifties, the ANC will not be comfortable with the survival of "colonial" regiments like the Cape Town Rifles, Transvaal Scottish, Prince Alfred's

(84A)
Guard, the Natal Carbineers and the Kaffrarian Rifles. Nor will the ANC be happy with Boer-derived units like Regiment Botha and the various Commandos.

But it must resist the temptation to tamper. A neutral SADF will be the safeguard for a fledgling democracy, and any traditions of neutrality must be built upon that fact.

There is, of course, an increasingly popular view that we no longer need a defence force. It assumes that, because apartheid was the dominant source of friction in southern Africa for so long, the demise of this ideology will remove all conflict.

This view is naive. It assumes that solidarity created by anti-apartheid feelings will endure regardless of other factors, and ignores the dangerous unpredictability of politics — especially in Africa.

Who can say what the geopolitics of the region will dictate a decade from now? Who can guarantee that SA will not be at war with one of its neighbours over land or minerals or food or water? And if a regional Saddam Hussein were somehow to come to power, who would stop him?

As the German philosopher Von Clausewitz argued, he who wants peace must prepare for war. ■

Custodians of peace are biding their time

MK waits to play a new military role

Sowetan 15/10/91

84A

WITH its role as a guerilla force receding, the armed wing of the African National Congress is undergoing conventional warfare training so it can help form a new South African army.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), has been one of the weapons in the ANC's negotiating armoury since it was unbanned in February last year.

Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders at one time regularly threatened to return to the armed struggle if President FW de Klerk's Government proved duplicitous in talks on the country's future.

But the armed struggle option has not been publicly aired for months. Instead the ANC has used sanctions, calls for mass protests and the threat of breaking off negotiations to press its demands.

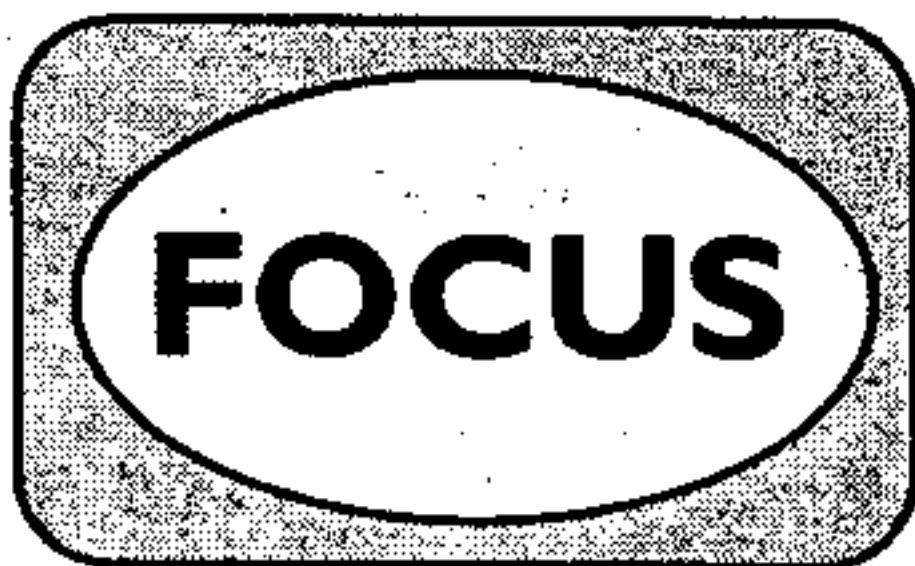
Umkhonto we Sizwe used to wage a guerilla campaign of limpet-mine bombings and hit-and-run raids on police stations.

Now it has adapted to the changed political landscape by preparing itself to form an important part of the regular army in a post-apartheid South Africa.

"In terms of agreements we have signed with the Government, we have agreed not to train our people inside the country," MK official Mr Calvin Khan said in an interview.

"But we have not said we'll stop our training for a regular army outside South Africa. So yes, we are training in countries like Uganda and other African countries."

MK refuses to say how many members are in training, but Khan



said the number was "significant".

"We are training a regular army in order to participate fully in the new army of a future South Africa - both in terms of professional ability and to ensure that the new army will not be swamped by an all-white officer corps."

Khan said an ANC government would insist that every officer of the new army undergoes an "orientation course" to ensure his commitment to a nonracial, democratic constitution.

South African forces had been involved in illegal wars in Angola and Namibia and hit squads, he said.

"Who is to guarantee they will not continue in this manner? We will not allow reactionary elements intent on destabilisation to remain within the defence force."

Khan said MK was maintaining its underground forces within South Africa in case negotiations with the Government on a new constitution breaks down.

"We have to ensure we are in a position to defend ourselves," he said.

But he added that MK's capacity to resume the armed struggle had been compromised by the group's participation in the negotiation process.

"We have actually gone so far in our attempts to create conditions



Nelson Mandela . . . has threatened to return to the armed struggle.

conducive to a peaceful settlement that it is extremely difficult for us to maintain that capacity."

Khan and other returning MK exiles had to give the Government full details of themselves to apply for indemnity.

He said MK's willingness to put its military capacity at risk demonstrated its commitment to peace.

"Far from this image that has been created by reactionary elements that MK is just a bunch of terrorists bent on creating havoc, it has actually been very responsible."

Khan, who heads a unit charged with ensuring the welfare of returning MK guerillas, said MK had an important responsibility to help communities defend themselves against the township violence in which 3 000 people have died in the past year.

"We don't see our role as forming defence units, but we'll assist

where we can in the defence of the people and the revolution."

He said MK would retaliate if the ANC came under attack from white rightwing groups.

"If the rightwing thinks we will sit back if they begin to attack us, they have another thing coming. We will not hesitate to take appropriate action."

MK was still recruiting within South Africa for its training programmes abroad, Khan said, adding that the movement wanted to move its camps to South Africa as quickly as possible.

"Given the problems of Eastern Europe and their impact on African countries, conditions in the camps have become difficult.

"It is increasingly difficult to get the kind of material support necessary to maintain an army outside of South Africa," Khan said. - Sapa-Reuter.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Former activist dies in grenade blast

A 19-YEAR-OLD former Congress of South African Students activist died yesterday when a handgrenade exploded in his hands at his home in Rockville, Soweto.

Mr Kgomotso "AK" Pule, of Rubusha Street, was killed in what Soweto police described as a suicide about 2pm in a backroom at his parents home.

His father, Mr Tony Pule, said yesterday that he was standing at the kitchen door calling his son to come and have his lunch when the blast occurred.

"There was this sudden explosion which rocked the room. And the next minute his body was sprawled near the

Sowetan 16/10/91
By KENOSI MODISANE

backroom door," Pule said. (84A) (278)

He could, however, not confirm that his son's death was a suicide.

"All I can say is that police took away two letters and a notebook whose contents I had not read," he said.

Speaking at the scene of the incident, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said: "We have in our possession a suicide note, the contents of which we cannot reveal at this stage."

The Star

70c (incl)

WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 16 1991

CITY LATE.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SALDRU LIBRARY

for
NOW THE
CHEAPEST
- 24 -

Staff Reporters

Proposals to combat violence by curbing the carrying and use of firearms were published yesterday.

Proposed amendments to the Arms and Ammunition Act, published for comment in yesterday's Government Gazette, effectively make it more difficult to possess and use firearms legally.

A significant effect of the draft Bill will be that gun owners who are not defined

as collectors will not readily be issued with licences for a second firearm of the same type.

"For example, if you own a pistol and apply for a licence on the grounds of self-defence, and then apply for a licence for another pistol, you will have to give sufficient reasons why you need it," a police spokesman said.

"If you've got a number of firearms, the Commissioner of Police can declare you a collector, and then you might be compelled to take stringent safety measures such as installing a special safe."

Owners declared collectors by the Commissioner would have 60 days to appeal to the Minister of Law and

Order.

In the proposals, definitions of arms and ammunition — over which stringent rules apply — have been widened to include teargas cartridges, gas rifles of 4.5 mm or larger, gas pistols, air rifles of 4.5 mm or larger, and machineguns.

If passed by Parliament, the Arms and Ammunition

Govt crackdown on firearms set out in draft Bill



Amendment Act would oblige gunsmiths to carry an official identity document issued by the State, and a prescribed fee would have to be paid for permission to possess a firearm for a prescribed period of time.

Authorisation for possession could also be withdrawn at any time by the Commissioner of Police.

Prior written consent would have to be issued by a licensed firearm owner for anyone else to be in possession of his or her firearm.

Anyone carrying a firearm would have to carry a licence at all times.

Stricter rules would apply to negligence and the loss of a firearm.

ANC's French connection linked to SADF

W/MCW 18/10-24/10/91
A Frenchman with past links to the SADF is now helping the ANC with military matters.

By GAVIN EVANS

A TOP-LEVEL African National Congress military delegation leaves for India today in a bid to get its soldiers trained in conventional warfare to prepare them for integration into a post-apartheid defence force.

The trip follows similar visits to France earlier this year, and the movement is also approaching Japan and Britain asking them for military assistance.

But in a bizarre twist it has emerged that one of the men helping them is Frenchman Alain Guenon, who has also made propaganda films for the South African Defence Force and has been accused of having close links with SADF Military Intelligence.

According to senior Umkhonto weSizwe representative Tokyo Sexwale, members of MK are currently being trained in conventional warfare in the Soviet Union and this has "not yet" been affected by the changes taking place there. Other MK officials are being trained in Cuba, he said.

The delegation to India includes Sexwale, MK chief of staff Chris Hari, Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa and one other, still to be named.

"We will be going to New Delhi for two weeks at the invitation of the Indian government. We are taking definite proposals with regard to training, and will also inspect a number of facilities. We will look at their ground forces, airforce and navy and see what they can offer," Sexwale said.

Holomisa and Sexwale both confirmed that Guenon had arranged their April visit to Paris, where they met French arms manufacturers, senior military officials and the Industries Minister Roger Fouroux, to discuss future French arms sales to South Africa and the training of MK cadres.



OFF TO INDIA ... Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hari



ANC DELEGATE ... Transkei leader Major General Bantu Holomisa

Acting as a consultant for the French military industrial company, SAGEM, Guenon set up the visit to discuss the possibilities of re-establishing French military links with a post-apartheid South Africa. SAGEM paid all the delegation's expenses and for a follow-up trip in which Sexwale attended the Paris airshow.

According to ANC sources, the initial secret talks caught unawares both the South African embassy in France and the ANC's international relations department (whose head, Thabo Mbeki, was in Paris at the time), and caused "disquiet" in the French foreign ministry.

But despite a personal warning from French president Francois Mitterrand to ANC president Nelson Mandela about Guenon, the ANC has continued to deal with the South African-based Frenchman.

A former lecturer in medieval philosophy in Paris, he came to South Africa in the early 1980s and turned to film

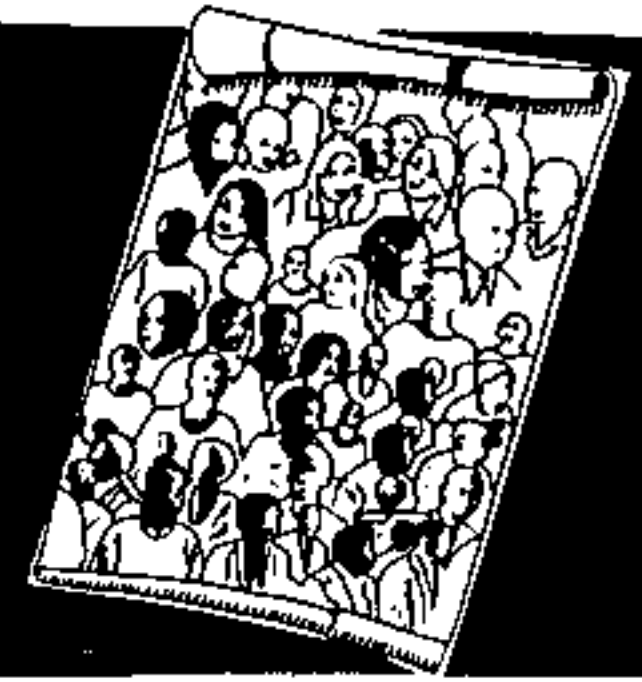
and television production, establishing two companies, Ubeck and Good Ideas Company, with Roelof Frederik Botha, cousin of the cabinet minister, as co-director.

Good Ideas and Ubeck formed part of the filmmaking group Brigadiers, a company run by Albie Venter and his father, former security policeman Lieutenant General John Venter. According to former SADF intelligence officer, Major Nico Basson, Brigadiers made propaganda films on behalf of the SADF, and Guenon was frequently mentioned by SADF Intelligence as being "one of our guys".

"It was known in the government that Venter and Guenon were people who would do what the government wanted," said Basson.

Asked why the ANC delegation was dealing with Guenon, Sexwale said he was a South African representative of several French companies, "some of whom insisted he represented them on the French visit".

POLICY



HEALTH 1

New Nation (Learning Nation)

85

25/10 - 31/10/91

South Africa has got the biggest economy on the whole African continent and the wealth created here is enormous. One of the results of this wealth is a very sophisticated medical service. You might remember that the very first heart transplant ever in the world was carried out here in this country. South African medicine has kept pace with world developments at the level of research, the latest equipment and techniques.

But it would be a big mistake to look at the medical profession and conclude that all South Africans must therefore be quite healthy. When we look closely we find that although South Africa has one of the strongest economies in Africa, it often has higher incidence of diseases which some of the very poorest countries in Africa have managed to overcome.

How can we have such a wealthy country but still experience such extreme ill-health and disease?

APARTHEID CAPITALISM AND HEALTH

The main aim of the capitalist system is to make profit. This drive for profit means that the bosses push workers to work long hours, in conditions that are often very unhealthy. Migrant labour and the hostel system is also a result of the drive to make more profits through a cheap labour system. We all know how bad conditions are in the hostels, and that conditions like this cause diseases like TB and other stress related diseases.

Working class people die sooner and suffer more ill health than middle class people. One of the reasons for this is the poor wages they earn. If you do not earn a living wage, you cannot afford proper housing, a balanced diet, or warm clothing, and so you will obviously experience ill-health. The health situation in South Africa is particularly bad because of the form that capitalism has taken here.



Do you know that it has been estimated that almost 50% of the state's health budget is used for administration costs and does not actually reach health services?

This is because the health services are divided and fragmented. Lets briefly look at the history of the health structures in this country.

APARTHEID HEALTH SERVICES

In 1910 the constitution of the Union of South Africa granted the four provinces the power to administer the hospitals. This meant that the health services were controlled by the local and provincial administrations. After the great influenza epidemic in 1919 a National Department of Health was created, but it delegated most of its

This article explains how the political and economic system in this country has affected health. It focuses on the effects of apartheid capitalism on health, how the health services have been fragmented and the effect privatisation has had on health. Once we understand why we have a health crisis in this country, we will be in a better position to make decisions about the sort of health policy we want. Next week we will look at the debates in the liberation movement on health policy.



functions to municipalities, except in rural areas where there were no local authorities. The hospital and curative services (services which help people get better once they are already sick instead of simply preventing sickness which is what preventative health services do) were still run by the provincial authorities. This created a 'tripartite' health service with overlapping of functions within these structures. Thus we get not only geographic fragmentation i.e. provincial and rural and urban but also fragmentation of curative and preventative services.

The fragmentation process was made worse with the implementation of the bantustan policy after 1969. Ten homelands were created each with its own department of health. In the case of a homeland such as Bophutatswana many 'borders' had to be crossed to administer its health services.

The introduction of the Tricameral Parliament in 1983 made the situation more unwieldy and expensive. Each of the houses, white, coloured and Indian, had to administer its own health under "own affairs" services. Now we can see why 50% of the budget is spent on administration!

As you can see from the other articles in this policy series, the state is trying to hand its responsibilities over to the private sector. It is doing the same with health.

PRIVATISATION AND HEALTH

Privatisation of health care leads to further fragmentation of health services and also pushes up the cost of health care. This creates a two-tier

system: one for the rich and one for the poor. In reality this means that one fifth of the people in the country who are wealthy are using up almost half the health care expenditure.

Another feature of privatisation is that people can make a profit from other people's ill-health. The people who make most of the money are often private doctors and shareholders in private hospitals.

Private health services are usually only found in places where they can make the most money. For example, we do not often find private hospitals in working class areas. If there are hospitals in poorer areas they usually don't have the sophisticated equipment needed for effective operations. A range of other services are also not provided for in working class areas. Mental health care, care for the elderly and preventive health care are either absent or are provided in limited quantities.

The private sector has taken over the more money-making aspects of health care from the public sector. This in turn has led to a dramatic outflow of experienced doctors and nurses from the public hospitals. This means that there is also not very good training for new health workers and so the quality of health care in public hospitals is deteriorating. This situation points to the need for a National Health Service (NHS) but you can read about that next week.

Next week we will also look at the state's approach to health in South Africa and debates in the liberation movement over health policy.

THE ROLE OF THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

The pharmaceutical industry which makes and distributes medicines, plays a major role in determining the cost of medical care and the quality of health services. The ways in which this industry affects medical care are:

- The state spends roughly 15% of the health budget on drugs and the drug manufacturers are all capitalist firms making profit.
- The development of the pharmaceutical products does not correspond to the health needs of the population. The newer drugs produced are very much like the existing drugs. They add very little or nothing to better medical care. They are produced simply to obtain a share in the market. Patents are used to protect the profitability of the drugs. Research is mainly done in areas which can ensure profitable medicines and is funded by the drug companies who are interested in those profits.
- The pharmaceutical industry is largely multinational. The top 25 drug companies only make up a fraction (0.5%), of all the producers in the world. Yet they control 40% of the total world sales.

Blast kills 6 at wedding

SIX people were killed and 12 others seriously injured in an explosion at a wedding feast in Umbumbulu, south of Durban, at the weekend. (84A)

KwaZulu police said an explosive device, believed to be a handgrenade, was planted in a room full of people.

It exploded and killed five people instantly. A sixth person died on the way to hospital and more than 10 people were taken to Umlazi's Prince Mshiyeni Hospital. 28/10/91

The incident occurred at the wedding of Mr Mbuzini Shoji of Ntinyane in the Umbumbulu district.

The motive for the blast is not yet known and police are investigating. - Sapa.

Making an MK verbal sortie onto SADF turf

South 24/10 - 30/10/91

SOUTH deputy editor
RAFIQ ROHAN, a former Robben Island prisoner convicted of charges relating to MK activities, visited the SADF infantry base in Oudtshoorn. He spoke to Major Michael Jumat, the first "coloured" major in the SADF:



ENCOUNTER: Michael Jumat interviewed by Rafiq Rohan

RAFIQ ROHAN: As a black person joining the SADF with its reputation for suppressing your own people, did you not feel you sold out and played a role in perpetuating apartheid?
MICHAEL JUMAT: I felt that our people needed to be in the army, particularly the coloured people, because we had to also think about the security of our families and other people.
RR: I, as an MK soldier, saw my role as a noble one — to bring down a system that criminalised and dis-

franchised people because of the colour of their skin. A system which you and your army supported militarily. How can you possibly see your role as a noble one?
MJ: I'm not really politically oriented because my point of view is that we are not in the army for party political reasons.
We are working for the government of the day and if any other government must take over then I will still be in the army. I'm not part of any political reasons.

ready for war, so by the time there is war we must be ready.
RR: What do you consider the right time to be ready to actually go to war — what would precipitate you leading your troops into battle?
MJ: Any attack — not from within the republic but from the borders.
RR: You say "not from within" the borders but you have already been part of an army that attacked people within the borders. Your army has launched numerous operations against people in townships and elsewhere.
MJ: I think the whole strategy has changed. I think the army has to stabilise the situation. I think we are the big factor in that case.

RR: I bombed one of your army bases as an MK soldier. What's your attitude towards me right now? Do you see me as the enemy?
MJ: If you attack bases and all that stuff, ja, I think. I would work on orders. If I am given orders to attack and catch the people responsible, I'd do it. I mean, I'm a military man.
I'm a fighter and I see it like that and I work with orders. If someone gives me a command I execute it.

RR: I want to know your attitude towards me right now, knowing that I have physically attacked your army.

MJ: Well, I'll first see if it's possible to get you without firing and get you to stop. Then I'll have a chat with you to find out what's the problem and the condition in which you did the things you had to do.

RR: Do you think the ANC was justified in the armed struggle?
MJ: My position here is to take care of the security of the land. That's my whole point and I think if all of us, no matter what political situation we are having, have this point of view then we have a better land.

RR: How do you feel about having defended apartheid? The government you defended has conceded that apartheid was wrong. You are now told you defended an unjust system.

MJ: I know that was wrong. I'm a coloured too. There were things that shocked me too but I think we can go through that and come out and see that things change.

RR: Surely these changes would have come about much earlier and there would have been less loss of life and bloodshed had your army not played such a significant role in ensuring that apartheid was, at times, so brutally implemented.

MJ: That's your point of view. Like I said, the reason I joined the army was that I was interested in the army.

Blast may be linked to stayaway

POLICE are looking at a possible link between the anti-VAT stayaway and an explosion early yesterday that damaged the railway line linking the East Rand to Johannesburg, police said yesterday.

The explosion, which occurred at Modderbee near Benoni at about 2.45am, damaged the rails, disrupting traffic. *Sowetan 6/11/91*

No one has so far claimed responsibility for the damage, a police spokesman said.

"The police are exploring all avenues. The link between

the anti-VAT campaigners and the explosion cannot be discounted," said the spokesman. *(S)*

Police suspected the explosive had been placed on the rails to keep East Rand workers at home on the second day of the national strike organised by the anti-VAT Coordinating Committee, he said. *(S)*

Meanwhile police reported an explosion which damaged three railway lines between Bellville and Cape Town yesterday morning.

No injuries were reported, police said.

JSE appoints Andersen as executive president

THE JSE has confirmed the appointment of Ernst & Young executive chairman Roy Andersen to succeed Tony Norton as executive president.

Speaking to Business Day from Hong Kong last night, Andersen said: "I am excited about taking up the position as I believe the JSE has an important role to play as we move into the new SA."

"There are tremendous challenges ahead but I thrive on challenges and there will be opportunities to make the stock exchange relevant to all sectors of the population."

"I have some ideas of what I would like to do and have done a fair amount of background work. But I have a lot to learn and it would be presumptuous of me to say much more at this stage."

"I only start work in March and I am looking forward to working with Tony Norton before his departure. I would like to see an open relationship with the Press but I first need to understand the issues which will confront me," he added.

Andersen is to take up the position at the beginning of March 1992 so there will be a two-month overlap with Norton who leaves at the end of April, the JSE and Ernst & Young

8/Day 6/11/91
MERVYN HARRIS

said in a joint statement yesterday. JSE chairman Humphrey Borkum said Andersen's strength in strategic management made him well qualified for the position. "We are delighted to have attracted a candidate of Roy Andersen's calibre."

Borkum added: "In making this appointment, the JSE would like to stress that it believes the decision taken seven years ago to appoint an executive president was the correct one."

"Thanks to the able leadership of Tony Norton, the position has been successfully established. Andersen's proven leadership capabilities equip him well for the task ahead."

Another JSE member, who did not wish to be named, expressed dismay that details of the appointment had been leaked to the media before members were informed.

Market talk yesterday was that Andersen's package would be in the region of R600 000 a year.

Andersen, 43, who qualified as a CA in 1972, has been with the firm for 25 years in SA and the US, and was chairman and CE of Ernst & Whinney in SA at the time of the merger.

Ernst & Young deputy chairman Tom Wixley said: "We knew when we appointed an executive chairman of such a young age that the appeal of challenges beyond the firm was inevitable. Therefore our emphasis has been on building a strong team to support Roy Andersen."

He said that under Andersen's leadership, the firm had experienced significant growth and Ernst & Young had emerged from the merger as one of Southern Africa's largest accounting firms, with 186 partners and over 1 800 staff.

Andersen's successor at Ernst & Young will be voted by the partnership. An announcement will be made shortly.

Born in May 1948, Andersen attended Wits University and was awarded prizes as the top student in two of five academic years. After completing articles with Ernst & Whinney in Johannesburg, he was transferred to the firm's Dallas office until 1975.

His promotion in the firm was rapid on his return to SA and in 1988 he was elected senior partner and CE of Ernst & Whinney at the age of 39, and later executive chairman of the merged group.

Andersen is married with three children.

Bomb blast damages dam

JONATHON REES (84A)

A BOMB blast which damaged a dam wall near Schweizer-Reneke on Monday could be linked to the recent suspension of water supplies to nearby Ipalageng township for non-payment of bills, western Transvaal police said yesterday. 8/Day 6/11/91

An arson docket has been opened following the pre-dawn explosion which blew an 18cm by 10cm hole in the dam wall, but did not penetrate the concrete.

It has not yet been established what kind of explosive device was used in attempts to destroy the 10-million-litre dam. There have been no arrests.

Maggie Mines goes under with debts of nearly R12m

SUSAN RUSSELL

A COAL mining company which owes its creditors almost R12m was placed under final liquidation in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday. 8/Day 6/11/91

The order winding up Maggie Mines Pty Ltd was granted by Mr Justice D van Zyl following an appli-

cation by Pied Piper Investments Pty Ltd, a shareholder in the mining company. 8/Day 6/11/91

Pied Piper's sole director David Wassung, who is also a director of Basil Read Civil Engineering Pty Ltd, said Maggie Mines owed R2,6m to Basil Read.

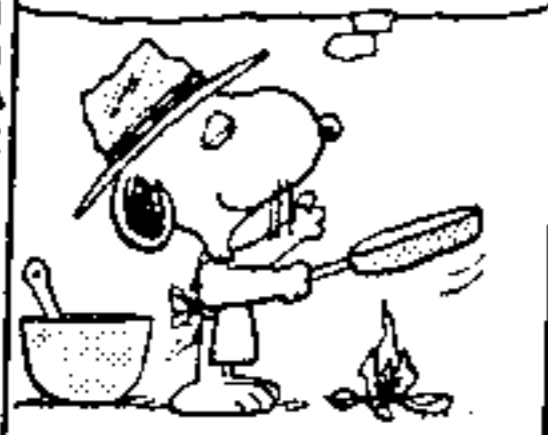
He said the mine's accountant had informed him in June that the company had financial and cash flow difficulties because sales of its processed coal had not materialised. 8/Day 6/11/91

The company's books and financial statements as at May 31 showed Maggie Mines had liabilities of R11,9m and assets of about R3,9m.

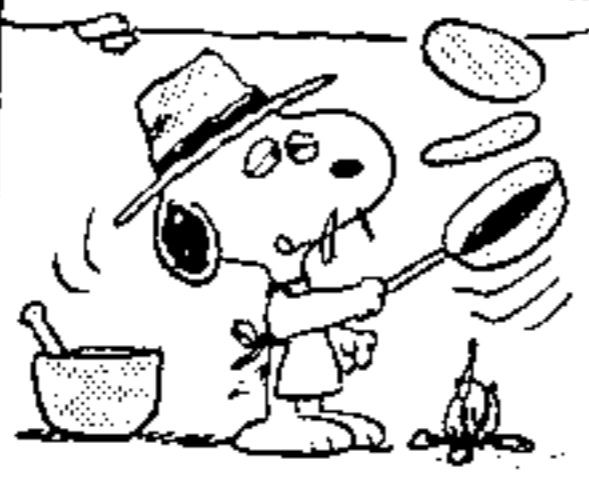
PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

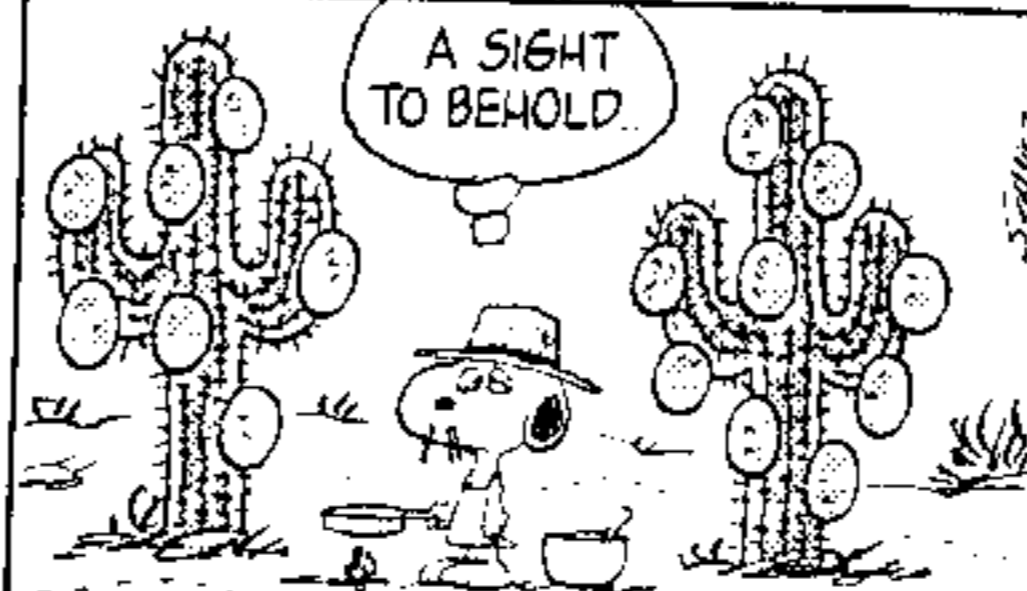
HEY! IT'S TIME FOR OUR ANNUAL PANCAKE BREAKFAST!



SEE THE FAMOUS COOK FLIP THOSE FLAPJACKS..



A SIGHT TO BEHOLD



Bomb blast damages dam

JONATHON REES

84A (83)

A BOMB blast which damaged a dam wall near Schweizer-Reneke on Monday could be linked to the recent suspension of water supplies to nearby Ipalageng township for non-payment of bills, western Transvaal police said yesterday. *Blown 6/11/91*

An arson docket has been opened following the pre-dawn explosion which blew an 18cm by 10cm hole in the dam wall, but did not penetrate the concrete.

It has not yet been established what kind of explosive device was used in attempts to destroy the 10-million-litre dam. There have been no arrests.

R700 damage from grenade

Star 8/11/91
A Russian-manufactured hand grenade which exploded at a White City, Soweto house caused damage estimated at about R700 at 11:45pm on Wednesday night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the

84A
Soweto police said the incident was reported at noon yesterday. Police found traces of an F1 grenade.

The residents of the house had no political affiliations, he said.

No one was hurt. —
West Rand Bureau.

Plan to attack Merafe hostel foiled

By SOPHIE TEMA *C/PRES 10/11/91*

A PLANNED mass attack on the Merafe hostel was uncovered after police arrested two members of the ANC Youth League in Klipspruit this week.

A quantity of arms including AK-47 rifles, ammunition, hand-grenades and a machine pistol were confiscated.

Police Regional Commissioner Maj-Gen Kobus Malan said the planned attack could have had serious repercussions had police not acted promptly.

The two league members face a charge of murder, a sequel to the death

of Klipspruit woman Teresa Tshabalala, who was allegedly killed as a suspected "sellout".

Police investigations led to the discovery of a detailed plan of the hostel - occupied mostly by Inkatha members.

After Tshabalala was murdered, police visited a Klipspruit home where an AK-47 magazine had been found on October 8. Three suspects fled. A bag containing arms and ammunition was recovered. The next day one of the three, Anthony Pule, committed suicide, Malan said.

Star 19/11/91

Police seek 2 over cache

Soweto police are looking for two men they believe can help them with their investigation after the discovery of an arms cache in the township last week.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said the arms cache was found at a house on November 10 and consisted of, among other things, 10 mini-limpet mines, 30 rounds of ammunition, an AK-47 rifle, 19 VZD 3 m detonators, 108 mechanical detonators and 20

MUV2 detonators. (84A)

One of the men the police want to speak to is Mkopane Moses Clifford Motikoe, who was last seen in Bekkersdal. He is thin and tall and his identity number is 660908-542-1081.

Another is Sizo Alexandra Mkhabela, who is 1,59 m tall and sturdily built. His identity number is 640612-533-2083.

Anyone who has seen the men is asked to contact Sergeant P Morrow on (011) 980-8140 at all hours. — West Rand Bureau.

Police swoop on arms cache

By Guy Jepson
Crime Staff

STAR
11/12/91

Detectives acting on a tip-off yesterday intercepted a truck carrying more than 30 automatic weapons and a large quantity of ammunition outside Barberton in the eastern Transvaal.

Police spokesman Captain Oosie van Niekerk said six men were arrested in connection with the weapons haul, which included 29 AK-47 assault rifles and two Uzi sub-machineguns.

Also uncovered were more than 1 000 AK-47 rounds, 25 AK magazines, 90 Uzi rounds

and three Uzi magazines. The haul is one of the largest arms caches confiscated by the SAP in a single operation.

There was intense speculation that the cache was bound for the troubled townships of the East Rand.

Captain van Niekerk said Crime Combating and Investigation Services (CCI) chief Lieutenant-General Basie Smit was scheduled to make an announcement on the weapons haul later today.

He said that after receiving information, detectives swooped on a three-ton truck travelling on the Low's

Creek Road, about 15 km from Barberton.

The owner of the Bougainvillea Hotel outside Barberton told The Star last night that she saw police unloading the weapons and ammunition from a truck.

She said she saw police pulling the truck over on the Concert Mine Road. A few minutes later four police cars arrived.

"Looking through my binoculars, I saw police unloading the truck. It looked as though it was full of AK-47 rifles and ammunition," she said.

Captain van Niekerk said

due to the sensitivity of the case, police were not in a position to disclose further information until the general's statement.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze declined to comment on the operation, but said police were pouring "enormous" resources into the fight against arms smugglers and the eradication of illegal weapons such as AK-47 rifles.

The suspects are scheduled to appear in Barberton Magistrate's Court soon, Captain van Niekerk said.

EC agrees on a united Europe, single currency

STAR 11/12/91

MAASTRICHT (Netherlands) — European Community leaders agreed on a historic political and monetary union treaty early today that will give Western Europe a single currency by 1999 and a stronger joint voice in world affairs.

The accord came after a marathon, hard-fought 12-nation summit spilled over into a third day to circumvent deep British reservations about giving increased powers to Brussels.

The breakthrough came when 11 member states agreed to implement a Social Charter enshrining basic workers' rights outside the EC's legal framework, enabling Britain to sign a comprehensive treaty on other issues.

Under the deal a single currency, the Ecu, managed by an independent European

central bank, will be introduced as early as 1997 if seven EC states meet strict economic criteria, and at the latest in 1999.

Britain obtained a special protocol allowing it to defer a commitment on whether and when to join monetary union.

"I am very satisfied with the outcome, very satisfied," declared British Prime Minister John Major.

'Bolt-holes'

But Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown said that Britain was left "with more bolt-holes than a Gruyere cheese".

Tony Blair, employment spokesman for the main opposition Labour Party, said the deal on social affairs was "an opt-out in all but name".

Trades Union Congress

general secretary Norman Willis said the government had made a "bad miscalculation".

"They have left British industry and workers isolated. Workers in this country will be denied rights guaranteed to their colleagues in the rest of the community," he said.

The dispute over labour regulations underlined a gulf between Britain and the centrist or left-of-centre governments on the continent, which provide generous state-funded benefits and consult regularly with labour unions.

Britain's Conservative Party said the labour regulations undermined its union clampdown and would lower the community's ability to compete with the US and Japan. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

● Major hails victory
— Page 4.

Medicines racket being investigated

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A special police unit has been established to investigate criminal networks which are plundering scheduled medicines worth millions of rands from South African institutions and feeding them back into legitimate markets.

The medicines, most of them prescription drugs of Schedule 3 and upwards, are disappearing in massive numbers from within the pharmaceutical industry, and also from provincial and state hospitals.

Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association executive director John Toerien said today nobody could get to the bottom of how medicines re-entered the legal market.

"Those on Schedule 3 and upwards can only be held, sold or prescribed by doctors, pharmacists, dentists and veterinarians."

TELSTAR

Win a trip to cricket's World Cup series — Page 11

ANC leader Dave Motse's home blasted in 11th attack

A HAND grenade exploded at the home of an ANC leader in Vosloorus on Monday night.

This brings to 11 the number of violent attacks against the organisation's members within weeks on the East Rand, the ANC and police said yesterday.

The ANC's chief marshal on the East Rand, Mr David Motse (24) and his family escaped unhurt.

Explosion

ANC PWV region spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the explosion completely blew off the roof of the house and extensively damaged furniture in the sitting room.

He said the attack was the 11th of "an orchestrated pattern", which he was convinced was aimed at "cutting off and eliminating the organisation's leadership from the grassroots, particularly on the East Rand".

Monday night's attack, Mamoepa said, was the 11th on the East Rand in just over two months since the assassination of prominent Civic Association of the Transvaal official, Mr Sam Ntuli, in September.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Sergeant Andy Pieke confirmed the incident and said further details would be made available later. - Sapa.

'Hani's shoes can be filled'

South

By Rehana Rossouw

DESPITE losing their charismatic leader to the South African Communist Party (SACP), Umkhonto we Sizwe officers are confident the position can be filled by a younger soldier.

Last weekend Mr Chris Hani was elected general secretary of the SACP, an appointment which could lead to him resigning his post in MK.

He said while he believed he could still play a role in MK, he doubted he could continue serving the organisation as chief of staff.

According to MK sources, Hani could be heading for a more prominent national political role in the SACP.

Already, his new post could see him leading the party's delegation to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks.

Although MK has not yet officially discussed the implications of Hani's new position, sources say that, while his departure would be a loss, it is also a positive development for young officials of the armed wing and Hani's political career.

Described as a "reluctant soldier", Hani has indicated frequently in the past few months that he sees himself as a politician rather than a soldier and would welcome an opportunity to play a role in the forthcoming negotiations.

His willingness to serve the SACP in a fulltime capacity is also seen as an indication that the party's role is regarded as more important than MK's in the present political climate.

Finding a replacement chief of staff will be a "process" which has both organisational and political implications for MK and the ANC as a whole.

"Obviously we recognise his leaving MK is going to affect the organi-

be filled' MK

sational capacity of the leadership structures of the army," said a senior MK official. "His contribution has been incredible at that level and it will be important to ensure that his successor plays the same political role in MK as he did."

All indications are the ANC and MK will not be rushed into finding a new chief of staff.

While MK officials are reluctant to name a likely successor, two contenders for the post could be Mr Siphwe Nyanda, Operation Vula commander and former Robben Islander Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

The strongest contenders, sources say, are Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Lambert Moloi.

"What must be understood is that choosing a new chief of staff is a political decision," said the MK source. "The future of MK must in no way be marginalised. Having Chris Hani take up a senior position in a

political organisation in a way ensures that MK is continually placed on the political agenda."

The chief of staff fulfils a key organisational role in MK and has the responsibility of overseeing the day to day functioning of the army.

The chief of staff's duties include attending the welfare of MK members, their deployment and setting up the army's infrastructure.

"There are many young people in the army who are ready to fill this gap. Given the opportunity, they can fulfil the political role as well," said the MK source.

"We must not create an institution of Chris Hani. Despite his incredible contribution, things will not grind to a halt because he is leaving."

Because Hani's successor will be a political appointment, the decision will be taken by the ANC's national executive committee, with input from the military leadership as well.

84A

By Rehana Rossouw

A SPEAR will be carried across the Peninsula this weekend as ANC members celebrate the 30th anniversary of their organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

Members will run with the spear and a shield from Khayelitsha, through Guguletu, Heideveld and Bonteheuwel before handing them to MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani in Langa. Hani will address a rally at the Langa Stadium which starts at 12 noon on Monday December 16.

MK's history will be recalled this week at a three-day celebration in the Western Cape.

The ANC launched its military wing on December 16, 1961, with bombings at government offices and installations in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth. The blasts signalled the ANC's departure from solely non-violent resistance.

One of the first campaigns of MK was to fight alongside the Zimbabwean freedom fighters in the late sixties.

Codenamed the Wankie Campaign, MK soldiers in the Luthuli Detachment were sent to assist the Zimbabweans and find routes into South Africa. MK commander Mr Joe Modise and Hani were among those who saw action in this campaign.

The seventies saw MK sending cadres into South Africa to build underground structures under more favourable conditions following the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and the intensification of the war in Zimbabwe.

Then came the "armed propaganda" phase. Sasol, Koeberg and Voortrekkerhoogte were attacked following the establishment of bases inside the country.

The improved capacity of MK led to attacks against police stations, army

ANC army celebrates 30 years of struggle

South 12/12 - 18/12/91



MARCH OF THE SPEAR: MK soldiers practise drill during the 1967-68 Wankie campaign
PIC: FROM THE MAYIBUYE CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

barracks and several government installations.

As retribution, the SADF raided Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, resulting in some ANC members being killed and many being captured.

Although MK has suspended its armed struggle as part of the negotiation process, the army has not disbanded.

It continues to recruit members and upgrades their skills to prepare them to form part of the regular army in the post-apartheid South Africa.

On Saturday an exhibition of material depicting the history of MK will be opened at the University of the Western Cape auditorium by ANC national executive committee member Prof Kader Asmal.

The exhibition, prepared by the

Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, will portray the role of MK from the early sabotage actions to the development of the strategy of People's War.

There will also be speakers on the Wankie Campaign and the role of women in MK.

On Saturday a "gumba" kicks off at the Guguletu Civic Centre at 2pm with a range of cultural events.

Arms cache on way to townships - SAP

^{STAR}
By Guy Jepson
Crime Staff 12/12/91

(S4A) (P)
and three full Uzi magazines.

Police in the eastern Transvaal have intercepted a truck carrying more than 30 automatic weapons and a large quantity of ammunition which, they say, was destined for the troubled East Rand townships.

Six people — five men and a woman — were arrested on Tuesday night when police pulled over a 3 ton Toyota truck 15 km outside Barberton.

Announcing the breakthrough yesterday, Crime Combating and Investigation Services head Lieutenant-General Basie Smit said a seventh suspect had also been arrested.

General Smit said the arms cache comprised 29 AK-47 assault rifles, two Uzi sub-machine pistols, 25 full AK-47 magazines

The truck was intercepted after police received information that it was "on its way from Matsulu in KaNgwane to the East Rand with a consignment of firearms".

General Smit said the interception of the weapons had made a valuable contribution to the prevention of violence "at a time when peace is being pursued and especially in view of the nearing Christmas season".

The investigation was continuing.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were pouring enormous resources into the fight against arms smugglers and the eradication of illegal weapons such as AK-47 rifles.

Huge arms haul in E Transvaal

Sowetlan 12/12/91

8411

8411

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

POLICE this week intercepted a truck carrying more than 30 automatic guns and a large quantity of ammunition near Barberton in the Eastern Transvaal.

The haul is said to be one of the largest arms caches confiscated by the South African Police in a single operation.

Police spokesman Captain Oosie van Niekerk said information was received by the firearms unit in Witrivier that a three-ton truck was on its way from Matsulu in KaNgwane to the East Rand with a consignment of firearms.

He said that, in conjunction with the station commander and police in Barberton, the vehicle was stopped about 15km from the town on Louws Creek Road.

The vehicle was searched and the weapons were found in a wooden crate. The haul included 29 AK-47 rifles, 25 fully loaded AK-47 magazines comprising 750 rounds, two Uzi sub-machine pistols and three Uzi magazines loaded with 90 rounds.

Five black men and a woman were arrested.

Another suspect was arrested on the East Rand during a follow-up operation.

SAP Crime Combatting and Investigation Services divisional head Lieutenant-General Basie Smit yesterday praised the units involved "in this magnificent breakthrough".

LINDEN BIRNS
and TIM COHEN

Army, Umkhonto to meet

UMKHONTO we Sizwe cadres and SA Defence Force troops are set to meet face to face on Monday in several townships across the country where the ANC's military wing will be holding mass rallies to celebrate its 30th anniversary.

Umkhonto will release details of Monday's planned activities at a news conference later today.

Soweto SAP spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said yesterday that Umkhonto had booked the township's Orlando Stadium. An Umkhonto member said senior

ANC members would address the rally, which would be "one of the most important ones". (S4A)

Halgryn said a strategy had been drawn up to ensure effective policing of the area near the stadium.

"However, we will defi-

nitely be calling on the SADF for assistance and support," he added.

Umkhonto will also stage a full military display in Umtata on Saturday. Umkhonto chief of staff and recently elected SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani and Winnie Mandela are expected to speak.

Rallies planned as MK turns 30

STAR 13/12/91

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC has organised 13 rallies countrywide and one in Uganda to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on Monday.

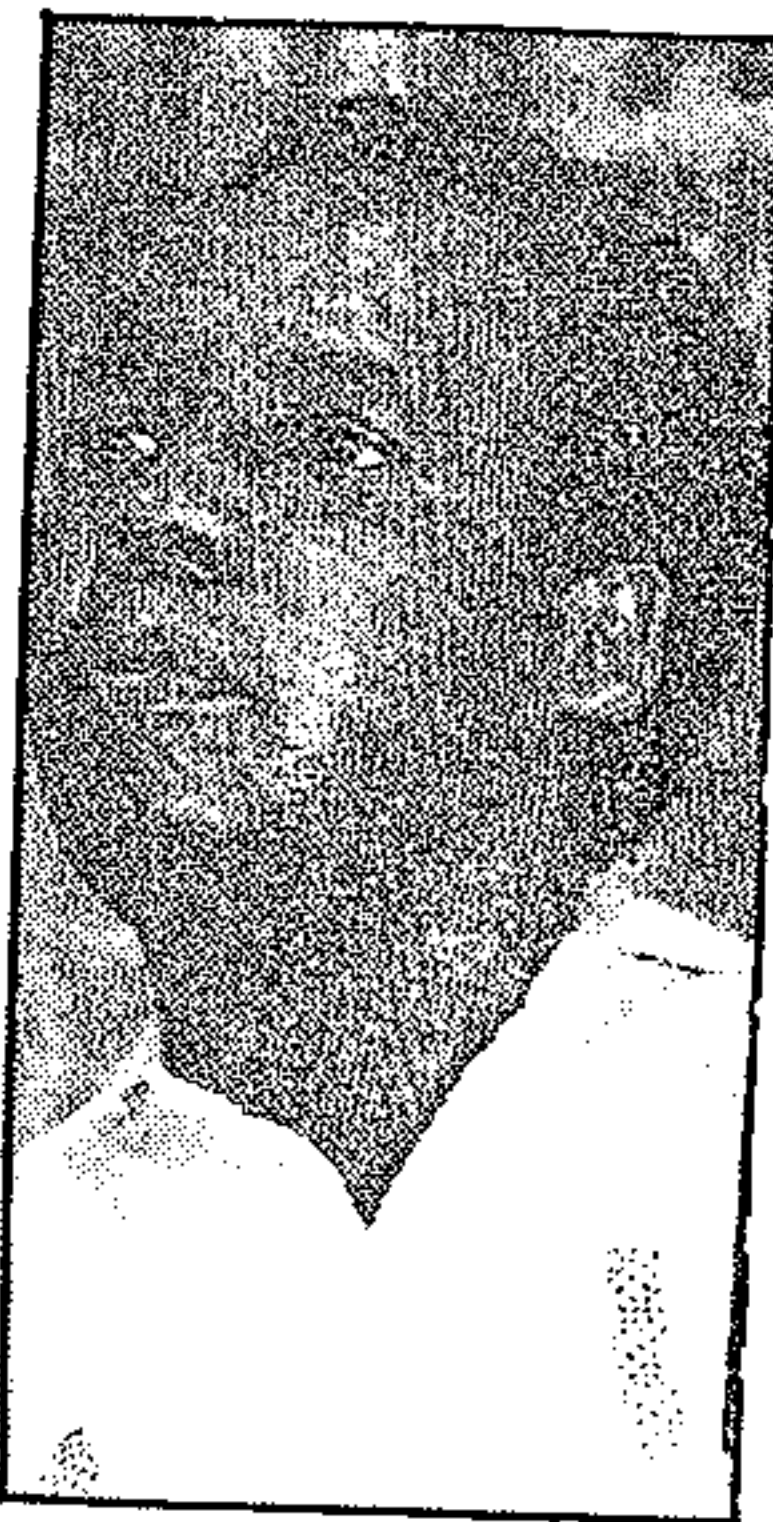
Details of the celebrations were announced by MK's top leadership — including chief of staff Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, Tokyo Sexwale and Rashid Patel — at a press conference at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg yesterday.

In a statement, MK said it would be the first time in its history that people could take part in "the public rallies and peaceful manifestations of their army".

The anniversary would focus attention on the State's continued military aggression against people by highlighting the ongoing violence and "crimes committed by the notorious death squads", as well as the ANC army's role in the negotiation process and the strengthening of "self-protection units".

Mr Hani declined to give details of MK's soldier numbers or the number of self-defence units which had been set up with MK assistance.

MK said it continued to recruit, train and de-



Chris Hani . . . won't reveal number of cadres.

velop cadres for a future nonracial army. It would not disarm or disband its force before achieving its goal of a nonracial, democratic, united and non-sexist South Africa.

Inviting all democrats to join in the celebrations, MK noted it was neither a private army or the army of a political party, but a people's army of national liberation.

The main rally will be held at Orlando Stadium in Soweto on Monday, addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, MK commander Joe Modise and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Additional policemen and troops are being moved into Soweto to watch over the rally.

The district commissioner of police for the Soweto region, Major-General Kobus Malan, yesterday asked for the co-operation of all participants in the rally to avoid violence.

"The SA Police has, with big additional costs, acquired reinforcements from outside Soweto, as well as from the SA Army, to do everything in the security force's capabilities so that violence will be avoided," General Malan said.

He added that the security forces did not want to "put a damper or restrictions" on the rally, but requested the organisers and participants to behave within the parameters of South Africa's laws, "and not create a situation for conflict and violence".

On the same day, Winnie Mandela and Mr Kasrils will speak in Port Elizabeth and Chris Hani in the western Cape. The venues of other rallies on Monday include Durban, Welkom, Nelspruit, Middelburg (Tvl), Turfloop University in the northern Transvaal, Thabazimbi, Pretoria and Kimberley.

Tomorrow Mr Hani and Mrs Mandela will address a rally at Umtata in Transkei and on Sunday MK soldiers who have died in the struggle against apartheid will be commemorated at a rally in Kagiso.

'Pensioners' old before their time

PEOPLE bent on qualifying for old-age pensions have lied about their ages in the past, and the Department of Home Affairs has discovered many cases of deception in the process of issuing new non-racial ID documents.

In recent weeks many black old-age "pensioners" have complained that new ID books have taken years off their ages and their payouts have been suspended.

A Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) spokesman recently admitted that dates in new documents sometimes made pensioners "younger".

"In October a number of beneficiaries were informed in writing and at pay points that their grants had been suspended because their ages disqualified them," the spokesman said.

Home Affairs Department spokesman

WILSON ZWANE

Chris Pretorius said in a statement yesterday that if people had complaints about dates of birth in their documents, they could apply for them to be corrected.

"It seems, however, that a recent check of personal particulars of pensioners by the provincial authorities has revealed some discrepancies between the information supplied by applicants and that contained in identity documents."

There had been a tendency for some time now for people to "lay claim to a date of birth prior and up to 1930, in cases where births were not officially registered". "The department believes that this is done in order to qualify for a pension," Pretorius said.

Umkhonto to train its members in India

THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe would send members to India for training in conventional warfare, its chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

Hani made the announcement at a news conference held to announce a series of nationwide Umkhonto meetings to mark its 30th anniversary.

ANC national executive committee member Winnie Mandela will speak at two of the 13 meetings, all of which, except one, will be held on Monday.

The focus of the celebrations will be a meeting planned for Orlando Stadium in Soweto, which will be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the organisation's chairman Oliver Tambo and Umkhonto commander Joe Modise.

Welfare head Winnie Mandela will join Hani on the podium at a rally in Umtata on Saturday, while one of the celebratory meetings will also be held in an Umkhonto camp in Uganda.

Umkhonto will also hold a special commemoration service for member Mashaek Maponya at Kagiso Heroes Acre on Sunday. Maponya was killed when the bomb he was carrying exploded near the Sterland shopping centre in Pretoria in 1988.

TIM COHEN

Maponya's brother Japie was allegedly killed by SAP members Almond Nofemela and Dirk Coetzee after interrogation at Vlakplaas.

The anniversary celebrations are intended to mark the first bomb blasts of the "Sabotage Campaign" and the launching of Umkhonto on December 16 1961 — also the anniversary of the Voortrekker victory over Dingaan at the Battle of Blood River.

In a statement, Umkhonto said it would continue to recruit and train its members for a future army. "We will not disarm or disband before our goal of achieving a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united SA is achieved.

"Umkhonto is neither a private army nor the army of a political party," the statement said, describing it as a "people's army".

Sapa reports that Soweto police commissioner Maj-Gen Kobus Malan said additional police and defence force troops were being moved into Soweto to monitor Umkhonto's Orlando Stadium rally on Monday.

India agrees to train MK cadres

Sowetan 13/12/91 *84A* *CSH*

By JOE MDHLELA

THE military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will send its cadres to India to prepare them for a regular army to be installed at the installation of a democratic government in South Africa.

According to MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani, Umkhonto will be given the option of joining the new army. Elements within the South African Defence Force, agreeable to the new democratic order, will



CHRIS HANI

merge with the new "People's Army of South Africa" - an ideal name for the new defence force.

Hani, addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday to launch MK's 30th anniversary to

be held countrywide on Monday, said the SADF had been loyal to the white minority Government.

"We will accept only those elements within the SADF who will be loyal to the cause of a democratic government," Hani said.

With the undermining of socialism in the Eastern Bloc, Hani said India was receptive to training combatants in modern warfare.

The MK rallies will be held at the following venues: Orlando Stadium; Rylands Stadium in the Western Cape; Dan Qeque Stadium, Port Elizabeth;

Curries Fountain Stadium, Durban; Philip Smith Hall, Welkom; Tulamahashe Hall, Nelspruit; Middelburg; Umtata Independence Stadium; University of the North; Thabazimbi.

Additional police and defence force troops are being moved into Soweto to watch over Umkhonto at Orlando Stadium, reports Sapa.

This was revealed yesterday in a statement by the district commissioner of police for the Soweto region, Major-General Kobus Malan, who asked for the co-operation of all

participants in the rally to avoid violence.

"The SA Police have, at great cost, acquired reinforcements from outside Soweto, as well as from the SA Army, to do everything in the security force's capabilities to avoid violence," Malan said.

He said the security forces did not want to "put a damper or restrictions" on the rally, but requested the organisers and participants to behave within the parameters of South Africa's laws, "and not create a situation for violence".

Hani departure angers MK cadres

By THEMBA KHUMALO

TENSION is mounting in the ranks of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres after hearing about the impending departure of their chief of staff, Chris Hani, from the guerrilla army to his new post in the SACP.

At a press conference in Johannesburg this week to launch the 30th anniversary of the guerrilla army, Tokyo Sexwale told City Press that Hani's news was met with discontent and frustration by cadres.

Hani was almost irreplaceable, Sexwale said.

Sexwale, who is chairman of the ANC PWV region and one of Hani's right-hand men, emphasised that the guerrillas' decision at their conference in Venda four months back that Hani be left alone with MK, still stood.

Sexwale said: "Comrade Hani's popularity among both our soldiers and politicians makes him

a unique man. He is liked by everyone in the ANC-SACP alliance.

"After his appointment last week, Comrade Hani said he would like to be given a less important post in MK so that he could devote more of his time to the new post.

"As much as we would have preferred him remaining in the army, there is very little that we in MK leadership can do to discourage him from going away. That's against the principle of democracy."

Immediately after his appointment as general secretary of the SACP, Hani said he would like to remain in MK in an advisory capacity.

Sexwale would not elaborate on the matter as Hani's appointment was subject to the decision of the ANC's national executive committee.

The imposing Sexwale, who served 13 of his 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, would not be drawn on speculation of who was Hani's possi-



MK HEAVIES ... Ronnie Kasrils, Tokyo Sexwale, Sphive Nyanda and Chris Hani.

2 Press

15/12/91

544

ble successor. However, sources close to MK point out that Hani's successor will possibly be chosen from his right-hand men.

Among them are Sphive Nyanda, the commander of "Operation Vula" which made head-

lines when the police uncovered it last year.

Ronnie Kasrils, MK's chief of intelligence, has also been tipped. Hated by Pretoria for some of the military operations he masterminded from Lu-saka during the days of the armed struggle, he is

a household name among cadres.

Rodney Rashed, the MK commander from the Eastern Transvaal, is another of the names mentioned for Chris Hani's military post.

See page 14

Suitcase bomb kills finder SUF

ONE man was killed and another injured when a suitcase exploded in a field near Payneville.

Lt-Col Dave Bruce said the two men, Liter Mahlangu, 19; and Thabo Malaka, 20; of 8 Mojaze Street, KwaThema, were walking to the shops across a field near Payneville when they spotted the case in the veld. *CP 15/12/91*

When Malaka opened the case, it exploded, killing him and seriously injuring Mahlangu, who was admitted to Pollock Hospital with head and hand injuries.

Reports by CP Correspondents, Sapa

Viva Hani's half-mast army

By BILL KRIGE

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, goose-stepped into the open in Umtata yesterday in its first public parade.

But in place of the "full military display" promised earlier in the week by ANC official Nat Serache, the 3 000-strong crowd in Umtata's Independence Stadium saw a mere 24 unarmed men in uniform stumbling through an elementary drill routine.

The strongest military presence was that of the Transkei Defence Force and its band, which played Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

The rally, to mark MK's 30th birthday, started 90 minutes late,

when Mrs Winnie Mandela and MK chief of staff Chris Hani — both clad in battle fatigues — leapt from a car that entered the stadium at high speed and threw clenched fist salutes at the assembled squad.

As the squad formed into ranks, instructions were barked out by an officer in camouflage uniform with ANC insignia.

The troops, wearing khaki fatigues and black berets but bearing no arms, appeared confused by the rapid-fire changes of pace, putting the left foot forward when it should have been the right, and finding the rigours of the goose-step too much to sustain for more than a few metres, at a time before lapsing back into a

walk. It took five minutes for three of them to untie a stubborn knot around the ANC flag. When it was finally hoisted, alongside that of the SA Communist Party, it flew just above half-mast.

ANC marshalls — who far outnumbered the soldiers — said the squad had been trained in East Germany, Russia, Angola and Cuba.

The only AK-47 on view was carried by an MK supporter who fired several bursts into the air in tribute to "fallen comrades".

In a fiery speech, Mr Hani said the Transkei Defence Force — trained and equipped by the SADF — was an ally in the freedom struggle.

● Picture — Page 2

It's 30 years of MK!

UMKHONTO weSizwe
chief of staff Chris Hani
yesterday in Umtata in-
spected a guard of honour
of 16 uniformed fighters
in MK's first open mili-
tary parade inside the
country. (AP 84A)

The 16, who were un-
armed, performed a drill
display before enthusias-
tic crowds at Umtata In-
dependence Stadium.

During his speech Hani
paid tribute to MK mem-

bers who fell during the
armed struggle, and a 21-
shot salute was fired. Oth-
er speakers were Winnie
Mandela and Billie Nair.

The occasion was part
of national celebrations to
mark the 30th anniversa-
ry of MK's public launch.

- Veritas

Political comment and newsbills
by K Sibya, headlines and sub-
editing by S James, both of 2 Herb
Street, Johannesburg.

Multi-race school blown up

KLERKSDORP. — A massive explosion yesterday morning — the Day of the Vow — demolished a Klerksdorp church building which was being used as a private multi-racial school in the Wil Koppies township.

No one was injured in the blast at the Klerksdorp Christian Academy.

Police suspect commercial ex-

plosives were used in the blast. They also suspect right-wing involvement in the attack.

Church pastor the Rev Andre de Kock said the World of Life centre, which is occupied by the school, was so badly damaged the building would have to be rebuilt. The school teaches 250 pupils from grade one to Std 7.

There had been no advance

ET 17/12/91
threats that the building would be blown up.

Pastor Ray McCauley, president of Christian Education in South Africa which runs the Christian Academy, condemned the bombing as "a cowardly act by racist bigots".

He described the bombing as "an ungodly act of terrorism". — Sapa

ANC plans to expand army

DARIUS SANAI

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander-in-chief Joe Modise said yesterday that the ANC's military wing would upgrade and expand its forces as it prepared to form part of a new SA national army.

Modise, speaking at a rally at Orlando Stadium, Soweto to celebrate Umkhonto's 30th anniversary, said Umkhonto would not be dictated to in its decision to continue training officers.

A tense atmosphere prevailed and there was heavy security. Speakers included ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Modise said Umkhonto was a people's army, readying itself for the role of becoming a defence force for SA, not a private army as its critics suggested.

It reserved the right to upgrade and expand its forces as part of the process of change in SA. Many young officers were undergoing training in modern military techniques in a number of countries in preparation for Umkhonto's future role in a revamped defence force for SA, he said. Tambo warned that the apparent inability

of government to stop the current violence could only lead to "a further poisoning of the political atmosphere".

He said he felt a sense of pride and vindication that Umkhonto had grown into "a formidable army of liberation that strikes fear into the hearts of oppressors". Modise and Tambo called for all remaining political prisoners to be released.

The Matikeng Anti-Repression Forum, a group campaigning for the release of political prisoners in Bophuthatwana, said last week there were 11 political prisoners remaining in the homeland.

But Modise said yesterday there will still "many MK cadres" being kept in jail in the homeland, and accused government of acting with the "utmost arrogance" in refusing to release remaining political prisoners.

Sapa reports only about 18 Umkhonto members took part in a parade around the stadium which was supposed to have been the highlight of the proceedings.



ANC president Nelson Mandela sports an American-style baseball cap while acknowledging applause at yesterday's Umkhonto we Sizwe rally in Soweto. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Blast destroys multiracial church school

AN EXPLOSION yesterday demolished a Klerksdorp church building which was being used as a private multiracial school in the Wilkoppies township.

Sapa reports no one was injured in the blast at Klerksdorp Christian Academy.

Police said they suspect the 1am blast was caused by commercial explosives and that right-wingers may have been involved.

Church pastor the Rev Andre de Kock said the centre was so badly damaged it would have to be rebuilt.

He said the worst damage was within the building, but newly built classrooms

BIDUW 17/12/81
'nearby were also badly damaged.

The Klerksdorp Christian Academy forms part of the international Fellowship of Christian Churches and is registered as a private school by the Transvaal Education Department. The school has 250 pupils up to Std 7. (84A) (2)

Classes would continue next year in buildings at the Klerksdorp showgrounds, about 3km away, according to one of the teachers, Driekie Kirsten. (2)

Pastor Ray McCauley, president of Christian Education in SA, condemned the bombing as "a cowardly act by racist bigots" and "an ungodly act of terrorism".

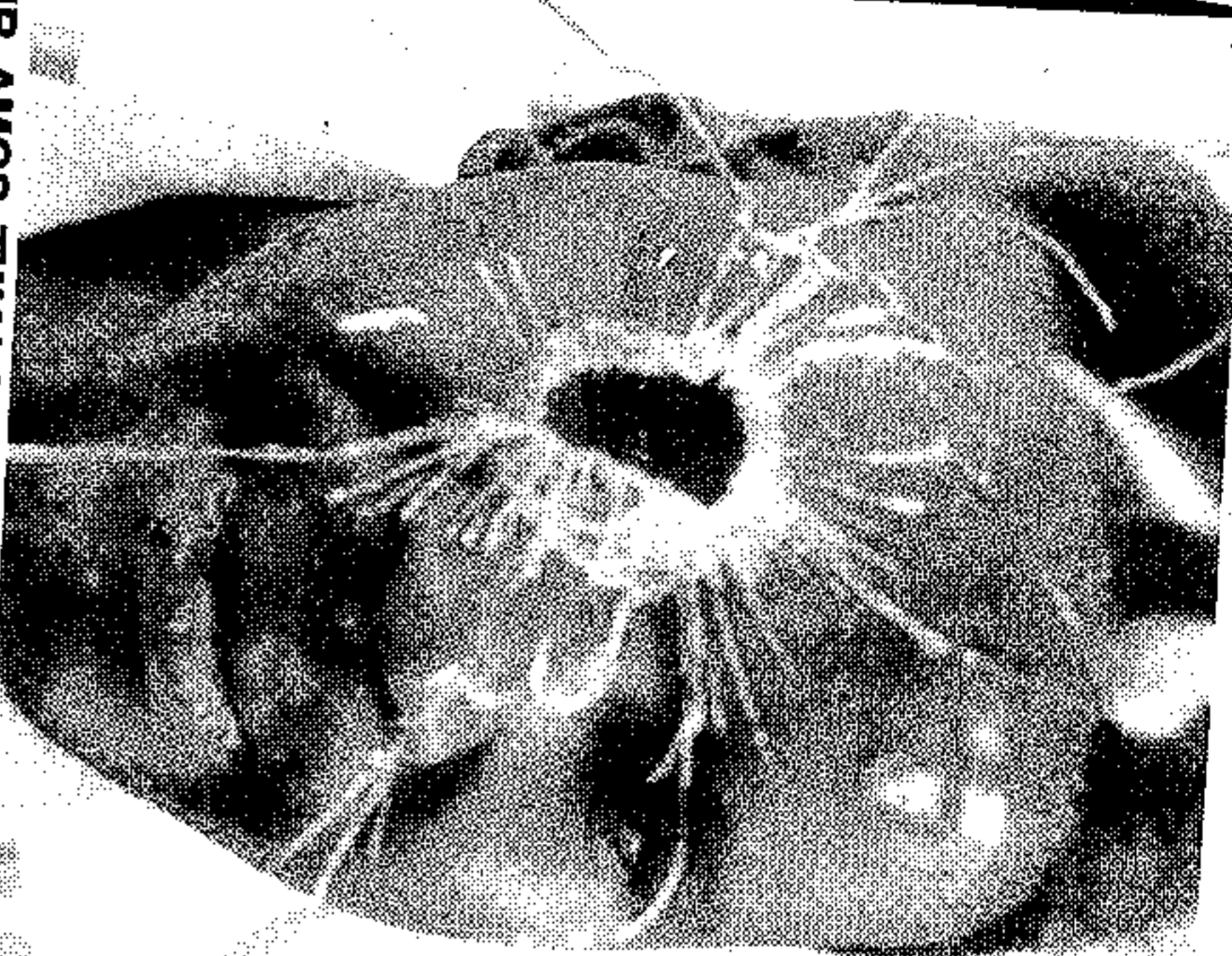
Cop hurt in grenade blast

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE and Sapa

Soweto 17/12/91

STC

SLA



MR AMOS TWALA peeps through a broken window which was damaged when gunmen attacked his house, during a party at the weekend. Pic: LEN KUMALO

An off-duty police constable and a woman were seriously injured when a handgrenade exploded in their Zone 6 Diepkloof, Soweto home yesterday.

Police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Marimuthoo said the policeman - a Constable Molefe stationed at John Vorster Square - and the woman were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital with serious injuries.

Damage caused to the house was estimated at R8 000. No one has been arrested and police are investigating.

Meanwhile the death toll in Saturday night's shooting at a party in Zone 8, Sebokeng has risen to five, after two injured people died in hospital.

Police said about 30 people attending a party at a house apparently belonging to an ANC member, were fired upon with an AK-47 rifle. No arrests have been reported.

In Daveyton, a man was seriously injured when shots were fired through a window of his home on Sunday night, according to a police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce.

The attackers then threw a M26 handgrenade at the house before escaping, but the handgrenade failed to explode.

Bruce said the victim, Mr William Moekelesi (61) of Garden Village Ext 2, Daveyton, was wounded in the arm, leg and chest. He was admitted to Glenwood Hospital, Benoni. His wife Mary was not injured.

Other unrest-related incidents are:

At Vosloorus, an off-duty policeman was fatally wounded when he was attacked and stabbed with sharp objects. A man has been arrested in connection with the murder.

In Alexandra, two men were killed when gunmen opened fire on them.

Meanwhile Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, KwaZulu deputy minister of works, survived the sixth or seventh attempt on his life at the weekend.

Two men were injured when his Imballi, Maritzburg, home was bombed and raked with gunfire on Saturday.

This was the third attack on his home in a week. Ndlovu was at home during the incident. His house was attacked twice last week while he was out.

"They are playing a political game," he told *The Daily News*.

A guard at his home and a family friend were injured when two men threw grenades at his home. Two other men, one carrying an AK-47 and another with a 9mm firearm, joined the fired at the house.

Members of a nearby South African Police firearm unit sped to the scene and their van was hit several times by AK-47 bullets. A bullet which ricocheted off a door handle narrowly missed the policeman who was driving.

The police shot back at the gunmen, but the attackers escaped.

Transkei army promises to support MK

Source 17/12/91



THE Transkei Defence Force, sponsored and trained by the South African Government, has pledged support to Umkhonto we Sizwe in the event of national negotiations failing.

This was said by TDF acting commander Brigadier Themba Matanzima at MK's 30th anniversary rally at Umtata's Independence Stadium on Saturday.

The TDF and MK "would go back to the bush together in the struggle for freedom" if negotiations failed, Matanzima said.

The TDF fully supported MK's initiatives in training soldiers of both armies abroad and in Africa to upgrade military

skills so these forces could take their rightful place when South Africa's armies were integrated, Matanzima said.

Apartheid planners were to blame for homeland soldiers not receiving adequate training which matched the professional standards of the SA Defence Force, he said.

The days when the SADF infiltrated the TDF to suppress the activities of MK were gone, he said. Matanzima spoke of growing up with many MK cadres who had died in struggles against the SADF.

He praised dead MK commanders like Mr Zola Dubane and Mr Attwell Maqhekeza. - Sapa

Woods's litigation threat 'skirts issue'

LINDEN BIRNS

TALK of litigation by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods against The Weekly Mail was intended to hide the fact that Woods, the Institute and Inkatha had not challenged the main thrust of reports about the party's government links, the newspaper's editor Anton Harber said yesterday.

He was reacting to Woods's remarks this week that he was taking legal advice on how to deal with the newspaper which named him as a Security Police informer.

"It was not us that named Mr Woods as a police informer. It was the police themselves," said Harber in a statement sent to Business Day. *Birns 18/12/91*

He said Durban-based SAP officer Maj Louis Botha, "a man whom Woods himself acknowledged he knows well", had written in an SAP document that Woods was an informer.

He added that the authenticity of that SAP document had been proven.

The newspaper also published Woods's denials that he was an informer.

Botha subsequently released an affidavit saying he "had not quite meant exactly what he said" in describing Woods as an informer, said Harber.

"Mr Woods, however, should also explain how and why he wrote an official report that covered up the secret funding of Uwusa. Mr Woods conducted a long and expensive investigation into the organisation and wrote a detailed report without once asking where the organisation was getting millions of rands to throw away," he said.

Harber said he could prove the accuracy of comments which the newspaper attributed to Woods, and which Woods alleged the newspaper had fabricated.

These dealt with whether Woods actually confirmed that he knew the SAP was funding Inkatha.

"Mr Woods knows that we taped the conversation which he says we 'fabricated'. We would be happy to play this tape to a judge if that is the path Mr Woods wishes to take," said Harber.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Man's body unearthed

THE arrest of two men in connection with the murder of American tourist Edward Perlmutter has led to the discovery of a man's body which was buried in a river bed near Giant's Castle in Natal.

Police are investigating whether the suspects, a 30-year-old man and a teenager, were also connected with the death of Pretoria man Jacob Joubert and the attempted murder of Port Elizabeth businessman Clive Newman.

The men are expected to appear in court in Knysna today in connection with Perlmutter's death.

Govt studies weapons ban

THE Ministry of Law and Order has called for a copy of the Durban Supreme Court judgment which effectively bans the carrying of traditional weapons by Zulus.

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the recent judgment could affect the conduct of the SAP in unrest-related incidents.

The ruling by Mr Justice Didcott in the Durban Supreme Court set aside regulations promulgated by the State President whereby the carrying of traditional weapons was permitted.

But policemen on the ground are reluctant to enforce the ban because of great personal danger in disarming large crowds. *Birns 18/12/91*

Support for bombed school

KLERKSDORP residents have rallied to the support of the private multiracial school which was destroyed by a bomb blast on Monday. *84A*

Pastor Andre de Kock said the Klerksdorp Christian Academy had suffered about R1,2m in damage, most of which was covered by insurance. He said one woman had donated her last R5 towards rebuilding.

West Rand police said they had not ruled out right-wing involvement.

REPORTS: Sapa, Business Day Reporter, Own Correspondent. *Birns 18/12/91*

F
n
m
of
la
ar
tik
ph
no
gr
the
be
I
tere
inc
T
rec
up
sch
as
l
app
qua
T
max
and
M
have
bala
M
Nolo
the
and
US
He
earlie
PI
HEY
THE
KN

Police warnings after blast wrecks

The Argus Correspondent

2/11/91

Cosatu building

ARG 19/12/91
President De Klerk's grandson, Captain Kotze said.

PRETORIA. — A powerful explosion ripped through Cosatu House at 1.15 am today, wrecking the building and causing extensive damage to offices.

No-one was injured.

And with historic Codesa talks due to begin this weekend, police say they are aware of the increased potential for disruptive or criminal acts from the far rightwing.

"The safety of Codesa delegates is a matter of the highest priority," said Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

"We clearly cannot allow the talks to be disrupted."

Captain Kotze said the police had taken note of the heightened conflict situation in recent weeks.

There had been a number of incidents sparked by the rightwing recently, including an explosion at a non-racial Klerksdorp school and an alleged plot to kidnap

"We will be monitoring the situation closely and will act accordingly."

The only person in the vicinity at the time of the Cosatu House blast was an elderly nightwatchman, who was shaken but unhurt.

The force of the blast blew out windows in shops and caused minor structural damage to adjoining buildings.

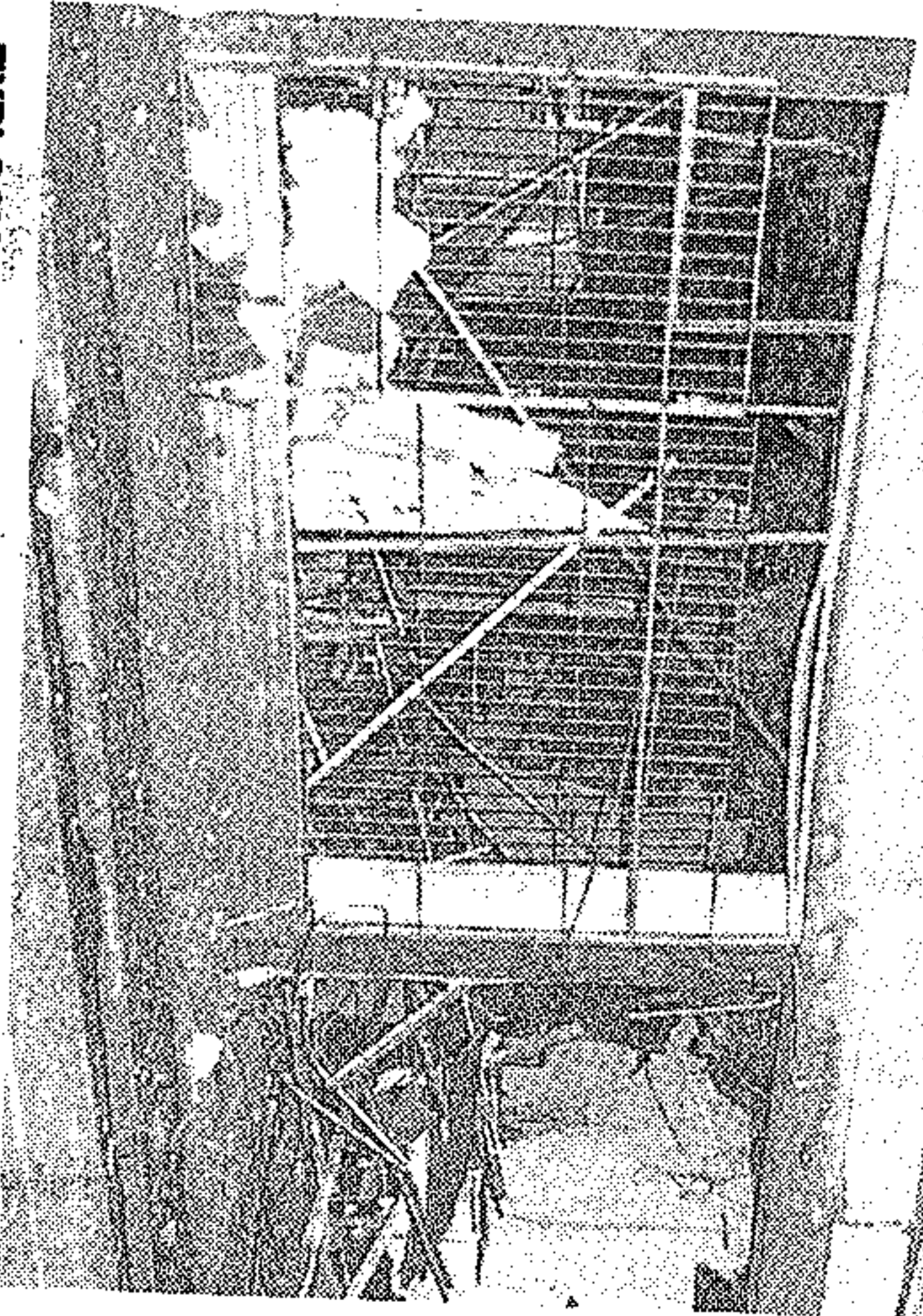
Police did not know who was responsible for the blast, but said the explosives used were "extremely powerful".

"Only the walls and part of the roof are still standing," said police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Willie Vlotman.

Police were on the scene within minutes and later cordoned off the area.

Bomb squad and forensic experts were due to visit the scene today to determine the type of explosive used.

The building has frequently been used as a starting point for protest marches. Azapo and a number of trade unions have offices there.



EXPLOSION: Cosatu House in Pretoria was destroyed by an explosion today. No-one was injured.



ON THE RUN: Umkhonto relay runners carry two spears through the streets of Bonteheuwel on their way to the Langa Stadium PICS: YUNUS MOHAMED

MK ready to embrace SADF — Chris Hani

South 19/12/91 - 15/1/92

By Rehana Rossouw

THE South African Defence Force insinuated that Umkhonto we Sizwe was not a real army, yet the SADF sent soldiers across the borders to wipe out the ANC's armed wing, MK chief of staff Chris Hani said this week.

However, MK could afford to be magnanimous and embrace the SADF despite the pain and suffering it had unleashed.

Hani addressed 3 000 people at Langa stadium on Monday on the 30th anniversary of MK's founding — the culmination of three days of celebrations to mark the army's history.

Across the country, MK soldiers marched and drilled before thousands of South Africans for the first time.

In Cape Town, they not only goose-stepped and saluted, but fired a 21-gun salute from an AK-47 to honour fallen cadres, despite a heavy police and army presence outside the stadium.

Dressed in army fatigues, 41 soldiers marched into the stadium. Shortly before they appeared, 40 runners who had carried two spears from Khayelitsha to Langa handed them over to Hani.

In his keynote address Hani said he saluted with pride the men and women who took the bold decision to challenge the ruling class which was armed to the teeth.

"Those who believed apartheid was immutable or God-ordained thought we were indulging in games or playing hide and seek," he said.

"Today, our people in their thousands are observing the day of Umkhonto. Which other army in this country can solicit that admiration?"

"MK is an army fighting for freedom and democracy and it is there-



COMMANDING THE TROOPS: Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and commander James Makhaya at the MK celebration at the Langa Stadium

fore not surprising that it is loved and admired by people."

Hani read a list of 31 Western Cape MK cadres who had "died in action", including Ashley Kriel, Anton Fransch, Michael Mapongwana and Pro Jack.

He slated former security policemen in the Cape, like Warrant-Officer Jeffrey Benzien and Captain William Liebenberg, who he alleged tortured MK cadres at their headquarters in Culemborg.

"Let's hope that as we move into the new South Africa the Liebenbergs and the Benziens will become relics of history.

"There will never be torture of human beings in this country again,"

Hani vowed.

"We will entrench a clause against torture in the new constitution of this country."

Hani said the SADF had also caused "endless pain" for the people of South Africa. The country had come through a life of terror, a nightmare because it was ruled by a "government of outlaws" which trained surrogate armies like Unita and the MNR.

He said: "The SADF has nothing to be proud of. Can it be proud of having murdered Angolan civilians?"

Hani said MK was optimistic and confident about the future.

"We have shed blood, we have sacrificed, but we are alive and the new South Africa cannot be stopped."

We planted bomb - right-wing group

STAR 20/12/91.
Staff Reporters

A right-wing organisation calling itself the Boere Republikeinse Leër (Boer Republican Army) has claimed responsibility for the bomb blast that caused extensive damage to Cosatu House in Pretoria yesterday, police said last night.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Wil-

lie Vlotman said the group also claimed it carried out the bomb attack on Monday on the non-racial Klerksdorp Christian Academy.

Following the Pretoria blast, the 20-member executive committee of the Boerestaat Party yesterday staged a protest on the steps of the Rand Supreme Court and warned that "the Boer nation would fight for its freedom in any manner it

chooses, including the overthrow of any results growing out of Codesa".

Party leader Robert van Tonder also said the two bomb attacks "were only the beginning of the Boer's struggle".

He said he had no links with the Boer Republican Army - but fully supported them and expected this kind of action to increase.

"The Boer volk will

refuse to take part in any future referenda or elections which may result from Codesa. Instead we would prefer to fight for our freedom through other methods," he said.

He said any so-called Human Rights Manifesto which might be drawn up through the efforts of Codesa would be "nothing but a piece of paper which will be torn up by the new majority rulers".

Grenade blast hurts policeman

STAR 17/12/91

A policeman and a woman were seriously injured in a hand grenade attack in Soweto and a powerful explosion rocked a multiracial school in Klerksdorp early yesterday morning.

Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo of the Soweto police said the grenade was thrown at a house in Zone 6, Diepkloof, around 1 am.

A constable Molefe, who is stationed at John Vorster Square, and an as yet unidentified woman were badly injured and the house was extensively damaged.

Both the injured were taken to the Baragwanath Hospital. No one has yet been arrested.

Early yesterday in Klerksdorp's Wil Koppies township, an explosion — believed to have been caused by commercial explosives — occurred at the Klerksdorp Christian Academy, a multiracial school, causing R500 000 damage. There were no injuries.

A 61-year-old Daveyton man was seriously injured when shots were fired through a window of his home in Garden Village, Extension 2, at 9 pm on Sunday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said the attackers then threw an M26 hand grenade at the house before fleeing.

The grenade did not explode and was later detonated by the police.

Retired teacher William Moeketsi (61) was admitted to the Glenwood Hospital in Benoni with wounds in his arm, leg and chest. His wife Mary was uninjured. — Staff Reporters.

● Open school 'blasted by right wing' — Page 5

Weekend celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) again highlighted the difficulties involved in creating a defence force for the new SA.

MK chief of staff Chris Hani (recently elected general secretary of the SA Communist Party) insists that the organisation can't simply be swallowed up by the SADF. In an attempt to avoid this, MK personnel are due to attend conventional army training courses in India. On the other hand, senior SADF officers have repeatedly insisted that the two forces won't simply merge. Suitable members of MK will be recruited and retrained.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said last week that the SADF needed to be repositioned as a symbol of nationhood. At a function in Durban he contended that the SADF was apolitical, professional and not open to party-political interference.

The ANC disputes this view and has repeatedly accused the SADF of acting like the military wing of the NP. But MK, according to Hani (who is to relinquish his post as chief of staff once a replacement is decided), is not a private army but a "people's army."

For the time being constitutional talks will dominate the agendas of both the ANC and government. The future defence force will be dealt with later.

In a recent paper published by the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, Laurie Nathan, author on war resistance in SA and a critic of the SADF, says the "new defence force will probably be dominated by white SADF officers. A kind of dual power may exist after apartheid with formal political power held by the ANC while the military and police institutions effectively remain in the hands of the incumbent security establishment."

In contrast to Zimbabwe and Namibia, where the numerical strengths of the opposing armies were about equal, the SADF is "generally regarded as the most formidable force in Africa." He says it is estimated to have an active force of 77 400 and reserves of 425 000.

MK on the other hand is "a comparatively ill-equipped and ill-trained guerrilla army" which some analysts estimated to be 10 000-strong. Those analysts will presumably have

revised their estimates after the pathetically small turnouts (fewer than 100 in total) at three MK "parades" over the weekend.

In interviews in Lusaka, MK members told Nathan they did not see themselves as career soldiers and did not expect to join a post-apartheid defence force.

Nathan says that in spite of MK attempts to address the imbalance between its capabilities and those of the SADF, through more sophisticated foreign training, it was likely that MK soldiers would be absorbed into the SADF after apartheid.

"Some of these soldiers may be placed in top posts in the new defence force for political reasons, but for practical reasons most of the senior and middle positions will be filled by white SADF officers with the skills and



Hani



Meyer

experience to manage a large and complex organisation."

Such an arrangement could also pay political dividends for the current government. Quoting Canada-based SA-watcher Herbert Adam, Nathan says in return for giving up political control, Afrikaner nationalists are likely to insist on a "security fallback" in case constitutional guarantees are violated.

Nathan concludes that the new government's overriding consideration in restructuring the defence force may be the need to avoid antagonising the white officer corps — "to ride the tiger without ending up inside her."

The military establishment's hand will obviously have been strengthened by the weekend's evidence that MK exists almost entirely in the minds of ANC propagandists. ■

Political killings drop 26%

Biday
20/12/91 PETER DELMAR

DEATHS in political violence have dropped 26% this year, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The institute said in a statement preliminary figures showed 2 510 had died in political violence compared to last year's record figure of 3 699.

Institute executive director John Kane-Berman said 11 748 people had died since September 1984.

He said 1991 had started off relatively calmly, but that the fatality rate had doubled in March to more than 11 a day.

The worst month was March when 351 people died.

The institute said in 85% of the 1 236 incidents of political violence it studied it was impossible to identify who were the aggressors.

Firearms were used in 30% of incidents, explosives and incendiary devices in 25%, instruments capable of inflicting hack and stab wounds in 16%, and stones in 15%. Common assault and burning of people accounted for 8% of cases.

Right-wingers admit to Cosatu bomb blast

Biday
20/12/91 JONATHON REES

PRETORIA — A right-wing extremist group calling itself the Boer Republican Army yesterday claimed responsibility for the powerful bomb blast which caused serious damage to Cosatu's offices in Pretoria earlier in the day.

An anonymous caller with a muffled voice told Sapa that the army was also responsible for three explosions which destroyed a private multiracial school in Klerksdorp on Monday.

Details of the army remain unclear but a right-wing expert said yesterday it was believed to be an umbrella military front for extremist right-wing groups, used as a cover to avoid exposing leadership figures on that end of the political spectrum.

The bomb at Cosatu's offices exploded yesterday at 1.15am, blowing a 0.5m hole in the pavement outside the building and damaging several surrounding shops and offices.

A 41-year-old security guard sleeping on the first floor of a neighbouring shop was slightly injured. Police have made no arrests so far.

Sapa reports that the blast caused damage amounting to thousands of rands.

The explosion left Cosatu House offices in chaos with collapsed ceilings and smashed furniture.

Regional officials said they could not yet estimate the full costs of the damage and were not aware of anything which could have been removed from the offices.

A motorbike dealer opposite the offices, Lawrence van der Merwe, said he was still assessing the damage to his shop, customers' motor bikes and new bikes which were in the display window. He expected his replacement costs to be considerable.

A representative of a nearby stationery shop, Joe Frylinck, said about 70 window panes from the shop were destroyed, while attorney Elias Pyekga, whose offices were about 500m away, said there were broken window panes strewn all over his premises.

2.3

2.4

Sandt
20 Dec

Davis
Davis B

(Registration n
(Member of T



Blast in bin rocks PTA

Soweto
20/12/91

South Africa Labour & Development Research Unit

Research Division · School of Economics
Robert Leslie Building · University of Cape Town
Private Bag · Rondebosch 7700
Telephone: 650-2750
Fax No: (021) 650-3726

By ALINAH DUBE

AN explosion ripped through a rubbish bin in Pretoria yesterday morning, causing damage to shops and offices formerly used by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Evan Johnson said the type of device used in the explosion, which took place about 1am in Brown Street, was not yet known.

He said a 41-year-old man was slightly injured in the blast. He would not say who the man was and what he was doing at the scene of the incident.

Police

Johnson said police investigations were still continuing and no arrests had been made at the time.

Streets leading to the area were cordoned off for the better part of yesterday morning.

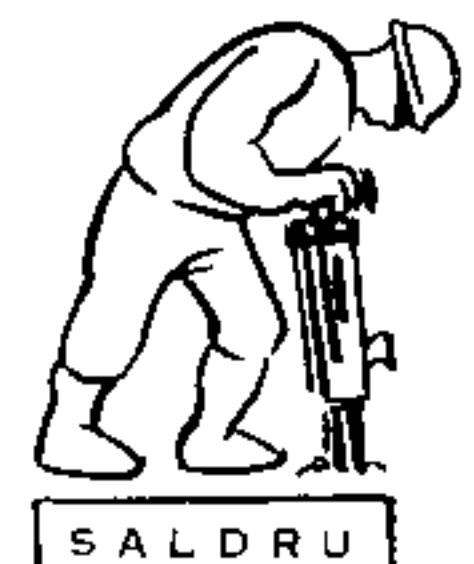
No comment could be obtained from Cosatu as no one was available at their Pretoria offices.

We would like to invite Friday the 20th of March in the field of Education, Pretoria, South Africa. The occasion is the opening of the Chairmanship of the Chair (John Harker) whose report outlines a strategy for high level management for the next few years. Mr Harker will be joined by Paul Puritt (also of Canada). We would like to enable a discussion to take place between Paul Puritt on the one hand, and John Harker on the other. Cape, who are interested in the workshop will be held in the School of Economics in the School of Economics Building on the 4th Floor of the School of Economics. The workshop will run for 3 hours until midnight. We will provide sandwiches so that members can spend further time in informal discussion.

We very much hope that you will be able to plan the workshop programme. We would be most grateful if you could let us know as soon as possible whether you will be attending: RSVP to Jaqui Goldin - 6502752

workshop on the morning of Friday the 20th of March in the field of Education, Pretoria, South Africa. The occasion is the opening of the Chairmanship of the Chair (John Harker) whose report outlines a strategy for high level management for the next few years. Mr Harker will be joined by Paul Puritt (also of Canada). We would like to enable a discussion to take place between Paul Puritt on the one hand, and John Harker on the other. Cape, who are interested in the workshop will be held in the School of Economics in the School of Economics Building on the 4th Floor of the School of Economics. The workshop will run for 3 hours until midnight. We will provide sandwiches so that members can spend further time in informal discussion.

We very much hope that you will be able to plan the workshop programme. We would be most grateful if you could let us know as soon as possible whether you will be attending: RSVP to Jaqui Goldin - 6502752



Fiery first round as leaders clash over MK

STAR 21/12/91

AN extraordinary gloves-off exchange between State President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the opening session of Codesa is being seen as the opening shots in the battle for control of South Africa.

Their confrontation has proved in the most dramatic way that old style politics are dead and the new has arrived.

In a confrontation unprecedented in South African politics, stunned delegates and dignitaries heard Mr Mandela publicly harangue Mr de Klerk for nearly half an hour in the closing session of the first day of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The issue was the continuing existence of Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing, which Mr de

SHAUN JOHNSON Political Editor

Klerk had attacked in his opening remarks at Codesa on behalf of the Government. Mr de Klerk had issued an apparent ultimatum to the ANC to dismantle its armed wing, or disqualify itself from entering into binding agreements.

Drama

The drama began after the signing of the Codesa Declaration of Intent by 16 of 19 delegations, when Mr Mandela requested permission from Codesa co-chairman Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed to "raise a matter of national importance".

He took the podium and accused Mr de Klerk

personally of using the last speaking slot granted to him by the ANC to "launch an attack on the ANC, and in doing so he has been less than frank".

"He has abused his position because he thought I would not reply," said Mr Mandela. "He was mistaken, because I am replying now."

A calm but icy Mr Mandela said "even the head of an illegitimate, discredited minority regime (Mr de Klerk) has certain standards to uphold..."

Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had given no indication in a telephone conversation the night before Codesa that he would raise the issue in such a way.

The ANC leader, using

● TO PAGE 2.

● FROM PAGE 1.

Codesa bombshell

STAR 21/12/91

vern but would also carry out further constitutional reforms.

Mr de Klerk said the Government was convinced that Parliament's composition should be amended in a first phase of change to include the entire population in a fair manner.

He stressed that the new government could only come about through changes to the constitution approved by Parliament and a referendum.

This would include separate polls for the different Houses of Parliament — in effect a white veto.

The Government was almost ready to submit specific proposals which would have to be negotiated urgently along with other proposals.

He stressed that the Government would not accept a form of transitional government which — as the ANC had proposed — would not be "participatory". He said part of his proposal for a negotiated transitional government would be a newly constituted Parliament.

"This can bring a whole new dimension to the debate on a constituent assembly."
"This approach holds

great advantages over the establishment of all sorts of cumbersome structures and forums to broaden representation during an extended transitional phase."

This remark seemed to suggest that the Government had finally decided to dispense with the notion of giving blacks advisory powers during the transition.

Transitional structures grounded in the constitution would give all South Africans the opportunity to be part of a decision-making process, including further negotiation for a more final constitution, Mr de Klerk said.

This would be done through their democratically elected representatives.

No one would be able to question the legitimacy of such a transitional government and a newly constituted Parliament.

He appealed to all Codesa delegates to consider his proposal deeply.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen explained that the essential difference between what Mr de Klerk was proposing and the general notion of a constituent assembly was that the NP's constitution-making body would include minority protection.

Former foes now a force for peace

SITIMES 22/12/91

A FORMER ANC guerrilla and a member of the South African police jointly took responsibility for the more than 1 000 delegates, journalists, staff and dignitaries at this weekend's Codesa talks.

Colonel Koos Venter of the SAP's Regional HQ at John Vorster Square and Mo Shaik, a senior Umkhonto we Sizwe officer — once sworn foes — commanded the amalgam of security policemen, MK cadres and security representatives from some of the homelands.

Colonel Venter said: "We are here to do the job. We



GUARDIANS: MK's Mo Shaik and the SAP's Koos Venter

are technical — we are not political operators."

The SAP provided a third of the security task

force.

"Security is a difficult task because of the size of the World Trade Centre,"

Colonel Venter said.

By lunchtime on Friday, Codesa had received two bomb threats. "We have the back-up, knowing the dogs have gone through the centre," Colonel Venter said, explaining security action after a threat.

"We then warn the men on all the points to do a search. In this we are assisted by the administration staff."

Despite the unlikely combination of men under his joint command, Colonel Venter confirmed that co-operation was good. "There are really no rough edges," he said.

Fifth blast as right-wingers talk of 'war'

TWO blasts rocked small towns in the Transvaal early yesterday — the latest in a wave of bomb attacks since the Day of the Vow on Monday.

The bomb blitz came amid protests from right-wing organisations against Codesa and the AWB's threat on Friday that if Codesa decisions were enforced, war would result.

Damage estimated at R100 000 was caused by an explosion at 3am yesterday in a multiracial beer hall next to the hotel in the western Transvaal right-wing stronghold of Koster.

Activists

On Friday night, an explosion at the magistrate's court in the Eastern Transvaal town of Sabie also caused extensive damage.

SAP liaison officer Major Ray Harrald said last night that while each incident was being fully investigated, there was no evidence to suggest they were linked.

However, on Friday, the AWB warned: "If ever the peace-loving and law-abiding Boers were to be aroused into resistance and total rejection of this renegade government, we have now arrived at that moment in our history."

A little-known right-wing group calling itself the Boere Republikeinse Leër (Boer Republican Army) has claimed responsibility for two of the five blasts in the past week.

Sunday Times 22/12/91

By STEPHANIE HULL

Major Harrald said this was the first time police had heard of the BRL, but well-placed right-wing sources said it had emerged about a year ago. It was not a specific organisation, but an umbrella name used by underground activists.

The manager of the Koster Hotel, Mr Kallie Sander, who lives in a flatlet next to the hotel, said he was woken up by an "enormous blast".

"The bomb must have been placed on the wall outside the multiracial bar. Everything in it was destroyed. The buildings are wrecked and we will have to keep this section closed for about two months to rebuild the walls.

"The hotel bottle store, which is opposite the bar, was also damaged and much of the stock was lost.

"I feel nervous about what has happened," he said.

In other incidents this week, a Johannesburg newspaper received a letter ostensibly from the "Wit Wolwe" threatening to blow up Codesa.

The letter, addressed to the State President, said: "We will blow your Codesa up if you continue with negotiations and sell out."

On Thursday, members of the Boerestaat Party staged a protest against Codesa on the steps of the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg.

The party's leader, Mr Robert van

Tonder, warned the bombings "were only the beginning of the Boers' struggle for freedom".

On Friday morning, right-wingers threatening war staged a protest outside Codesa.

The first attack of the week was at 1am on Monday, when three simultaneous blasts demolished a church building being used as a private multiracial school in Klerksdorp. The BRL claimed responsibility.

At about 1am on Thursday, a massive explosion caused extensive damage to the Cosatu offices in Brown Street, Pretoria.

The BRL also claimed responsibility for this blast, which police said was caused by "powerful explosives".

Fuses

Three successive explosions caused damage estimated at R750 000 to the Lichtenburg Technical College early on Friday. The college accepted its first black students last term.

The blast occurred shortly after 2am, minutes after two policemen on patrol had spotted packages with burning fuses at the college entrance.

On Monday, a fake bomb was found under the escalators leading to Sabie's multiracial cinema complex.

On Thursday, Mr Van Tonder said his party had no links with the BRL but he fully supported its actions and expected "these kinds of actions to increase very quickly from now on".

Hunt on for far-rightists

PRETORIA. — The police have embarked on a wide-ranging investigation of possible far-rightist involvement in the recent spate of bomb explosions in the Transvaal.

In the latest incident, a hotel was destroyed at Koster with damage estimated at R100 000. An explosive device was detonated in a beer hall at the hotel.

Another blast caused extensive damage to the Magistrate's Court at Sabie in the Eastern Transvaal on Friday night.

Earlier in the week, a technical college at Lichtenburg and a private school at Klerksdorp were damaged in blasts thought to have been caused by commercial explosives (84A).

The Pretoria branch office of Cosatu was also damaged in an explosion. — Sapa CT 23/12/91

Rightists' part in bombings probed S4A

The police have embarked on a wide-ranging investigation of possible far-rightist involvement in the recent spate of explosions in the Transvaal.

In the latest incident, a hotel was destroyed at Koster, resulting in damage of at least R100 000. An explosive device was detonated in a beer hall at the hotel. *STAR 23/12/91*

Earlier last week, a technical college at Lichtenburg and a

private school at Klerksdorp were damaged in blasts thought to have been caused by commercial explosives. ~~00~~

Yet another blast caused extensive damage to the magistrate's court in Sabie, eastern Transvaal, on Friday night.

The Pretoria branch office of the Cosatu trade union movement was also damaged in an explosion last week. — Sapa.

Govt and Inkatha make progress over weapons issue

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was likely to announce a breakthrough on the issue of carrying traditional weapons at political meetings when he opened Parliament next month, it was predicted yesterday.

At the same time, government would be pressing hard for an agreement with the ANC on the "neutral" registration of arms caches brought into SA by members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These are two of three issues outstanding from the national peace accord agreement which remain to be resolved. The third is a code of conduct for the SA Defence Force, which has not yet been finally approved.

TIM COHEN

Government was expected, after the signing of the peace accord, to conduct separate consultations with Inkatha and the ANC to determine whether the ban on weapons envisaged in the accord should include "cultural" weapons.

The peace accord states that dangerous weapons may not be carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

Inkatha leaders have denied that this ban affects the carrying of traditional weapons and have drawn a distinction between

political and cultural gatherings. De Klerk said a proclamation would be issued once the issue had been resolved in bilateral talks with Inkatha.

Signatories to the accord agreed that government would introduce a proclamation banning weapons from political gatherings.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday several meetings between his party and government on the cultural weapons issue had taken place and progress had been made.

Felgate said Inkatha and government had produced a draft proclamation on traditional weapons and he was convinced

agreement could be reached on the final wording. He declined to comment on the contents of the proclamation.

A government source said yesterday the parties were close to resolving the issue and De Klerk was expected to use the opening of Parliament to make the proclamation known.

Government intends negotiating the disbanding of private armies but will face stiff opposition from the ANC, which says it will not consider the neutral registration of arms caches until an interim government is in place.

Weapons

It was this issue that sparked a fierce exchange between ANC president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk at Codesa at the weekend, although Mandela did, in an off-the-cuff part of his speech, confirm that the issue would continue to be discussed.

Although signatories to the peace accord pledged themselves not to form private armies, the ANC has been adamant that it will not disband Umkhonto, which it regards as a liberation army.

21 Dec 91
24/12/91

From Page 1

The carrying of dangerous "cultural weapons" has effectively been banned in Natal by the recent judgment by Mr Justice Diddcott, and human rights lawyers have challenged government to extend the ruling nationwide.

The issue of Umkhonto weapons will be further negotiated at one of the working groups set up by Codesa and a report is expected to be submitted in March.

To Page 2

Rightwing plans to kill FW, Mandela and police generals

Some four 24/12/91
POLICE have been aware of violent plans in rightwing organisations "for some time", a police spokesman said yesterday.

The plans allegedly include a hit list targetting prominent political figures, including President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, as well as several police generals.

At the National Party's Cape congress in October, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel announced that police were aware of rightwing cells and their assassination plans.

"We are aware that certain targets have been iden-



NELSON MANDELA

tified by them. They are fanatics prepared to ignore the laws of the country and of civilised behaviour to achieve their goals," he told delegates at the congress.

According to the SAP



FW DE KLERK

spokesman, the assassination plot was still being investigated.

Police are also investigating possible rightwing involvement in the recent spate of explosions in the Transvaal.

847
In the latest explosion, a hotel was destroyed at Koster in the Western Transvaal on Saturday.

No one was injured in the 3am explosion at the Jump and Jive Beerhall in the multiracial Koster Hotel, but damage to the building was estimated at about R100 000.

Last week a technical college at Lichtenburg and a private school at Klerksdorp were damaged in blasts thought to have been caused by commercial explosives. Another caused extensive damage to the Sabie Magistrate's Court in the Eastern Transvaal on Friday night.

Police grab three PAC army men, arms cache

Staff Reporters

Police have arrested three Tanzanian-trained members of an alleged hit squad of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel announced yesterday.

The men are being held in connection with attacks on the Batho police station and on municipal police in Mangaung outside Bloemfontein on October 14.

Mr Kriel said the arrests followed the detention of an APLA member in Zastron on December 18.

The other two APLA members were arrested in Phahameng, near Bloemfontein, the next day.

Police also seized an arms cache comprising two AK-47 assault rifles, four full Skorpion magazines, a Skorpion machine pistol, three full Skorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M26 grenades and an M75 grenade.

Telephoned

● A man claiming to represent the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress on Tuesday said the organisation was responsible for the murder of Constable Matshe Z Machate (26) and the wounding of Constable M D Hadebe (38) in Zola, Soweto, on Monday night.

Constable Hadebe is in serious condition in Baragwanath Hospital.

A man calling himself Karl Zimbiri telephoned the SA Press Association, saying the Azanian People's Liberation Army had attacked a police vehicle in Zola.

APLA has claimed a number of other responsibilities for the killing of Constable Machate, whose home is in Elandfontein (Matibidi), near Bushbuckridge.

Constable Machate, whose father was the last of five children, had gone to Bushbuckridge to inform the dead policeman's mother, Christina Machate (56) of her son's death.

A senior policeman had informed him of the death late on Monday night, he said.

Constable Machate, who was described as soft-spoken person, was unmarried and lived alone in Kagiso.

PAC 'linked' to killings

THE PAC refuses to distance itself from the killing of policemen allegedly carried out by its military wing, according to PAC general secretary Benny Alexander.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the official military wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility for the killing of a Soweto policeman in an ambush earlier this week.

Apla has also claimed responsibility for the murders of five other policemen during the past three months.

Alexander said: "I do not seek to distance myself from the killings, nor can I at this stage confirm that those involved are involved with the PAC: that is the job of Apla."

Asked whether he condoned the killing of policemen, Alexander said he needed to know the exact circumstances before com-

menting. "At the moment, I can neither condemn nor condone it (the killing). I can confirm that Apla is the official military wing of the PAC, and we are affiliated in that way."

He likened the relationship between the PAC and Apla to that between the outlawed IRA and its legal political wing Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland. "We have separate command structures; Apla's is in Dar es Salaam and ours is in Johannesburg. But we have official links."

He said he was not consulted by Apla about the attacks, "but that is not their job, and it is not mine to comment on them".

Asked why it was not his job to comment if Apla and the PAC constituted the same

To Page 2

PAC

organisation, Alexander said: "All I can confirm is that we do have official links."

On whether he agreed with statements from government that Apla — and by implication the PAC — were terrorist organisations, he said the "real terrorists" were the SAP and SA Defence Force "who train hit squads to massacre innocent people on trains". Government had always called the PAC a terrorist organisation, he added.

The policeman shot dead in Monday night's attack was identified as Const M Z Machate, 28, of Kagiso.

He and 38-year-old Const M D Gadebe, both stationed at Jabulani, were on patrol when a car pulled into a service station and the occupants fired several shots at them. Gadebe is in a satisfactory condition in Baragwanath Hospital.

In a call to Sapa, Karl Zimbiri, claiming to represent Apla, said his unit was responsible for the attack.

From Page 1

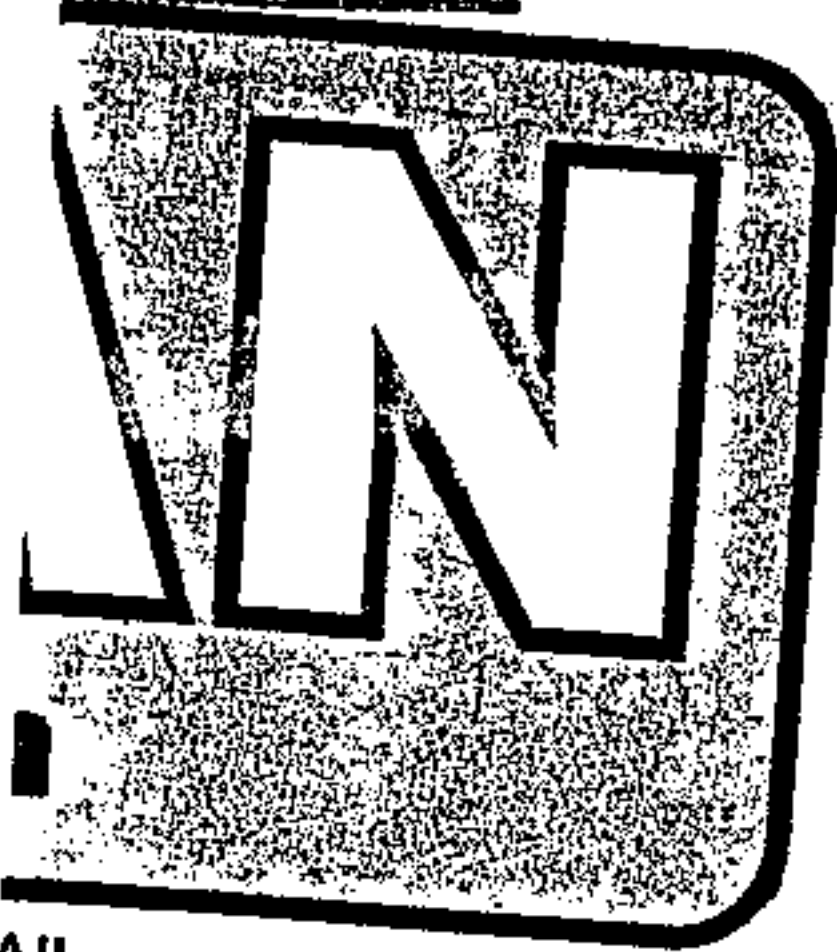
Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel announced on Tuesday that police had detained three alleged members of an Apla hit squad.

They were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with hand grenade attacks on the Batho police station and on municipal policemen in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, on October 14.

Kriel said police also seized a cache of two AK-47 rifles, four AK-47 magazines, one Scorpion machine pistol, three Skorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M-26 grenades and one M-75 grenade.

"The arrests were made after an Apla member was arrested by police in Zastron, Free State, on December 18 1991," the Minister said.

● Comment: Page 4



All areas 50c (including VAT)

Christmas violence claims 15 lives - Page 2

Exciting competition for new married couples - Page 2

3 Apla cadres held over arms

Sowetan 27/12/91



84A

THREE members of an alleged hit squad of the Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are to appear in court in Bloemfontein today.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel this week announced that three Tanzanian-trained members of Apla had been arrested.

He said the men were being held in connection with attacks on Batho Police Station in the Free State and on municipal police in Mangaung outside Bloemfontein on October 14.

A spokesman for the police in Bloemfontein said yesterday the three would appear in court today on charges of unlawful possession of firearms.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Kriel said the arrests followed the detention of an Apla member in Zastron in the Free State on December 18. It is believed he received military training in Tanzania.

The other two Apla members were arrested in Phahameng, near Bloemfontein, the next day.

Arms cache

Police also seized an arms cache comprising two AK-47 rifles, four full AK-47 magazines, a Scorpion machine pistol, three full Scorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M26 grenades and an M75 grenade.

ing

AWB training men for 'SS squad' at secret camp

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE AWB is training a crack unit of men for guerrilla warfare at a secret base on the Lesotho border.

The Ystergarde — Iron Guard — includes men who claim they are former SADF "recces", foreign right-wing sympathisers and ex-members of the South-West African Special Forces.

Police yesterday confirmed the existence of the group, which they are keeping under observation. They call the group the SS of the AWB.

The unit's existence has come to light on a rising tide of right-wing militancy.

Yesterday police also confirmed that they are investigating a "newsletter" from the shadowy Boer Republican Army, which claimed responsibility for a wave of bomb attacks last week.

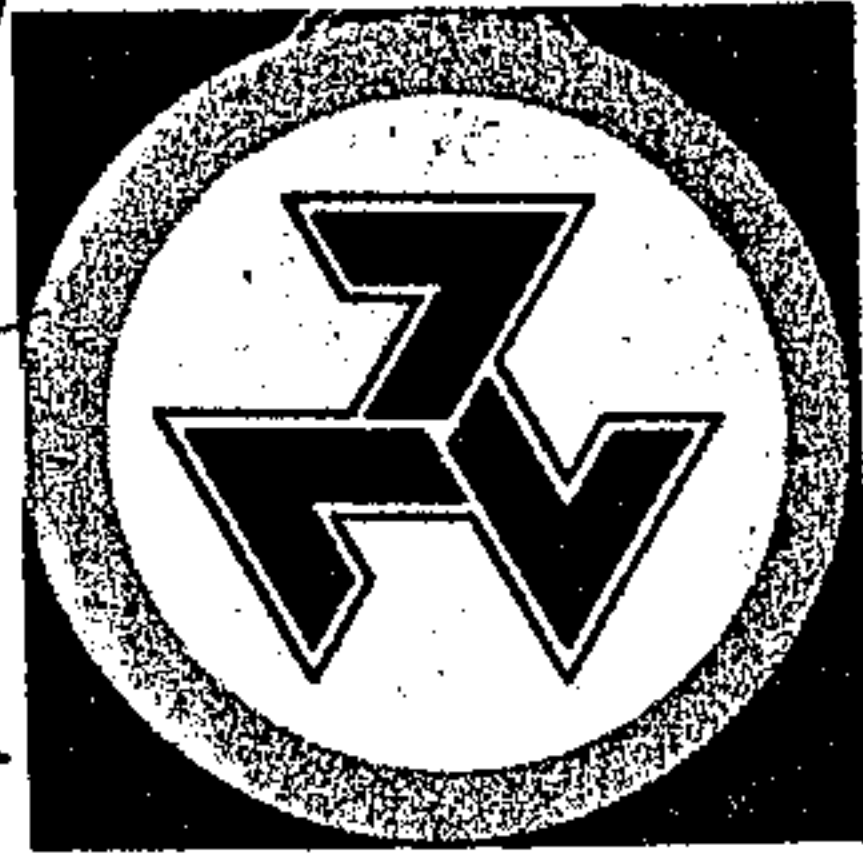
The letter urges Afrikaners to adopt guerrilla tactics against the government.

Led by Leon van der Merwe, members of the Ystergarde are trained for a week at a time.

To distinguish themselves from "ordinary" AWB members, they wear navy-blue battle fatigues with AWB flashes on the sleeves, and balaclavas.

Their training ranges from marksmanship to proficiency in the martial arts, bush warfare, use of explosives and hostage rescue situations.

An American journalist, Anthony LoBaido, claimed this week that he had visited the training camp and spent 24 hours with 25 members of the Ystergarde.



According to Mr LoBaido — a former Mexico correspondent of the Arizona Recorder who is in South Africa on an exchange visit — the group included a Dutch mercenary, "Piet", 35, and a number of South Africans who claimed they had fought as mercenaries in the Middle East and Afghanistan.

Several other trainees told him they had been recces during the Namibian border war and had taken part in covert operations in Angola.

With the exception of Mr Van der Merwe, none of the men was prepared to be identified.

Denied

Mr Van der Merwe said training was provided by military experts from Holland and Ireland, but denied that there was any IRA connection.

"We are ready to fight and die for our fatherland. Soon others will be required to risk their lives, their families, their farms and their jobs to join the struggle. This is not a racial battle, but an ideological one.

"When the government tries

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

AWB trains 'SS' elite

□ **From Page 1**
to implement Codesa, we will be ready," he said.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were aware of the Ystergarde, whose membership figures are unknown, and were monitoring their movements.

"They are the SS of the AWB, their elite troops. They have been seen at AWB rallies and marches, and one of their tasks is said to be protection of AWB VIPs. We are watching them closely," he said.

However, he pointed out that the police could only act against private armies if they broke the law or were proved to be planning insurrection.

He said there were no longer any banned organisations or laws barring drills and military exercises. The same applied to Umkhonto we Sizwe, he said.

Disclosures about the secret AWB base, meanwhile, coincides with the circulation of a "newsletter" — which the Sunday Times obtained a copy of yesterday — in which an organisation known as the Boer Republican Army warned "Boer patriots" not to launch attacks that resulted in loss of life.

However, despite claiming that their enemy is "not blacks, but those who want

to destroy the Boer nation" the BRA identified ANC president Nelson Mandela, chairman Oliver Tambo, Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Joe Modise and SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani as targets for terror.

The BRA urged "all who support a Boer homeland" to organise themselves into cells of two or three members, and to identify targets at will.

"We should steal the ideas of Mao Tse Tung and adopt the tactics of the Zanla fighters in Rhodesia, using attacks on multiracial schools and churches, courts and government offices to instil fear in the population," the letter said.

Plot

The newsletter is the latest in a sequence of events indicating a hard-line trend within the right wing. Apart from last week's bomb attacks, in the weeks leading up to Codesa:

● Twenty-five right-wing organisations published a joint declaration condemning Codesa as a "recipe for bloodshed and domination" and vowing to die for their cause;

● Police acknowledged the existence of a right-wing hit list targeting President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Man-

dela and a plot to kidnap Mr De Klerk's four-year-old grandson;

● Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said that unless there was a white election, 1992 would be a year of "conflict and confusion".

Captain Kotze said police did not think the right wing had the might to topple the state.

"We do not underestimate the ability of the right to wage terrorist warfare. But we don't think they have the might to topple the state.

"Events at Ventersdorp exploded the myth that the security forces will support the right wing in the face of conflict," he said.

"Different groups with different leaders and varying methods would combine forces.

CP sources this week confirmed moves toward a right-wing alliance and predicted that the "unity" congress suggested by HNP leader Jaap Marais would take place early in the new year.

"At the moment we are talking about passive resistance — white strikes and protest marches. The point of no return will come when all constitutional options have been exhausted — the day an interim government is appointed," said a CP MP.

Sunday Times 21/12/91

BID TO RECRUIT CITY CADRE FUELS SUSPICIONS ABOUT GOVT AGENTS

MK men 'bought to spy on ANC'

S/Times (CM) 29/12/91

84A

By KURT SWART

THE ANC has accused government agencies of trying to recruit trained members of its military wing, umKhonto weSizwe (MK), to spy on it and to give other men military training in the Western Cape.

The accusation follows the alleged attempt by three white men to recruit MK member Mr Benjamin Mhlakaza in a Cape Town hotel last Thursday to spy on the ANC.

Mr Mhlakaza reported the incident to members of the ANC's Western Cape regional executive who confronted one of the alleged recruiters at the hotel the next day.

The police and the Crime Intelligence Service said this week they had no knowledge of the alleged incident, but that the allegations of military training were being taken seriously.

"We appeal to the ANC to provide us with information so that the matter can be investigated," a police spokesman said.

"We don't understand why the ANC did not use the agreed channels to report this incident to us."

Mr Mhlakaza, who returned from exile in April, said he had met three white men for a job interview at the Capetonian Hotel last Thursday.

Like many returned exiles, Mr Mhlakaza is unem-



BENJAMIN MHLAKAZA
Offered money to spy

ployed and in financial straits.

He said he had been under the impression that he was to be offered "ordinary" employment.

The three men, who introduced themselves as Chris Williams, Johnny and Anderson, had detailed knowledge of Mr Mhlakaza, including his MK alias and the MK camps in which he had been trained.

"They said they were members of the government. I was scared. I took them to be policemen. They knew so much about me," he said.

"They asked me whether there were MK camps in Tanzania. They wanted the

names of MK members in the Western Cape. I told them I didn't know any.

"They said they were prepared to give me R1 500 cash immediately. I was scared and accepted.

"The interview was from 10am to 4pm. They were very friendly at first, but became more and more threatening.

"Near the end they asked me if I would be willing to train men in military techniques. I told them I wasn't physically fit enough.

"They then said they would give me an easier job and asked me to spy on the ANC, the SA Communist Party and MK, who they said were responsible for the violence. They said we had to stop the bloodshed in the townships.

"They gave me the name 'Augustus' and said I would have a controller. When they gave me the money I signed my pseudonym in a small, hard-covered book.

"I am loyal to the ANC and I contacted MK when I got back to the townships."

According to the ANC, Mr Mhlakaza reported the incident to MK leaders Mr Mxolisi Petane and Mr Lizo Bright Ngqungwana, who told the ANC regional executive.

Members of the MK staff said they were aware of similar attempts at recruitment. The training, they believed, was linked to the spate of random night attacks, during the taxi war, on township residents by armed, balaclava-clad men.

The day after the interview, Mr Mhlakaza returned to the hotel with ANC Western Cape assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr and ANC regional executive member Mr Vincent Diba.

Mr Hofmeyr said that when they arrived at the hotel, Mr Mhlakaza identified one of the men he had met the day before.

"We approached him and introduced ourselves and he said he was Chris Williams," Mr Hofmeyr said.

"He initially confirmed that Mr Mhlakaza had been offered employment by the government, but when we questioned him he denied that he was connected with the police, the National Intelligence Service or Military Intelligence.

"The ANC is outraged at the continuing attempts by the security forces to infiltrate and spy on our legitimate activities.

"It has become increasingly clear that the disbanding of the security police, which was announced with great fanfare, amounted to no more than a change of

To page 3

December 1991 3

MK soldier asked to spy

From page 1

name to what is now the Crime Intelligence Service.

"We are extremely concerned that these men appeared to be looking for people for military training. Such actions can do nothing to promote peace and can only fuel the suspicion that the government is promoting violence."

A brigadier at the Crime Intelligence Service headquarters in Pretoria, who asked not to be named, said: "If it is correct that military training is involved, then it is indeed a serious matter and we would very much like to contact Mr Williams."

He said police had problems with MK members' being involved in illegal activities.

"MK members have been involved in crime and in political violence, like attacks on Inkatha, and they are using AK-47s, Makarovs and Tokarevs."

"We are not interested in the ANC's legitimate activities, but in those of ordinary MK members."

"We are applying the law and arresting them."

The brigadier said the CIS would investigate the incident if given a statement by the Western Cape ANC. He said police would not discount any theory about the alleged recruiting incident, including the possibility that members of right-wing organisations might be involved.

AWB's Iron Guards

By Susan Smuts
and Guy Jepson

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's elite unit, the Ystergarde (Iron Guards), would fight to protect every man, woman and child from the onslaught of revolutionaries and communists, AWB chief secretary Ernie van der Westhuizen said yesterday.

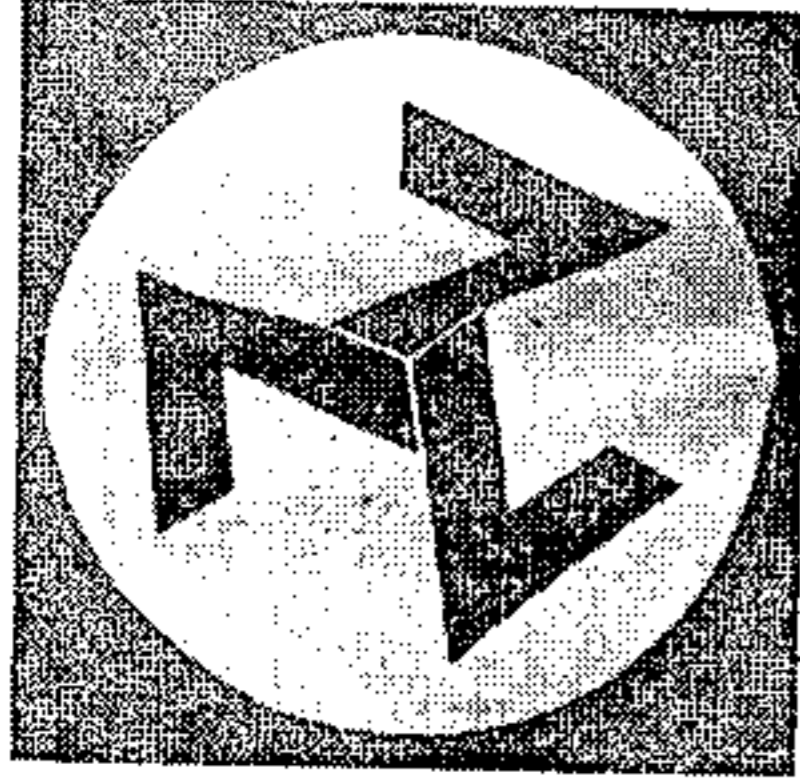
He was responding to a Sunday Star report on the unit, which has been compared by a Law and Order spokesman to Hitler's SS.

The Ystergarde was one of several specialised units in the AWB's Wenkommando, Mr van der Westhuizen said. Other units, such as the dog, fire and other emergency units, also received specialised training.

Asked whether the Ystergarde's role was purely defensive or whether it would operate offensively in certain circumstances, Mr van der Westhuizen replied: "The Wenkommandos were established to protect house and heart. The day the revolution comes, they will look after property, women and children.

"We won't let terrorist groups slaughter our people. That is why we are training every man, woman and child."

Mr van der Westhuizen dismissed yesterday's reports as "sensation-seeking", adding that news was scarce at this time of the year.



The Sunday Star reported that Ystergarde members were trained in covert war tactics, including assassination, at a secret camp in the Free State.

Foreign mercenaries, including an Irishman trained by the British SAS, as well as a Hollander had trained the Ystergarde, the report said.

The Ystergarde recruits include former SADF recruits, former policemen, right-wing sympathisers and former South West African Special Forces members.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze announced last night that the SAP would smash any attempt at armed insurrection in South Africa.

He said in an earlier statement that the police were carefully monitoring the Ystergarde, which was "to the AWB what the SS was to the Nazis".

"We are opposed to all private armies. Armed struggle is a doomed option — politically and militarily," he said.

Lieutenant-Colonel Reg Crewe of the police public rela-

Guards likened to Hitler's SS

STAR 30/12/77.

tions division in Pretoria said that unless Ystergarde members committed any offence, action could not be taken against them.

"To fire 2 000 rounds in the countryside or stage a baton drill is not an offence," he said.

He said the question of private armies had been addressed at state president level, but the issue remained a complex one.

"There's MK, there's Apla — if you act against one, you've got to act against the lot."

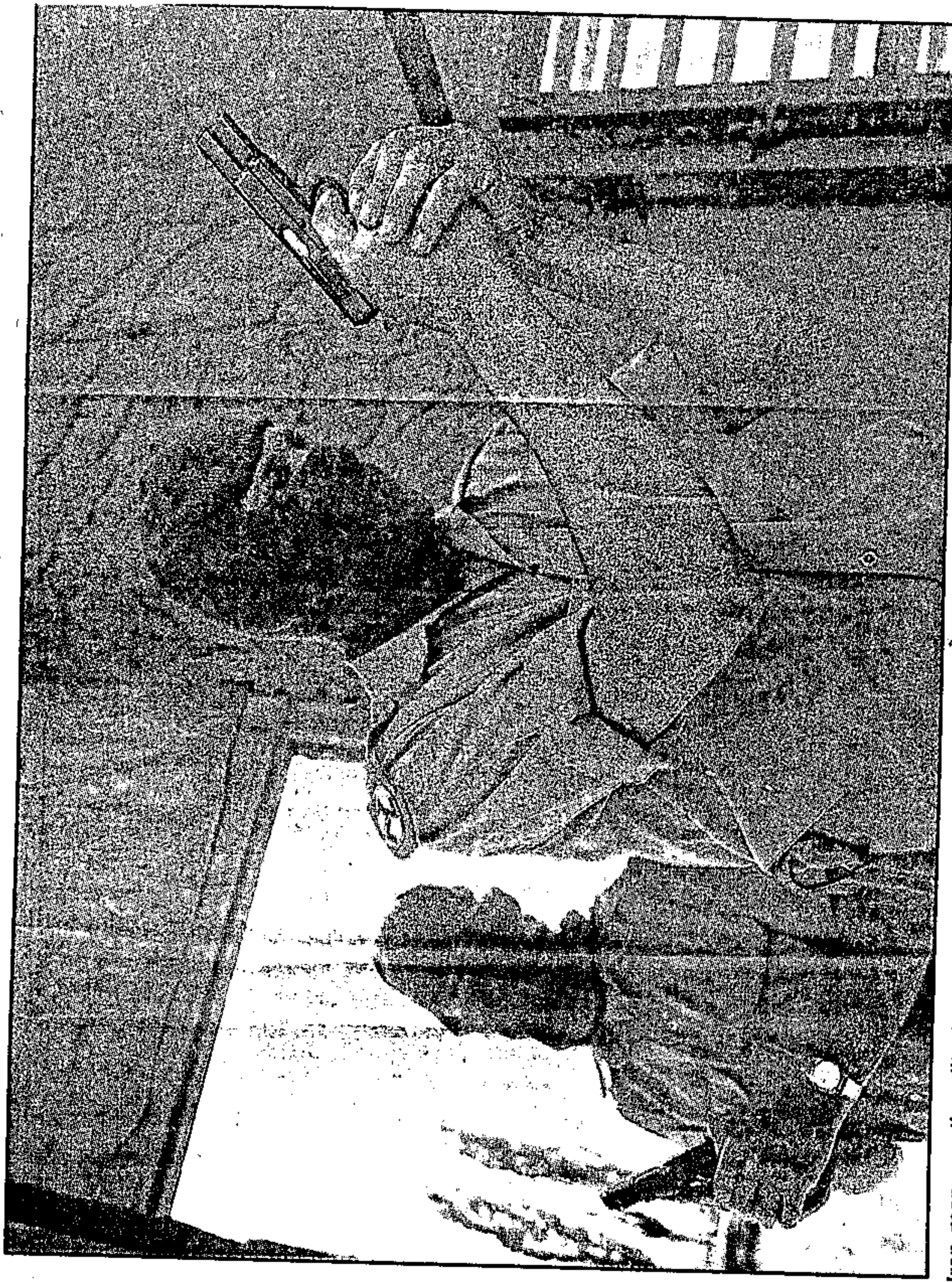
Any organisation which posed a threat would be closely monitored, Colonel Crewe added.

Spokesmen for both the ANC and PAC, which have come under pressure for maintaining military wings, have criticised the Government for allowing the Ystergarde to operate unhindered.

An SADF spokesman yesterday said he could not confirm whether Ystergarde members were former Reconnaissance Commandos members. Once their obligations were fulfilled, the SADF did not keep tabs on them, the spokesman said.

Only one member of the Ystergarde, Leon van der Merwe, was prepared to be identified in the report.

Sunday Star photographer Ruvan Boshoff and American reporter Anthony LoBaido were blindfolded and taken to the camp, about 90 minutes' drive from Bloemfontein, where they witnessed recruits training.



Iron men . . . the elite Ystergarde have pledged themselves to defending their people and property from attacks by communists and revolutionaries. The Ystergarde is one of several specialised units in the AWB's Wenkommando. Other units, such as the dog, fire and other emergency units, also received specialised training. Picture: Ruvan Boshoff

hotels are well positioned to meet the ex-

PAC wing no real threat, says SAP

31 Day

30/12/11

JONATHON REES

THE military wing of the PAC, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), constituted a threat to the negotiation and peace processes, but had no chance of achieving real success in its armed struggle, police said at the weekend.

Apla was also a potential threat to the SAP, but had shown no indication of aiming for civilians or other "soft targets", spokesman Maj Ray Har- rald said.

Apla has claimed responsibility for the killing of five policemen in recent months, as well as for several attacks which police say never happened.

In the latest incident, a man claim- ing to be from Apla, Karl Zimbiri, telephoned a local news agency to claim responsibility for the killing of a Soweto policeman in an ambush on Monday night.

Zimbiri, claiming to be Apla's PWV leader, has called several news-

papers in recent months with claims of Apla attacks on SAP members.

Police believed they had the threat under control, and acted against Apla members the same way as they would against any individual com- mitting a crime, the police spokes- man said.

A Law and Order Ministry spokes- man said armed struggle was "mor- ally and politically bankrupt", and that organisations attempting to use violent means to achieve their aims would find themselves "politically smashed and physically outflanked".

Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Friday the PAC's refusal to distance itself from the killing of policemen would be viewed with disgust by all law- abiding South Africans.

Speaking through his spokesman

Capt Craig Kotze, Kriel was reacting to a report quoting PAC general sec- retary Benny Alexander as saying he would neither condemn nor condone killings claimed by Apla.

Kriel said: "If the report is true, every law-abiding person will view the statement with disgust.

"Murder remains murder, and the PAC's view illustrates clearly that the politics of armed struggle are morally bankrupt and offer no solu- tion to SA's problems," he said.

The only path to lasting peace and prosperity was through negotiations, he said.

Alexander, who confirmed the link between the PAC and Apla, said he would not comment on the Apla- claimed killing of a Soweto police- man until he knew the exact circum- stances.

So far this year, 144 SA policemen have been killed.

en
of
tel
m
id
s

PAC, ANC slam Government over AWB camps

Double standards

stagnards



AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche

Sowetan 30/12/91

THE Government was applying double standards by allowing the AWB's secret army to continue, the African National Congress said yesterday.

It was reacting to disclosures that the rightwing organisation was training a crack unit for guerilla warfare at a secret base. The ANC also said civil war would be inevitable if foreign mercenaries were allowed to train secret

By THEMBA MOLEFE, Political Staff

armies, such as the AWB's Ystergarde (Iron Guard), inside the country.

This followed the publication of exclusive photographs by the Sunday Star yesterday of the AWB's elite Ystergarde training at an undisclosed location in the Free State.

The newspaper reported that many of the Ystergarde recruits were trained in the South African Defence Force's elite Recce units and were

being helped by foreign-professional soldiers, including an Irish national trained by the British Special Air Services.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said it was ironic that the Government made an issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) whose cadres had been disarmed and its arms confined to "neutral bases".

She said: "If the whole question should be seen in terms of what is legal, we can only say the Government is displaying double standards."

"It will be highly regrettable if this is allowed to go on and civil war, instigated by hired mercenaries, erupts," said Marcus.

Indeed, it was the MK question which led to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela launching a scathing attack on State President Mr FW de Klerk at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the World Trade Centre on December 20.

Pan Africanist Congress executive committee

● To page 2

New twist in row over private armies

STAR 31/12/91

841

It was not the Government or the SA Police, but the organisations with private armies who had double agendas, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He was reacting to criticism by the ANC and other organisations that the Government was applying double standards by allowing the alleged Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's secret army, Ystergarde, to continue its operations.

Captain Kotze said the view of the Government and the police on this matter was clear and completely unambiguous.

"In principle there is no difference between the private army of the ANC and that of the AWB or the Pan Africanist Congress. They form part of the same phenomenon.

"They feed off each other and each uses the existence of the other as justification for its own existence. They thus create ideal conditions for conflict and

ultimately civil war."

The solution to this problem was simple. All private armies should be disbanded immediately in the interests of peace, Captain Kotze said.

"How many lives must be lost before it is realised that armed struggle in all its forms and all private armies are political and military dinosaurs, completely unnecessary and do not stand a hope of succeeding?"

He said the police did not act against the Ystergarde as an organisation for exactly the same reason it did not act against Umkhonto we Sizwe as an organisation. Both were legal organisations.

There was, however, ample evidence to prove that where individuals broke the law, the police did not hesitate to act against them.

"Prime examples of this are Ventersdorp against the AWB and the smashing of the ANC's Operation Vula," Captain Kotze said.

The Conservative Party yes-

terday accused Captain Kotze of making political statements and said it proved the SA Police was still being utilised to further party political ends.

CP spokesman on Law and Order Moolman Mentz said Captain Kotze's latest statement was disturbing.

"Our advice to Captain Kotze is: Shoemaker stick to your trade. It is action of this sort that damages the image of the SAP and which plays directly into the hands of the real enemy of the police."

Mr Mentz said: "His (Captain Kotze's) threat that the AWB — which, it is alleged, has brought its own army into existence — will be destroyed if they break the law is in sharp contrast to the failure to take action against Umkhonto we Sizwe, the private army of the ANC which has openly and defiantly broken the law," said Mr Mentz.

The CP demanded that Captain Kotze's "bravado" be proven in the form of action taken against the ANC. — Sapa.

Reaction to double standards criticism

Sowetan 31/12/91

(S)

(S)

(S)

IT IS not the Government or the SA Police who have the double agenda, but organisations with private armies who continue with the armed struggle Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He was reacting to criticism by the ANC and other organisations that the Government was applying double standards by allowing the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging's alleged secret army, Ystergarde, to continue.

He said the Government and police were clear on the matter and their view completely unambiguous.

"In principle there is no difference between the private army of the ANC and that of the AWB or the Pan Africanist Congress. They form part of the same phenomenon.

SA Press Association

"They feed off each other and each uses the existence of the other as justification for its own existence.

"They thus create ideal conditions for conflict and ultimately civil war."

The solution to this problem was simple. All private armies should be disbanded immediately in the interests of peace, Kotze said.

He said the police did not act against the Ystergarde as an organisation for exactly the same reason it did not act against Umkhonto we Sizwe as an organisation.

Both were legal organisations.

Where individuals broke the law police did not hesitate to act against them.

"Prime examples of this are Ventersdorp against the AWB and the smashing of the ANC's Operation Vula," Kotze said.

Hani to visit Umkhonto bases

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani will visit the ANC's military training camps in Uganda and Tanzania next week to discuss Umkhonto's future in those states. *Bl Day 31/12/91*

The visit will be the first step in the process of eventually disbanding the camps when an interim government comes into being in SA.

However, Hani has warned that the ANC is not prepared to consider joint ANC-government control of Umkhonto weapons caches.

Hani said yesterday he would meet government officials in Uganda and Tanzania to investigate upgrading the camps from guerrilla to conventional training bases.

(S4A)
PATRICK BULGER

He was also in the process of arranging the return of military personnel — among them air force pilots and officers — from the former Soviet Union.

He said the Ugandan and Tanzanian camps might be disbanded when an interim government — the ANC's priority political demand — was installed in SA.

"I will be looking at the situation of training and morale in the camps and will be discussing with those governments the upgrading of the camps," he said.

"They will be disbanded one day and we will have to start looking at arrangements

To Page 2

Hani

Bl Day 31/12/91
to return men and military material to SA," Hani said. Although Hani would not say how many Umkhonto cadres remained in other African states, the number has been estimated at 10 000.

In terms of an agreement the ANC has reached with government, the ANC has suspended its armed struggle and undertaken not to set up additional underground structures in the country. Existing underground structures remain in place as the ANC has not agreed to disband these. It has also agreed not to conduct military training in SA, although training outside the country is continuing.

(S4A) From Page 1

Hani yet again dismissed government's long-standing proposal to allow joint government-ANC-Umkhonto control of Umkhonto weapons caches. He said Umkhonto had to be incorporated into a new defence force when an interim government was installed.

Referring to the Codesa clash between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk, Hani said De Klerk's insistence on the ANC permanently abandoning the armed struggle was premature. He said Umkhonto retained its military capacity but hoped not to have to use it again.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES - 1992

~~SEAN~~

Notw:
histic
Kenya

The p
sect
been
the
deve

The
the

Acco
ites
in 1
and
farr

man
sys
the

47.
46.
45.
44.

PAC threatens to create private army inside SA

Staff Reporter
and Sapa

The armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has threatened to set up a "legal" private army inside South Africa.

Apla's secretary of defence, Sabelo Phama, said in a new year message from the organization's headquarters in Dar es Salaam: "Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and if it continues the sponsorship of violence among the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country for the defence of the people."

He added that the purpose of the unit would be defensive only and would be reviewed if State-sponsored violence continued. "The experience of Apla in its recent combat against the SAP is that the SAP is totally demoralised, fatigued, confused and poorly trained," Mr Phama said.

President de Klerk in his new year's message called for closer co-operation in southern Africa. "South Africa is part of Afri-

84A

254

Star 2/1/92

ca. Her people of all colours, cultures and creeds belong to Africa, as much as the citizens of any other country on our continent," he said. "Logically, therefore, close co-operation between South Africa, her neighbouring states and even countries further afield would be in the best interests of everybody."

Discussing events within the country, Mr de Klerk said: "Those who feel threatened by reform, mostly the minority — I give the assurance that the Government will not allow standards to be overthrown."

Prevent

He added: "It is possible to prevent domination and abuse of power, and it is possible to effectively protect all minority groups and minorities against this. You may rest assured that it will be done."

"Simultaneously, there is doubt and suspicion among especially our black population. They fear that reform will fall short of fulfilling their desire for full political rights and equal opportunities.

"... To them I want to give the assurance that those who are sincere about negotiation — and that includes the Govern-

ment — are absolutely committed to bringing about an equitable dispensation. All South Africans must be and will be first class citizens in the new South Africa," he said.

In his new year's message, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht called for co-operative self-determination within a framework of a commonwealth of nations, instead of a unitary state of different peoples.

"Without self-determination there can be no freedom. Without freedom there can be no peace, and without peace there can be no security, but only clashes, blood-letting and manslaughter," he said.

Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough, in his new year's message, warned that a new dispensation would not be successful if violence and anarchy were allowed to continue.

There were severe problems facing the province, in particular a shortage of housing for the urbanising population, he said, adding: "It is projected that by the year 2000 in the central, eastern and western Witwatersrand, including the Vaal Triangle, provision has to be made for an additional 3,3 million people."

The Rev Dr Stanley Mogoba,

presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, called for the country to work for peace in his new year message. He said the Church, trade unions and the business community, including the emergent black business fraternity, were in a good position to work toward peace.

"As totalitarian regimes collapse in infamy around the world, so South Africa finds itself in the enviable position of having found an incredible amount of common ground in the quest for a fresh political order and peace — so aptly expressed at Codesa, despite the differences that emerged. This provides hope for political and economic growth in the future, and a secure social structure for all," he said.

King Mswati III of Swaziland appealed to all Swazi nationals in exile to return home so that they could participate in national dialogue aimed at "mapping out the future political direction of the country."

The King's invitation to exiles was made on his behalf on Tuesday by Prime Minister Obed Dlamini when he delivered his new year message in Mbabane.

● Ystergarde revelations raise new tensions — Page 10

there are many
for co-operative
the organization

e one which
tom should then be

traditional
impossible.

leads to the two

ind material); and
er with the

ment: the
and informal

terial resources
adjustments in

is acceptable to
allows advanced

Another 'open' school bombed

(847) (847)
Sowetan 2/1/92

GRACE RAPHOLO and Sapa
SIX bomb blasts rocked and nearly demolished a nonracial Nelspruit high school in the Eastern Transvaal early yesterday, causing damage estimated at R2 million.

Nobody was injured at the Lowveld High School according to Eastern Transvaal police

● To page 2

School blast

From page 1

spokesman Captain Dries de Vries.

The school recently adopted Model B, which allows the former whites-only school to open its doors to students of all races. Sowetan 2/1/92

"No-one has claimed responsibility, and it is not clear who the culprits were," De Vries said.

The bomb blasts, which went off around 3am, left the school's foyer shattered and blasted away sections of the sports pavilion. Nelspruit resident Mr Glen Retief said. He added that "the bomb blasts caused extensive structural damage and loss of equipment. Broken glass was strewn all over the property and walls, roofs, and doorways were wrecked".

The school planned to admit about 40 black pupils this year, a development which had "provoked a vocal and angry response in some quarters of this conservative town".

The bomb blast is the third on previously "whites-only" schools since July last year intending to admit black students.

The first bomb blast was at Pretoria's abandoned Hillview High School on July 15.

About R800 000 damage was caused to the school, which at the time was being renovated for use by 700 children of ANC cadres from Tanzania.

R2-m damage after 6 blasts rock Nelspruit school

Like 'war-torn Beirut'

STAR 2/1/92

84A

By Monica Oosterbroek

Six explosions in the eastern Transvaal town of Nelspruit in the early hours of the new year caused damage estimated at more than R2 million to a multiracial government high school.

No one was injured in the attack on Lowveld High School which devastated the school's foyer, hall and gymnasium and blasted away sections of the sports pavilion.

Police spokesman Captain Dries de Vries said no one had claimed responsibility for the attack.

The attack, which has horrified residents in the town, follows the school's decision to adopt the Model B education system and admit 40 black pupils this year.

The conservative management of councils of some high schools have reportedly threatened to withdraw from interschool sports functions if black pupils take part.

According to Transvaal Education Department rules, a school refusing to play a mixed-race team has to withdraw from official sports events and lose its provincial status.

Lowveld High's headmaster, David Gray, said his school had refused to back down on the issue and looked forward to including black pupils in the school's sports teams.

The attack came as a nasty surprise for Mr Gray, who lives on the school's property and was one of the first to arrive at the scene.

"Police were at the scene very quickly and they cordoned off the block while they searched for more explosives," he said.

Witnesses described the scene as devastating. The doors of the foyer

their stance by "cowardly acts of terrorism".

"The attacks were pointless and those responsible have gained nothing. They are doing nothing to promote the interests of this country," he said.

The explosions reverberated around the town, shaking people out of their beds. Norman Salhab, who lives two blocks away, had just got into bed after New Year celebrations when the explosions rocked his house.

Mr Salhab and his son, a matric pupil at the school, waited until daybreak before investigating.

"I don't know why people want to attack the school. Its senseless," he said, speaking for many other people interviewed by The Star.

The TED and the Department of Public Works will meet later in the week to discuss increased security measures. However, the school will open as usual on January 6.

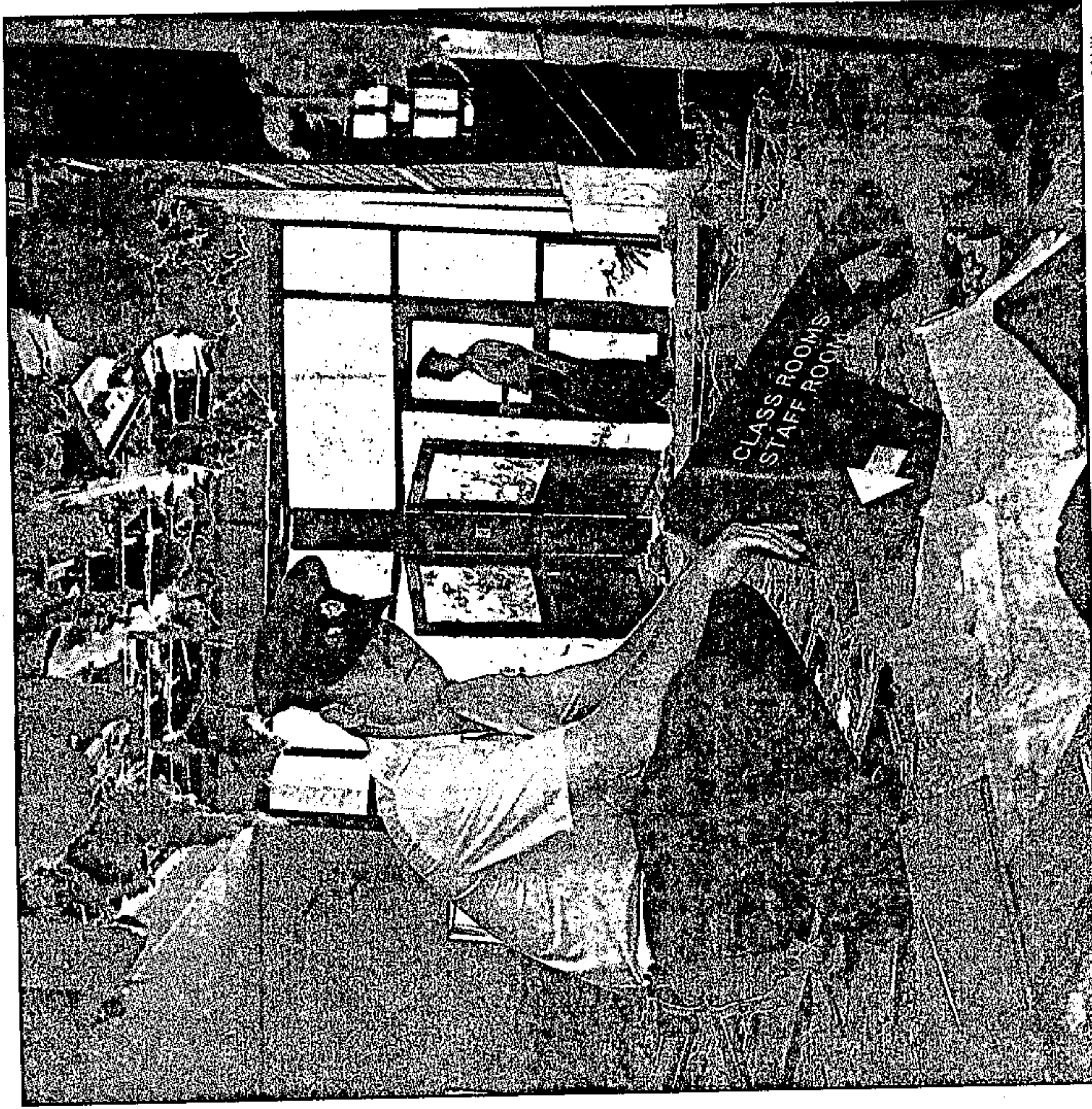
Police are investigating the possibility that yesterday's blasts were connected to similar explosions at the Sabie Magistrate's Court on Saturday.

Kaizer Nyatumba reports that the ANC yesterday strongly condemned the bombings at Lowveld High. ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said her organisation "condemns the bombings unequivocally".

The bombings, Miss Marcus said, showed that much work still had to be done to re-educate the entire population.

She said she could only repeat what ANC president Nelson Mandela had said in his New Year message: that all South Africans had to come together and talk to one another.

Miss Marcus said actions such as the bombings could generate an angry response from some quarters, and were thus to be avoided.



Picture: Richard Wilson

Ripped apart . . . inside the Lowveld High School after the bomb attack.

an empty structural shell. Chairman of the school's management board Chris Goosen said the school resembled pictures from war-torn Beirut.

Dr Goosen, who has two daughters attending the school, said an overwhelming 96 percent of parents had voted to adopt the Model B system. He doubted whether any of these parents would be bullied into changing

pensive equipment were destroyed and the school hall badly damaged. The grandstand at the sports pavilion, once the pride of pupils and parents, was blown to bits and is now

were blown to pieces and debris was scattered all over the property. Most of the windows were shattered and the walls had collapsed.

The gymnasium and ex-

PAC wants to set up a private army

Sowetan 2/1/92

(SBS) (KA) (S4H)

DAR ES SALAAM - The armed wing of the PAC, Azanian People's Liberation Army has threatened to set up a "legal" private army inside South Africa.

In a New Year message issued from its Dar es Salaam headquarters in Tanzania, Apla's secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phama said since private armies were not illegal, Apla would recommend the formation of an elite training camp inside the country to the PAC leadership.

"Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and if it continues to be the sponsor of violence among the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country for the defence of the people."

He said the purpose of the unit would

be reviewed if the State-sponsored violence continued.

Phama said: "The experience of Apla in its recent combat against the SAP is that the SAP is totally demoralised, fatigued, confused and poorly trained.

"In all our recent skirmishes they never returned fire nor engaged in any pursuit."

Phama suggested that rather than attacking PAC leaders for failing to condemn Apla, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel should explain to his constituency the poor state of the police force.

Apla fully supports the demand for a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly and the leadership of PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, he said.

Vaal ANC man's house petrol-bombed - claim

A petrol-bomb explosion destroyed the home of an ANC member in Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle, late on New Year's Eve, but no one was hurt in the blast, a community official said yesterday. (S4A)

Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber could not confirm the alleged attack, saying police had not received reports in this regard.

The owner of the house, ANC member Proo Bazo, said the motive for the attack was unknown. — Sapa. STAR 2/1/92

'Ystergarde' revelations certain to raise new tensions

STAR 2/1/92 84A

REVELATIONS of the existence of a highly trained secret Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging squad, called "Ystergarde", will certainly create new tensions between the Government and the black liberation movements.

Coming, as it did, as controversy rages over the refusal by the Pan Africanist Congress to distance itself from the attacks on policemen by the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the refusal by the ANC to disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), this issue will be catapulted to the top of the political agenda in the new year.

Last week, there were reports that the Government would withhold its signature from Codesa agreements unless the ANC disbanded MK. This followed the grandstand performance by both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on the first day of Codesa. Mr de Klerk insisted that the ANC had not kept to the letter and spirit of previous agreements in the form of the Pretoria and

Groote Schuur Minutes, and accused the ANC of lack of good faith.

Mr Mandela's response was that Mr de Klerk had sunk to such a moral low, even for "the leader of an illegitimate government".

Many observers saw this clash as grandstanding, as both had the opportunity to discuss these, and any other related issues, at any one of their many meetings.

The clash did not do the political stakes of the two any good at all, and the superficial gains that were made were soon lost when the two were virtually shaking hands and walking the political road together again.

However, the ANC has always expressed concern over the existence of right-wing paramilitary units on the one hand, and the need for "defence units" of its own against attacks perceived to be from Inkatha. At the same time, it is also a way of reassuring its own supporters that it is not simply throwing in the towel, but would keep MK in reserve until "full and final victory" is achieved.

The Government views this in a different light: it sees the continued existence of MK as a standby unit which would return to the bush if the result of any process does not suit the aims and objectives of the ANC.

These fears have often been confirmed by speeches from MK leaders like chief of staff Chris Hani, who often speaks of MK's stockpiles of weapons being a necessary part of its negotiating tactic. The issue of MK has been compounded by the spate of attacks against policemen by the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

The PAC has refused to distance itself from those attacks, and stated in the past that decisions on the operations of Apla were taken from outside of the country and independent of any political activity on the part of the PAC internally.

This position has been heavily criticised, and the PAC has been accused of trying to play one game with two shots. The police have also said that while the ac-

tivity of Apla might pose a threat to the negotiations and peace process, they did not believe that militarily Apla posed a threat at all.

But the PAC argument for the actions of its military wing is precisely the same as that of the ANC for the continued existence of MK.

The PAC has refused to give up the armed struggle as an option, and clearly the launch of these attacks was designed to show that it has some military capability.

The spectre of a full-scale civil war has been raised further by the existence of the Ystergarde. That it is possible for such a unit to be trained in camps within the country will be a major issue for debate, either when Codesa reconvenes, or when the Patriotic Front — in whatever form — meets within the next six months. The thin legal line that allows such training camps will be studied, and the issue of whether the Government — any government — will be able to contain such units in the future will be looked at.

Can the PAC criticise the existence of such a unit, while main-

taining its own army within the country, and committing itself to the armed struggle? Can the ANC legitimately claim that MK is not a "private army" as defined in the National Peace Accord, and before that, the Groote Schuur and DF Malan minutes? Can Inkatha claim not to have a "private army", in spite of the revelations of training of members of such a unit by the security forces?

The Government clearly desires that the issue of MK be resolved — certainly before Codesa reconvenes — which means that one of the Codesa committees will have to look at the issue of private armies all over again.

One of the major concerns for black political organisations is that some of the members of the Ystergarde are former members of the South African Defence Force. The question that most ask is what the level of support is for the right wing within the security forces.

Political analysts have put the figure as high as 50 percent, and this must be a figure that worries

the Government. It must also worry the ANC, which may, if it goes along with the National Party's plan for a 10-year transitional authority, have to co-manage control of these members of the security forces while at the same time having to deal with liberation movements like the PAC and its military wing in terms of the existing constitution. That is the kind of trap that Mr Mandela was referring to in a weekend interview.

Short of legislation which forbids the existence of such private armies, there seems to be very little that the Government can do. As one police spokesman said this week, there is nothing illegal in a group firing shots on a farm and practising baton charges. However, the main problem is that if they act against the Ystergarde, they would have to act against all other "private armies", which means the ANC and Inkatha, an act which would certainly derail the negotiation process. One thing, however, is that the Government cannot let this process gain momentum. □

SSH F

(3)

Recommendations

Goal

(1)

B92.4

The Board

Start of right-wings terror blitz feared

● Prove it, says CP leader

STAR 3/11/92
By Guy Jepson
Monica Oosterbrug
and Sapa

The devastating New Year bomb blitz that has hit Transvaal towns is probably the signal of "an emergent right-wing terror campaign" aimed at scuttling the multiparty talks, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze claimed yesterday.

Captain Kotze said police suspected that right-wing extremists were responsible for the powerful explosions which have ripped through post offices in Verwoerdburg and Krugersdorp and schools in Nelspruit and Melkriver over the past two days.

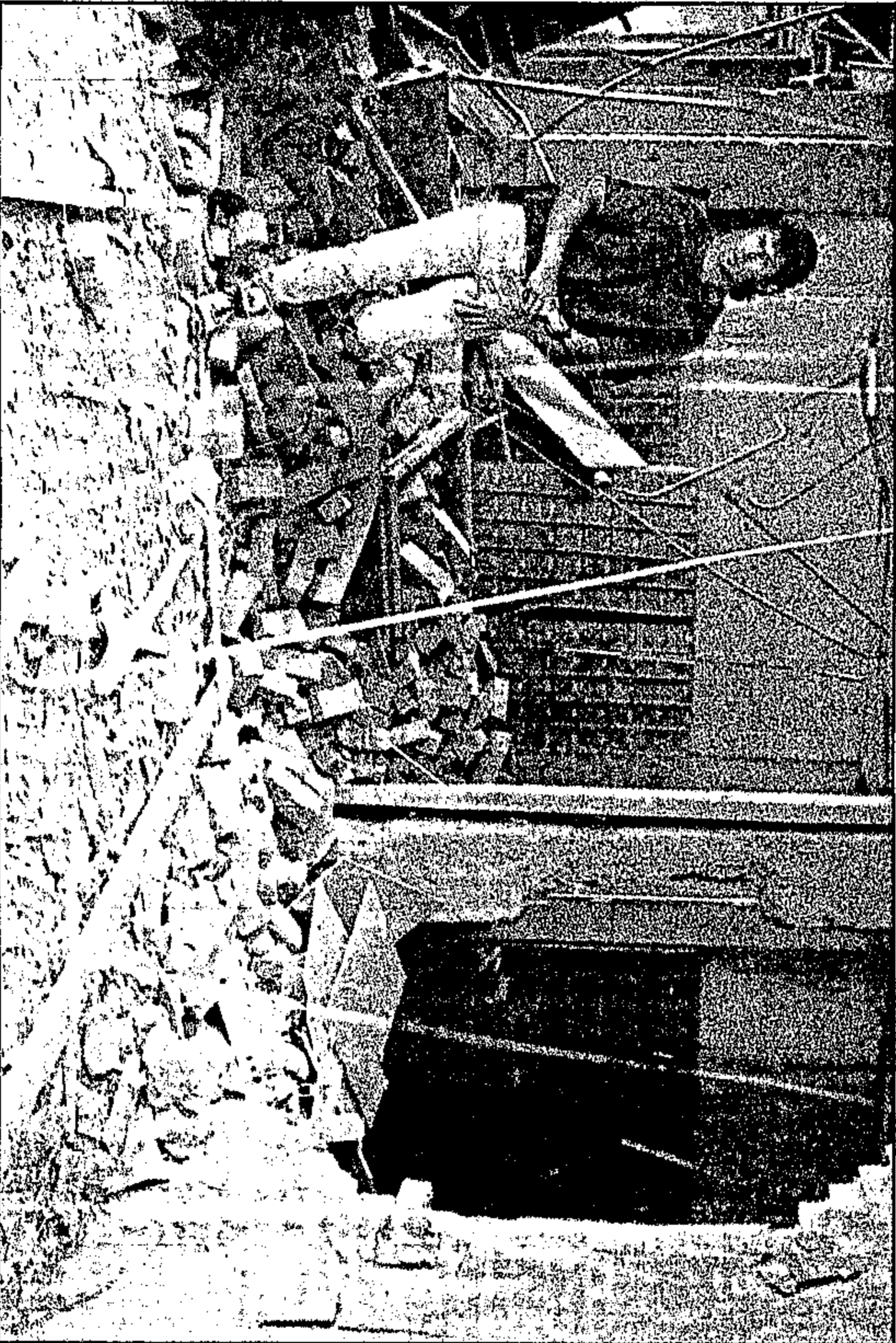
Firing back, however, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the SAP needed to back up its allegations of right-wing involvement with hard evidence, adding that the CP neither endorsed violence nor accepted responsibility for acts of terror carried out by other right-wing organisations.

A large bomb blasted the Lyttelton Post Office in Verwoerdburg at about 2.10 am yesterday, shattering windows of surrounding homes. Damage is estimated at about R1 million.

One hour later, Krugersdorp's main post office on the corner of Ockerse and Kruger streets was bombed.

The Krugersdorp bomb — placed inside the building's foyer — blew a gaping hole in the entrance, bringing down walls and shattering all the windows. Private post boxes were blown out of a wall and public telephones damaged.

In Verwoerdburg the blast — heard from as far away as



Seeking clues... a policeman surveys the devastation in the Krugersdorp Post Office.

the Union Buildings in Pretoria — demolished almost an entire wing of the post office and smashed windows of surrounding houses.

Debris was scattered up to 100 m from the scene. A large amount of mail was destroyed and the post office will be closed until further notice.

Expressing his concern that post offices had become targets, South African Post

Director acting manager, Pieter Jordaan announced that alternative arrangements had been organised in the two towns.

The street delivery of Verwoerdburg's mail would resume today and the town's customers were asked to use the Clubview, Hemnopsmeer, Irene and Kloofsig post offices, he said.

Krugersdorp's street delivery mail has not been af-

ected, residents were asked to use the Krugersdorp North, Krugersdorp West, Paardekraal and Rand-en-Dal post offices.

Where additional staff have been brought in to carry the extra workload.

There was no disruption to the automatic telephone exchange inside the building.

caused R2 million damage. The Nelspruit attack, which has horrified residents in the town, follows the school's decision to adopt the Model B education system and admit 40 black students this year.

Two explosions also caused extensive damage to an empty farm school at Melkriver, near Potgietersrus, early yesterday

morning. The school was closed more than a year ago when the number of pupils decreased dramatically. No one was injured in yesterday's explosion.

Promising that the police would hunt down those responsible with the same determination as they did "the terrorists of yesterday", Captain Kotze said it appeared that the spate of bombs was

aimed to wreck the Codesa initiative.

"But the very existence of the negotiation process renders any form of armed struggle outmoded. They have no hope of success, politically or militarily."

No one had claimed responsibility for the explosions by last night.

In separate statements yesterday, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Boerestaat Party (BSP) both expressed the belief that the bias could have been of right-wing origin.

BSP leader Robert van Tonder said it was precisely because President de Klerk was refusing to acknowledge Boers' right to their reconstituted republics that the entire "Boer nation" was moving towards a rebellion.

"Because De Klerk refuses to call a general election so that he can be kicked out he leaves the opposition no other route than to turn to violence," he said.

"The BSP has long warned the Government that if it pushes the Boer nation to the wall, the reaction will make Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC look like apprentices," said Mr van Tonder.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said in a statement in Pretoria that the Government was acting without a mandate and ignoring democratic principles. This created the attitude that if the democratic road were closed, people would have to resort to undemocratic acts to ensure white rights.

Local Government and National Housing Minister, Krugersdorp MP Leon Wesels, labelled the explosions "cowardly acts", and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the bombing of the two post offices reminded him of sabotage carried out by the pro-Nazi Ossewa Brandwag during World War 2.

Hunt for bombers

84A CT 3/1/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have vowed "ruthlessly to hunt down" right-wing extremists they believe are behind a wave of bombings of public buildings in SA over the holiday period.

Post offices in Krugersdorp and Verwoerdburg were the latest targets, devastated by powerful explosions in the early hours of yesterday morning. Police said commercial explosives, a trademark of right-wing violence, were probably used in at least one of the blasts.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said right-wingers had formed a network of secret cells and police believed some of these were behind seven major bomb attacks in the past month.

'Hard to solve'

He added that right-wing bomb squads were proving more difficult to track down and infiltrate than similar ANC groups. The "decentralised right-wing campaign" had no formal command structure.

No one has yet claimed responsibility for the latest attacks.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday challenged police to provide evidence to back allegations that far-right-wing organisations were responsible.

Sapa reports that Dr Treurnicht said the CP did not endorse violence and said it could not accept responsibility for acts of terrorism committed by right-wingers.

AWB secretary-general Mr Piet Rudolph said the government should be held responsible for the increase in violence because it did not take note of right-wing demands. He said such violence would increase.

Millions of rands' damage was caused to the post offices in central Krugersdorp and Lyttelton in Verwoerdburg, police said. The blasts came hard on the heels of blasts at schools in Nelspruit, Lichtenburg and Klerksdorp which had opted to



AFTERMATH . . . Cleaning up begins at the Verwoerdburg post office damaged by a bomb early yesterday. Police believe right-wing extremists may be the culprits.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

admit pupils of all races. No injuries resulted from any of the attacks. No arrests had been made by late last night, but Captain Kotze claimed police had had a 95% success rate in solving right-wing terror cases in the past. He said that although the right-wing terror campaign had thus far avoided "soft targets", police did not underestimate extremists' ability to wreak havoc on communities.

A secret letter circulated recently

among right-wingers by the shadowy Boer Republican Army (BRA), which has claimed responsibility for several recent blasts, urges people to "keep the explosives and the fire bombs" ready for use. The letter encourages members to form cells of not more than three people. It urges them to select their own targets and not to wear khaki uniforms or talk to anyone about bomb attacks.

The BRA has been described as a clandestine umbrella body in whose name all

right-wingers can claim responsibility for terror attacks in protest against moves towards a non-racial society.

Police said they suspected that commercial explosives had been used in the Krugersdorp blast, which destroyed the post office where R2 million renovations were completed recently. Damage was caused to 30 nearby shops and buildings. The Verwoerdburg blast caused R1m.

To page 3

Right-wingers suspected

Police vow to hunt down bomb squads

B1 Day 3/1/92

84A

POLICE have vowed "ruthlessly to hunt down" right-wing extremists they believe are behind a wave of bombings of public buildings in SA over the holiday period.

Post offices in Krugersdorp and Verwoerdburg were the latest targets, devastated by powerful explosions in the early hours of yesterday morning. Police said commercial explosives, a trademark of right-wing violence, were probably used in at least one of the blasts.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said right-wingers had formed a network of secret cells and police believed some of these were behind seven major bomb attacks in the past month.

He added that right-wing bomb squads were proving more difficult to track down and infiltrate than similar ANC groups had been in the past. The "decentralised right-wing campaign" had no formal command structure.

No one has yet claimed responsibility for the latest attacks.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday challenged police to provide evidence to back allegations that far right-wing organisations were responsible.

Sapa reports Treurnicht said the CP did not endorse violence and said it could not accept responsibility for acts of terrorism committed by right-wingers.

AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph said government should be held responsible for the increase in violence because it did not take note of right-wing demands. He said such violence would increase.

Millions of rands in damage was caused to the post offices in central Krugersdorp

JONATHON REES

and Lyttelton in Verwoerdburg, police said. The blasts came hard on the heels of blasts at schools in Nelspruit, Lichtenburg and Klerksdorp which had opted to admit pupils of all races. No injuries resulted from any of the attacks.

No arrests had been made by late last night, but Kotze claimed police had had a 95% success rate in solving right-wing terror in the past. He said although the right-wing terror campaign had thus far avoided "soft targets", police did not underestimate extremists' ability to wreak havoc on communities.

A secret letter circulated recently among right-wingers by the shadowy Boer Republican Army (BRA), which has claimed responsibility for several recent blasts, urges people to "keep the explosives and the fire bombs" ready for use. The letter encourages members to form cells of no more than three people. It urges them to select their own targets and to refrain from wearing khaki uniforms or talking to anyone about bomb attacks.

The BRA has been described as a clandestine umbrella body in whose name all right-wingers can claim responsibility for terror attacks in protest against moves towards a nonracial society.

Police said they suspected commercial explosives had been used in the Krugersdorp blast, which destroyed the post office where R2m renovations were completed recently. Damage was caused to 30 nearby shops and buildings.

The Verwoerdburg blast caused R1m damage to the post office and shattered

□ To Page 2

POLICE 3/1/92

windows in nearby houses, said a Post Office spokesman.

The spokesman said new security measures were being investigated at all branches, but declined to give details. Another spokesman speculated that post offices might have been targeted as they were government buildings patronised by all sectors of society and represented the state communications infrastructure.

The AWB's Rudolph said he thought post offices might have been selected as symbolic targets as they had also been bombed during the time of the Ossewa Brandwag's opposition to SA's participation in the Second World War.

Rudolph laid the blame for the bombings squarely at government's door. He said President F W de Klerk's "abdication ap-

84A From Page 1

proach" to SA affairs would "light a prairie fire" as few people on the right would accept black majority rule in a unitary state.

Sapa reports that Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wesels expressed shock at the "senseless violence" of the blasts, saying it was unjustified as every political organisation could now state its case peacefully.

He said most South Africans were disgusted by this behaviour.

The blasts were also strongly condemned by Post and Telecommunications Minister Piet Welgemoed, who described them as "a senseless deed".

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 4



Rumours of war ... Specialised AWB units 'are preparing for when the government wants to implement the decisions of Codesa'

THE war of words surrounding private armies is rapidly escalating into a shooting war, with no immediate prospect of a negotiated settlement in sight.

While the two major military protagonists, the African National Congress and the government, are engaged in prolonged sabre-rattling negotiations about the monitoring of their respective armed forces, most fringe paramilitary groups have rejected negotiations out of hand and are preparing to use violence to back up their demands.

The armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which has claimed responsibility for the killing of six policemen over the past three months, this week threatened to set up a legal private army "to defend the masses from state-sponsored violence". The PAC has refused to take part in the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) as "it is designed to frustrate the legitimate goals of the liberation struggle".

Last Sunday the existence of yet another Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging paramilitary unit, the Iron Guards (Ystergarde), came to light. Members

Serious sabre-rattling from private armies

Threats of violence from fringe paramilitary groups are increasing at an alarming rate, reports

PAUL STOBER

of the unit are reported to receive training in bush warfare, martial arts, anti-terrorism and underwater demolition. The unit consists primarily of disgruntled former policemen and South African Defence Force members who apparently would prefer to die fighting the "Third Boer War" than live under a black government.

The Iron Guards are only one of a number of specialised units in the AWB's Wenkommando, the paramilitary wing of the organisation. The com-

mander of the Iron Guards, Leon van der Merwe, said, "We are preparing for when the government wants to implement the decisions of Codesa."

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder described a weekend call by the Boer Republican Army (BRA) for its supporters to engage in guerrilla attacks against the government as a sign that "the Boer folk's resistance struggle is

getting into gear now that our access to democratic negotiations have been closed by Codesa".

The BRA is reported to have claimed responsibility for the bombings of the Sabie Magistrate's Court in the eastern Transvaal, a sub-station in the Free State, Cosatu House in Pretoria, a multiracial school in Klerksdorp and the multiracial Lichtenburg Technical

College. The last three bombings have occurred in the past month.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze says the police cannot act against private armies as they are legal organisations. But, he added, "the police will not hesitate to act when individuals break the law". Kotze called for all private armies to disband.

The head of the armed wing of the ANC, Joe Modise, is adamant that the ANC does not have a private army. He described Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) as a national army, "formed to liberate all the oppressed in South Africa and is open to all South Africans".

MK was different to paramilitary organisations which were racially exclusive and ready to use violence to advance the interests of minorities, including the SADF in this definition of private armies "as it is controlled by a white minority government".

Democratic Party spokesman on law and order Peter Gastrow said the SADF was a conscript army run by professionals. The government had abused the expertise and resources of the SADF for party-political purposes.

Modise linked private armies to the legitimacy of the government: "Only a democratically elected government can constitute a national army".

Gastrow agreed that the present government did not have the capacity to deal with private armies. He added that the restructuring of the security forces and the disbanding of private armies, certain police units and the homeland's security forces must be dealt with by Codesa urgently.

Modise said organisations did not have the right to use violence as a political tool in the present political climate: "Armed struggle was justified when we had no avenue to express our views. But with the start of Codesa, all parties have a forum to state their opinions."

But he emphasised this does not mean MK should hand over its arms. "The present situation is not irreversible. President FW de Klerk's threats to use 'other methods' if negotiations should fail is proof of this. MK is needed to counter the SADF in its present form should negotiations fail."

Despite the ANC's determination to maintain a military capacity, it is working towards an agreement with the government on the monitoring of MK arms caches to take to Codesa for approval.

PROJECT COORDINATOR

ARE YOU

- young, creative, self-motivated?
- a confident communicator, looking for a job with variety and challenge?
- Interested in educating young people about AIDS in effective and innovative ways?

Catholic Welfare and Development runs an AIDS Project which aims to increase AIDS awareness amongst young people, by involving them actively in workshop and teaching strategies. The project is currently looking for a coordinator to evaluate and develop the programme, collect resource materials, and to explore and develop workshop and education techniques. Applicants for the post should preferably be Catholic, 24-30 years of age, and able to commit themselves to the project for a minimum of two years.

Additional requirements are:

- some form of tertiary education (Degree, Diploma, Certificate)
- experience in coordinating a project/programme
- group skills and experience in facilitating groups
- language skills - English, Afrikaans, (Xhosa helpful)

If you are interested, then contact Brenda Atkinson at (021) 214-639 between 9am and 1pm, Mon-Fri, from Mon 6 Jan, or post a detailed written application to: **The Coordinator, CWD AIDS Project, 37A Somerset Road, Cape Town, 8001.**

CORPLAN

a community-orientated research, planning and development organisation working in the Border region and based in East London.

We are looking for DYNAMIC and MOTIVATED people with experience and skills to fill the following posts:

■ **Office Administrator** - with skills in office management, word processing, financial control and staff liaison

■ **Researcher/Research Assistant** - with research experience and the ability to undertake independent work to provide backup to other workers and assist our clients in policy formulation

■ **2 Project Co-ordinators** - to participate in the development of workshop techniques and content material, liaise with civic groups and organise development workshops for client groups

■ **Town Planner** - with minimum three years experience to act on behalf of civics in a number of development projects and help develop planning policy for the progressive movement in the region.

The successful applicants will have:

- a commitment to working with democratic community organisations
- appropriate experience and/or a tertiary qualification
- the ability to work on their own initiative and write reports
- a driver's licence.

Salaries paid will be competitive and in accordance with experience and qualifications.

Submit applications in writing with a full curriculum vitae to: **Corplan, 5 College Street, East London 5201. Tel: (0431) 43-3830. Closing date for applications: 13 January 1992.**

Right warms of terror increase

STAR 4/11/92

844

2 Saturday Star January 4 1992

RIGHT-WING ORGANISATIONS in South Africa have warned that the country is on the edge of a wave of sabotage attacks against "official" targets, similar to that carried out by the Ossewa Brandwag 50 years ago.

According to police and right-wing spokesmen, all that stands in the way of the country slipping into all-out civil war is the disorganised and fractured nature of the violent right-wing opposition.

SA 'on brink of massive bomb wave'

MANDY JEAN WOODS
JO-ANNE COLLINGE and Sapp

A previously unknown organisation called the Afrikaner Volkstaat Beweging (Artkner People's State Movement) yesterday claimed responsibility for a number of explosions attributed to right-wing extremists in recent weeks.

Since last month, 14 schools have been damaged or destroyed, desegregated courts, post offices and a police training school.

The latest blast, on Thursday afternoon, caused R50 000 in damage at a police training centre in Vaalwater near Potgietersrus in the northern Transvaal.

It is understood the SAP has identified 12 extreme right-wing groups which fall into the category of private armies or paramilitary organisations.

These include the Wen-Kommandos, the Boere Volkstaat Beweging, the Volksleer, the Wit Wolwe, Afrikaans Monarchiste, the Foundation for the Survival of Freedom (FSF), the Ku Klux Klan, Orde Boerevolk, Blanke Veiligheld, the Boere Republiken, the Boere Republican Army (BRA) and the Pretoria Boere Kommandos.

However, police say many of these are empty shells, or paper organisations only.

They say there may be as many as 20 or 30 "soft" groups operating in South Africa.

But, says Law and Order Minister spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, it is unlikely these splinter groups will become a significant force

The warnings follow bomb attacks this week on schools and post offices which caused damage estimated at hundreds of thousands of rands but injured no one — a typical tactic of the right-wing terrorists of yesterday.

"1992 started in flames and there is no doubt this will escalate," said Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging spokesman.

A man claiming to represent a previously unknown organisation called the Afrikaner Volkstaat Beweging (Artkner People's State Movement) yesterday claimed responsibility for a number of explosions attributed to right-wing extremists in recent weeks.

Since last month, 14 schools have been damaged or destroyed, desegregated courts, post offices and a police training school.

The latest blast, on Thursday afternoon, caused R50 000 in damage at a police training centre in Vaalwater near Potgietersrus in the northern Transvaal.

It is understood the SAP has identified 12 extreme right-wing groups which fall into the category of private armies or paramilitary organisations.

These include the Wen-Kommandos, the Boere Volkstaat Beweging, the Volksleer, the Wit Wolwe, Afrikaans Monarchiste, the Foundation for the Survival of Freedom (FSF), the Ku Klux Klan, Orde Boerevolk, Blanke Veiligheld, the Boere Republiken, the Boere Republican Army (BRA) and the Pretoria Boere Kommandos.

However, police say many of these are empty shells, or paper organisations only.

They say there may be as many as 20 or 30 "soft" groups operating in South Africa.

But, says Law and Order Minister spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, it is unlikely these splinter groups will become a significant force

because of their decentralised structures and lack of a single command centre, such as the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe had during the time of its armed struggle against the Government.

"The Far Right is united only in ideology, and a large number of the incidents so far are wildcat actions. Last year the SAP solved 95 percent of the terrorist cases. We will be single-minded about getting terrorists brought to justice," he said.

Right-wing groups yesterday warned that terrorist attacks which have rocked the country in the past month will escalate to supersede the civil strife in Yugoslavia and the IRA's campaign against British rule.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said in its early years the IRA had focused on "soft" targets. "But it gradually got worse and worse. The same will happen here."

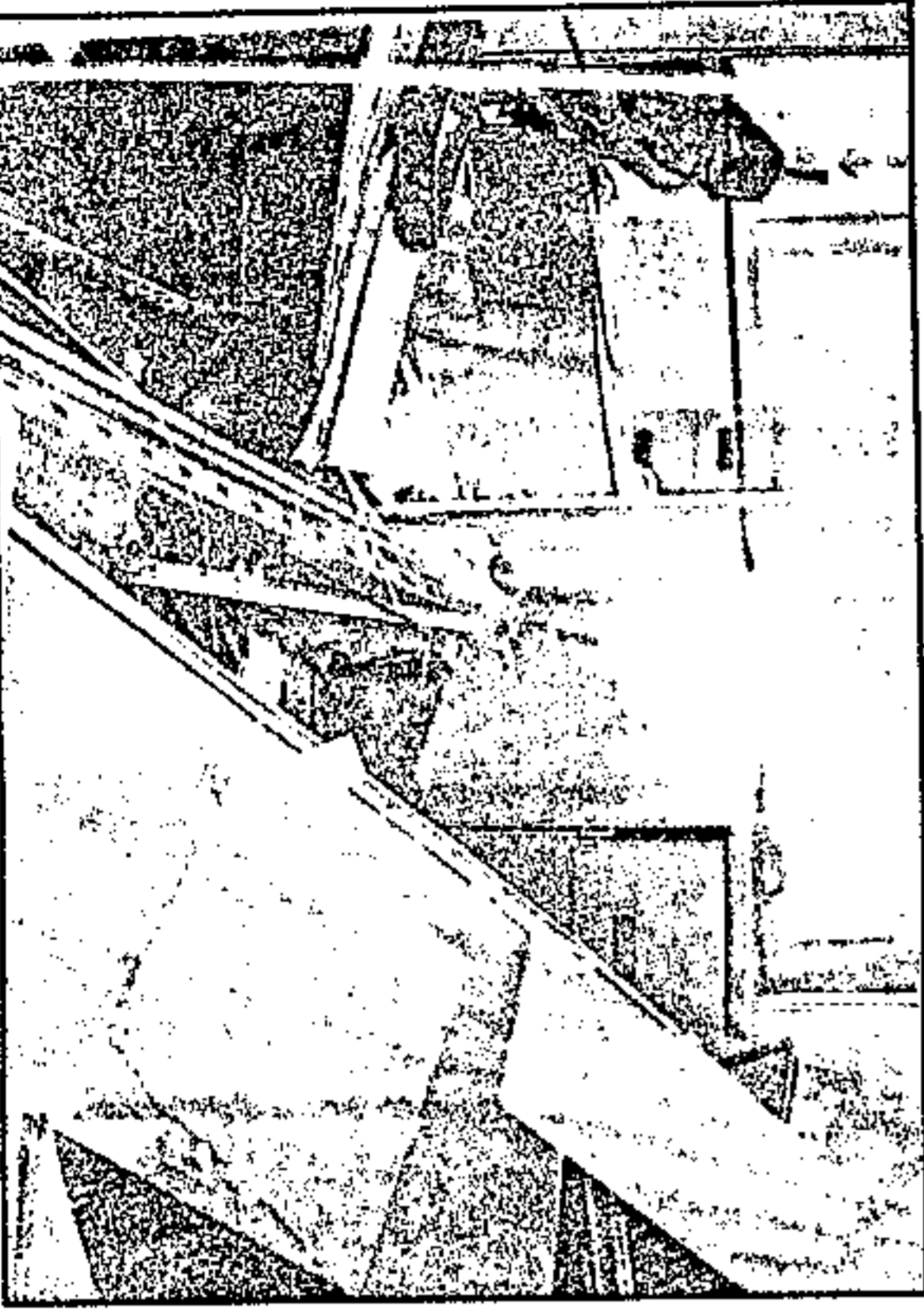
"De Klerk is pushing the Boer people up against a wall with his reforms, and the further they develop, the greater will be the struggle."

Mr van Tonder likened the current Boer resistance to that of the 1940s organisation Ossewa Brandwag (OB), of which he was a member.

Its targets were government installations such as post offices and railway lines. The OB, founded as a cultural organisation in 1939 in the wake of Great Trek centenary celebrations, was modelled on the commando system of the former Boer republics.

It vigorously opposed South Africa's participation in World War 2. From 1942 onwards the OB became involved in a campaign of sabotage.

Unlike the OB, the current Far Right is largely unstructured — deliberately so, according to Mr



AFTERMATH: Amid the wreckage left by a bomb attack, work at the Krugersdorp post office goes on.

FROM PAGE 1.

Sabotage

Van Tonder.

"It is a lesson that was learnt last year with the Orde Boerevolk. It had a formal structure with members and was easily infiltrated," he said.

Fifty years ago the terrorism of the OB was beaten in large part because it was easily infiltrated and betrayed from within.

Today, Mr Van Tonder says, the resistance movement has gone underground and no organised structures or membership lists exist — to avoid discovery and infiltration.

Mr Rudolph said of the recent spate of bomb blasts: "This type of thing happened during the OB days and one can expect it to happen again."

Democratic Party leader Zac de Beer said the recent bomb blasts reminded him of acts of sabotage carried out by the OB during World War 2.

"That was the first time extreme Afrikaner elements resorted to violence against an Afrikaner government," he noted.

National Secretariat

for Boere Volk spokesman Piet Bester said Boers had had to resort to violence, as it was the "only means open to us. We were not accepted as a delegation to Codesa and that ruled out negotiations as an option. What else can we do but resort to the only other option, violence?"

A newsletter circulated by the previously unknown and apparently largely unstructured Boer Republican Army last month encouraged its members to operate in small cells comprising up to three family members, and to keep up the "good work" of terrorist attacks on soft targets.

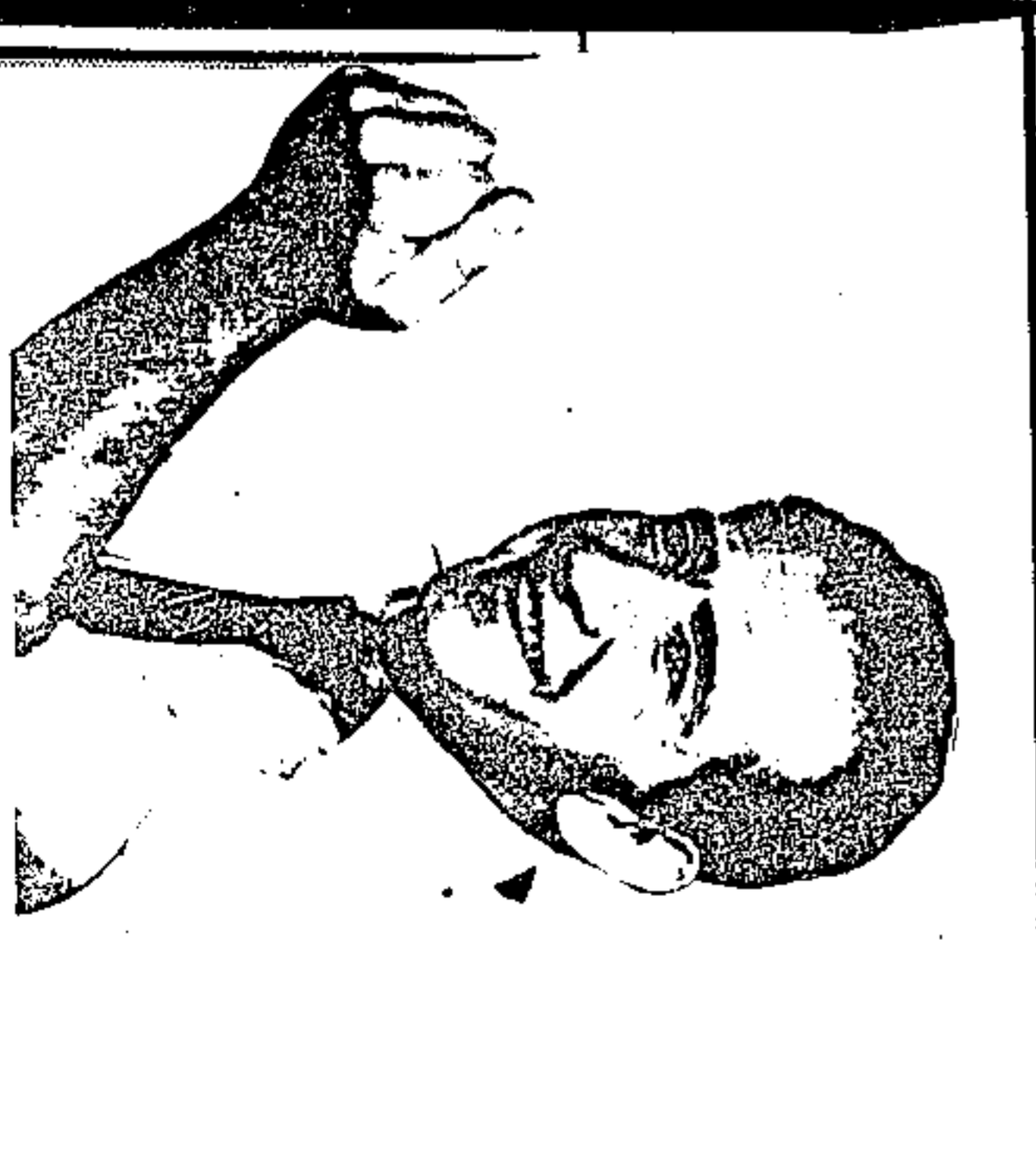
"All these tactics — protecting white communities on farms and attacks on multiracial buildings — are all part of the guerilla war, and we Boers can choose our targets," the BRA newsletter said.

"We are already in a war, but it is not necessary to be scared. Do your work in the day and commit sabotage at night."

Last night police said a "considerable" reward would be offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the attacks.



(centre) and Elzabeth Weichardt enjoy the superb Camp's Boy surf.



TO PAGE 2

Police must go

STAR 4/11/72

THE Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) will attack not only the police but all "enemy agents", according to PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama.

Phama was commenting on the brutal murder of two policemen lured into an ambush in Soweto on Thursday night, for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

Mr Phama said the police were at the forefront of intimidating people and should therefore "go".

Speaking from Harare, Mr Phama said the PAC was still awaiting a report from Apla's "field commander on the ground" about the killing of two policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto.

Outrage over the killing of the two policemen was yesterday brushed aside by the PAC youth wing, which described the killings as "the start of the revolution".

Its statement, which said the police and defence forces had to be "wiped out of existence", followed hot on the heels of Apla's claim of responsibility for the killings.

A man claiming to be an Apla operative, Carlson Zimbiri, telephoned Sapa to say that Thursday's attack had been carried out by a unit of three Apla

'Slaying of Soweto SAP members defended as 'start of the revolution'

BRENDAN TEMPLETON and PRETORIA NEWS

combatants.

The killings came hours after police announced a R25 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone who murdered a policeman.

Five policemen have been killed in attacks on the Reef this week and almost 150 have died violently over the past year.

The South African Police condemned the killings as "cowardly", and the Democratic Party warned that assassinations could destabilise the political process.

Conservative Party justice spokesman Chris de Jager said the death sentence should be imposed for the murder of policemen.

The PAC has been noticeably absent from the organisations which have commented on the recent spate of killings. PAC general secretary Benny Alexander last month refused to condemn or condone the killings, drawing sharp criticism from the police.

Attempts to obtain further comment from PAC spokesmen in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Cape Town and Johannesburg bore no fruit yesterday.

In a statement issued yesterday, the PAC's department of youth affairs said the Government was "illegitimate, illegal and brutal". It had shown no "signs or preparedness to hand over power to the indigenous African majority".

"De Klerk with his regime continues to murder our people, perpetrating the countrywide violence

and ruling our country with the gun.

"The SAP together with the SADF are fully armed enemy organs. Because the regime relies on them for its perpetual stay in power, for any revolution to succeed (they) should be wiped out of existence."

In a stinging reply, the South African Police said Apla should be "too ashamed to accept responsibility for such a despicable and cowardly deed".

The two Soweto policemen's death were the latest in a spate of attacks on SAP members. On Wednesday night, two were killed in Kattlehong on the East Rand and another off-duty policeman was killed in Soweto.

"It is no great feat to lure policemen into an ambush and then murder them. The police are there to protect and serve all the inhabitants of the country," the police statement said.

In an indication that the Government was taking the latest spate of assassinations very seriously, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said police should take "the maximum appropriate response to any threat to their safety".

He had requested Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe to instruct every member of the force that they were under no circumstances to regard themselves as targets.

Bombs 84A ET 4/12/92

or we shoot our way to a free people's state."

The choice, the caller said, was up to President F W de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela "and their ilk".

Meanwhile, police said the underground right-wing movement "Wit Wolf" had claimed responsibility for an arson attack on the Receiver of Revenue offices in Boksburg yesterday morning. The claim was made in a phone call to SABC radio.

Police said fire broke out in a storeroom but caused slight damage.

A spokesman for the SAP crime intelligence unit said there had been an increase in the number and activities of far-right splinter groups since the Codesa talks in December. He also said there was a strong possibility only two or three people were responsible for the recent spate of bombings.

Distances between three sites of the bombings showed that only a few people may have been involved in all the explosions.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said the explosions "were the be-

ginning of the resistance of a free volk which sees its fatherland being given away to strangers and communists".

"No volk in the world can be forced to accept such a situation," he said.

"The guilty ones who caused this wave of terrorism are sitting in Parliament. The government has created the breeding ground for such terrorism by not providing the Boer volk with the forum to negotiate for its own autonomous state."

● Police are offering a reward for information about the recent bomb attacks.

SA Police Deputy Commissioner Lieutenant-General Mulder van Eyk said it was vital that the public co-operate with the authorities to end the bombings and possible bloodshed.

The hotline number is (012) 3101582.

● The Post and Telecommunications Workers Association has demanded changes to the Post Office security department which, it said, was manned "by the most conservative section of the white population who may obviously assist such bombing acts". — Sapa

Terror bombs for volk, claims mystery caller

ET 4/11/92 84A

JOHANNESBURG. — A man claiming to represent an unknown organisation called the Afrikaner Volkstaat Beweging (Afrikaner People's State Movement) yesterday claimed responsibility for a number of explosions attributed to right-wing extremists in recent weeks. Since last month, 14 blasts have damaged or destroyed desegregated schools, magistrate's courts, post offices and a police training school.

The latest blast, on Thursday afternoon at a SAP training centre in Vaalwater near Potgietersrus in the Northern Transvaal, caused R50 000 damage. Yesterday afternoon, a gruff-voiced caller telephoned the SA Press Association in Johannesburg and said his organisation had blown up Cosatu House in Pretoria, the Hillview School (which was to have accommodated the children of returning ANC exiles) and was responsible for the post office blasts, among others.

The organisation was willing to "negotiate final borders" for an Afrikaner state but was not prepared to "negotiate with barbarians as we have seen on Durban beaches".

The caller spoke in Afrikaans, and had a courteous, rapid way of speaking.

He also provided Sapa with specific forensic details about the kind of explosives used.

The central demand of the caller's organisation was an independent state "for our own people," he said.

"Either we draw up the borders (for such a state)

ST Times 5/11/92

(S44)

Easy route to explosion

IN THE wake of this week's bomb attacks, police admitted it was impossible to control fully the massive quantities of explosives circulating in South Africa's mining and blasting industries.

With 30 000 tons of explosives manufactured in South Africa every month, police and mine officials face an uphill battle in trying to stop thefts from manufacturers, transport companies and mines.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lukas Noeth of the SAP's Inspectorate of Explosives, said it was "quite impossible to control explosives 100 per cent. Those who want it can still get hold of it. All the blasting that's going on now is proof of this," he said.

By PETER MALHERBE

Police indications that commercial explosives were used in this week's bomb blasts appear to have been borne out by the Afrikaner Volkstaatbeweging's (AVB) claim yesterday that it used 18,5kg of Anflex explosives for the blasts at the Krugersdorp and Verwoerdburg post offices.

wrong. There are various ways of getting things out."

Dr Hugo said it was the mine management's duty to check what happened to every stick of dynamite.

Mr Dick Kruger, safety services manager for the Chamber of Mines, said legislation prescribed security measures for the mining industry.

Anflex explosives are used exclusively in the mining industry.

These included keeping materials locked away at all times, supervision of handling and transport of explosives and the destruction of unused explosives.

Risk

Underground, orders were signed for and mine officials checked these against usage.

Colonel Noeth said his inspectorate had in recent years been searching for weak links in the manufacture and distribution of explosives.

Leading mining houses contacted were all adamant that security procedures were strictly adhered to on their mines. They pointed out that bulk delivery explosives, which were assembled on site, could not easily be stolen or misused.

However, total control meant police would have to escort all vehicles carrying explosives and post guards wherever explosives were used.

They said random security checks were made at ground level to prevent the theft of packaged explosives.

"It's impossible to close all the holes," he said.

Colonel Noeth said the greatest risk of theft was at the place of use. This was despite stringent licensing requirements and regulations to control the storage, transport and use of blasting material.

Experts said only one kilogram of explosives could kill people in a confined space. The Pretoria car bomb in 1983, which killed 19 people and injured 200, was estimated to have contained 35-50kg of explosives.

Control

Industry sources said the explosives market consumed some 30 000 tons a month, including 16 500 tons of packaged material.

Dr Piet Hugo, director-general of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, said inspectors carried out routine inspections on mines, although mine captains and underground managers were ultimately in control of explosives.

"We are always on the lookout for malpractice, but we are talking about tons and tons of explosives handled daily by hundreds of people. Things can go

SA

The bombers' record of destruction

THE number of suspected right-wing attacks since December 16, the Day of the Vow, now total 11 — including this week's blasts.

The reported attacks were:

● Monday December 16: At 1am, three blasts damaged the Klerksdorp Christian Academy, a private, multiracial school. The BRA claimed responsibility.

● Thursday December 19: At 1am, a massive explosion damaged the Cosatu offices in Pretoria. The BRA claimed responsibility.

● Friday December 20: At 2am, three explosions caused R750 000

damage to the Lichtenburg Technical College. (S.A)

● Friday December 20: A large explosion rocked the magistrate's court in Sabie.

● Saturday December 21: At 3am a blast damaged a beer hall at Koster. S/Times 5/1/92

● Wednesday January 1: Six explosions caused R1-million damage to Lowveld High School in Nelspruit.

● Thursday January 2: Two bombs exploded at a farm school at Melkriver, near Potgietersrus. Damage estimated at R50 000.

● Thursday January 2: At 3am a bomb exploded at the Krugersdorp post office, damaging some 30 shops nearby.

● Thursday January 2: At 2am a bomb exploded at the Verwoerdburg post office, shattering the windows of houses and a church nearby.

● Friday January 3: A bomb exploded at a police training centre at Vaalwater.

● Friday January 3: People claiming to be members of the Wit Wolve claimed responsibility for a small fire in the Receiver of Revenue offices in Boksburg.

SACC condemns spate of bombings

THE South African Council of Churches this week expressed horror at ongoing violence, particularly the bombing of schools and public facilities, violent deaths, including the ambushing of policemen, and attacks on offices and homes of political activists. C/Pres 5/11/92

The council expressed particular concern at the bombing of the Nelspruit Lowveld High School, the Christian Academy in Klerksdorp and the Lichtenburg Technical College. (S) (S)

"Clearly these are efforts to intimidate any movement toward non-racialism in the country, the SACC said." (S)

Reports by CP correspondents and Sapa

Watching death creep closer

C/Prems 5/1/92

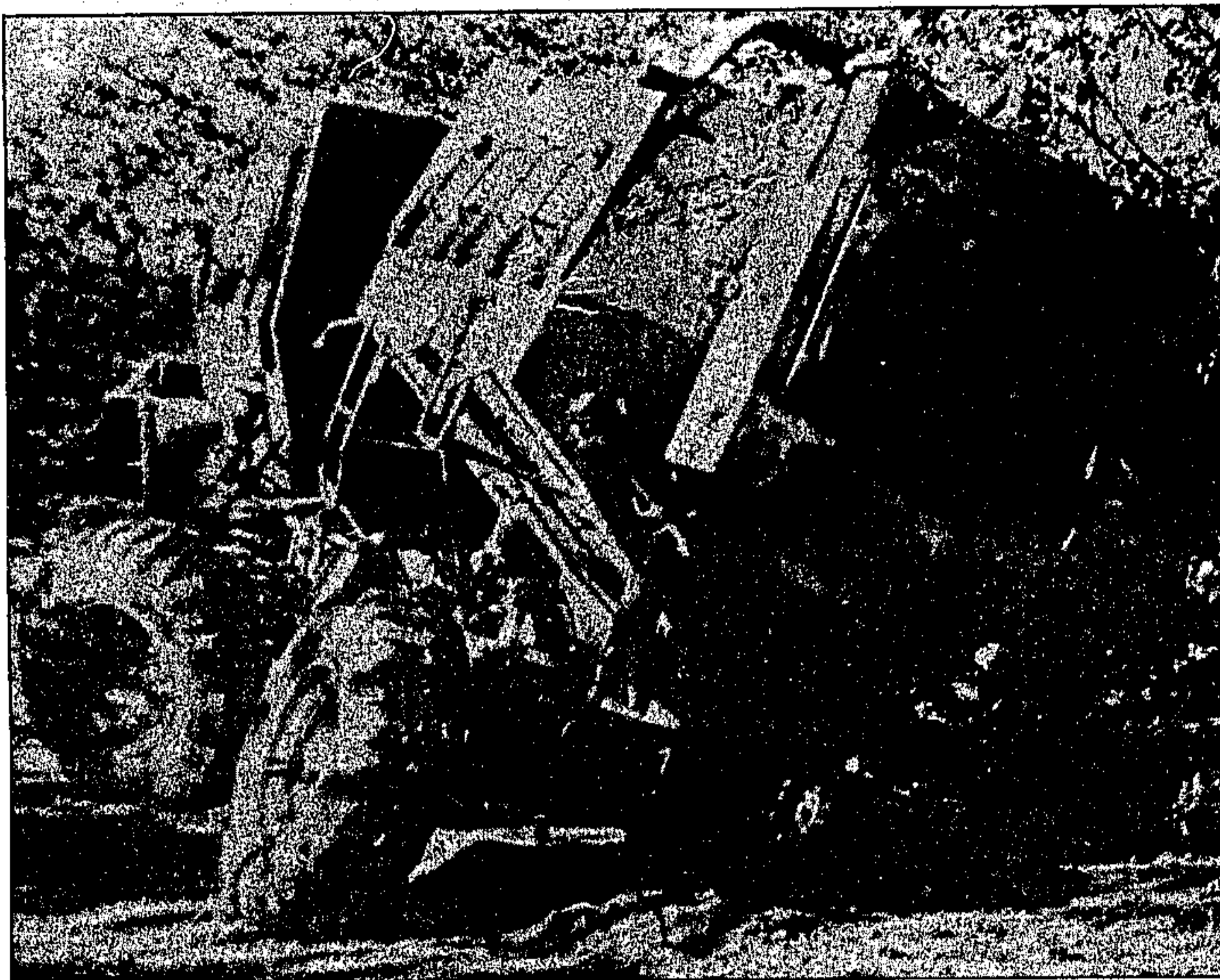
841

In his New Year message ANC president Nelson Mandela expressed concern that although the peace process was underway, the continued incarceration of political prisoners remained a major problem.

Mandela's mention of Mthetheli Mncube and Mzodeteleli Nondula revived memories of one of South Africa's most sensational political trials which in 1988 culminated in Mncube receiving four death sentences and co-accused Nondula six.

The sensational "terror" trial which took place in Messina in the far northern Transvaal, lasted from October 26 1987 to May 5, 1988.

REVELATION
NTOULA, who covered the trial for City Press, recalls events leading up to and following the trial.



WRECKED: The remains of a Buffel military vehicle blown up by a landmine in the "low-intensity war".

WRITING to me from his Pretoria Central Prison death cell, Mthetheli Mncube (then 28) and MK codenamed Caesar, said: "Brother Rev, up to this very moment the words of the judge (Acting Justice J de Villiers) are still sounding in my head: 'You will hang by the neck until you are dead'."

"I did expect it, but to be told it is worse . . .

"From the soldier suffering from the Death Row," signed Thethe Ka Mncube, in a letter stamped May 30, 1988 by prison authorities.

"Brother, to sit and wait in the death row is very painful. I think it is better to die in the battle field rather than wait and watch death coming closer and closer and being defenceless. Oh! it is very cruel," says Mncube in his letter.

Mncube, whose birthday is the same as Nondula's, wrote: "You know, May has been my brightest and darkest (birth and death sentence month) in life. On the 19th I turned 28 and my co-accused (Nondula) turned 25."

The Messina Terror Trial, as it was dubbed, started on the thorny issue of whether or not a low-intensity war situation existed on the Zim-

Great 'terror' trial recalled

babwean-South African border at the time of the series of landmine explosions in the "war zone" between the Zimbabwean border and a large slice of the South African farming section bordering Zimbabwe.

Defence advocate Rodney Black argued that the whole Mncube-Nondula episode had to be viewed against the background of a low-intensity war situation, especially because the ANC had officially declared war on the South African regime at the time.

Black's assertion - which subsequently had a bearing on Mncube's insistence that his involvement in the terror activities must be viewed in the context of a soldier fight-

ing for a just cause - was to become a dominant theme of the six-month trial.

The trial, which involved 10 counts of murder, several of attempted murder, illegal possession of ammunition and high treason, was held at the height of guerrilla warfare between MK and the SADF.

From the ANC side, it marked a new dimension of landmine attacks, which were hitherto unheard of.

This seemingly new tactic, particularly in areas bordering Zimbabwe, had led to a large concentration of South African Security Forces in the Transvaal areas bordering Zimbabwe.

Another side effect of

the MK offensive had led to the formation of boer commandos and heavy arming of white farmers bordering Zimbabwe.

It was in the context of this "low intensity war situation" that defence advocate Black maintained that the Mncube-Nondula trial had to be viewed.

Throughout the trial, Mncube maintained that he ought to be treated like a Prisoner of War or had to be tried, not by a criminal judge, but as a soldier under the Geneva Convention to which the ANC is a signatory, although not the South African Government.

Mncube's view was later supported by internationally renowned lawyer Prof John Dugard of Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies. Dugard pointed out that Mncube, when arrested, carried arms, wore a uniform and was subject to MK military discipline.

When the Messina Trial started on October 26,

1987, it was different from all the then so-called treason or terrorist trials.

The little Messina dorp near the Beitbridge border post suddenly hit the international headlines as the world media, the SADF and the SAP focused on the hitherto little-known country town.

As if the Messina police cells, coupled with all the available security forces, would be a security risk, the two "terrorists" were transported daily between the Potgietersrus Prison and the Messina Court each day.

A unique feature of the trial was that trialists appeared in court in leg chains throughout the proceedings. Also, from time to time they were paraded in front of the media for photographic sessions. Pictures were even taken in court as long as it was not during proceedings.

Court exhibits which included AK-47s and hand-grenades could also

be photographed freely.

There were more security police in court than spectators, most of whom were relatives and friends of the accused.

After advocate Frans Roets had read the lengthy indictment and asked the accused to plead, both refused to do so, maintaining that the court had no jurisdiction over them, particularly because they regarded themselves as MK soldiers and not ordinary criminals.

The court, however, entered pleas of not guilty for both accused, and the sensational trial began.

Several State witnesses ranging from top security policemen, farmers and other civilians told how eight people were killed by landmines in the Messina area between 1984 and 1986.

Two security policemen had allegedly been mown down by Mncube after he had been captured by a large contingent of security forces.

leagues had been killed by the security forces during a skirmish after the heavily armed men had been spotted by a farmer.

This resulted in a hot pursuit which finally led to the killings and Mncube's capture after the MK men had dropped some of their weapons and food.

Recalling the day of his capture and the killing of three of his MK colleagues, Mncube said they had been pursued by security forces for over 40 km. The forces used helicopters, Casspirs and every available vehicle.

After the five (one escaped) had been cornered by the security forces at a koppie near the Zimbabwean border, three of them were shot dead. Mncube said he decided to drop his AK-47 in surrender.

He said his captors stripped him naked, tied his hands with shoelaces and forced him to lie down while the bodies of his three colleagues were piled on top of him.

Later in the day, he was loaded on to an open bakkie with the five AK-47s the security police had captured. His captors were two security policemen who occupied the cab as they drove to Louis Trichardt.

Mncube said he managed to untie his hands during the journey, got hold of an AK-47 rifle and shot and killed his guards through the back window of the cab.

This started a nine-day ordeal during which he wandered around naked, without food and water and armed with an AK-47.

Lack of food and water, according to medical evidence, had caused between 10 and 15 percent dehydration in Mncube.

He was finally recaptured by the security forces and eventually brought to the Messina trial.

Nondula said in his evidence that he had been arrested by Bophuthatswana Police near Mafikeng and was later handed over to the South African security forces. He said he was handcuffed and his legs were chained.

Finally, on April 25, 1988, Judge de Villiers found Mncube and Nondula guilty on 38 counts out of a total of 41.

Bombings condemned

C/Pes 5/11/92
A LEADER of a pro-Afrikaner homeland organisation on Friday strongly condemned the latest spate of bombings, which has been attributed to ultra-right organisations.

Afrikaner Volkswag co-leader Anna Boshoff also denied that the organisation knew of the similarly named "Afrikaner Volkstaat Beweging" which has claimed responsibility for some of the blasts. — Sapa (SAP)

Private armies come under fire

□ From Page 1
have to look at how we can get them under control."

He said that banning them outright was "a possibility".

"But there are other alternatives about which I don't want to speculate. Maybe we will pass a law under which these people can operate."

Mr Kriel was speaking from his seaside holiday cottage near Hermanus.

"I don't know what message there is in blowing up a post office," he said.

"It seems they are scared to do something real, so they go and blow up a post office. This is a coward's way of making a point — people could get injured or die in these attacks."

He said if the right-wing terror campaign was stepped up, the government would prevent it "as far as possible with good policing and good information".

"They are not a more

SI Times 5/11/92
difficult enemy than the ANC was, and our intelligence is good across the political spectrum."

Mr Kriel denied charges that police were "less enthusiastic" in acting against the AWB than they were in carrying out their declared intention of destroying the ANC in the "old" South Africa.

"The Ystergarde (the AWB's private army) are doing nothing illegal at the moment, but we will investigate them this year," he said.

"The information we have about them indicates that they could become serious."

He said although left-wing terror had dropped dramatically in the past two years, there was little difference between MK and the Ystergarde.

"What is true is that while the ANC is willing to talk, the right-wing refuses," he said.

The minister had little consolation for farmers

concerned about their security.

"Their safety is primarily their own responsibility. They have to look after themselves — it is not solely the police's task.

"It is difficult for police to patrol farms in sparsely populated areas. The government withdrew financial support for the Marnet two-way radio system because it was designed for the protection of farmers on the borders, but we might consider the re-introduction of a subsidised rural communication system as a way of combating crime."

Mr Kriel said he was perturbed by the number of attacks on police.

Last year 145 policemen were killed in the line of duty — the highest number ever in South African history. Since January 1, another five have died.

Mr Kriel said "new techniques" would be examined to curb police fatalities, but he would not disclose

them for fear of alerting criminals.

The ratio of policemen to civilians in SA is 1.9 to 1 000. In most Western countries, the proportion of police is twice as high.

But, although between 4 500 and 5 000 members leave the SAP annually, Mr Kriel does not see this as cause for concern.

"The gains made are much bigger than the losses," he said.

Yet, even though SA's murder rate rose by 28 per cent last year, the government is not increasing the size of the police force.

"That is only until we know what our financial position will be in the next fiscal year. We did not recruit more people for the police college because it has an adequate number already."

'We killed cops,' says Apla

CP Reporters and Sapa

C 11/192

THE PAC has claimed responsibility for a recent spate of attacks on policemen in the PWV area.

Five policemen have died so far this year and three have been injured.

The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), has claimed responsibility for the attacks.

The Pan Africanist Student Organi-

sation of Azania (Paso) has supported the actions of Apla saying it was "the beginning of the revolution"

Paso secretary-general Lawrence Nqandela said that for any revolution to succeed "both the SAP and the SADF should be wiped out of existence".

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said Apla had more men inside the country than outside.

844

Rightist terror cells 'elusive'

CT 6/1/92
84A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Clandestine terror groups of right-wing extremists would be extremely difficult to track down and could cause damage and disruption out of all proportion to their numbers, security experts warned at the weekend.

The extreme secrecy and IRA-style cell structure of right-wing saboteurs would make police infiltration of their operations "virtually impossible", said a government security source.

They had thousands of potential targets, and not even "the mobilisation of the entire SADF" could pre-empt attacks.

The saboteurs' advantage was that the security forces could not anticipate their next strike.

Police deputy commissioner Lieutenant-General Mulder van Eyk issued an appeal at the weekend for public co-operation.

Law and Order Minister, Mr Hernus Kriel, has undertaken to examine the issue of private armies.

JOHANNESBURG. — Steps have been taken to tighten security at the first three multiracial government primary schools, which open this week.

This follows bomb attacks on Transvaal schools that have admitted pupils of all races.

Transvaal Education Department executive director Mr Ken Paine said the schools had planned "very carefully for any possible terrorist attacks".

The department had an "emergency plan" and a security committee met once a month to assess the situation at schools.

Security analysts say the aim of the saboteurs could be to make the security forces so defensive that they overreact and resort to "overkill" — arresting large numbers of right-wingers in a desperate attempt to stem bomb attacks.

This would serve to tarnish the image of the police and SADF, particularly on the right wing.

The analysts agree that the number of active right-wing saboteurs is probably very small, but they say the operatives are highly

trained and might have extensive combat experience.

Professor Lloyd Vogelmann, director of Wit's University's Project for the Study of Violence, said the extremists had sophisticated communications networks and their training in the security forces had provided them with important strategic information about how to operate without being detected.

The South African correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Mr Helmut Romer Heitman, said security forces were not trained to "be suspicious of whites" and would take time to adapt.

The head of the Defence Institute of South Africa, Rear-Admiral Chris Bennet, said right-wing extremists' cell system gave them a large degree of autonomy and freedom of action, but they would not be able to establish external bases and would be inhibited by their need for self-sufficiency.

The lack of central command would inhibit the long-term effectiveness of saboteurs, said Professor Karel Nofke, chairman of the Rand Afrikaans University's National Strategy Department.

Right-wing terror 'difficult to stop'

B/day 6/1/92
CLANDESTINE terror groups of right-wing extremists would be extremely difficult to track down and could cause damage and disruption way out of proportion to their numbers, security experts warned at the weekend.

The extreme secrecy and IRA-style cell structure of the right-wing saboteurs would make police infiltration of their operations "virtually impossible", said a government security source.

They had thousands of potential targets, and not even "the mobilisation of the entire SADF" could prevent or pre-empt attacks.

The saboteurs' advantage was that the security forces could not anticipate their next strike, said the source.

Police have announced a substantial reward for information on the saboteurs and have set up a confidential 24-hour telephone service for callers to provide information anonymously.

No arrests have been made after 11 attacks linked to the right wing since December 16. Bombings have caused millions of rands of damage, disrupted services and destroyed buildings.

A government source said the authorities were taking the threat very seriously, particularly because large sectors of SA society were inclined to blame govern-

JONATHAN REES

ment for all types of violence.

SAP deputy commissioner Lt-Gen Mulder van Eyk at the weekend appealed for public co-operation, saying the SAP would do all in its power to avoid further damage and possible bloodshed.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has promised to seriously examine the issue of private armies on the left and right.

Security analysts say the aim of the saboteurs could be to make the security forces so defensive that they overreact and arrest large numbers of right-wingers in a desperate attempt to stem bomb attacks.

This would serve to tarnish the image of the police and SADF in society, particularly on the right wing.

The analysts agree that the number of active right-wing saboteurs is probably very small, but they say the operatives are highly trained and might have extensive combat experience.

Wits University project for the study of violence director Lloyd Vogelmann said the extremists had sophisticated communication networks and their security force training had provided them with important strategic information about operating

To Page 2

Terror

B/day 6/1/92
without detection.

Jane's Defence Weekly SA correspondent Helmut Romer Heitman said the security forces were not trained to "be suspicious of whites" and would take a while to adapt to the new threat of the ultra right.

He said the aim of the terror campaign was probably to cause disruption to services, gain publicity, recruit new members and create the impression that the security forces could not defend the public.

Defence Institute of SA head Rear Admi-

(S/11) 84A From Page 1
ral Chris Bennet said right-wing extremists needed to be accorded more attention by government.

Their cell system gave saboteurs a large degree of autonomy and freedom of action, but they would not be able to establish external bases and would be inhibited by their need for self-sufficiency, he said.

RAU national strategy department chairman Prof Karel Nofke said the lack of central command would inhibit the long-term effectiveness of saboteurs.

Courts may appoint 'lay assessors'

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The public may have a say in the judgment and sentencing of accused in South African courts for the first time from March 1.

This was revealed, along with other far-reaching legal reforms, by Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte last night at the opening of a new small claims court in Boksburg.

Mr Schutte said courts could, with the introduction of the Magistrate's Courts Amendment Act on March 1, appoint "lay assessors" from the community from which the accused came. This would ensure that courts considered factors such as the culture and background of the accused.

In addition, active steps had been taken to implement the Short Process Courts and Mediation in Certain Civil Cases Act, which has been created to short-circuit lengthy civil court proceedings through cheaper, more informal means.

A date for the implementation of these courts and mediation channels would be announced soon, Mr Schutte said.

A small claims court was also to be opened in Soweto, where a strong need for such a facility had been expressed. There are 99 areas in which small claims courts have been instituted, serving 87 percent of the South African population.

Mr Schutte said small claims courts were being used increasingly by all races. At the Johannesburg Small Claims Court, 1 727 summonses were issued from June to December.

Of the 1 727 plaintiffs, 1 302 were black and of these 591 lived in Soweto.

"These statistics clearly demonstrate the need for the establishment of a small claims court closer to Soweto."

Police vow to hunt down PAC army

Staff Reporters

The police are committed to "ruthlessly" and "mercilessly" hunting cadres of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla), inside South Africa.

This was confirmed yesterday by Law and Order Ministry spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

At the same time it was announced that a special police unit, comprising experienced detectives from various units, had been formed in Soweto to investigate attacks on policemen and to plan precautionary measures.

Attacks

In recent weeks Apla has claimed responsibility for various attacks on policemen.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Soweto police said the policemen had been drawn from the murder and robbery unit, the motor vehicle theft unit and the firearm recovery unit of Soweto.

Colonel Halgryn said the unit would operate on a 24-hour basis. He asked the public to report information regarding planned attacks on policemen.

All information would be treated confidentially. The Commissioner of Police had offered a R25 000 reward for information leading to the successful arrest of those responsible for these attacks.

The telephone number, which could also be used to supply information concerning the unlawful possession of firearms, is (011) 980-8321.

The unit had already had success after information was received about a minibus stolen in Johannesburg on Monday.

Colonel Halgryn said members of the special unit spotted the stolen vehicle in Diepkloof. They had ordered the driver to stop but the passengers started shooting at the policemen, who gave chase.

Two of the robbers fell out of the minibus as it went round a bend. One was killed in the fall and one fled. The bus then turned into a cul-de-sac in Nancefield. More shots were fired at the police who returned fire. A second robber died when he was shot by the police. A fourth man fled.

Soweto police have also arrested a murder suspect they had been looking for since October 1990 when he had allegedly shot and killed a policeman in Soweto.

PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama said this week that he felt satisfaction every time a policeman was killed.

Discussing the continuing campaign by Apla to assassinate policemen, Mr Phama, speaking on a Radio 702 talk show, said members of the SAP and SADF were "serving a master that has got a programme against the people."

"The history of the SAP and SADF is bad — there is no aspect of humanity about it," Mr Phama said.

Grenade attack on home

By JOE MDHLELA

Sowetan 8/1/92
A GRENADE rocked the home of Miss Hilda Mavuso yesterday, causing extensive damage to her Zola 1 four-roomed home.

Mavuso (38) believes the attack was politically motivated.

She said her two daughters, Fikile and Nki, are members of the African National Congress Youth League.

"I would appreciate it if my children are left alone to belong to a political organisation of their choice," Mavuso said.

Anonymous warning of more attacks if tour goes ahead

Blasts

STAR 8/1/92

848

Anti-Simon grenade

Staff Reporters

APR

Only hours after superstar Paul Simon arrived in South Africa yesterday, two grenades were thrown at the Johannesburg offices of companies associated with his Ellis Park concerts.

Colonel Frans Malherbe, liaison officer for the Witwatersrand police, said two Soviet-made grenades, "one positively identified as an F-1 hand grenade" were hurled at the building housing the premises of the PA Sound Corporation, at the corner of Main and Goud streets, at about 11 pm.

The firm will be responsible for the sound at Simon's concerts.

No one was injured in the blasts, which shattered windows but caused no structural damage. Colonel Malherbe said investigators believed the grenades were hurled from a passing car.

He said the attack had not affected security arrangements for the stadium concerts.

"The possibility of hand grenades was part of our planning in the first instance... We will do our utmost to safeguard everyone at the stadium."

An anonymous caller, purporting to be a representa-



Mr Graceland... an excited welcome for Paul Simon.

Picture: Sean Woods

tive of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) — the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania — contacted

Sapa late last night, claiming responsibility. The caller added that the attack was in support of "a call by the Azanian Youth

Organisation that the tour of Paul Simon must be stopped". He warned that further attacks would take place if the

tour continued.

Just a few hours before the blast, the American superstar landed at Jan Smuts Airport at 5.30 pm yesterday, paused for the press and was immediately whisked away under tight security.

With his tour threatened by protests and possible violence from Azapo and the PAC, Simon will perform under the tightest security yet arranged at Ellis Park.

Tour promoters let press photographers take pictures of Simon, but barred print journalists from talking to him. Later he granted an exclusive interview to SABC television.

In the interview Simon

He had had a few second thoughts about doing the tour "because we announced the tour months ago and the negotiations have been going on for six months. I was under the impression that everything was understood and agreed upon".

He had had a few second thoughts about doing the tour until he had spoken to organisers and heard that the SA Musicians Alliance, the ANC, the IFP and the Government had expressed their continued support for the tour.

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

JONATHON REES

ANC warns against killing policemen

PRETORIA — The ANC warned yesterday that attacks which resulted in deaths of policemen could drive the SAP into the hands of the right wing.

Military analysts have speculated that certain groups could be trying to create "liberated zones" in townships by assassinating security force members. ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC wanted a liberated SA, not liberated zones.

He said the ANC supported calls for the SAP to serve the entire SA population. But this would not be achieved by the systematic elimination of police members.

In the last year, about 150 SAP members have been killed on duty. The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation

Army (Apla), has claimed responsibility for a number of the attacks.

Macozoma said the ANC was "not partial" to the murder of policemen and was not convinced that recent killings were the work of Apla as this was not consistent with PAC policy.

He said it was counter-productive to kill policemen while Codesa was discussing the reform of the SAP.

It was reported yesterday that PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama told a Radio 702 talk show this week he felt satisfaction whenever a policeman was killed.

'Soweto suburb highly explosive' warning

There was a "highly explosive" situation in Zola Section 1, Soweto, after an early morning hand grenade attack on the house of a local ANC executive member, PWV violence monitoring commission convener Floyd Mashele warned yesterday.

Mr Mashele said Zola residents were bracing for further violence. STAR 81192

A grenade was hurled into the dining room of the house in Zola at 2 am yesterday, causing extensive damage but no injuries.

Mr Mashele claimed it was aimed at local ANC executive member Fikile Mavuso and local ANC Youth League executive member Nki Mavuso.

Police confirmed a grenade attack in Zola yesterday in their unrest bulletin. — Sapa.

5700 8/11/92

Reward for info on blasts

84A

Nelspruit police have confirmed that a "substantial reward" is being offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the explosions at the Lowveld High School on New Year's Day.

Rightwingers held over bomb attack

Sowetan 7/1/92

THREE rightwingers have been arrested in connection with the bomb attack at Melkrievier School in the Far Northern Transvaal.

The three men, who have not yet been named by the police, are being held for being in possession of explosives and in connection with a recent bomb blast at a farm school near Potgietersrus on January 2.

Commissioner of the SA Police General Johan van der Merwe, yesterday described the arrests as a major breakthrough in investigations into the recent spate of bombings.

Further arrests could be expected, he said.

No stone unturned

"These arrests once again demonstrate the determination of the SA Police to act against all perpetrators of terrorism, irrespective of the quarter from which they emanate.

"The SAP will leave no stone unturned in tracking down these offenders and bringing them to book," Van der Merwe said.

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday he knew of at least one man in custody - Boerekommando leader Gawie Volschenk.

He said Volschenk had apparently been arrested at his office in Hendrina on Monday.

Police immediately started a search after two white men were allegedly seen running away from the school grounds about 2.30pm.

Extensive damage was caused to the building, which was intended as a SAP training centre.

Rightwing leaders have protested against the arrests. Boere Kommando acting leader Wiehan Steynberg said the organisation wished to protest "in the strongest possible terms" against the arrests. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

Police hope to make more bomb arrests soon

STAR
Staff Reporters 9/1/92

The arrest of three rightwingers in connection with a bomb blast at the Melkriver School near Potgietersrus on January 2 could lead to breakthroughs on the spate of explosions across the country since last month, a Ministry of Law and Order official said today.

The men who were arrested this week are being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Although police did not name the three, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder yesterday said one of them was Boerekommando leader Gawie Volschenk.

A well-placed source today confirmed reports that the other two are Carel van der Merwe and Gerhard Roux, both of Kempton Park.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were optimistic that there could be further arrests in connection with their investigation of 14 explosions at schools, magistrates' courts and post offices since last month.

Meanwhile, as police continued their hunt for alleged Pan Africanist Congress military wing police killers, three organisations with links to the liberation movements have condemned the killings.

The SA Communist Party, the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union and the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal have told the PAC that attacks on policemen by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), are unacceptable. This follows the ANC's condemnation of the attacks.

● Sapa reports that Avril Budd, chairman of the Support Police Action Group, yesterday demanded the immediate banning of the PAC and Apla.

School bombing: three held

PRETORIA — The leader of an AWB splinter group and two other men were arrested by police yesterday in connection with the recent bombing of a far northern Transvaal farm school earmarked by the SAP for use as a training college.

Police said Boerekommando leader Gawie Volschenk was detained at his Hendrina business under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act — the first arrest to date in the recent spate of bombings linked to the extreme right wing.

It is understood that Volschenk and two young men are also being questioned in connection with illegal possession of explosives. Police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said further arrests could be expected. Volschenk was being held in con-

(85) (86) (847)
JONATHON REES

nection with an explosion at Melkrivier School between Potgietersrus and Vaalwater, he said.

Volschenk, formerly a senior eastern Transvaal commander of AWB military wing Wenkommando, was allegedly a kingpin in the right-wing disruption of ANC president Nelson Mandela's speech at the University of Pretoria last year.

□ Police said yesterday an explosion caused extensive damage at a primary school at Ellisras in the far northwestern Transvaal. The school was recently handed over to the Department of Education and Training.

Arrests a breakthrough, say police

From PATRICK COLLINGS

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior police officers yesterday described the arrest of three suspected right-wing bombers as a major breakthrough in their investigations into right-wing terror attacks and said they expected further arrests.

Although police refused to release the names of the men, who are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, the ultra-right Boere-kommando identified one of the men

as its leader, Mr Gawie Volschenk. Acting leader of the Boerekommando Mr Wiehahn Steynberg said despite their efforts his organisation had been unable to identify the other two men.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said the association of two of the detained men with the Boerekommando was being investigated.

He said the men had been arrested in connection with the January 2 ex-

position at the Melkriver Primary School, about 40km outside Potgietersrus in the far Northern Transvaal.

Police said the empty school was earmarked as a training school for the South African Police.

The Melkriver bomb blast was one of the latest in a recent wave of bombings of public buildings by suspected right-wing extremists. The targets were mainly post offices, or schools which had opted to admit pupils of all races.

A senior police source, who asked not to be named, yesterday said the men were "tight-lipped", but they predicted the arrests would help in the unravelling of right-wing terror cells.

Mr Steynberg, who has said the arrest could be directly linked to the ongoing attempt by the Afrikaner Broederbond to discredit right-wing leaders, said he did not know whether Mr Volschenk was involved in any bomb attacks.

PRIVATE ARMIES FM 10/1/92

Deadly and futile

84A

Government will soon examine the whole issue of private armies. Various options — such as a ban on the military drilling of large numbers in such armies — are being weighed and legislation to ban them outright is not excluded, says Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

Armed struggle, he argues, is doomed militarily and politically because it has been overtaken by the negotiation process. "Liberation through negotiation is the only way forward." Well, yes, but dangerous men may think otherwise.

Kotze's remarks follow the recent spate of bombings, including one on an open (that is, nonracial) school in the Lowveld. The incidents have been linked to far Right groups. Police have identified no fewer than 13 paramilitary groups, such as the Iron Guards (*Ystergarde*) on the far Right. There have been 11 terror attacks of this kind since mid-December; they have destroyed buildings and disrupted services, causing millions of rands in damage. Arrests have yet to be made. According to the Human Rights Commission, from July to December 1990 there were 45 rightwing attacks in which 26 people were killed and 138 injured. (Figures for last year are still being compiled.)

Kotze identifies a direct link between the inflammatory statements of demagogues (from the Left or Right) and an upsurge of violence. He says it's interesting that the recent wave came after AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche "declared war" on the Codesa talks — particularly in the event of its decisions becoming law.

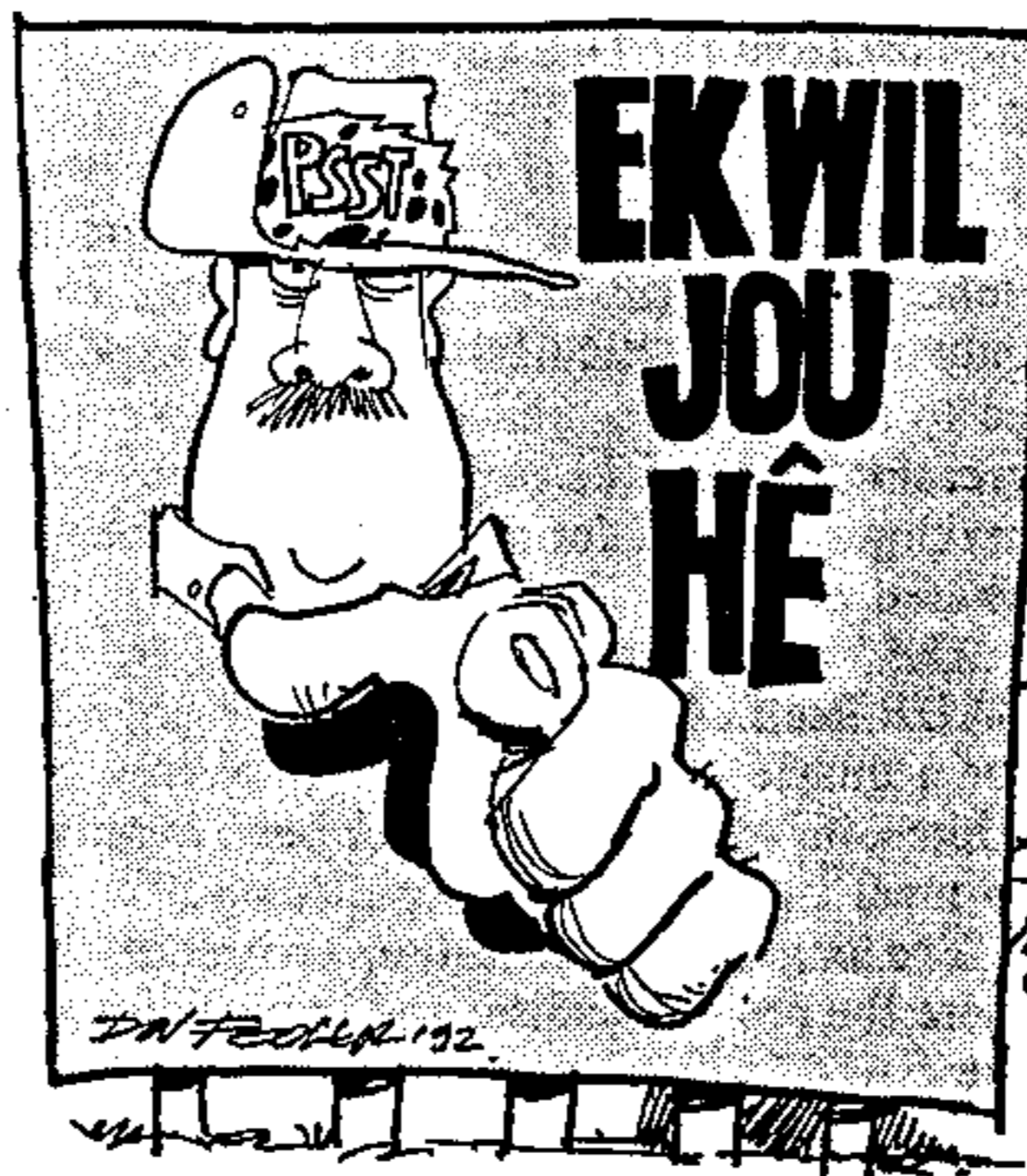
Dealing with the question of why private armies have come to the fore, Kotze says: "An important ingredient must be the existence of demagogues who prey on the insecurities of whites." In the final analysis, he adds, the far Right should remember that any so-called liberation war is in fact a declaration of war against the SA Police, which they claim to support. They should also be blamed, in part, for the rise in crime because their activities mean that more police are taken from regular duties to combat unrest — in which 30% of the force is already now engaged.

Though their numbers are small — a couple of thousand at most, according to analysts — there is no doubt that things could become very nasty indeed should these bands of former policemen and soldiers run amok. They are better organised, more mobile and skilled in their deadly craft than the MK, the ANC's military wing, ever was. And they are as ruthless as they are racist.

At the end of the day, however, these private armies will not be a factor in derailing the political negotiation process —

though they could impose extra costs on it, says Wits University political scientist Tom Lodge. There is no evidence to indicate that rightwing private armies represent more than a tiny minority of Afrikaners. It was significant that the headmaster of the Lowveld school that was bombed said the school would carry on regardless. He must know what will and will not wash among the local school establishment.

According to Kotze, the characteristics of a far Right struggle differ from those of a far Left struggle. Whereas the ANC, for example, had a centralised command structure, the Right's fragmentation makes it more difficult to combat, operating as these groups do on the cell structure of a handful of



terrorists.

"But we have cracked them in the past," says Kotze, pointing to a 90%-95% success rate against rightwing violence. "We're positioned to deal it; we saw rightwing violence coming a long time ago. There is no doubt that we have the will and capability to deal with them." While the police do not underestimate the Right, he adds, "we don't underestimate our own capability."

But the police can act only in terms of the law, which, it appears, could soon be tightened to tame private armies. Further, says Kotze, alluding to the ANC's MK, "we can't take action against one such army and leave the rest."

The ANC, of course, does not regard MK as a private army, which the police certainly do. Rather, they see it as a "people's army" or "an army of the oppressed" of which the ANC happens to be the custodian. An MK spokesman maintains that if MK is regarded by the State as a private army, then, so too is the SA Defence Force the private army of the NP.

The matter of disbanding MK is fraught with difficulty, as ANC president Nelson Mandela's unprecedented attack on President FW de Klerk, who had raised the matter at Codesa last month, shows. While the ANC has suspended MK operations, it refuses to disband it at this stage of the transitional process.

The question is, what will MK's status be when and if the ANC joins an interim government and the justification for maintaining it becomes less tenable?

In addition to violence from the ultraright, there is, of course, the war on Codesa and the State declared by the PAC — or, more specifically, its armed wing, Apla (Azanian People's Liberation Army), which has claimed responsibility for the killing of policemen recently. How many is difficult to establish. The police will confirm such claims only after their own investigations, suspecting that Apla is not averse to tagging on to its claims certain slayings that are the result of pure criminal activity.

"We have an enormous problem with Apla's stated intention to kill policemen," says Kotze. Though aware of Apla's onslaught, he points to the distinction that must be made in police terms between such claims and intentions on the one hand, and criminal actions on the other. The same applies to rightwing armies.

It is generally thought that the PAC's armed wing poses far less of a threat than do those of the white Right. "We think Apla is a rag-bag force which can't seriously think of winning against the SA Police," says Kotze, adding that last month police arrested an alleged three-man Apla hit squad in Bloemfontein.

It would seem that a political solution is the only way to deal with private armies — a view expressed by Lloyd Vogelmann, director of the Wits Project for the Study of Violence, and endorsed by Kotze.

The sooner political negotiations deliver a settlement, the more squeezed out will extremists find themselves. ■

TALKS FM 10/1/92 Something in common

Perhaps spurred on by the Codesa talks, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Zulus seem ready for more dialogue with third parties.

There was this week's cordial meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and CP leader Andries

We're out to cripple cops Apla

Soweto 10/11/92
By JOE MDHLELA

THE killing of policemen was part of a strategy to paralyse the South African Police and Defence Force, Azanian People's Liberation Army secretary Mr Sabelo Phaama said yesterday.

Speaking from Harare, Zimbabwe, Phaama said Apla's strategy was to demoralise the police.

He said police could expect more action from Apla cadres.

"The SAP and the SADF are pillars of oppression which should be destroyed because they have perpetrated the worst atrocities against our people," Phaama said.

It was the police who were escalating black-on-black violence in the townships.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said the killing of policemen could not be justified.

"Apla should be ashamed to accept responsibility for such a despicable and a cowardly deed," he said.

He said police would not allow these attacks to deter them from performing their duties.

Meanwhile, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tien'e Halgryn said they could not confirm that an Apla cadre had been arrested.

STAR 10/11/92
School bombed, but learning goes on

By Mckeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

Monday night's bombing of Marong Farm School, near Warmbaths, will not affect the education of the children, says the Department of Education and Training.

The school, situated between Vaalwater and Ellisras, is one of several empty white schools to be occupied by black pupils under the DET.

A spokesman for the northern Transvaal region of the DET,

Thomas Kekana, said extensive damage had been caused to the buildings, but the department would soon start with repairs.

Mr Kekana said the incident would not affect learning in the area since the children would continue with classes at their old mud school until Marong was ready for reoccupation.

Although a number of explosives were placed at the school, including the principal's residence, only those placed at the main building exploded.

Apla chief speaks out on police killings

WIMail 10/11-16/1/92
841

By WALLY MBHELE

THE South African Police and Defence Force are the first targets in the Azanian People's Liberation Army's programme of action against the "machinery of oppression", says its military commander, Seabelo Phama.

Speaking from his home in Harare, Zimbabwe, Phama told *The Weekly Mail* on Wednesday that Apla, which is the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, "must first look at the most important pillars of apartheid before we suspend the armed struggle".

The SAP and SADF "are harassing our people in their homes, on trains and in the townships. Apla's attacks are only directed against the main instruments of oppression and enemy agents," he said.

Asked who constituted "enemy agents", Phama, who is also the PAC's defence secretary, said all elements of the "SADF, Civil Co-operation Bureau, Askaris (former guerrillas turned security agents), and uniformed or plain-clothes police" qualified.

Phama rejected a call made on Wednesday by the South African Communist Party, the Cosatu-aligned Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) and the Civic Association of South Africa (Cast) for the PAC and Apla to reconsider the tactic of attacking policemen.

At a joint press conference, the three organisations stressed that not all policemen were part of the violence orchestrated by the state: "Many share with us the vision for a future democratic, non-racial South Africa and are potential allies in the liberation struggle."

About 150 policemen have been killed in the past year. Apla has claimed responsibility for the recent spate of police killings on the Reef.

In a telephone call to the South African Press Association last Thursday, a man calling himself Carlson Zimbiri claimed responsibility for the ambush of two policemen in Dobsonville, saying the attack had been executed by three Apla operatives.

The attack came in the wake of an announcement by Minister of Law and Order Herpus Kriel offering a R25 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone involved in attacks on police.

Phama told *The Weekly Mail* Apla's latest offensive was not aimed at scuttling the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) or the peace initiative. "Codesa is not part and parcel of our programme of action ... We are still watching and we are quite optimistic about it," he said.

But, he warned, "although we are optimistic, we are still very bitter against the regime".

Apla's operations were not only aimed at stopping the police from "being used by the racist regime", but also at decreasing any "machinery" supporting the government.

"With the recent implication of the police in the so-called African National Congress and Inkatha violence in the townships and on trains, we came to understand that the people behind this violence are the police. It became clear that it was high time we took action against them," Phama said.

In a radio talk show on Tuesday night, Phama said he felt satisfaction when he saw a policeman killed. But, he told *The Weekly Mail*, "Apla knows how to protect those individual policemen who give valuable information about the enemy to the liberation movement".

School blast (34) suspects named

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
The two right-wingers
arrested earlier this
week with Boerekom-
mando leader Mr Gawie
Volschenk have been
identified by informed
sources as Mr Carel van
der Merwe and Mr Ger-
hard Roux. ET 10/1/92

Police have refused to
confirm the names. The
men were arrested in
connection with the Jan-
uary 2 explosion at the
Melkrivier Primary
School in the Northern
Transvaal.

Give in to their demands, and watch PAC sidelined and policemen cheer

STAR 11/11 92

HISTORY is a bloody long time. I mean that literally and figuratively. There has been an awful lot of history and much of it has been very bloody.

Which is why I fail to understand all the fuss about the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) shooting policemen.

Sure, it's heinous and vile. But can you explain the difference between this and setting bombs in Wimpy Bars or in parked cars outside air force headquarters in Pretoria?

And where's the difference between this and police Trojan Horse ambushes or the CCB death squads?

The problem with history is that because it goes on for so long, we tend to forget.

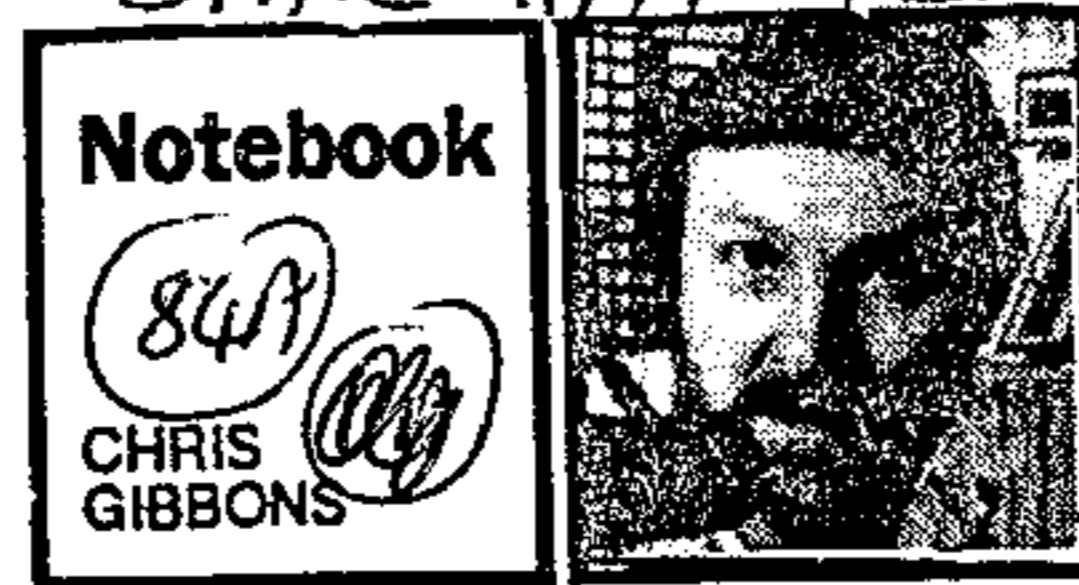
We forget that it's not yet two years since the ANC was unbanned.

Nor is it 10 years since the introduction of the tricameral Parliament and the uprisings that followed. It's not even 50 years since the National Party came to power, bringing with it formal, legalised apartheid.

It's ironical, in a sense, that gasps of shock and horror at Apla's killing of policemen come from both the Government and the ANC, both of which were so very recently engaged in killing each other.

Now, of course, they are engaged in a very delicate, still quite distant, but nonetheless promising, game of footsie-footsie.

Contrary to popular opinion, the PAC, whose political child Apla is,



has not renounced the armed struggle. On the contrary. It has re-emphasised that the struggle will continue against appropriate targets until it has achieved its aims.

Those were sentiments expressed until very recently by the ANC, which, in its day, regularly attacked policemen. Why should the PAC now do differently?

Bear in mind that these tactics also gained much ground for the ANC in the townships, especially among the radical youth.

Now the PAC, seeing the ANC poised to form a large part of the next government, follows the same route. History repeats itself.

The challenge for the politicians now lies in how to engage the threat posed by the PAC's armed wing.

If, for example, the violence is allowed to escalate, more and more policemen will become demoralised.

There will be an increasing reluctance on their part to answer genuine emergency calls or to undertake routine patrols. Society will slide closer to anarchy.

At the same time, other fringe

groups will start to use violence to carve out more political prestige and territory.

We already have Apla claiming responsibility for the attack on the offices housing the promoters of the Paul Simon tour.

The ANC itself may start to lose support to the extreme Left, as a result. Its negotiating position could become much more hardline.

The answer, I believe, lies in taking the battle to the PAC, much as the De Klerk Government took the battle to the ANC. Not on a physical, but on a political level.

Mr de Klerk engaged the ANC by admitting the justice of its demands, unbanning it and releasing Mr Mandela. In the same way, the parties involved in the current negotiations should concede the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly, and press ahead to consolidate their own political positions. The faster this is done, the stronger the moderate centre parties will emerge.

But if radical leftist organisations are allowed to use violence to make their points for any lengthy period of time, they will attract support, especially from the growing mass of unemployed youngsters.

A constituent assembly elected in the next three or four months would not only consolidate the ANC and the National Party, but also sideline the PAC once and for all.

It would also save the lives of quite a few policemen.

Police legitimate target, says PAC

STAR 11/1/92.

'System's robots must be destroyed'

THE Pan Africanist Congress has refused to condemn the policy of its military wing to attack policemen.

It said the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had an "historical responsibility to prosecute the struggle".

Apla's target was "the structures of the apartheid regime".

"The SA Police is at the forefront of the repression of our people and is a legitimate target.

"The policemen are robots of the system and should be sought out and destroyed," PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani said.

The PAC would not

apologise to anyone for Apla's policy of attacking policemen and SADF forces.

"The role of the police is a collaborative one with the apartheid machine. In news reports a misconception seems to exist that black policemen should not be attacked as they are also victims of the system.

"We find this romanticising of policemen as guardians and angels of peace surprising. The hard, unpalatable cold fact is that they have killed our people starting

in 1960 at Sharpeville and in 1976 in Soweto.

"Through their hit squads on trains they are continuing to do so.

"They should leave the force if they don't want to be attacked. Azania is liberating itself and the people are fighting back. Whether policemen are black or white is not the issue, but rather their support of the Right by serving in the force."

The PAC was a disciplined liberation organisation with a certain historical role, he argued. It was committed to all forms of

struggle.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order criticised the PAC for supporting attacks on policemen and warned that the perpetrators of such attacks would be ruthlessly hunted down.

Captain Craig Kotze said it was clear that the PAC was out of step with the broad consensus, including that of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, that the killing of policemen was unacceptable.

"We have nothing against PAC supporters per se but clearly where individual PAC members break the law, such as the Apla does or claims to do, then they will be dealt with in terms of the law."

— Sapa.

We back attacks on cops

South Africa
12/11/92
— PAC

By MONWABISI
NOMADOLO

THE PAC has reaffirmed its support of attacks on policemen carried out by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

This follows a statement of support made last week by the Pan Africanist Students Organisation of Azania (Paso) which said it rendered its "ultimate support for the mighty Apla".

Paso said the "brutality of the racist regime" had to be taken into account. PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani told a press conference on Friday that his organisation perceived the SADF and the SAP as President FW de Klerk's "private army" and therefore a "state oppressive machinery".

The SADF and the SAP were the first targets in Apla's programme of action against the "machinery of oppression". Apla's military commander, Seabelo Phama, was quoted as saying in a weekly newspaper.

Speaking from his home in Harare, Phama was quoted as saying the security forces were "harassing our people in their homes, on trains and in the townships".

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said Apla had more men inside the country than in their camps in the Frontline states.

Nemasivhanani reaffirmed the PAC's position that the attacks were not aimed at sabotaging the progress made at Codesa or undermining the National Peace Accord.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said 151 policemen have died since last year, including five killed this year.

Apla claimed responsibility for the recent killing of five policemen in the PWV area.

Opperman said there was a R25 000 reward from the police for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of anyone who has murdered a policeman.

However, the attacks have also drawn condemnation from several bodies.

The SACC, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, the SACP, the Cosatu-aligned Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) condemned the attacks and urged the organisation to reconsider its strategy.

MK exiles complain to Hani at camp

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR
14/1/92

Exiled Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers complained to MK chief of staff Chris Hani, during his recent seven-day visit to a camp in Uganda, about his long absence from training camps.

Mr Hani visited the still-exiled members of the ANC's armed wing for the first time since his return to South Africa after the organisation's unbanning in 1990.

Mr Hani told The Star that MK cadres at a Ugandan training camp had expressed concern about his two-year absence.

"My reply was that I could not justify it. (I said) it was wrong, but I pointed out that I have been building the ANC internally," he said.

Mr Hani, who was recently elected general-secretary of the SA Communist Party — but retains his MK leadership position — is scheduled to visit a guerilla camp in Tanzania soon.

The aim of the series of visits is to evaluate MK's training programme; check on logistics such as food, uniforms and recreation; and brief cadres on developments in South Africa since February 2 1990.

Mr Hani said that contrary to widespread speculation about dissatisfaction in the camps over the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, cadres did not raise the question with him.

"It's not an issue. Cadres have accepted it," Mr Hani said.

He reiterated the ANC position — stated by Nelson Mandela during his clash with President de Klerk at last year's Convention for a Democratic South Africa — that the armed struggle would be abandoned and cadres returned to South Africa only once an interim government was in place.

MK's officer corps was currently undergoing military training in India, Uganda and Tanzania in order to convert from a guerilla army to a conventional one, he said. Rank-and-file troops would follow.

A new book finds serious flaws in the long prosecution of the 'People's War' reports Stanley Uys

Did SACP sink armed struggle?

STAR 16/1/92

~~84A~~ 84A

If Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba are correct in their new book, "Comrades Against Apartheid", the ANC's armed struggle was not only a failure, but a failure directly attributable to the SA Communist Party, because it masterminded the struggle.

Stephen Ellis, former editor of Africa Confidential, and Tsepo Sechaba, the pen-name of an African who is still a member of both the ANC and SACP (and presumably still divulging confidential information?), set out in their book to demonstrate that the SACP had a stranglehold over the ANC in the long years of exile (the book stops at February 1990, the dawn of the enlightenment), and that this stranglehold applied particularly to the armed struggle.

The book is in the hands of various reviewers on whose territory I do not propose to trespass. But I would like to offer a thought or two on the armed struggle, because although Ellis and Sechaba have pronounced its failure, it is still an issue of conflict between the Government and the ANC.

Also, the PAC and Azapo are trying to activate their own

armed struggles in what seems to be a rather desperate attempt to prevent being flattened by mainstream Codesa politics. Surely, armed struggle will lead the PAC and Azapo even further away from the mainstream?

When the ANC was banned in 1960, and decided to create Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), two communists, according to Ellis and Sechaba, were sent to Moscow to organise supplies. They were Joe Slovo and the late J.B. Marks.

This was the SACP's immediate advantage — it had the international connections, the backing of a superpower that was prepared to fund the armed struggle and provide its military hardware. It could create a dependence relationship with the ANC.

In the opinion of Ellis-Sechaba, the armed struggle profoundly affected the nature of the ANC-SACP alliance: the ANC lost the character of a mass movement and became more elitist. The SACP for its part had never been a mass movement, always seeing itself as a "vanguard" party.

Mr Slovo, the authors claim, was MK's chief strategist. He concentrated on developing the

SACP's strength in MK, believing that MK would become the ANC's most important department.

In this belief he was "vindicated". But at what cost to the ANC's structure as a mass movement?

The ANC-SACP did not expect to bring down the South African Government with bombs, but it believed the armed struggle would alter the political context, rendering the ground more fertile for future political action.

It would also be useful to test the mettle of cadres.

It would prepare the way for a "People's War" — local defence units with grenade squads and street committees who would be the nerve centre of an uprising.

MK's strategy was to establish bases in the Frontline states and then infiltrate guerrillas and weapons. The key to the planned insurrection was for MK "to establish organised and armed squads ... which could operate autonomously inside the country".

Only then could MK consider that the phase of what it termed armed propaganda had passed indisputably into the People's War.

However the security forces "had both the means and the will

to prevent a popular insurrection by detaining any number of suspected organisers of anti-Government agitation or violence and by setting black communities against one another by encouraging the formation of vigilantes.

"Also, one by one, the policy of destabilisation ... closed down MK's networks and bases within striking distance of South Africa."

South Africa's neighbours paid a heavy price, too, for the armed struggle.

Ellis and Sechaba concede that the SADF took MK "very seriously", and that the armed struggle achieved what most armed struggles achieve — recruiting new members and keeping the organisation's name upfront.

But their verdict is that the SACP, and the ANC, "which looked to the party for strategic direction, placed too much importance on the armed struggle for too long."

"For all the period of exile, the party put its faith in armed struggle, believing that ... it was at the heart of its strategy".

The armed struggle, the authors claim, was central to the strategy of both the SACP and the ANC,

and it failed.

"The blunt fact is that MK failed to overthrow the South African state by force, which was its purpose ...

"The mobilisation of the entire resources of the state in a counter-revolution strategy in South Africa and the neighbouring countries, the Lesotho coup, and the effectiveness of Pretoria's espionage system added up to a comprehensive defeat for MK and the strategy adopted by the ANC and the Communist Party since the 1960s."

Ellis and Sechaba place the blame for this defeat squarely on the SACP, which, they say, turned MK into its personal fief, and also that Oliver Tambo's leadership coincided with the SACP "gradually taking over the central role in ANC policy making".

The SACP, without ever being able to dislodge Joe Modise, packed key MK posts with its own men, particularly Chris Hani.

It was Mr Hani and Steve Tshwete, the authors say, who decided to attack soft targets — for which they were publicly repudiated by Oliver Tambo who sacked Mr Tshwete as political

commissar.

The ANC-SACP will argue that denied constitutional protest in South Africa and forced into exile, it had no choice other than to embark on an armed struggle. But the point Ellis and Sechaba make is that too much emphasis was placed on this form of struggle.

The authors portray ANC President Nelson Mandela in a more far-seeing role.

"Like de Klerk," they say, "he recognised relatively early that the time for armed struggle was over ... and that South Africans had to resolve their differences by political means."

"It is impossible to imagine any other person who would have had the authority and the vision to have accomplished this ..."

The question MK and its strategists should answer is whether the concept of a People's War (much of it learned from a visit to Vietnam) was ever a viable one.

It will be difficult enough to reconstruct South Africa through negotiations and consensus: through a People's War, the country would have been reduced to rubble. Any comment Mr Slovo? Mr Hani? □

LONDON - If Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba are correct in their new book *Comrades Against Apartheid* the ANC's armed struggle was a failure.

The books also argues that the failure is directly attributable to the South African Communist Party because it mas-termined the struggle.

Stephen Ellis, former editor of *Africa Confidential*, and Tsepo Sechaba, the pen name of a writer who is still a member of both the ANC and SACP set out in their book to demonstrate that the SACP had a stranglehold over the ANC in the long years of exile.

The enlightenment

The book stops at February 1990, the dawn of the enlightenment, and that this stranglehold applied particularly to the armed struggle.

The book is in the hands of various reviewers on whose territory I do not propose to trespass. But I would like to offer a thought or two on the armed struggle, because although Ellis and Sechaba have pronounced its failure, it is still an issue of conflict between the Government and the ANC.

Rather desperate

Also the PAC and Azapo are trying to activate their own armed struggles in what seems to be a rather desperate attempt to prevent being flattened by mainstream Codesa politics.

Surely armed struggle will lead the PAC and Azapo even further away from the mainstream?

When the ANC was banned in 1960, and decided to create Umkhonto weSizwe, two communists, according to Ellis and Sechaba, were sent to Moscow to organise supplies. They were the late JB Marks and Joe Slovo.

The backing

This was the SACP's immediate advantage - it had the international connections, the backing of a superpower that was prepared to fund the armed struggle and provide its military hardware. It could create a dependence relation-

A case for a farwell

to arms

Sowetan 16/1/92

SUP

The armed struggle was a failure and the blame lies on the doorstep of the SACP, argue the authors of a new book. *Sowetan* Correspondent STANLEY UYS reports from London.



ship with the ANC. In the opinion of Ellis and Sechaba, the armed struggle profoundly affected the nature of the ANC-SACP alliance: the ANC lost the character of a mass movement and became more elitist.

Vanguard

The SACP for its part had never been a mass movement, always seeing itself as a vanguard party. Slovo, the authors claim, was MK's chief strategist, believing that MK would become the ANC's most important department. In this belief he was "vindicated". The ANC-SACP did not expect to bring down the South African Govern-

ment with bombs, but it believed the armed struggle would alter the political context, rendering the ground more fertile for future political action. It would also be useful to test the mettle of cadres and harden them. It would prepare the way for a People's

"to establish organised and armed squads... which could operate autonomously inside the country. Only then could MK consider that the phase of what it termed armed propaganda had passed indisputably into the People's War".

Squads

The key to the planned insurrection was for MK War - local defence units with grenade squads and street committees who would be the nerve centre of an uprising. MK's strategy was to establish bases in the Front Line States and then infiltrate guerrillas and weapons.

No choice

The ANC-SACP will argue that, denied constitutional protest in South Africa and forced into exile, it had no choice than to embark on an armed struggle. But the point Ellis and Sechaba make is that too much emphasis was placed on this form of struggle. The question MK and its strategists should answer is whether the concept of a People's War was ever a viable one.

'The blunt fact is that MK failed to overthrow the state . . .'

However, South Africa's security forces "had both the means and the will to prevent a popular insurrection".

Also, one by one MK's networks and bases within striking distance of South Africa were closed down. Ellis and Sechaba concede that the SAADF took MK seriously. But their verdict is that the SACP "which looked to the party for strategic direction, placed too much importance on the armed struggle for too long".

Blunt fact

'The blunt fact is that MK failed to overthrow the South African state by force, which was its purpose.

"Pretoria's espionage system added up to a comprehensive defeat for MK." Ellis and Sechaba place the blame for this defeat squarely on the SACP.

The SACP, without ever being able to dislodge Joe Modise, packed key MK posts with its own men, particularly Chris Hani. It was Hani and Steve Tshwete, the authors say, who decided to attack soft targets - for which they were publicly repudiated by Oliver Tambo, who sacked Tshwete as political commissar.

The ANC-SACP will argue that, denied constitutional protest in South Africa and forced into exile, it had no choice than to embark on an armed struggle. But the point Ellis and Sechaba make is that too much emphasis was placed on this form of struggle.

Blasts: four more rightwingers held

Crime Staff

Police investigating the recent spate of bomb blasts in the Transvaal detained a further four rightwingers in the Pretoria area early yesterday.

This follows the arrests of three men — including two alleged members of the Boerekommando — last week in connection with a blast at a desegregated school in Potgietersrus on January 2.

Confirming the latest arrests, SAP spokesman Captain Burger van Rooyen said the detainees

STAR 16/1/92
— all men — were being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Captain van Rooyen refused to disclose the detainees' political affiliations or confirm allegations by right-wing spokesmen that one of the men was an official of the white Mine-workers Union (MWU).

However, he referred The Star to a statement last week by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, on last week's arrests.

In the statement, the general said further arrests could be ex-

pected shortly.

Since last month, 14 explosions have rocked desegregated schools, magistrate's courts and post offices in Transvaal, causing several million rands of damage.

Top police sources have conceded that the attacks may have been linked.

Yesterday AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph said one of the men arrested earlier in the day was an official of the MWU.

Mr Rudolph quoted a rela-

tive of the man as saying she had been told by arresting officers that "terror" charges were being investigated against the man.

An AWB official said the arrested man and another person "who may have been arrested" had been taken to Nylstroom in northern Transvaal.

The MWU later reacted to the alleged arrest of its member, saying it was deplorable that an "honourable Afrikaner" could be branded a terrorist in his own country.

Aug 16/1992

Bombings: Four more rightwing arrests (84A)

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Police investigating the recent spate of bomb blasts in the Transvaal have detained four more rightwingers in the Pretoria area.

This follows the arrests of three men — including two alleged members of the Boerekommando — last week in connection with a blast at a desegregated school in Potgietersrus on January 2.

Confirming the latest arrests, SAP spokesman Captain Burger van Rooyen said the detainees — all men — were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Captain Van Rooyen refused to disclose the detainees' political affiliations or confirm allegations by rightwing spokesmen that one of the men was an official of the white Mineworkers Union (MWU).

However, he referred to a statement last week by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, that further arrests could be expected.

Since last month 14 explosions rocked desegregated schools, magistrate's courts and post offices in the Transvaal, causing millions of rands of damage, and police admitted they might have been linked.

Yesterday AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph said one of the arrested men was a Mineworkers Union official.

He said according to a report the arresting officers said "terror" charges were being investigated.

Mr Rudolph said the arrested man and another person "who may have been arrested" had been taken to Nylstroom in the Northern Transvaal.

(84A) (S) (S)

Cops nab suspect bombers

Sowetan
19/11/92

A POLICE crackdown on rightwingers following a recent spate of bombings resulted in eight arrests by yesterday, police confirmed.

In addition to the initial arrests of Boer Commando leader Mr Gawie Volschenk, Mr Carel van der Merwe and Mr Gerhard Roux - four more people were arrested.

They were named as Mr Petrus Jodeel, Mr Dirk Hattingh, Mr Andre Odendaal and Mr Andre Kriel.

Those arrested have been linked to the Eastern Transvaal Boer Commando and the white Mine Workers' Union.

The men are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. - Sapa

Massive bomb fails to explode

STAR 17/1/92

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

84A

NELSPRUIT — Police found 19,6 kg of commercial explosives at Nelspruit's Calvary Christian School early yesterday after the timing device was to have set off the blast.

They later arrested a 39-year-old man.

Across the road from the school is a senior citizens' housing project.

Experts agree there was a possibility that elderly people could have been seriously injured or killed had the explosives detonated.

Acting on information, police arrived at the Calvary Assembly Church — which is used as a school during the week — soon after 3 am.

The explosives, tied in bundles of seven, had been placed against the outside wall of the main classroom.

Explosives experts defused the timing mechanism and hours later 42 pupils — from Grade 1 to matric — arrived for

classes as usual, unaware of the drama.

Pastor Steve Maritz (55) said it was not until 10 am that he was told of the bomb. He said police told him the timing device had not detonated the explosives at the time for which it had been set.

"Our church is situated between the Anglican and Ned Geref churches and had those explosives gone off all three would have been badly damaged," he said.

"The Ned Geref church hall would also have been affected".

Pastor Maritz said police had told him they had been tipped off by an unknown person.

"That person can only have been God" he said.

"Only the night before we had a special prayer meeting, asking God to protect all Christian buildings."

Although the Calvary Christian School is non-racial, it has no black pupils at present.

Last month an explosion caused extensive damage to Nelspruit's English medium Lowveld High School.

No arrests have been made in connection with this earlier blast.

Rightwinger paid to kill renegade guerilla - paper

ANC-AWB in nit ink

Political Staff

STAR 17/11/92

84A

Two African National Congress intelligence officers paid a signed-up member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging R10 000 to eliminate a "turned" ANC guerilla, it is alleged.

These officers, plus a full expose, appear in Vrye Weekblad today.

The newspaper alleges that although the "contract" on Glory "September" Si-debe was never carried out, the AWB member was taken into custody a week ago and may be charged with con-

spiracy to commit murder.

The two ANC agents, identified only by their Umkhonto we Sizwe names, "Ricky" and "Mao", have apparently eluded the police. September - an Askari or guerilla-turned-policeman - has also disappeared.

It is claimed that he resigned from the SAP about a year ago and, recently, questioned a report in the ANC.

According to Vrye Weekblad, his reporter Jacques Pauw facilitated the initial contact between the ANC and the AWB man in October after the latter had told the paper he had concluded arms deals on behalf of vari-

ous right-wing groups.

He was prepared to make evidence of this available, if he was guaranteed an escape route from the country.

After being contacted by Vrye Weekblad, a senior member of the ANC undertook to help the man leave the country if he revealed the arms deals.

It reports: "On the same day that he (the ANC officer) approved the project, (the AWB man) met Ricky and Mao in Room 2517 of the Johannesburg Sun hotel. "Various meetings followed, but instead of gathering information about the rightist arms story, the two ANC intelligence officers

began to supply (the AWB man) with cash and to give him other instructions.

As early as the middle of October (the AWB man) told a Vrye Weekblad reporter that he had been asked to kill September."

Vrye Weekblad obtained a tape recording of Ricky telling the AWB man that the ANC had paid him R10 000 to assassinate September. The tape is said to be in the hands of the police.

According to Vrye Weekblad, a senior ANC intelligence officer had paid the AWB man R12 000 to conduct the arms investigation. The senior ANC intelligence officer was later in-

formed by the newspaper that there was a possibility his men were changing the AWB man's "brief" and that an assassination attempt might be being planned.

Vrye Weekblad reports speculation that during his highly successful period in the SAP, September might have got to know the identities of police agents still operating within the ANC.

The newspaper states that "it is unknown at this stage where the two intelligence officers got the money to pay (the AWB man). But we understand that this money did not come from ANC intelligence funds".

Vrye Weekblad also

claims the AWB man supplied dramatic details last year of weapons "buying trips" he undertook in Mozambique for senior members of the Conservative Party, the AWB and other rightwing groups.

The man, who says he was once a member of the SADF, alleged he purchased "Russian weapons" via Renamo and brought them back into South Africa.

The Conservative Party has denied the allegations. The police have confirmed they are investigating the man's "guns-for-the-right" allegations but said no positive evidence had been discovered.

0 b m B c l p l c a s

Mine slams actress's visit

Bidan
17/11/92

DARIUS SANAI

56

RICHARDS Bay Minerals (RBM) has condemned the arrival in SA of US actress and environmentalist Margaux Hemingway, who plans to make a documentary on the proposed Lake St Lucia mining scheme, as "a cheap publicity stunt".

RBM spokesman Norman Clements said yesterday Hemingway's trip was "a ploy which can have no possible benefit to the cause of conservation in SA".

Hemingway, granddaughter of novelist Ernest Hemingway and a former top model, arrived in SA earlier this week with Hollywood environmental lobbyist Cherri Briggs. She is here at the invitation of conservationist Ian Player, a vociferous opponent of RBM's proposals to mine the conservation area.

The proposals have run into a storm of protest from renowned SA figures including Player, Sir Laurens van der post and Gary Player.

An environmental impact assessment is being conducted on the proposals, with leading UCT academics participating.

More bombing suspects held

POLICE have detained another four suspected bombers, according to right-wing and police sources, barely 24 hours after the arrest of four men on Wednesday.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

Gawie Volschenk was arrested last week. (34A)

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said three men were arrested in Hendrina, while police said a man was arrested in Nelspruit yesterday.

Police said Volschenk was arrested in connection with the January 2 explosion at Melkriver Primary School in the northwestern Transvaal. (34A)

Van Tonder said yesterday Boerekommando deputy leader Wiehan Steinberg was arrested with two of his members on Wednesday night. Police denied any knowledge of the arrest.

Security analyst Wim Booyse said the arrests could represent a significant breakthrough for police. Last week it was reported that the decentralised nature of extreme right-wing groups would make it difficult to track down underground cells.

Police confirmed that Boerekommando leader

● Comment: Page 6

...per 100m² of floor area

School bomb: Man arrested

NELSPRUIT. — Mr Piet Nel, 35, has been arrested in connection with the discovery of an explosive device at a multi-racial school here this week.

84A ARC 18/1/92
The device was found at the Calvary Christian Church school and defused by the police. Mr Nel is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Police this week detained seven other people in connection with blasts. — Sapa.

SACP ^(84A) blamed for ANC armed failure

Si Times 19/1/92

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO
London

A NEW book due for publication soon blames the South African Communist Party for the failure of the ANC's armed struggle against South Africa.

The book, *Comrades Against Apartheid*, is written by Stephen Ellis, a former editor of *Africa Confidential*, and Tsepo Sechaba, a pen name for a senior ANC and SACP member.

Among other things, it blames the SACP for:

- Over-emphasising control and organisation to the detriment of political and military strategy;

- Under-utilising trained cadres who were left idle in camps outside South Africa; and

- "Democratic centralism" where a small, secret elite formed the leadership and grew distant from the organisation's supporters.

Argue

International support, mass action, underground activity and the armed struggle were listed by the SACP and the ANC as the four pillars of their strategy — but the emphasis was on the armed struggle.

The book asks why, if the armed struggle was so central to the strategy of both, it failed.

"Apologists may argue that the war succeeded in keeping alive the spirit of resistance, and in forcing the enemy (the SA Government) to the point of negotiation," says the book.

"That is true, but it was hardly what was intended. The blunt fact is that Umkhonto we Sizwe failed to provoke the overthrow of the South African state by force, which is the purpose for which it was ultimately intended."

Mutiny

The book says the SACP persisted in promoting the armed struggle above other forms of activity in "inappropriate" conditions.

This is cited as a main reason for the 1984 Angola mutiny when rank and file members rose up against the leadership and were brutally subdued.

The soldiers rebelled, criticising the leadership for its lack of initiative in sending them to a war they had long prepared for.

Critics, it says, pointed out that they were confronting the enemy where it was strongest, in the military sphere, and not its weakest, in the political arena.

The SACP is accused of being obsessed with control, opposing and rooting out dissident opinions in the ANC and transforming the exiled organisation from a broad-based nationalist movement to something resembling a socialist party.

Inkatha stands firm on Umkhonto issue

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is refusing to sign the code of conduct for the SA Defence Force until "the issue of the ANC's private army", Umkhonto we Sizwe, is resolved.

Its decision is sure to raise serious problems for the National Peace Accord, which in recent weeks appeared to be making progress, particularly in relation to Inkatha-ANC fighting in Natal. *STimes 19/11/92*

The code of conduct for the SADF is an essential component of the accord, signed in August last year.

The government has already made clear its willingness to sign the code of conduct, which is being drafted with the help of the SADF and other signatories to the accord.

In a statement the IFP said it felt that the issues of the SADF and MK would be better dealt with in the context of the Convention for a Democratic SA. It called for the sub-committee drafting the SADF code to adjourn until the MK issue was resolved.

Inkatha said that for the ANC to argue that liberation armies were not private armies "makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic

By CHARLENE SMITH

values".

The first report-back of the National Peace Committee on Friday acknowledged that the sub-committee on the SADF code of conduct, private armies and dangerous weapons was experiencing difficulties.

84A Violence 23D

Committee chairman John Hall said the establishment of six local dispute committees was of special significance in the quest against violence.

He welcomed the formation of a seventh local committee in the Mooi River/Bruntville area, at which ANC and Inkatha leaders pledged to support the initiative.

ANC-AWB death plot claim stuns movement

CP Press 19/11/92

CP Correspondent and Sapa

SENSATIONAL allegations that two ANC intelligence officers offered a member of the AWB thousands of rands to kill a black policeman came as "a bolt from the blue", says the ANC.

The ANC denied all knowledge of these allegations, published this week in the weekly, *Vrye Weekblad*.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan said this week that senior members of the ANC were investigating the issue. Jordan added that it appeared as if there might be agents in the ANC who did not want their identity to be revealed by the policeman.

The policeman allegedly to be killed is ex-ANC guerilla Glory September Sidebe who was "turned" and became a "successful" Askari, said to be involved in the killing of ANC members in Swaziland. He recently wanted to rejoin the ANC.

According to the *Vrye Weekblad*, AWB member Danie Odendaal approached the ANC through reporter Jacques Pauw, because he wanted to provide the ANC with information on rightwing arms purchases.

Pauw asked ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to become involved. Zuma agreed and two intelligence officers, known only as Rickie and Mao, met Odendaal several times.

The newspaper said it is not clear what Zuma's role was.

Rickie and Mao offered Odendaal R50 000 to kill Sidebe. Odendaal allegedly received R10 000 to commit the murder.

Odendaal also later received R12 000 from Terror Lekota, ANC senior executive committee member, for information about arms smuggling. The ANC confirmed this.

Odendaal was arrested this week after telling a police reservist about the plot. He appeared on Thursday in the Roodepoort Magistrate's Court on a charge of illegal possession of diamonds and was released on bail.

Major-General Andre Pruis, head of the SAP's crime information service, said in a statement police were investigating the case and knew where Rickie, Mao and Sidebe were.

The ANC said in a statement this week: "The African National Congress unequivocally denies any involvement in a conspiracy to commit murder. As the *Vrye Weekblad* itself admits, the journal does not believe the alleged assassination fee came from the ANC's treasury."

The statement said it was ANC practice to pay for information. "This is an accepted practice that does not violate any moral code."

(841)

Grenade thrown into shack

341A
2/11/92
248

THE condition of the five people injured in an explosion early yesterday morning at Hartbeesfontein Gold Mine's No 5 Shaft near Stilfontein was stable, according to West Rand police.

The three women and two men who were inside a house on the mine at the time of the explosion were admitted to Klerksdorp's Tshepong Hospital, said

Western Transvaal Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Ben van Heerden.

He said the explosion, which he described as "minor", occurred when someone lobbed a dynamite stick into a squatter's house.

The explosion caused R30 damage, Van Heerden said.

The motive for the explosion, which occurred outside the house at

3.30am, was unknown.

A second explosion occurred earlier, about midnight on Saturday, when commercial explosives were thrown by unidentified people at an electric transformer at Khutsong, Carletonville.

The explosion caused R500 000 damage, Van Heerden said. - SA Press Association.

11 arrested

Sowetan 20/1/92

ELEVEN rightwingers have been arrested in connection with the recent spate of bomb blasts in the country. (S4A) (S4A)

The men are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which was revised last year after pressure from the ANC and the international community. (S4A)

At least three of the men are being held for "the supply of explosives".

Minister names 11 held in connection with bomb blasts

8447 ● From Page 1
water on January 2.
● R K Robinson (linked to the Boerekommando), held in connection with the supply of explosives.
● R S Kriel, A C Odendaal, P J Judeel and D J Hattingh (all linked to the AWB), held in connection with blasts at Cosatu House in Pretoria on December 19 and at Lyttelton and Kru-

gersdorp post offices on January 2. Mr Kriel is also being held in connection with the blast at Hillview High School in Pretoria on July 21.
● P Nel, Nelspruit leader of the AWB's Wenkommando, held in connection with the planting of a bomb at the Calvary Christian School in Nelspruit on Thursday.
● M de Wall and M Steynburg (both linked to the Boerekom-

mando), held over the supply of explosives.
Unless right-wing leaders stopped saying they understood why rightists were resorting to sabotage and came out firmly against it, there would be an escalation of right-wing terrorism, said Mr Kriel.
Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, head of the SAP's crime combating and investigation division, noted that of the 23 acts

of right-wing terror in 1990, 20 had been solved.
Right-wing leaders Eugene TerreBlanche and Robert van Tonder last night scoffed at the idea that they should help the Government to stop right-wing bombings. They denied any responsibility for the bombings and placed the blame firmly on the Government.

● Crime statistics — Page 3

11 bomb suspects are named

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

SALDANHA — In the fight against bomb blasts, police have arrested 11 rightwingers this year — and are expected to pull in more.

But Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has conceded he is "disturbed" by some right-wing saboteurs who operate in small cells of two or three people, independent of any organisation.

This made them difficult to trace, he said.

However, he dismissed the right-wing sabotage campaign as "amateurish".

At a weekend press briefing Mr Kriel released the names of the 11 rightwingers arrested since January 6.

The 11 being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act are:

● G P D Roux (no known links with any organisation), C W A van der Merwe and Gawie Volshenk (both linked to the Boerekommando, the latter its leader) who are being held in connection with the bomb blast at Melkriver Primary School in Vaal-

● To Page 2

STAR 20/1/92

Police consider claim

Police were undecided yesterday whether an investigation would be conducted into allegations that two ANC intelligence operators paid a rightwinger to murder an ANC defector. (84A)

APR 20/1992
 844
 544

11 right-wing bombers arrested

Political Staff

IN A breakthrough against the recent spate of right-wing bomb blasts, police have arrested 11 right-wingers this year — and are expected to pull in more leading figures this week.

But Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has conceded he is "disturbed" by the discovery that some right-wing saboteurs are operating in small cells of two or three people, independent of any organisation and therefore harder to detect.

At a weekend press briefing in Saldanha, Mr Kriel released the names of the 11 right-wingers arrested since January 6, most of them belonging to the AWB or Boerekommando.

He said further arrests could be expected this week and it is understood these could include well-known leaders.

Although Mr Kriel dismissed the right-wing sabotage campaign as "amateurish" and said right-wingers were "easy to catch", it is understood that the discovery of independent right-wing sabotage cells is causing serious concern to the police.

The 11 right-wingers who are being held for questioning under section 29 of the Internal Security Act are:

- Mr G P D Roux (no known links with any organisation), Mr C W A van der Merwe and Mr Gawie Volshenk (both linked to the Boerekommando) who are being held in connection with the bomb attack on the Melkrievier Primary School in the Vaalwater district on January 2.

- Mr R K Robinson (linked to the Boerekommando) held in connection with the supply of explosives.

- Mr R S Kriel, Mr A C Odendaal, Mr P J Judeel and Mr D J Hattingsh (all linked to the AWB) — held in connection with the bomb blasts at Cosatu House, Pretoria, on December 19 last year and at the Lyttleton and Krugersdorp post offices on January 2 this year.

Mr Kriel is also being held in connection with the bomb blast which ripped apart the empty Hillview High School in Pretoria on July 21 last year.

- Mr P Nel, linked to the AWB — held in connection with the planting of a bomb at an Anglican church school at Nelspruit on January 16.

- Mr M de Wall, and Mr Steynburg (both linked to the Boerekommando) — held in connection with the supply of explosives.

"These are the sort of people the Conservative Party wants to meet to try to scuttle Codesa. This is the sort of company they are keeping," Mr Kriel said. He added that the right-wing sabotage threat could not be ignored.

Unless right-wing leaders stopped saying that they understood why rightists were resorting to sabotage and came out firmly against it, there would be an escalation of right-wing terrorism.

"There is a grave responsibility resting on the shoulders of (HNP leader) Mr Jaap Marais, (AWB leader) Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and (CP leader) Mr Andries Treurnicht, to tell them to stop it."

Right-wing leaders last night scoffed at the idea that they should help the government stop right-wing bombings. They denied any responsibility for the bombings and placed the blame firmly on the government.

AWB leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, said that he was not responsible for the volatile situation created by the government and had no intention of working with the government in any way.

"They are trying to use me to make my people obey their new rules and ways, but no power on earth can stop people rising up against the government when they are being betrayed," he said.

Boerestaat Party leader, Mr Robert van Tonger, said the right-wing attacks were entirely the fault of the government and said his word wouldn't do anything to stop them continuing.



INJURED: Rescue and ar
 University of Cape Town
 in a 5m fall from the bu
 an outing with friends
 his condition was dr

Serious

Political Staff
 SERIOUS crime pr
 than 10 percent i
 the police believ
 ginning to bring
 crimes figure
 control.

A compr
 the state
 tion was
 Press b
 Law a
 nus K
 Gen
 and

e
 in-
 red
 on
 les
 out

Strange death of Thami Zulu

84A

STAR 21/1/92

DANIE Odendaal, the man at the centre of an alleged plot to murder a renegade ANC fighter, has put his finger on one of the most controversial and potentially explosive issues in recent ANC history: the death in 1989 of guerrilla commander Thami Zulu.

Mr Zulu, who headed the ANC's Natal Military Command in the 1980s, died mysteriously five days after being released from detention by the ANC's feared security department or Mbokodo ("the stone that crushes").

His death — and his detention in Zambia, where he was allegedly beaten up and half-starved by his interrogators — so disturbed ANC leaders outside Mbokodo that an internal inquiry was ordered. The findings of the inquiry, on which ANC lawyer Albie Sachs served, were never made public.

What is known is that a medical analysis of specimens from Mr Zulu's blood and stomach showed they contained, to quote the report, "diazon, an organo phosphorous pesticide." The same poison had been sprinkled on clothes belonging to Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South Afri-

can Council of Churches, a few months earlier. Mr Chikane, who fell gravely and mysteriously ill while abroad, was absorbing traces of the poison through his clothes until the pesticide was discovered on them.

ANC-aligned forces said at the time that Mr Chikane had been targeted for assassination. In pro-ANC circles, agents of the security forces were suspected.

Many of the facts surrounding Mr Zulu's death were unearthed by The Guardian and published in the London-based newspaper in September. They have been given a new relevancy by Mr Odendaal's allegations that two ANC men, identified by their nom de guerres as "Ricky" and "Mao," paid him to kill an ANC defector who once served under Mr Zulu.

The defector is Glory Lephosa Sedibe or, as he was known in the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe, "Comrade September." He served as the ANC's intelligence chief for the Transvaal under the overall command of Mr Zulu.

Mr Sedibe was abducted by South African police agents from a Swaziland prison in August 1986. His security police captors in-

duced him to defect and Mr Sedibe joined the SAP.

In their book "Comrades Against Apartheid" Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba state: "Sedibe gave the security police information enabling them virtually to wipe out Umkhonto we Sizwe in Swaziland."

Their successes included the capture of ANC operative Grace Gele in December 1986, the kidnapping of a few days later of Ismael Ebrahim, chairman of the ANC's political and military council for Swaziland, and the ambush and gunning down of two top ANC military commanders, Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi.

The security police successes led ANC intelligence chiefs to suspect their Swaziland network was riddled with spies. One of the suspected men was a senior cadre known as Comrade Cyril. He was arrested by Mbokodo in 1988, interrogated and pressed to confess to being a security police agent.

According to Ellis and Sechaba, Comrade Cyril died in detention "either from poison, as some say, or as a result of being severely beaten." Mbokodo, convinced it was on the point of a major break-

through, moved higher up the hierarchy.

Mr Zulu, who had been the commander of Mr Sedibe and Comrade Cyril, was detained. Not even his reputation as the Umkhonto commander who had turned Natal into a major theatre of guerrilla war and made Durban the "bomb capital" of South Africa, saved him. He was detained for more than a year, part of which was spent in solitary confinement, before being released as a desperately sick man. There was some solace for his family at his funeral, however.

Joe Modise and Chris Hani, commander and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe respectively, publicly dissociated themselves from Mbokodo's suspicions that he had been a spy.

Questions remain about Mr Zulu's death. Who killed him and why? Was he merely the victim of Mbokodo bullies, paranoid about enemy spies? Was he the victim of a security force agent who penetrated Mbokodo and used its zealotry against the ANC? Had Mr Zulu himself begun to suspect Mbokodo might have been being penetrated by a police spy?

These questions have been emphasised by Mr Odendaal's statement to the Sunday Star that there was a connection between his assignment to kill Mr Sedibe and Mr Zulu's death. Mr Odendaal did not elaborate on the nature of the connection.

The ANC has confirmed that Mr Sedibe did approach it last August, when he made overtures about rejoining its ranks. What is not clear is whether Mr Sedibe, who declared that he had left the police, was operating on his own. The possibility cannot be excluded that he was acting on the orders of his police handlers. The ANC is now a lawful organisation but there are still policemen who view it in adversarial terms.

What is certain is that Mr Sedibe's return to the ANC would be a controversial and disturbing process. If, as Mbokodo once seemed to think, security forces spies have successfully infiltrated the ANC's upper echelons, the return of Mr Sedibe would be dangerous for them. Having been privy to police operations, Mr Sedibe might have learnt the identity of some of their agents.

Mr Odendaal's allegations have to be treated prudently. On his

own admission, made in an interview with Sunday Star, his motivation is financial: he trades information for money.

At one level the Odendaal saga — first disclosed in Vrye Weekblad — seems to belong to a John Le Carré novel. At another level it cannot be dismissed completely.

The ANC operatives, Ricky (real name Revell Nkondo) and Mao, do exist. Police are said to possess a tape-recording of their alleged attempt to recruit Mr Odendaal as a hired assassin.

The ANC has not denied that it paid Mr Odendaal a large sum of money. But, it insisted, its motive in seeing him was for information about alleged gun-running operations by right-wingers.

The ANC has unequivocally denied that it is involved in a conspiracy to murder Mr Sedibe. At the same time, it felt constrained to add: "In spite of our scepticism, a thorough investigation has been launched to uncover all the facts."

It has promised to release the results of the investigation to the public (and not treat it as an internal inquiry like the one into Mr Zulu's death). □

Umkhonto member shot constable four times with AK-47 rifle, court told

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau 21/1/92

The Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court was told yesterday that a man claiming to be a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the ANC's military wing — allegedly shot a young policeman four times with an AK-47 rifle during a robbery at a Vanderbijlpark wholesaler last month.

This evidence was given by Detective-Sergeant Pedro Peens of the Vanderbijlpark murder and robbery unit in opposition to a bail application by one of the two suspects in the case.

Both Tsepo Lengwati (27) and Arthur Mali (35) are facing charges of murder, attempted murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances. Neither have been asked to plead.

Their arrest follows a shooting in which Constable Sakkie Janse van Rensburg (21) was killed during an armed robbery at Price Club in Vanderbijlpark on December 30.

Another two suspects are

being sought in connection with the case.

Sergeant Peens said he had a prima facie case against Mr Lengwati and said he should not be freed from custody.

He told the court he had an eye-witness account and ballistic evidence that on the day of the alleged robbery Mr Lengwati had first shot the constable's service pistol out of his hand before shooting him in the chest and head.

He said the suspect was arrested shortly afterwards and taken to an office where he said he was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He also claimed that instructions to carry out the robbery at Price Club had been issued by Umkhonto headquarters.

Counsel for the defence, A Mayer, objected to this statement and requested it be struck off the court record.

Magistrate Jan van Staden ruled in favour of the objection and said the statement was inadmissible.

Continuing his testimony, Sergeant Peens said Mr Leng-

wati had been part of a group who shot and seriously injured two Soweto policemen a few years ago.

He was sentenced to 18 years in jail on Robben Island for the crime, but was granted amnesty and released from prison on April 30 last year after serving about two years of the sentence.

He added that the suspect lived with his mother in Soweto, owned no fixed property, and would definitely not attend his trial if granted bail. In addition to this, he also had knowledge of a contract out on the accused's life.

In support of his bail application, Mr Lengwati yesterday stated he was living with his mother and worked for the ANC's headquarters as a chauffeur.

He said he earned about R2 000 a month, but would be able to contribute only R1 000 towards his bail as the rest of the money was used to help his mother, who was employed as a domestic.

The hearing continues today.

We won't sign while MK exists, says IFP

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the National Peace Committee's subcommittee on an SADF code of conduct is hanging in the balance over the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Its objections were sent in a memorandum to the National Peace Committee on Friday for arbitration, and the IFP has asked that, pending the resolution of the matter, the subcommittee be adjourned.

In terms of the constitution, the SADF is the only lawful national defence force in the country.

"If the Government is willing to sign a code of conduct for the SADF with the ANC under the National Peace Accord without the issue of the ANC's private army, MK, being resolved, the IFP is not.

"To do so would be to confuse principle with expediency and spoil its

reputation for consistency and honest dealing," the IFP said. "The time has come for straight talking."

The IFP noted that the National Peace Accord prohibited private armies. "This principle was fundamental to the IFP's willingness to enter into the National Peace Accord, as it directly addressed the position occupied by MK," the memorandum said. STAR 22/1/92

The ANC's argument that MK was a liberation army and not a private army was "logically and legally untenable".

"This revolutionary posture by the ANC/SACP alliance in relation to its armed wing, MK, while claiming the right to participate in the political process through negotiation, makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic values of a non-Marxist-Leninist variety," the IFP said.

Police kill 2 after grenade attack

TWO ANC exiles who returned to the country a few months ago were killed by police yesterday after a grenade attack on policemen, police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

Captain Opperman said the grenade was thrown at the policemen when they went to a house in Sharpeville looking for suspects in murder, robbery and intimidation cases.

The suspects fled the

STAR 25/1/97
SHARREN SINGH

house — one of them carrying another grenade. A policeman chased after them and the suspect with the grenade turned around and was about to pull the pin on the grenade when the policeman opened fire, said Captain Opperman.

One of the men who was killed was identified as Ephraim Lepiedi, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The other has not

yet been identified. A third man, also a recently returned ANC exile, was injured. He was under police guard in hospital.

Mr Lepiedi recently appeared in the Vereeniging District Court on a charge of attempted murder of a policeman. He was released from custody about two weeks ago. ANC chairman for the Sharpeville branch, Siza Rani, said the ANC was taking statements from witnesses.

The mother of all threats from PAC

THP
S4F
[scribble]

^{26/1/92}
THE PAC on Friday issued a warning to the United States that it would take up arms to fight against it.

"The US was sponsoring violence in Mozambique and Angola," PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told about 1 500 PAC supporters gathered in the Bo-Kaap before leading a march on parliament.

"The US government has said it would step in to stop the PAC.

"We are going to get arms to fight against the US. We will defeat the imperialists and run this country. We say to Bush that no army can withstand the force of an army whose time has come."

To cheers from the crowd he vowed that the PAC would continue its armed struggle.

"If they (the government) don't

^{26/1/92}
want to give us the ballot we will liberate ourselves through the bullet."

He said the Law and Order Minister had said the PAC leadership was weak because it wouldn't condemn the armed wing of the PAC, Apla.

"Why should we. The police are responsible for killing people all over the show. We must defend our people."

Alexander said when State President FW de Klerk opened parliament on Friday it was likely he would issue a threat to those who supported private armies.

"But the real private army is the SADF and the police force. They are the private armies of De Klerk."

He reiterated the PAC's call for Codesa to be disbanded. - Sapa

Hostel petrol-bombed

(84A) 208
208

STAR 27/1/92

Two people were seriously injured when a petrol bomb was thrown into a room at the Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto early today.

Captain Joseph Ngobeni of the Soweto police said unknown attackers threw a petrol bomb into the room at the married quarters of the hostel at about 12.50 am.

Wilson Nkomo, aged about 75 and an unidentified teen-

ager, asleep inside the house, were badly injured.

They were taken to the Baragwanath Hospital. The house was extensively damaged.

At about 3 am police patrolling the area saw two houses in Zone 1 alight. The houses were badly damaged but nobody was hurt. Three suspects were seen running in the direction of the hostel.

— West Rand Bureau.

Hard to link SADF and MK - Meyer

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — It is politically and militarily difficult to link the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, with the SADF, according to Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

At a press briefing yesterday, Mr Meyer reiterated that it remained difficult to link any organisation which had a private army to the SADF while trying to promote the apolitical nature of the SADF.

An organisation which was still engaged in an armed struggle was prohibited, from a military viewpoint, from becoming part of the SADF.

Cutbacks in the defence budget would continue. One of the SADF's main considerations, however, remained its manpower needs. At least 10 000 national and voluntary servicemen had been deployed daily to ensure security and stability.

Mr Meyer said military servicemen remained the main manpower component and it was his firm view that this situation would con-



Roelf Meyer... trying to promote defence force's apolitical nature.

tinue in the short term. The defence budget would not be able to finance a voluntary defence force. A system of balloting was one alternative to compulsory military service that could be considered.

He stressed there were several other options, but declined to discuss these as it would lead to "more speculation".

Mr Meyer said neither he nor President de Klerk knew of a "third force" operating to discredit the negotiation process. "But there are those elements who would like to disrupt the process."

STAL 28/1/92
84A

Hard to link SADF and MK - Meyer

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

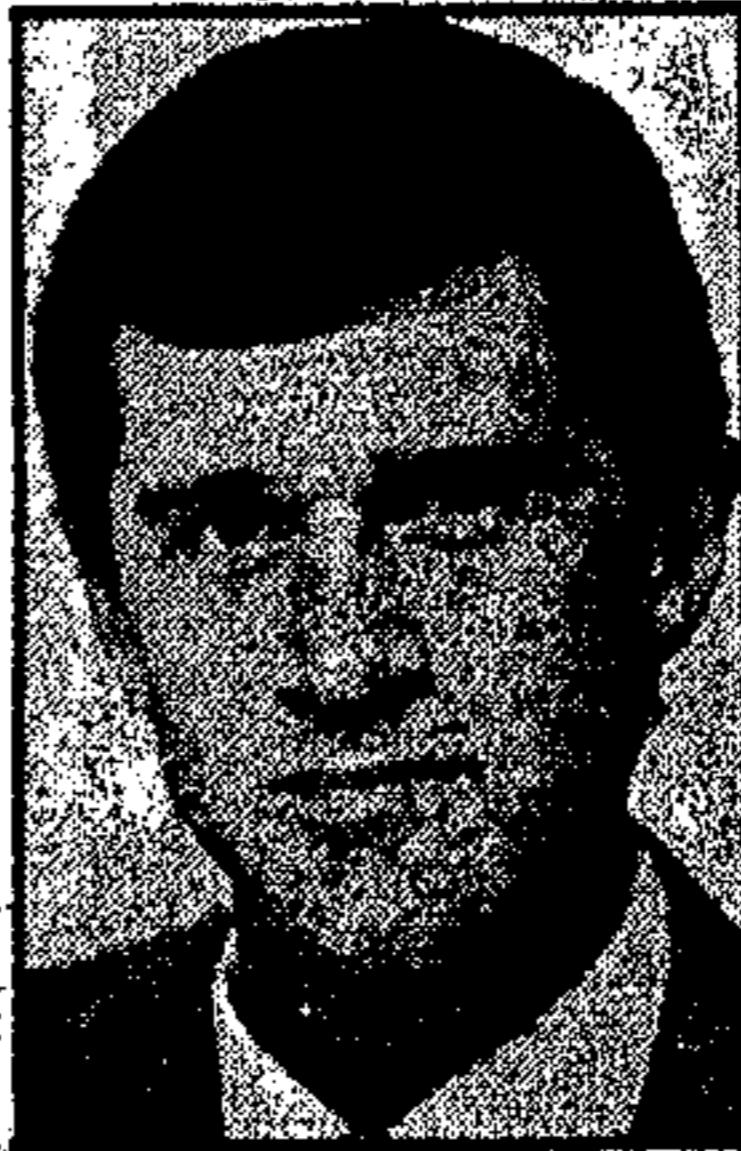
CAPE TOWN — It is politically and militarily difficult to link the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, with the SADF, according to Defence Minister Roelf Meyer.

At a press briefing yesterday, Mr Meyer reiterated that it remained difficult to link any organisation which had a private army to the SADF while trying to promote the apolitical nature of the SADF.

An organisation which was still engaged in an armed struggle was prohibited, from a military viewpoint, from becoming part of the SADF.

Cutbacks in the defence budget would continue. One of the SADF's main considerations, however, remained its manpower needs. At least 10 000 national and voluntary servicemen had been deployed daily to ensure security and stability.

Mr Meyer said military servicemen remained the main manpower component and it was his firm view that this situation would con-



Roelf Meyer... trying to promote defence force's apolitical nature.

tinue in the short term.

The defence budget would not be able to finance a voluntary defence force. A system of balloting was one alternative to compulsory military service that could be considered.

He stressed there were several other options, but declined to discuss these as it would lead to "more speculation".

Mr Meyer said neither he nor President de Klerk knew of a "third force" operating to discredit the negotiation process. "But there are those elements who would like to disrupt the process."

78/4
84/1
STAR 28/1/92

HOGARTH

ANC to stay mum on ^{84A} camps probe ^{5 Times 2/2/92}

THE ANC, after three months' delay, is to begin its internal inquiry into allegations of atrocities committed by members of the organisation against dissidents in camps in neighbouring countries.

Other organisations are also investigating atrocities: the Goldstone commission has five separate inquiries underway into acts of violence in various parts of the country and a number of policemen are at present before the courts on criminal charges ranging from assault to murder.

The only difference, of course, is that while the latter inquiries are public, the ANC one is to be kept secret until an authorised report on the findings is released.

So much for open administration.

'Bomb' at Moloi farm

City Press 2/2/92

~~84A~~
84A

By **MONWABISI NOMADLO**

A FAKE time-bomb was recently discovered on the Witklipbank farm bought by late Thembisa millionaire Charles Moloi, police said.

Moloi caused a sensation when he bought two farms from rightwing owners in CP territory, and as the cherry on top, employed a white manager.

East Rand police liaison officer Lieutenant Wikus Weber said police received a tip-off about the bomb from an anonymous caller.

Weber said police experts were sent to the area and the bomb, which had a timer, was removed.

No explosives

He said there were no explosives in the bomb, but added that it must have been assembled by a professional. The bomb was placed a short distance from the main house, Weber said.

He added that police were investigating the matter and the motive was still unknown.

Police could not rule out that it was a racially motivated act, he said.

However the Moloi family denied any knowledge of a bomb on their farm.

Charlie, Moloi's younger son who is managing the farm, said the family was disturbed by the news of the bomb and the fact that the police did not inform

them about it.

The Moloi family first learnt about the bomb when they were contacted by City Press for comment.

Moloi, a diabetic, died in December.

His former white farm manager, Bruce Ivy, was dismissed in October because he was "unproductive", a family member said.

Ivy, now a fugitive from the Delmas police, is wanted in connection with a charge of attempted murder after he allegedly went berserk and raided the home of his black lover, Sophie, for whom he had already started paying lobola.

He fired several shots at her father, David Mahlangu, with his rifle. Ivy has not been seen since. A warrant for his arrest has been issued.

In another development Charlie told City Press that the farmhouse was badly damaged after police raided the house in search of Ivy.

Charlie said the doors of the house (inside and outside) were kicked to pieces, the ceiling was damaged and the carpet was torn.

"But how could they look for a man under a carpet?" he asked.

However, Weber said the family should lay a complaint against the police, who were allegedly led by a Captain Venter.

By

BA
for
sio
thr
the
pe
the
co
rig
sic
pe
be
th
to

B
N
te
br
fu
m
w
n
c
k
p
ti
C
n
H
I



Funeral for ANC cadres

By DAN DHLAMINI

UMKHONTO weSizwe will not suspend the armed struggle against policemen implicated in the killing of cadres, MK's Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

He was addressing an emotion-charged funeral service of a returned exile and an ANC activist allegedly killed by police in Sharpeville on January 24.

Ephraim Lefiedi and Thabo Mosebi were buried in Sharpeville.



**VOID
OWN
OUR
RCE.
ndowns!**

S. ...
-staff navinU

Police look for ways to stop theft of explosives

81 day 3/2/92 JONATHAN REES (SLA) (84)

PRETORIA — Police are giving urgent attention to closing loopholes in legislation that allows explosives to fall into the wrong hands, but admit it is virtually impossible to halt the theft of explosives.

Large quantities of explosives could still be in the hands of extremists determined to derail the peace and negotiation process, police sources said.

All indications are that explosives used in recent blasts were stolen from mines, which are widely acknowledged as the weak link in explosives control, says SAP explosives inspector head Lt-Col Lukas Noeth.

He said it was impossible to develop a foolproof means of eliminating thefts of explosives.

The mining industry has for years been concerned with stopping thefts, but extensive research has yet to find a way of preventing them, say industry sources.

Electronic monitors at mine shaft entrances, and sniffer dogs were too sensitive, and detected the scent of explosive on the clothing of people who handled them.

It was "impossible" to search every miner coming up from underground, the sources said.

Noeth said police conducted regular inspections and kept a tight watch on the use of explosives, but could not exert total control without shutting down industries and mines where they were widely used.

SA manufactures 25 000 tons of explosives monthly for domestic and export use. Those earmarked for local consumption are stored in thousands of magazines across SA, mainly on the Reef and in the Free State. Police, in co-operation with the inspectorate of mines, were constantly searching for weak links in explosives legislation, Noeth said.

JCI Gold Division MD Bill Nairn said the group's gold mines applied additional security beyond the legal requirements of the Mines and Works Act.

A Gold Fields of SA consulting engineer said the group recognised the difficulties in preventing thefts and concentrated on promoting an awareness underground of the need for security in the handling of explosives.

Right In the crossfire of change

Sowetan
3/2/92
TWO black policemen are lured by false emergency calls, ambushed and set alight in their van.

Two white policemen hitchhiking in civilian clothes are shot dead and their bodies dumped in a field.

A police sergeant and his pregnant wife are hit by gunmen at a party at police barracks.

As black and white leaders begin debating South Africa's transition to democracy, police are increasingly the target of political and criminal violence.

"We have become political footballs at the time when anyone with any goodwill should be trying their

SA Press Association-
Reuter

best to restore some normality," said one constable, who asked to be identified only as Alpheus.

At least 10 officers have been killed so far this year; 145 died in the line of duty in 1991.

Some of the recent killings have been claimed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the radical Pan Africanist Congress.

"Make no mistake; if our policemen are to be targets for criminals

and political thugs, law and order will collapse and all will suffer," said law and order ministry spokesman Craig Kotze.

The PAC defends the murder of police, saying they are agents of apartheid.

"Because the regime relies on the security forces to stay in power for perpetuity, for any revolution to succeed, they should be wiped out," said a telephone caller claiming to speak for APLA.

The Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal said the PAC strategy was misguided.

It said that while some police

wanted to maintain the status quo, others shared the vision for a non-racial South Africa and could be regarded as potential allies.

Black officers who joined the force to help combat crime in the townships said they were shocked by anti-police sentiment.

Many have had their homes burnt down and now live in guarded compounds. So traumatic have their lives become that some have had psychological counselling.

Some policemen have been victims of gangsters emboldened by the mood of insecurity accompanying the political transition.

De Klerk warns ANC

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has warned the African National Congress that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa would fail unless the organisation

Sowetan 3/2/92

over MK

disbanded its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Speaking shortly before

his departure for Europe on Friday, De Klerk said the Government was doubtful of a peaceful settlement in South Africa while the ANC still had a policy of armed struggle.

"These problems will have to be bridged, otherwise Codesa will fail," De Klerk said in the House of Assembly.

He said for the ANC to be a trustworthy and reliable signatory to any accord on the country's political future, it had to abandon its armed struggle.

Reacting to this, an ANC source said the South Afri-

can Defence Force reported directly to the Government and indirectly to the National Party.

"They (the NP and the Government) are both part of Codesa," the source said.

84A
MK

19
84A

ANC detainee probe details not finalised

Political Staff
and Own Correspondent

The terms of reference for the ANC's internal commission of inquiry into conditions under which some of its dissidents were held in detention camps in neighbouring countries had not yet been finalised, spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Miss Marcus denied a newspaper report that the commission would investigate allegations of "atrocities" by some of the ex-prisoners.

"We do not acknowledge that we committed any atrocities," she said, describing the report as "appalling".

She said the commission's terms of reference would probably be announced next week.

SMR 5/2/92 (SLA)

Meanwhile, a group of more than 250 former ANC detainees has threatened to take up arms against the organisation if legal means to persuade the international community to conduct an inquiry into the ANC's alleged contravention of the Geneva Convention fail.

The ANC signed the convention in 1978.

Aspokesman for the Returned Exile's Committee for Peace and Justice, Pat Hlongwane, said it was organising a march in Durban on Saturday to highlight the plight of the detained exiles.

The decision to stage a march was sparked by the refusal of the Codesa steering committee to consider their situation, he said.

Assessing SA's private armies

STAR 6/2/92

S4A

THE proliferation of private armies in South Africa has become a major concern for the Government — not because they present a revolutionary threat but because of the question of how to get rid of them without forfeiting civil liberties.

Political analysts and police agree that neither the AWB's Wekommandos with its elite Ystergarde (Iron Guard) nor the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) could ever seriously take on the State.

But — as we have witnessed with the recent spate of bombings at schools and post offices — private armies can be extremely dangerous to the community and frustrating for the Government.

Police have identified no less than 13 para-military groups in the rightwing and, although several arrests have been made, these secret cells continue to plot attacks and organise propaganda campaigns aimed at instilling fear.

When it comes to numbers though, the right wing's military prowess is not particularly impressive.

Although the police say the AWB's Wekommando consists of between 9 000 to 10 000 members, with about 50 in the Ystergarde, political analyst of the right wing Dr Wim Booysse puts the figure at a maximum of 5 000 (also with about 50 in the Ystergarde).

Police say another 4 000 rightwingers are in the Boere-kommando. Dr Booysse estimates a far lower number of between 800 and 1 500.

It is generally agreed that the number of trained soldiers in other private armies, such as Boere Republikeinse Leer, Wit Bevrindomsleer and Orde Boerevolk — as well as in the Pan Africanist Congress' Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — is insignificant, perhaps a few hundred in each.

Although the largest private army by far is the ANC's MK — which could muster about 7 000 soldiers according to police — its men are relatively unskilled compared to the SA Defence Force-trained soldiers in the right wing.

For Professor Tom Lodge, political analyst at the University of the Witwatersrand, numbers are not important.

"A small body of ruthless people, if tightly organised, can create a national state of emergency, causing a country to use up its vital resources."

In the case of South Africa's right wing, the situation may be complicated by informal right-wing sympathy in the police force.

"There is no doubt that the soldiers in the right wing are well trained and are picking up a lot of young national servicemen as their appeal increases,

but they still don't have the strength to overthrow the State or be taken as a serious threat," he says.

Despite its numbers, MK was also far from ready for serious battle with government forces. The majority of its soldiers had little or no training.

Professor Lodge feels private armies in South Africa should be exposed to the public as much as possible. "The more people see them, the more they

will realise the real extent of the threat. These armies will be no more than footnotes in the history books of the future."

Dr Booysse agrees that the propaganda value of right-wing armies such as the Ystergarde far exceeds their military capability — although this should not be underestimated.

The fact that the soldiers in the Ystergarde show of force at the weekend looked young and well trained compared with those in the AWB's military demonstrations in 1990 signified an improvement in discipline and organisation.

"The potential threat is increasing, but at this stage the right wing is still in a defensive mode. They are still in the or-

ganising stage," he says.

The question of how to deal with the spawning of private armies has become an urgent concern for the Government, says Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

"The Government is monitoring and considering restrictive measures as a matter of urgency, but the problem is a difficult one," he says.

Banning an organisation outright would drive it underground, probably making it stronger and more tightly controlled.

An option being considered was banning certain kinds of activities — such as military drilling.

However, if the Government

was to act against one private army, it would have to act against all of them — and this would be fraught with political difficulty, especially with regard to MK, which is not considered by the ANC to be a private army but a "people's army".

Although the ANC has protested to have suspended MK operations, it has refused to disband it at this stage of the transitional process.

The Government, although currently hamstrung in how to curtail private armies, is clear in its view on their right to exist.

"The time for armed struggle is over. It is futile politically and militarily because it has been overtaken by the negotiation process," says Captain Kotze. □

Pictures and television footage of the AWB Ystergarde combatants at the weekend was no doubt spine-chilling to many. But how fierce are these soldiers and do they really present a threat? HELEN GRANGE reports on private armies.

people, if tightly organised, can create a national state of emergency, causing a country to use up its vital resources.

In the case of South Africa's right wing, the situation may be complicated by informal right-wing sympathy in the police force.

"There is no doubt that the soldiers in the right wing are well trained and are picking up a lot of young national servicemen as their appeal increases,

but they still don't have the strength to overthrow the State or be taken as a serious threat," he says.

Despite its numbers, MK was also far from ready for serious battle with government forces. The majority of its soldiers had little or no training.

Professor Lodge feels private armies in South Africa should be exposed to the public as much as possible. "The more people see them, the more they

will realise the real extent of the threat. These armies will be no more than footnotes in the history books of the future."

Dr Booysse agrees that the propaganda value of right-wing armies such as the Ystergarde far exceeds their military capability — although this should not be underestimated.

The fact that the soldiers in the Ystergarde show of force at the weekend looked young and well trained compared with those in the AWB's military demonstrations in 1990 signified an improvement in discipline and organisation.

"The potential threat is increasing, but at this stage the right wing is still in a defensive mode. They are still in the or-

ganising stage," he says.

The question of how to deal with the spawning of private armies has become an urgent concern for the Government, says Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

"The Government is monitoring and considering restrictive measures as a matter of urgency, but the problem is a difficult one," he says.

Banning an organisation outright would drive it underground, probably making it stronger and more tightly controlled.

An option being considered was banning certain kinds of activities — such as military drilling.

However, if the Government

was to act against one private army, it would have to act against all of them — and this would be fraught with political difficulty, especially with regard to MK, which is not considered by the ANC to be a private army but a "people's army".

Although the ANC has protested to have suspended MK operations, it has refused to disband it at this stage of the transitional process.

The Government, although currently hamstrung in how to curtail private armies, is clear in its view on their right to exist.

"The time for armed struggle is over. It is futile politically and militarily because it has been overtaken by the negotiation process," says Captain Kotze. □

Huge arms cache white men in court

847 CT6/2/92

PRETORIA. — Two white men appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate's Court yesterday after the discovery of a huge arms cache in the area.

Mr H P Geldenhuys, 33, and Mr H C Geldenhuys, 22, were granted bail of R500 each and the case was postponed to February 26.

Police found ammunition and a variety of explosive devices buried on a farm in the district.

The cache included 9 000 cartridges

for firearms ranging from 9mm pistols to shotguns, 38 tear smoke grenades, 19 trip flares, 42 illumination flares and various other explosive devices, police said.

Police said it was possible the men were related.

Political analyst and right-wing specialist Dr Wim Booysse said if the men were related it was possible they belonged to a right-wing underground cell comprising family members.

Huge weapons cache found by police on farm

Sowetan 7/2/92

A POLICE raid on a farm near Volksrust yielded one of the biggest caches of military weapons to date.

Using tracker dogs, members of the SAP combed the area just across the Transvaal-Natal border, on Wednesday and found explosives hidden in the mountains and buried next to a dam wall.

Two brothers, Mr HC Geldenhuys (22) and Mr HP Geldenhuys (33), were arrested and later appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate's Court. The case was postponed until February 26. They were released on R500 bail.

Sowetan Correspondent

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the arrests.

The explosives found were: 2 291 9mm cartridges, 1 018 rounds of 7,62mm cartridges, 868 rounds for .303 rifles, three shotgun rounds, 5 093 rounds for R5 rifles, 19 trip flares, 38 tearsmoke grenades, 42 illumination flares and various other explosives.

Police are investigating.

ANC 'may have prisoners' in Tanzania

WASHINGTON — The ANC may have continued to hold and abuse prisoners in Tanzania even after it stated last May that all such detainees had been freed, the US State Department asserts in its latest annual human rights report. (84A)

The report also notes that "young South Africans" are still being sent to "training centres" in Tanzania and Zambia after "fleeing violence" at home.

"Numerous credible reports of torture and mistreatment by ANC security personnel of ANC defector detainees and alleged SA government spies at ANC refugee camps in Tanzania continued in 1991, even after the ANC's announcement in May that all detainees had been released."

The report says Tanzanian authorities have "refused to intervene when cases are brought to their attention" because liberation movements in Tanzania "enjoy a kind of extraterritorial status".

The International Committee for the Red Cross has been asked to investigate. However, the US is satisfied the ANC is

SIMON BARBER

no longer holding prisoners in Zambia.

"Most of the approximately 2 000 ANC exiles departed Zambia in 1991, although there was an influx of young South Africans fleeing the violence in their country."

Many of these refugees fled first to Swaziland, whose government, in conjunction with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "worked to send them on to their desired destinations, normally ANC training centres in Zambia and Tanzania".

The report records that 30 former MK operatives who had been detained in Tanzania and Uganda over the past decade "claimed to have been tortured on the orders of MK chief of state and ANC national executive committee member Chris Hani and other top ANC officials."

"Upon the return of these detainees to SA, (ANC president) Nelson Mandela said the ANC would attempt to "reconcile" with them, implicitly admitting the truth of some of these claims."

19/12/92
BIB

Arms cache seized in raid on farm

Own Correspondent 7/2/92

DURBAN — The police made one of their biggest finds of military weapons this week when they raided a farm in the Volksrust district, near the Transvaal-Natal border.

Two brothers were arrested after police used tracker dogs to search the area.

Some of the explosives were found hidden in mountains and some buried in a cache against a dam wall.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed that police had arrested brothers H C Geldenhuys (22) and H P Geldenhuys (33), who later appeared in the Volksrust Magistrate's Court. The trial was postponed until February 26 and they were released on R500 bail.

The explosives found were: 2 291 9 mm cartridges, 1 018 rounds of 7,62 mm cartridges, 868 rounds for .303 rifles, three shotgun rounds, 5 093 rounds for R-5 rifles, 19 trip flares, 38 tear-smoke grenades, 42 illumination flares and various other explosives.

Police are investigating. No further details were available.

Fighter home from asylum

By THEMBA KHUMALO

MONTY Mottoung, one of the first three ANC guerrillas to be infiltrated into the country soon after 1976, has been released from a mental asylum.

He was arrested in 1977 after the Goch Street shooting, in which two white men were killed in a warehouse on the western fringes of Johannesburg's city centre.

Mottoung was part of the squad led by Solomon Mahlangu, one of the best known ANC guerrillas, who was sentenced to death as a result of the shootings and hanged in 1979.

Mottoung has been reunited with his mother, Martha Masilela, and the rest of the family, 16 years after the Goch Street incident in Fordburg.

He was declared a State President's discretion patient in 1977 and could not stand trial with Mahlangu.

The third guerrilla in the group disappeared on the day of the shootings and has not been seen since. His identity is unknown to this day.

Mottoung was released in December last year and spent Christmas with his family for the first time since 1977.

Masilela said that after his arrest she was allowed



AT LAST... Monty Mottoung at home in the care of his mother. Now she hopes he will recover fully.

to see her son in hospital, where he was admitted to a psychiatric ward. "I asked for an explanation for his state of mind but no one knew

what happened, including the police. They only told me that they arrested him with guns, that's all. When he left he was normal and he wanted to study motor engineering." The Monty now back with his family is a different man. "When he was released

he had lost weight and he was moody. Up to now he keeps to himself and says virtually nothing to us. We often have to ask him if he is hungry and he responds by either shaking his head or nodding," Masilela said.

When City Press spoke to his mother, Mottoung sat motionless, staring outside.

"It's a legacy of long spells of solitary confinement," said Aitken Ramudzuli, publicity and office administrator of the Association of Ex-Political Prisoners (AEPF).

Ramudzuli said he spoke to Mottoung for two hours after his release. His impression of him afterwards was that life came to a standstill an hour before he and Mahlangu were arrested.

"As far as Mottoung is concerned Mahlangu is still alive. He hasn't passed the trauma of his arrest and his experience

in detention. His memory wanders back to 1977," Ramudzuli said.

Mottoung's behaviour has forced AEPF to ask social workers at Wits Trauma Clinic to treat him. But Mottoung has flatly refused to cooperate with the social workers by refusing to attend counselling sessions at the clinic. However, the social workers have agreed to treat him at home, said Ramudzuli.

He said: "We are doing our best to help our comrade to recover. We've donated R7 768 to his family to meet his basic needs."

"The ANC branch in Duduza plans to start a trust fund for him. We appeal to anyone sympathetic to Mottoung's plight to contribute generously to his trust fund." Masilela said since his release there was a slight improvement in her son's condition.

Slogan aims to save bullets, says PAC wing

8/02/92 11/2/92
THE PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), says the slogan "one settler, one bullet" was adopted to guard against wasting bullets.

Apla's latest newsletter, Azania Combat, published in Dar es Salaam, carries a stern warning against misusing the slogan. In an article headlined "Apla warns slogan abusers", news editor Miendlos Kheswa quotes Apla spokesman "Comrade" Jonny Majozi as saying that "one settler, one bullet" is being used out of context.

"Comrade Majozi said (the) slogan was meant to encourage the Apla combatants

PATRICK BULGER

on the ground not to be wasteful with resources because the resources are costly and difficult to come by. Slogans like "one settler, one bullet" and "high morale, high discipline" had to be used to mobilise and galvanise the oppressed masses to the struggle and not to wage or satisfy egos of misdirected individuals."

Majozi is reported to be "infuriated" by Apla's slogans being used out of context.

"Comrade Majozi said people had to understand the circumstances behind the

8/02/92
adoption of a slogan. He said before any slogan was adopted by the army, the army leadership sat down and viewed (its) relevance," Azania Combat says.

"The slogans are being used to maintain both the theoretical and practical aspects of our struggle. No individuals or group of people are allowed to vulgarise them," Majozi is quoted as saying.

Azania Combat also hits out at the SA government for allowing whites legally to possess, as it claims, 27 weapons each. It warns that Apla is engaged in a "massive" programme to train fighters in SA.

Let's build confidence in new SA

STWOS 16/2/92

IMAGINE this: four US army officers arrive at a Soviet military base to inspect a military exercise involving 16 000 troops and 425 tanks.

They are permitted access to air and ground transport to view the manoeuvre, and leave the Soviet Union satisfied that the force levels given in the Soviets' prior notification of the exercise have not been exceeded.

It may be surprising to learn that this event is not fictional. What is even more surprising is that it occurred in August 1987, well before the thaw in the Cold War.

The event was, in fact, only one example of the "confidence-building measures" jointly agreed on by Nato and the Warsaw Pact to reduce the risks of armed conflict in Europe due to a misunderstanding or miscalculation.

Since the early 70s, confidence-building measures

Laurie Nathan suggests a step-by-step way to bring South Africa's former armed combatants together

have been widely applied — typically between two or more countries whose adversarial relations have assumed military proportions.

The South African situation, in which previously antagonistic armed forces exist within the same country, is obviously quite different. Nevertheless, it should be possible to design confidence-building measures to meet these circumstances.

Although the ANC and the National Party are engaged in negotiations around the establishment of a new constitution and dispensation, there is great suspicion on both sides about the intentions and activities of each

other's armed forces.

The purpose of the confidence-building measures is to enhance trust in leaders and the rank-and-file over the transition process, to reduce mistrust between the two armies and to prepare the armed forces for integration.

There are a number of steps which could be taken. For example, senior officers from both sides could enter into a process of formal discussion around a mutually agreed agenda.

The two armies could introduce "orientation programmes" to help their members adapt to the new political circumstances.

The two armies could pub-

licly agree to a set of values for the new defence force, which each has already endorsed in principle.

Military representatives could be invited to visit each other's bases and inspect each other's facilities. The SADF could invite MK members to participate in technical and officer-training courses at military colleges.

Rank-and-file members could engage in joint cultural or sporting events.

Many, if not all, of these measures may seem extremely difficult to implement in the current atmosphere of mistrust. Yet the point of confidence-building measures is precisely to break down mistrust.

□ Laurie Nathan is coordinator of the Project for Peace and Security at UCT's Centre for Inter-group Studies.



(84)

A MAN WITH REVOLUTION ON HIS MIND



HARROON AZIZ

AN imprisoned ANC guerrilla, unable to use paper and pencil, mentally penned the major part of a book on revolutionary strategy while in solitary confinement in Pretoria Central Prison in 1974.

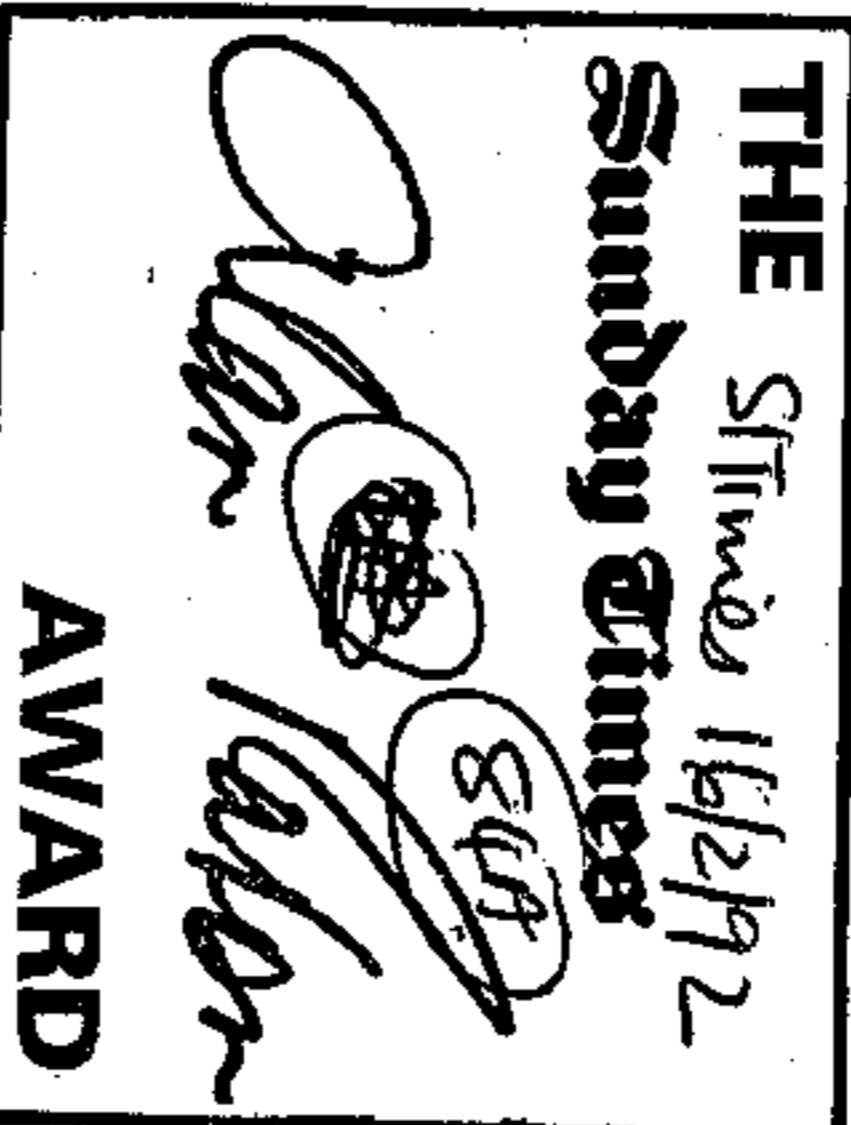
Haroon Aziz — nom de guerre Lopatkin — used the same techniques to memorise the work as he used while learning by rote the Koran as a child.

The work — *The Power Of Revolution* — was written by Aziz after his release and published last year by his own publishing house, Raisa Books.

It is another early nomination for the Sunday Times Alan Paton Award.

Aziz acquired the code name Lopatkin — based on a character in *Not By Bread Alone* by Russian author Drostov — when he worked as an Umkhonto we Sizwe operative in the '60s.

"My role then was essentially to recruit and train young cadres in bushcraft and ideology at Magaliesberg," said Aziz. He also



By HEATHER ROBERTSON

trained guerrillas in martial-art techniques and mental discipline.

He decided to publish *The Power Of Revolution* in December in an effort to counteract the emotionalism and ignorance of activists who chanted slogans without

having an understanding of the political forces at play.

"The book is directed mainly at people in the liberation movement to teach them the scientific objectives of the struggle," Aziz said.

Chapters of the book were used as the basis of ideological training for MK

recruits and cadres of the political underground in ANC camps. The book has a glowing foreword by former MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

With chapters like *A Scientific Understanding of Revolution and The Importance of Psychology in Cultural Liberation*, the book is largely a collection of pamphlets espousing a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the South African conflict.

Already Aziz has sold 900 copies of the book at the New Nation Writers Conference, the SACP Conference and the ANC Conference.

The book was put on the recommended reading list of the House of Delegates' education department.

D

Judge's plea to PAC chief

84A

THE chairman of the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence has appealed to Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu to reconsider his decision not to appear before the commission. *Southam 18/2/92*

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in a statement issued yesterday, again asked Makwetu to meet the commission to discuss statements made by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, the organisation said the move was aimed at "pressuring the PAC to adopt the Codesa line".

"Appearances before the commission is an attempt to criminalise the just struggle of our people. The activities of Apla do not constitute public violence," the organisation said.

The PAC said it was surprising that while violence associated with the Govern-

MOKGADI PELA and Sapa

ment, the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party and the rightwing was occurring daily, none of those organisations' leaders had been summoned to appear before the commission.

Goldstone, however, pointed out that the commission had no direct or indirect link with Codesa.

Goldstone confirmed that he had informed Makwetu that if he refused to hold discussions with the commission, "it would have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry".

He said he invited Makwetu on January 9 to discuss the statements made by the Apla.

On February 12 the general secretary of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, replied that neither Makwetu nor any member of the PAC national executive committee knew anything about the alleged activities of Apla and would therefore be in no position to help.

PAC leader refuses to discuss Apla

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

STAR

18/2/92

The Pan Africanist Congress is bracing itself for a showdown with the Goldstone Commission after PAC president Clarence Makwetu's refusal to appear and give an account for the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The main reason for Mr Makwetu's refusal is that he says he is not responsible for the activities of Apla — the PAC's armed wing.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said the organisation's National Working Committee had told Mr Justice Goldstone that it did not know of "specific acts" carried out by Apla and had referred the commission to Apla headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

The PAC has persistently refused to condemn Apla for its actions, which include the recent killing of policemen.

In a letter delivered to Mr Makwetu last week, Mr Justice Goldstone said the PAC should declare its support or opposition to the Apla policy.

"This is a matter which concerns the PAC whether or not it has control over the policies of Apla," he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission was an independent body, not a creation of Codesa as alleged by the PAC.

Mr Makwetu was also requested to discuss a report in which the PAC president is alleged to have said commissions probing violence were a "waste of time".

"The criminal can never investigate his own activities," Mr Makwetu allegedly said.

This, Mr Justice Goldstone said, was a serious reflection on the integrity of the commission.

He warned Mr Makwetu to reply within 14 days to his invitation or be subpoenaed.

If he fails to appear before the commission, Mr Makwetu could be charged with contempt of court and either spend a year in jail or be fined R4 000.

Mr Alexander said that Mr Makwetu and the PAC were not afraid of prison and dared the commission to have them arrested.

Mr Alexander said other reasons for Mr Makwetu's refusal to appear were:

- The commission was appointed by an "illegitimate" regime.
- The activities of Apla did not constitute "public violence and intimidation", but were part of a just struggle for democracy.

Commuters killed in bomb blast



THREE commuters were killed and a fourth was found dead next to a railway line at Kwesini Station near Katlehong on Monday night.

A police spokesman said the train driver stopped the train at 6.10pm after hearing a loud bang. He then discovered that a grenade had exploded in one of the carriages.

The man found next to the railway line may have jumped off the moving train to escape the blast, according to the police.

Police said yesterday the four sustained bullet and shrapnel wounds.

Two other men were admitted to hospital in a serious condition.

In Natal six people, including a one-year-old child, were killed on Monday in an ambush at Tugela Ferry near Greytown in the Natal Midlands.

A police spokesman said a family of eight was travelling in a bakkie from a village to another when they were gunned down.

In the continuing taxi war in Cape Town, a fire extensively damaged the Nyanga hostel, near the taxi rank on Monday night. - *Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.*

t
-
g
r
s
a
r
it
in
d

Commuters killed in ⁸⁴⁸ ~~blast~~ bomb blast

THREE commuters were killed and a fourth was found dead next to a railway line at Kwesini Station near Kallehong on Monday night.

A police spokesman said the train driver stopped the train at 6.10pm after hearing a loud bang. He then discovered that a grenade had exploded in one of the carriages.

The man found next to the railway line may have jumped off the moving train to escape the blast, according to the police.

Police said yesterday the four sustained bullet and shrapnel wounds.

Two other men were admitted to hospital in a serious condition.

In Natal six people, including a one-year-old child, were killed on Monday in an ambush at Tugela Ferry near Greytown in the Natal Midlands.

A police spokesman said a family of eight was travelling in a bakkie from a village to another when they were gunned down.

In the continuing taxi war in Cape Town, a fire extensively damaged the Nyanga hostel, near the taxi rank on Monday night. - *Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.*

t
g
r
s
a
ir
it
in
d

Azapo wants Katiza's help

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called for the return of fugitive Katiza Cebekhulu to assist in the commission of inquiry into the death of its leader, Dr Abu-

Baker Asvat

Azapo said in a statement yesterday it believed Cebekhulu could help with "crucial" information regarding the mysterious death of Asvat.

Asvat was gunned down in his surgery in Rockville,

Soweto, on January 27

1989 by two men pretending to be patients. The motive was said to be robbery but Azapo has maintained that it was "political assassination."

Azapo said two months ago Cebekhulu had made

"serious allegations claiming he knew those responsible for Asvat's death. We intend having an independent commission of inquiry into the death of Asvat," it

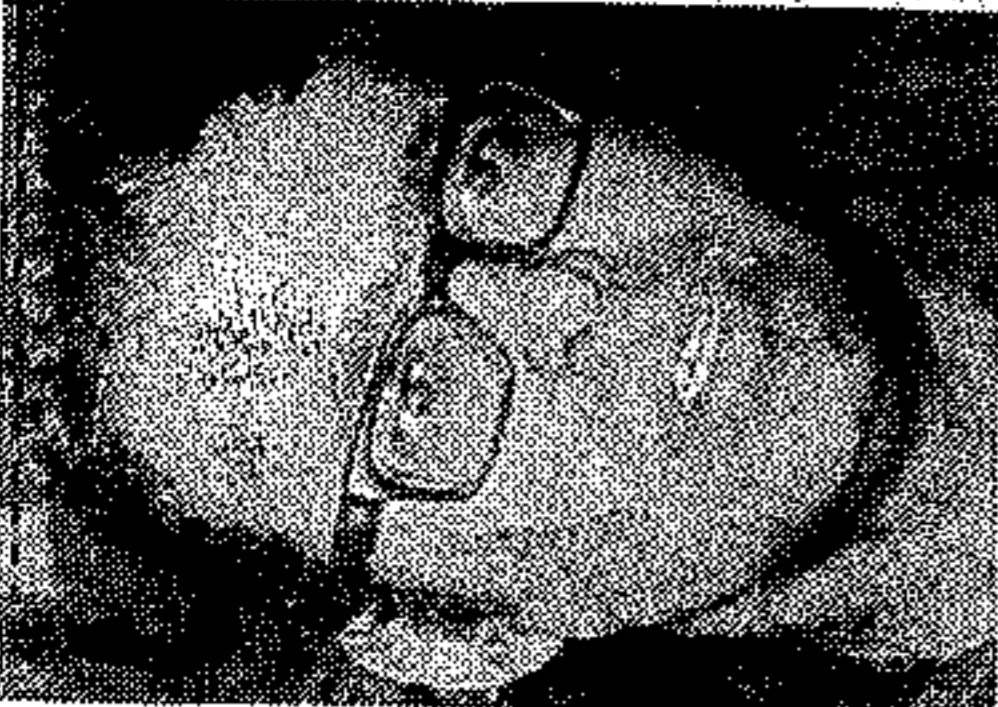
said. Denmark has become the fourth country to refuse

political asylum to Cebekhulu, the Winnie Mandela co-accused currently languishing in a Zambian prison.

Cebekhulu has been held in custody for almost a year for "his own safety" ever since his alleged kidnap-

ping inside South Africa.

The Azapo statement came after it was disclosed that Cebekhulu's requests for asylum had also been turned down in Britain, Sweden and the United States. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



ABU-BAKER ASVAT

19/2/92
Sowetan

84A

Apla claim to killing 'suspect'

Sowetan
19/2/92

POLICE are investigating a claim by an alleged member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army that they carried out Monday's ambush on a police bakkie in Kallehong.

Three municipal policeman were killed and four seriously injured.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the attack took place about 5.50am in Phadima Section.

But police are, however, sceptical about the claim.

Two municipal policemen died at the scene, a third died of his injuries later and four others are in a serious condition at Natalspruit Hospital.

One of the survivors, Constable Lennox Lata, was shot in the right hand by the gunmen. Opperman said the police were investigating the matter.
Sowetan Correspondent.

deteriorate in future, legal steps can still be taken.

- (2) Messrs Thor Chemicals SA (Pty) Ltd.

Mercury-containing substances imported

*23. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

Whether a certain company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, imported any mercury-containing substances in 1991; if so, (a) under which import codes and (b) what is the name of the company in question?

THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY: B137E

Although two import permits have been issued in favour of the company concerned, the Department of Trade and Industry cannot confirm whether the permits were utilised.

- (a) Import code 2620.90

- (b) Thor Chemicals (Pty) Ltd

New questions:

AK 47 rifles seized/surrendered

*1. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (a) How many AK 47 rifles have been (i) seized in the course of police action and (ii) voluntarily surrendered to the South African Police for reward since 1 January 1990 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) (i) 1 075

- (ii) 241

- (b) 1 January 1991 until 24 January 1992.

Right-wing organizations: members guilty of acts of terrorism

*2. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any members of right-wing organizations were convicted of committing acts of terrorism during the period 1 January 1991 up

to the latest specified date in 1992 for which figures are available; if so, (a) how many, (b) of which organizations did they claim to be members and (c) of which acts of terrorism were they convicted?

B122-3E

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No.

- (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

Working group on education

*3. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether he, any members of his Department and/or any other Ministers were involved in a working group on education which sat between March and July 1991; if so, (a) which persons were involved and (b) what were the dates of the meetings of the working group;

- (2) whether the group devised a draft report on its activities; if not, why not; if so,

- (3) whether any party, group or individual repudiated the report in any way after it had been drafted; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (4) whether a final report was accepted?

B138E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) Persons involved:

Dr C J van der Merwe: Minister of Education and Training

Adv L A Pienaar: Minister of National Education and Environment Affairs

Mr P G Marais: Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid.

Dr J B Z Louw: Director-General, Department of Education and Training

Dr J G Garbers: Director-General, Department of National Education

Mr J Samuel: Head, ANC Education Desk

Continued

Prof N C Manganyi: Vice-Chancellor, University of the North

Dr N J McGurk: SA Association of Independent Schools

Mr S M Ramokgopa: AZAPO

Mr I Rensburg: General Secretary, National Education

Co-ordinating Committee (NECC).

- (b) 9 March 1991

- 28 March 1991

- 20 April 1991

- 17 and 18 May 1991

- 14 June 1991

- 17 July 1991

- (2) Yes.

- (3) No.

- (4) No. The report was however accepted by the working group. The working group originated after a meeting between the State President and a delegation lead by Mr Mandela on 25 February 1991 regarding education matters. At a follow-up meeting on 19 August 1991 the contents of the report were noted.

Recognition of two teacher bodies

*4. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether he has recognised, for the purposes of negotiation in education, two teacher bodies, the names of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a)(i) when and (ii) under what conditions were they so recognised and (b) what number of teachers does each represent;

- (2) what are the names of these two bodies;

- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B139E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) No, because the applications are still being considered.

- (a) (i) Falls away.

- (ii) Falls away.

- (b) Final, verified membership numbers of the two bodies are not yet available.

- (2) The names of the bodies are:

- (i) South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU); and

- (ii) National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa (NAPTOSA).

- (3) No.

Financial institutions: deposit insurance

*5. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether, in the light of the recent failure of certain financial institutions, the Government is considering (a) the introduction of deposit insurance for financial institutions in South Africa and (b) giving assistance to investors in a certain financial institution, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (i) what conditions are being contemplated in regard to such insurance and (ii) what assistance to such investors is being contemplated; if not, why not, in each case;

- (2) whether it is the intention to give such assistance in the future; if so, what assistance;

- (3) what is the name of the financial institution referred to in paragraph (1) above?

B144E

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) (a) No; Notwithstanding the cost burden which would be placed on the industry, deposit insurance would lead to an undermining of management efficiency and risk management in financial institutions;

- (b) No; Investors voluntarily contracted with the institution concerned to invest their investments as agent and according to the agent's discretion.

The Government or regulatory authorities cannot be held responsible for the business decisions of investors, given the fact that the aforementioned investors without coercion and by agreement granted a

Continued

1992

January 58 9
February 21 7

(b) 10 February 1992.


Note:

The 1991 figures for KwaZulu are only for persons killed in areas controlled by the South African Police.

Suspected right-wing terrorism: incidents

71. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:  B161E

(1) (a) How many incidents of suspected right-wing terrorism were investigated by the South African Police in 1991 and 1992, respectively, and (b) how many of these cases had been solved as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether any persons have been arrested in connection with these incidents; if so, (a) (i) how many and (ii) in connection with how many such incidents in each case and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?  B161E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) 1991 — 12
1992 — 6

(b) 9

14 February 1992.

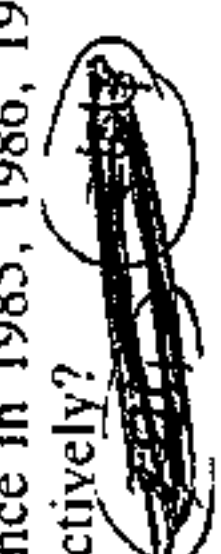
(2) Yes.

(a) (i) 15
(ii) 9

14 February 1992.

Persons killed/injured in violence

73. Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

How many persons were (a) killed and (b) injured in violence in 1985, 1986, 1989, 1990 and 1991, respectively?  B173E


The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	(a)	(b)
1985	823	2 626
1986	973	2 548
1989	659	1 425
1990	2 674	4 328
1991	2 239	3 185

Note:

Statistics with regard to unrest-related incidents.

Crime: Sandton/Bramley/Wynberg/Lombardy East

84. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order: 

How many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide, (c) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, (d) common assault, (e) rape, (f) robbery, (g) theft of vehicles and cycles, (h) damage to property, (i) housebreaking with intent to steal and theft and (j) possession of drugs were reported at the (i) Sandton, (ii) Bramley, (iii) Wynberg/Alexandra and (iv) Lombardy East police stations in 1991?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: B229E

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
(i)	15	38	85	270	37	272	944	74	433	2 346
(ii)	52	37	115	203	26	916	622	17	532	1 223
(iii)	364	29	731	523	207	552	229	—	399	366
(iv)	10	10	27	81	9	198	179	19	134	687

Note:

(g) (i) vehicles
(ii) cycles

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(3) whether any such housing complexes in Algoa Park and Sidwell in the Port Elizabeth area have been opened to members of all race groups; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State-funded housing complexes: all race groups

*1. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether members of all race groups are allowed to rent and/or purchase, or place their names on waiting lists for, housing units in low-income State-funded housing complexes; if not, why not; if so,

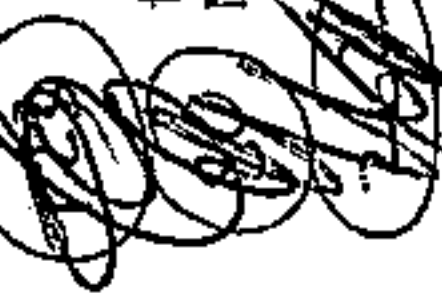
(2) whether, in view of the repeal of the Group Areas Act, it is the policy of the Government to allow local authorities to apply racial integration in respect of such housing complexes; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will local authorities be allowed to do so; if so,

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes. If local authorities have surplus housing units at their disposal after the needs of the population groups for which it was originally planned, have been satisfied, the housing boards of the various own affairs administrations may grant approval that it may be placed at the disposal of other population groups, where such a need exists. (a) and (b) fall away.

(3) The housing complexes in Algoa Park and Sidwell in the Port Elizabeth area fall under the purview of the responsibilities of the Minister of Correctional Services and of Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

(4) No.



†The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

C1E

Apla admits ambushing police bakkie

847
STAR 19/2/92
By Guy Jepson

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), military wing of the PAC, has confirmed that its operatives ambushed a police bakkie in Katlehong on Monday, killing three municipal policemen and seriously injuring four others.

Speaking by telephone from Dar es Salaam yesterday, Apla's chief information officer Jonny Majozi told The Star that field information operative Carlson Zimbiri had been authorised to accept responsibility for the attack on behalf of the organisation.

Mr Majozi said Apla would continue to target security force members until its objective, the establishment of a constituent assembly, had been realised.

While he conceded that not all the recent attacks on policemen had been engineered by Apla, Mr Majozi said Apla operatives had carried out "a number" of attacks.

On the thorny question of whether orders for the attacks emanated from the offices of the PAC, Mr Majozi said that although Apla got its "direction" from the PAC, its commanders decided on the "specifics", such as the targets for attack.



Swanierville squatter leader Mathole Motsekga holds up a fax from the AWB threatening the forcible dismantling of shacks by the end of the month if the occupants do not leave by then.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Man who threatened judge unknown — Apla

B/day 20/2/92 (84A)

IT WAS unlikely the Goldstone Commission would comment yet on a warning issued yesterday to Mr Justice Goldstone by a man purporting to be a field political commissar of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), a senior member of the commission said.

Mr Justice Goldstone was unavailable for comment.

The caller, who identified himself as Tafara Rafara, phoned Sapa to warn Mr Justice Goldstone he would be responsible for any action taken against PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu on Tuesday vowed he would rather go to jail than testify before the commission on reported attacks on police by Apla operatives.

Apla information chief in Dar es Salaam Johnny Majozo said yesterday Rafara was unknown to the organisation's high command. While Majozo backed Makwetu's

refusal to testify before the commission on the grounds that Apla's struggle could not be classified in the same way as township violence, it was not the organisation's policy to target civilians, he said.

A PAC statement issued in SA said Apla's activities did not constitute public violence and intimidation as they were "related to the historical necessity to destroy white domination and replace it with justice and democracy".

Our Durban correspondent reports that PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said government would be "putting its hand into a beehive" if it "dared" to arrest Makwetu.

Speaking at a news conference on PAC policy regarding Codesa and the Goldstone Commission, Nemadzivhanani hinted that arresting Makwetu could result in an attack on the "regime". — Sapa.

Apla denies threat on judge Goldstone

Sowetan 20/2/92

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army yesterday distanced itself from the man who threatened bloodshed if PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu was forced to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

In a statement from the Tanzanian capital Dar es Salaam, the PAC's military wing said the man was unknown to them and, furthermore, it was not its policy to target civilians.

The statement was issued by the organisation's chief of information Mr Johnny Majozo, who backed Makwetu's refusal to testify to the commission.

He said the Apla's high command had no knowledge of Tafara Rafara, who issued

the threats yesterday, claiming he was a political commissar in the organisation.

"It is definitely not Apla's policy to target civilians," Majozo said.

Apla has admitted responsibility for the murder of several policemen this year and warned more killings should be expected, despite an outcry from the black community.

In defending Makwetu's stance not to testify, Majozo said there was no way that Apla's "struggle" could be classified in the same way as township violence.

Makwetu has turned down a request by Mr Justice Goldstone to give evidence before the Commission, saying he would rather go to jail. - *Sapa*.



PAC threat to judge who heads violence commission

STAR 20/2/92
A man claiming to be a "field political commissar" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, yesterday issued a warning to Mr Justice Goldstone that he would be held responsible for any action against PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

"Apla wishes to put it on record that Goldstone himself will personally be held responsible for bloodshed as a result of his provocative and irresponsible actions," the man, who called himself Tafara Rafara, said by telephone.

The warning came only a day after Mr Makwetu himself vowed he would rather go to jail than testify on reported attacks on police by Apla operatives before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

The commission is headed by Mr Justice Goldstone.

The caller purporting to be Mr Rafara warned: "The commanders of Apla will in no way restrain forces on the ground from taking any action they deem fit in defence of president (Clarence) Makwetu and the PAC leadership."

There was no immediate comment from the Goldstone Commission or the PAC.

The PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Patri-

cia de Lille, said by telephone: "I can't help you on this issue. I can only refer you to PAC's external headquarters where you can contact Apla."

Police said that at this stage they were not in a position to comment on the warning against Mr Justice Goldstone.

Mr Rafara said Apla supported the PAC's position that "an illegitimate and illegal regime cannot set up a legitimate commission and issue legal orders to our leader".

Mr Rafara also warned government on possible action against Mr Makwetu.

"Apla wishes to warn the South African regime that any action taken by the Goldstone Commission against Comrade Makwetu will not be taken lying down by Apla forces and the people of Azania.

"We of Apla can assure the racist regime that any action of humiliation against Comrade Makwetu will be too costly in terms of human life as it is bound to trigger the uncontrollable anger of the oppressed and humiliated people of this land."

Mr Rafara said the only solution to violence lay with the oppressed demonstrating their ability to defend themselves.

He added that attacks on police were Apla's main campaign.

A police spokesman said attacks on their men would not be tolerated.
— Sapa.

Bomb shatters panes on Rhodes campus

STATE
Crime Staff 20/2/92

A bomb detonated on the Rhodes University campus yesterday, shattering windows but causing no injuries.

The device exploded outside the Rhodes Union building at about 4.10 am, said the university's press officer, Mary Burnett.

The Rhodes Union building houses a number of student organisations and societies, the university canteen and the campus radio station, Rhodes Music Radio, which appeared to take the main force of the

blast.

Station director Marc Bovim claimed that the attack could not have been directed against the radio station, which he said was popular with all Rhodes students.

Miss Burnett said university officials had been informed by the police that the bomb consisted of 250 to 500 grams of commercial explosives which had been planted outside the building.

However, Eastern Cape Police spokesman Lieutenant Lisbe Vermeulen said this had not yet been confirmed.

SA
SLA

PAC raises a row over Goldstone commission

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

By Sabata Ngcai

A MAN claiming to be a "field political commissar" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), military wing of the PAC, this week threatened Mr Justice Goldstone that he would be held responsible for any action against PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu refuses to testify before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence, even if subpoenaed.

APLA has distanced itself from the threats, saying the man was unknown to them and it was not their policy to target civilians.

"APLA wishes to put it on record that Goldstone himself will personally be held responsible for any blood that will be shed as a result of his provocative and irresponsible actions," the man, identifying himself as Tafara Rafara, said.

"The commanders of APLA will in no way restrain the forces on the ground from taking any action they deem fit in defence of president Makwetu and the whole PAC leadership."

The commission has appealed to Makwetu to testify or be subpoenaed about alleged violent activities of the PAC's military wing.

It is alleged that APLA killed a number of policemen in the last few months.

In their statement dismissing the threats to Goldstone, APLA's chief of information, Mr Johnny Majozo, admitted responsibility for the killings.

Makwetu, however, denied allegations that APLA was involved in violence.

He said in Cape Town this week he could not expect justice from the commission "as it is an institution created by the racist illegitimate regime".

If he was threatened with imprison-



DEFIANT: PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu

ment, his answer would be "I have suffered many years of imprisonment for my beliefs".

"The liberation of my people from 'baaskap' is an aim which I cherish, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to pay the price of incarceration."

Makwetu said it was clear that the principal perpetrators of violence had neither been questioned nor arrested.

"Does Judge Goldstone have plans to summon the Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, Mr FW. de Klerk, to

answer widespread allegations that his army is engaged in the most notorious activities against my people?"

"Is Judge Goldstone about to summon the Commissioner of Police to account for the SAP's possible involvement in the train massacres on the Reef?"

"Are the presidents of the principal organisations involved in the violence being invited to testify why violence rages although they solemnly signed the Peace Accord?"

Bomb explodes at Rhodes University

W/Mail
By BULELWA PAYI
Grahamstown

2/2-27/2/92



84A

A BOMB exploded outside the Students' Union at Rhodes University on Wednesday, causing minor damage to the building.

Ten windows were damaged in the explosion but no one was injured.

University press liaison officer Mary Burnett said the bomb, placed outside the Rhodes Music Radio (RMR) studio, was a commercial plastic explo-

sive which detonated at 4.10am.

She said at this stage the university had "no idea who placed it" but would launch an investigation once the police had completed theirs.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Lisbe Vermuelen said the police did not suspect the use of commercial explosive.

President of the Students' Representative Council Daryl Lee said the bomb could have been planted by an external rightwing organisation.

"Relations between political organisations and the SRC are very good, I doubt it was somebody on campus," he said.

RMR station manager Marc Bovin said it was not clear whether the bomb was directed at the SRC, the university or the radio station.

The South African Students' Congress condemned the incident "from whatever quarters it came from".

— Ana

BY PAUL STOBBER
ANOTHER attack by the Pan Africanist Congress' armed wing left three more policemen dead this week, but the PAC continues to refuse to accept responsibility for the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In a letter sent to Judge Richard Goldstone explaining why PAC president Clarence Makwetu has refused to appear before the Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, the organisation claimed no member of its national executive had any knowledge of Apla activities. Instead, it referred the commission to the Apla headquarters in the capital of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam.

PAC spokesman Waters Toboti explained that Apla is controlled by a military commission situated in Dar-es-Salaam. He insisted: "No member of the PAC NEC is a member of the military commission." However, he later admitted that "those in the military commission cherish the ideals and objectives of the PAC".

At a media conference this week, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said "the activi-

PAC denies links to killing of policemen

21/2 - 27/2/92

ties of Apla do not constitute public violence and intimidation but are part of a just struggle for democracy".

Toboti accused the government of using the Goldstone Commission to try to force his organisation to join the Congress for a Democratic South Africa.

He also rejected Judge Goldstone's assertion of the commission's independence from the government. "If the commission is independent, why does it have the legal power to send the police to enforce a subpoena?" he asked.

According to Judge Goldstone, "the commission wishes to discuss with Makwetu the attitude of the PAC towards the policy and statements of Apla. This is a matter which concerns the PAC whether or not it has control over the policies of Apla."

The PAC has never disassociated itself from Apla and has refused

to condemn it for the recent spate of attacks on policemen for which it has claimed responsibility.

Judge Goldstone has warned Makwetu that if he refuses to appear before the commission, "it will have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry".

On Tuesday Makwetu stated he would rather go to jail than appear before the commission if he is subpoenaed. Failure to appear could mean that he will be liable for a year in jail or a R4 000 fine.

On Wednesday a man calling himself Tafara Rafara, the field political commissar of Apla, issued a warning to Judge Goldstone that he would be held responsible for action taken against Makwetu.

"Apla wishes to place on record that Goldstone will be held responsible personally for any blood that will be shed as a result of his irresponsible actions," he said.

But in a statement issued from Dar-es-Salaam the next day, Apla denied any knowledge of the man and distanced itself from his threat. "It is definitely not Apla policy to target civilians," said Apla's chief information officer, Johnny Majozo.

Apla has been reported as saying the organisation will continue to target security force members until a constituent assembly is established.

On Wednesday the Goldstone Commission withdrew an invitation to the president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, to appear before it. He had been asked to discuss media reports linking "organisations affiliated to Azapo" to a grenade blast in the offices of a company linked to the Paul Simon tour. Azapo had opposed the tour.

In a letter to Azapo, Judge Goldstone said the organisation's insistence that neither it nor its youth wing, the Azanian Youth Organisation, was involved in violence during the tour meant the commission would take the issue no further.

fight - Apla

We are real, and we will

STAR 22/2/92

IN South Africa these days, policemen get killed all the time. Last year, 145 men in blue were mowed down — that's one dead every two and a half days. The words "Policeman shot" in a newspaper headline were becoming as regular as "bank robbed" or "prices to rise".

Then last October, a man calling himself Carlson Zimbiri began telephoning newspapers with a story that always began like this: "The attack was carried out by three Apla combatants ..." Suddenly the issue looked different.

Apla, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, is the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. This week it claimed responsibility for an ambush in Katlehong which left four policemen dead.

The fact that Apla might be killing policemen in pursuit of political goals has shifted perceptions away from cops and criminals shooting it out towards an awkward question: is there a significant constituency in the townships that believes the armed struggle should never have been dropped?

That issue has tended to get lost in wrangling over whether Apla is actually capable of all these attacks. Jonny Majozi insists that it is — not surprisingly, perhaps, since he is Apla's information secretary.

Speaking from Dar-es-Salaam, Mr Majozi told me: "For a long time the press has been ignoring the activities of the PAC and Apla. So people have the impression that we only started in earnest this year, whereas the PAC army has been consistent in its operations since 1986."

The police, not surprisingly either, don't want to give Apla too much credence. "While we take Apla's claims seriously, they are not above claiming responsibility for killings they haven't done," says Law and Order ministry representative Captain Craig Kotze. "We are sceptical about their claimed ability to kill policemen."

Mr Majozi says: "The build-up in activity reflects a definite expansion taking place in Apla ranks. Our strategy has been to train people outside and to set up training camps within South Africa."

One political risk analyst esti-

Armed cadres of the PAC's military wing could be about to infiltrate back into South Africa soon.
JOHN PERLMAN reports.

mates that "there are between 350 and 410 well-trained Apla cadres outside the country. Some have just finished their training in Libya. They are likely to start infiltrating back pretty soon."

Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies puts Apla's trained strength at "around about 600". He adds, however, that "you can teach someone to use an AK47 or a hand grenade in a day. And if they can lay hands on a supply of hand grenades and AKs they can cause a reasonable amount of havoc".

Some of the scepticism about Apla's current capacity may stem from past perceptions that it was a small player compared to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC.

That view is to some extent borne out by indicators of guerilla activity. Gary van Staden, a researcher for the South African Institute for International Affairs, notes that in 1986 just 38 Apla insurgents were captured or killed — frequently while trying to enter the country — compared with 660 from MK.

The hard fact in 1992, though, is that MK is bound to hold fire while Apla is not. "Our target has always been the security forces, both black and white — and blue and yellow for that matter," says Mr Majozi. "Our activities are definitely going to intensify. We remain firm that civilians are not among our targets."

The police — formally at least — are not treating this as a political phenomenon.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neville Thoms heads up a team of 10 detectives whose full-time job is to investigate killings of policemen in Soweto, where 37 officers died last year. "There are definitely two different things," he says, "The case where a policeman is shot while making an arrest, and

when gangs of people go round shooting policemen."

It is these planned attacks which Apla has tended to claim as its work. Colonel Thoms says it is "still speculation" to call these the work of Apla.

Colonel Thoms does however concede that while informants have come forward with information that has led to arrests in some cases, incidents for which Apla has claimed responsibility "have been more difficult".

"Information has been harder to come by," he says, despite police offering a reward of R25 000.

He says Apla involvement does not alter his task. "I feel that a guy who kills someone is a criminal, even if he has a political motive — which I don't believe he could have at this particular time," says Colonel Thoms. "The police have nothing to do with politics."

But politics is likely to have a great deal to do with whether this wave of police killings ebbs or not. "Apla will cease its attacks when the political goals set down by the PAC are met — a democratic formula for the establishment of a constituent assembly," Mr Majozi says.

That implies an absolute unity of purpose between Apla and the internal PAC which some question. The PAC inside the country has been non-committal regarding Apla's claims — "We neither condemn nor condone Apla". "That simply reflects a dilemma inside the PAC," said one observer.

"According to their constitution, Apla must at all times consult with the party."

Mr Zimbiri, following a December attack on a Soweto police station, reflected that division in a different way: "While our leadership decides over Codesa, we will continue the fight."

His remark begs a more long-term question: is that view simply confined to the PAC? Is that not a choice that others might make if events make it hard for political leaders to keep the rein on black rage?

All the ingredients are there — over-stretched security forces, high-powered weaponry available at street level — for others to make policemen their targets. Perhaps some have already started doing just that.

Mourner dies in grenade attack

STimes 23/2/92

Sunday Times Reporters

A WOMAN died and three mourners were injured yesterday when a grenade was hurled into a crowd after a funeral in Meadowlands, Soweto.

In apparent retaliatory attacks, three people visiting the old Meadowlands hostel were attacked and wounded, one seriously.

Since the beginning of the month, 10 people have been killed in feuding be-

tween Inkatha and the ANC and at least 26 injured. (S4A) (S4B)

The grenade was thrown at mourners after the burial of Bheki Mgune, 22, who was killed by unknown gunmen last Sunday.

Mrs Ndlovu, a 78-year-old neighbour, died and three people were taken to hospital.

At a bus stop near the old hostel, Mrs Julia Mathsidiso, 38, was stabbed twice in the back.

Hani justifies MK bomber's actions

84A

Sowetan 27/2/92

~~84A~~

Sowetan Correspondent

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday told the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court that he did not believe MK member Mr Jeremy Seeber should be punished for bombing a hotel in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, in 1986.

Hani said the struggle between the then-banned ANC and the Government had escalated to total war. "We had to hit back with everything at our disposal," he said.

The business community became targets of MK attacks because they were seen as Government accomplices through their willingness to collaborate in arms manufacture.

Seeber (25) said yesterday he had placed a limpet mine in a towelling dispenser at the upstairs bar of the Devonshire Hotel on September 26 1986 after establishing that it was frequented by many SA Breweries and Liberty Life employees.

The device exploded, causing slight injuries to Mr Michael Paulson, Mr Richard Zuma and Mr Henning Snyman and R80 000 damage.

Seeber was found guilty on a charge of attempted murder and one of causing an explosion.

Prosecutor Miss J van der Bijl, for the State, told Hani that the bar was frequented by many University of the Witwatersrand students who may have sympathised with

the ANC.

Questioned by Van der Bijl, Seeber said the victims were unfortunate casualties of a war situation.

"I regret that I had to go to such an extent to demonstrate my opposition to the Government as it was then," he said.

Seeber said he joined MK in 1986 after telling a close friend at Wits University that he wanted to play a more active role in the struggle against the Government. After undergoing military training he was given instructions by his commander to place a bomb in the Devonshire Hotel.

The operation was later described by MK commanders as successful, Seeber said.

Seeber was arrested in August 1990. He said that while in custody he had many discussions with rightwingers, particularly Orde Boerevolk chief-of-staff Mr Leonard Veenendal, who is still wanted by Namibia in connection with the sabotage of a United Nations base in 1989.

Seeber's counsel, Mr Gilbert Marcus, told the magistrate, Mr J Esterhuizen, that the most recent application for indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute had not yet been considered. No reasons were given for the previous refusal, he said.

The case continues.

Probe of ANC camps invited

STAR 29/2/92

THE ANC, trying to quell claims that it is still holding prisoners in camps outside the country, yesterday invited international human-rights bodies to inspect the camps.

"The ANC again reiterates that we have no prisoners. Those organisations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, which wish to inspect alleged prison camps are welcome to do so through countries concerned," it said in a statement.

On Thursday, the International Freedom Foundation supported appeals apparently made by a UN-backed organisation to the ANC to aid investigations of people allegedly murdered, or still held, in ANC camps.

The IFF said appeals

had been made by the International Society for Human Rights, which the foundation said was backed by the UN.

According to an IFF statement, the ISHR had sent a letter to ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, reiterating its protest.

The IFF noted among several allegations that more than 500 people were still being held and that detainees had been tortured or executed. The ANC allegedly never responded to IFF demands that prison camps be subjected to a Red Cross inspection.

The IFF had rejected the ANC's suggestion that a commission of inquiry including ANC members could perform such an inspection, saying this had to be done by a neutral party. — Sapa.

Cracked mirror convinces farmers of 'ANC terror war'

STimes 11/3/92 *Open 84A*

WHEN two burly farmers unveiled a cracked mirror in Bloemfontein this week, any doubts that the platteland was at war were swept away.

The mirror, from a house burgled in Verkeerdevlei last week, was daubed with the letters "ANC".

Farmers at the Free State Agricultural Union's special congress on security are convinced the ANC is waging a terror campaign to drive them from their farms.

This week they streamed into Bloemfontein by the hundreds to vent their anger and frustration at what they see as spin-offs of the new South Africa — squatters, crime and murder.

They believe lawlessness has been boosted by the return of political exiles and the early release of convicted criminals.

A top-level police delegation assured them there were no political motives or ANC involvement in the attacks, but the surprise unveiling of the mirror — cracked en route from Verkeerdevlei to Bloemfontein — was all that was needed to strengthen the farmers' views.

The message from congress delegates was: "A war is on — and we won't take it lying down."

They gave the authorities six weeks

By PETER MALHERBE

to implement a list of demands, which included:

- Financial support for protection measures such as a radio network, security fences around homesteads, farm guards and patrols;

- The use of national servicemen for protection in rural areas;

- An increase in the number of policemen in rural areas.

In the conference centre on the campus of the University of the Orange Free State, security companies snatched the opportunity to display their wares — electric fences, alarms and intricate lighting systems.

At the start of the congress, union president Dr Piet Gous appealed to delegates to "play the ball, not the man".

But, for many, the three government representatives on stage proved a far more appealing target than the issues under discussion.

They were Minister of Agriculture Dr Kraai van Niekerk, deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers and deputy Minister of Defence Wynand Breytenbach.

Dr Van Niekerk was coolly received, but there was no heckling when he got down to the nitty-gritty of

the government's drought-relief scheme.

As one delegate remarked: "We don't like him or his government, but it doesn't help to bite the hand that's going to feed you."

Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers was jeered loudly when he suggested the government's reform moves had led to the lifting of sanctions.

Momentarily losing his cool, he hit back by saying the people should then vote in the referendum.

A representative from the Parys Farmers' Association, Mr Niek Kemp, described the terror campaign as the "final wave against farmers and Christianity".

A speaker from Vrede said the outcome of the battle would decide whether there would still be farmers in the Free State by the end of the decade.

Reflecting the mood of the congress, Dr Gous said the issue was not about solving the murders and attacks on farms, but about the survival of farmers, their families and labourers.

He said farmers were facing a determined and planned attempt to drive them from their land.

"This is a political-military problem which cannot easily be blamed on only economic factors," he added.

not the group wish to have any business dealings with van der Merwe

SUSAN RUSSELL

of several

'No' vote an 'economic crisis'

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The equity market will probably be pushed to new highs by a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum, Board of Executors senior portfolio manager Rob Lee says in the latest Economic Outlook.

Significant support for the negotiation process would remove a major source of uncertainty, boost domestic and foreign investor confidence and enhance the probability of a fast and sustained economic upswing over the next three years or more. Growth rates as high as 4-5% a year were possible. *BIDAN 2/3/92*

A "no" vote, bringing with it sanctions and a massive flight of capital and skills, would be economically devastating and would result in a dramatic fall in the equity market. A narrow "yes" vote would have confusing implications for the market.

Lee expected a cut in bank rate within the next few weeks, probably after the referendum and the Budget.

He said the short term economic outlook had deteriorated as a result of the drought, the delayed world economic upswing and inflation.

"Present estimates suggest that the impact of the drought will be to reduce GDP growth by 0,5% or more, increase inflation by 0,5%-1% and reduce the trade surplus by about R2,5bn."

Lee said longer term economic prospects had been strengthened by strong indications that IMF support would be available to SA.

"The remarkable progress being made within the Codesa negotiation process, plus a forthcoming Budget that looks set to cut spending and boost investment are also positive for the longer term outlook," he said.

"This has very positive long-term implications, and makes one more comfortable about the still relatively high fiscal deficit (about 4,5% of GDP) that is likely to eventuate."

Lee expected a generalised world upswing to develop by year-end with equity markets, except the Japanese, being kept bullish for most of the year by falling interest rates and inflation.

We'll take up arms again, says Sisulu

BONN — The ANC will renew its armed struggle if a government of the extreme right takes power in the event the March 17 referendum seeking support for dismantling apartheid fails, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu says.

In an interview with the German magazine Der Spiegel, Sisulu said if President F W de Klerk did not get majority support for a negotiated settlement, "then we could have a gov-

ernment of the extreme right which would reintroduce apartheid".

In such a case, he said, "we would fight such a regime just as we have fought the government, just as long as it did not commit itself to ... reform".

Sisulu also evoked the possibility of a coup staged by the extreme right.

"We are living in a crazy country and I can't rule out that some madmen might make such an insane at-

tempt," he said. *84A*

On the ANC's rejection of the principle of a referendum, Sisulu said it "would never accept a veto, and would follow the road to democracy through peaceful negotiations."

He called on "all reasonable whites" to vote "yes" to stop right-wing extremists from making SA go back.

"Every vote for the right is a vote for chaos and ruin," he said. — Sapa-AFP.

AWD ... BIDAN ...

DEADLOCK ON UMKHONTO

Sunday Times 8/3/92

EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

THE existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the ANC's refusal to renounce armed struggle have emerged as the stumbling block to progress in negotiations for an interim executive authority which would oversee the election of a constitution-making body.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee all warned this week that no mixed cabinet could be introduced unless MK was disbanded.

But MK chief of staff

Chris Hani said yesterday the matter could only be resolved once an interim executive authority was in place, not before.

While the ANC recognised that the government saw this as an important issue, the ANC needed to be reassured that the security forces were under the control of the interim executive and could not frustrate the negotiating process before MK was disbanded, he said.

Despite the deadlock on

MK, the ANC and the government moved closer to agreement at Codesa this week on what sort of body should oversee the election of an interim government.

The government has accepted the ANC's proposal for an appointed interim executive, but how the body will be appointed, how it will be constituted and what powers it will have are still to be negotiated.

The government proposes that people from other parties should be included in the existing cabinet, but the ANC wants a separate interim executive.

'Urgent talks' on arms

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

84A

communists, he said.

Communism and the SA Communist Party are emerging as a central theme in referendum speeches by right-wing leaders.

Mr Kriel warned Mr Marais not to scare voters with communism as its days were over.

He added that the Government would not prescribe to the ANC about the inclusion of communists in a transitional government, just as the ANC could not prescribe to the Government who should represent it on such a body.

Mr Marais said the SACP and ANC wanted to seize power and make the country ungovernable. He added that the SACP controlled the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mr Kriel said the Government would not allow the ANC or SACP to seize power.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

The Government would not enter into agreements in the negotiations process unless the ANC ended the armed struggle, Law and Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL said last night.

Two further preconditions were that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, ceased its activities and that arms caches were "properly handled", he said during a TV debate with Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais.

Urgent talks were taking place about these issues, Mr Kriel said. STAR 9/13/92

Mr Marais said he condemned right-wing violence, but the Afrikaner people would turn to "extra-parliamentary means" if their rights were removed. This would happen when a transitional government was established and it included

Blasts rock SABC radio tower

84A CT 9/3/92

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two explosions at the SABC FM tower at Greenbushes rocked surrounding suburbs shortly after midnight on Saturday, causing panic and confusion, but little damage.

Houses shook and window panes were broken, but no one was injured. By last night nobody had claimed responsibility for the blasts.

The two consecutive blasts about 30 minutes after midnight set off burglar alarms across the district.

There was a common suspicion among residents of the area that the purpose was to cause confusion and

uncertainty before the approaching referendum.

Police duty officer Captain Dewald Grundlingh said police were still investigating the nature and extent of the damage.

"The only reported damage to the transmission station is that two anchor cables have been broken and there is some damage to the main mast," he said. He said last night police had not yet ascertained the cause of the explosions.

Mrs Monica Flanagan of Erica Dene in Greenbushes described the explosions as "petrifying". She said their

windows "popped open" and the walls "pulled away" from the roof.

"This morning, dust was everywhere, and I had to sweep the entire house. We have some cracks in our walls and the back windows shattered from the blast."

Mr Ernest Kapp, who lives next door to Mrs Flanagan, said: "Our house shook and when my wife went outside it was so misty she couldn't see the lights of the tower and she thought that the whole tower had blown up."

Many people living in the vicinity thought that it was an earth tremor by the way the ground and houses shook.

Mr Pierre Kapp of Rowallan Park said he had heard the blasts from his home. "The windows rattled and the walls shook. Burglar alarms went off all over Rowallan Park and people ran outside in their pyjamas."

Mr Eugene van der Bergh of Sherwood said he had been woken up by the first blast. "Then there was a second blast which was much heavier than the first. The whole house rattled. We thought it was an earthquake."

An SABC spokesman said that there had been no interruption of broadcasts from the transmission tower. He said measures had already been taken to stabilise the station.

FREED ANC bomber Jeremy Seeber, 25, has no regrets about blowing up a busy Johannesburg hotel bar and says: "I would do it again under the same political circumstances."

Seeber, who wants to work for the "future government", was given a suspended 10-year sentence on Friday after being found guilty of attempted murder and unlawful possession of explosives.

He now intends seeking a full pardon, because he does not believe he should be punished at all.

He regards himself as an ANC "soldier" and dismissed his victims as "casualties of war".

But businessman Henning Snyman, one of three men hurt in the mini-limpet blast at the Devonshire Hotel in Braamfontein at lunchtime on September 26 1986, said yesterday:

"If he was a soldier, he should have taken his courage in both hands and attacked armed forces.

"Attacking innocent and unarmed civilians is not an act of war — it's an act of cowardice.

"This was a brutal and calculated act. I hate Jeremy Seeber, what he stands for and anyone who resorts to such means in the name of politics."

Six years after the blast, East Rand businessman Mr Snyman still suffers pain daily, has had to give up all his sport and has a fear of crowded places.

His back was injured when the bomb exploded in a first-floor toilet off the hotel's Long Bar, frequented by Wits University students and businessmen.

SITIMES - 11/3/92

Seeber is not certain what the future holds.

Military

"So much has changed in the past six years. I think things are pretty well mapped out, and I don't believe we will see a return to the circumstances of the time.

"We are dealing in constitutional politics instead of revolutionary politics, the government has gained a status of credibility it hasn't had before and I think it would be counter-productive to revert to the policies of yesteryear," he said.

He is still a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and was not surprised that MK chief of staff and SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani testified on his behalf.

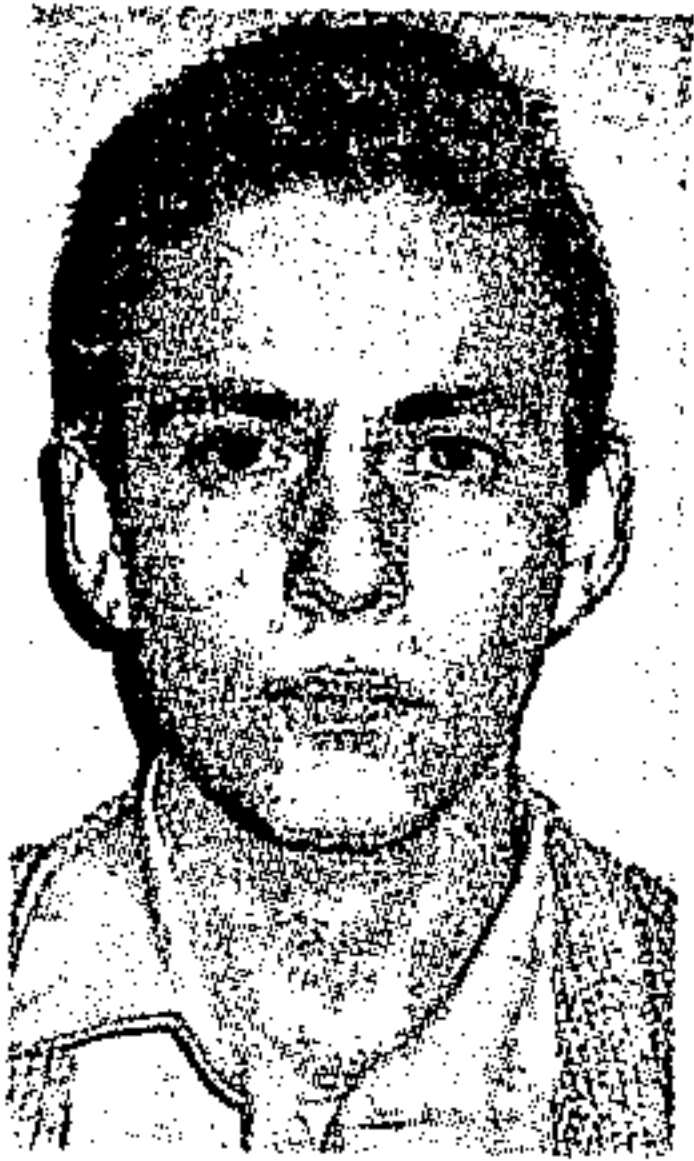
"Chris is a good man, that's why he is chief of staff. He looks after his soldiers," he said.

For Mr Snyman, life has never been the same since the day he went for a lunch-time beer in the Long Bar.

Two compression frac-

**Victim
still in
pain
says: I
hate the
coward**

tures to vertebrae have healed — but he suffers pain every day of life, and his condition is deteriorating.



JEREMY SEEBER

Shortly after leaving the Johannesburg magistrate's court on Friday, Seeber said he found it "ironic" that he had been tried "by the system I was recruited to destroy".

"I have been through the criminal system and I expected to have the book thrown at me — but I still don't believe I should have been punished," he said.

"This was not a personal vendetta. My only regret that I was forced into a position where I had to take action to demonstrate my support for the ANC and my disapproval of the South African system — but under the same political circumstances, I'd do it again."

He cannot sit comfortably for more than an hour — a problem for a man who travels extensively and attends lengthy meetings as part of his job.

He told the court this week that he had just put his beer down in front of him when there was a massive explosion. When he regained consciousness, he was three or four metres from where he had been sitting.

Yesterday, he said he was "extremely bitter".

Violence

"Before that day, I also felt that things weren't right in this country. Now we are negotiating — but it's not the bombs that led to talks. Bombs don't soften people, they make them harder.

"I am in favour of negotiations — but not with people who aren't prepared to stop using violence.

"That is like negotiating with a gun at your head.

"It means that at any stage innocent people could become expendable again. Is that a democratic society?"

Mr Snyman said without the support of his wife, he would not have been able to cope with the after-effects of his injuries.

"The pain is worse at times than others, but it's always there.

"When Seeber planted that bomb, he was a married man himself. How could he do something like that without thinking about how the families of his victims would suffer?

"For 18 months after his bombing, I wasn't even able to have a normal sex life."

BY CATHY STAGG

844

ANC boombeer: I'd do
it again

Sabotage may have caused explosion

By Julianne du Toit and Anna Louw

A blast at a spice works in Alrode South, Alberton, yesterday killed four people and injured eight, five seriously, police said.

Sabotage has not been ruled out. Initially it was thought the blast, which occurred at about 2.13 pm, was caused by a chemical explosion but a police spokesman said this could not be verified.

"Tests will be conducted to determine the cause of the explosion. At this stage foul play is not ruled out," said the spokesman.

The injured were taken to Natalspruit Hospital, most with serious burn wounds. Later the five most seriously injured were transferred to the Garden City Clinic in Johannesburg.

Three of the injured are in a critical but stable condition at the clinic after undergoing emergency operations last night.

They are Norman Lenton (52), a diabetic who suffered severe burns to the face and chest; David Motloug, who received shrapnel injuries and lacerations; and Quintin McLaren (32), who has severe arm and leg injuries.

Two others injured in the blast were discharged from Natalspruit Hospital late yesterday afternoon.

The owner of the factory and his wife could not speak to the press. An employee said they were in shock.

Bystanders showed the press a piece of metal a man had found that had the distinct smell of cordite or gunpowder.

The metal fragment had been blasted into an adjoining factory when the explosion occurred.

Eddie Raubenheimer, who owns Automotive Applications across the road from the spice factory, said he heard a huge explosion and looked up to see corrugated iron and debris flying in the air.

While his secretary phoned

● To Page 3

Sabotage not ruled out

the emergency services, he ran across to help with the fires that had started.

"It was real heart-attack stuff," he said.

Employees working in the adjoining room of the factory said they were aware of the explosion coming down on them as they struggled to get out.

The smell of spices hung heavily in the air as a huge contingent of police went through the factory wreckage.

Damage, which police estimated at about R100 000, was extensive, with corrugated iron and shattered debris everywhere.

Police would not let the press approach the scene closely and had cordoned off part of Vander Bijl Road where the factory is situated.

Fire Department spokesman Lucas van Zyl said about 15 people at the scene of the blast were shocked but did not require medical treatment, according to Sapa. He did not know what caused the blast.



"That's my friend" ... said a shocked employee as the remains of one of the victims killed in a blast at an Alberton spice factory yesterday is loaded, wrapped in a plastic body bag, into a mortuary van. Picture: Joao Silva

SAP deny allegations about fatal bombing

Crime Staff

The SA Police yesterday denied withholding evidence about a parcel bomb that killed ANC-sympathiser Nic Cruse in Durban in 1990.

Police headquarters in Pretoria also denied that police were protecting suspended policeman Steyl Abrie, who was implicated in the bombing by a British armed

forces deserter.

Johannesburg-based journalist John Carlin said in *The Independent* in London that the serviceman implicated the policeman in a BBC2 TV documentary interview.

Mr Carlin said the story was corroborated in an interview with rightwinger Adrian Maritz. Mr Maritz was charged for the Durban bombing together with

Henry Martin and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk. After a 60-day hunger strike last year, Mr Maritz and Mr Martin fled to England.

Dr van Schalkwyk is due to stand trial in April.

The SAP statement read: "The SA Police perse was never involved in the bombing referred to and will not protect any-

body from prosecution."

Steyl Abrie was not a warrant officer in the Security Branch of the SAP, as Mr Maritz and the British serviceman had claimed. The police said he was not attached to the Crime Intelligence Service (formerly the Security Branch).

Police added that Constable Abrie was to be a defence witness in Dr van Schalkwyk's trial.

STAR 11/3/92

(S/A)

Four killed in explosion

POLICE should know by today whether foul play was involved in the blast which killed four people at a spice works near Alberton yesterday afternoon.

However, SAP spokesman Capt Ida van Zweekel said it was suspected that it might have been a chemical explosion.

She said three of the five people who had been seriously injured had been transferred to Garden City Clinic from Natalspuit Hospital.

Eight people in total were injured.

Fire department spokesman Lucas van Zyl said: "There was no fire. It was only a blast. I don't know what caused the blast; that is for the forensic experts to determine." — Sapa.

ADVERTISEMENT

AFRICA SINESSES...

PARTNER will be a series of important seminars throughout South Africa in May this year involving prominent European speakers with intimate knowledge of the grant-making process. They will show how the grant-making process works. They will identify and interact with

Referendum spurs rush for SA identity

HUNDREDS of people queued for more than two hours at the Home Affairs Department office in Harrison Street, Johannesburg, yesterday hoping to get identity documents in time to vote in the referendum next week.

A department spokesman said temporary identity certificates could still be obtained on the spot, though a long wait might be inevitable. The spokesman said that only applications for identity books received before Friday last week could expect success before March 17.

One elderly woman standing in line at the office yesterday complained that she and others in the queue felt like cattle being rounded up. She said she had mislaid her identity book.

After letting on that she was not impressed by the NP's behaviour, she said: "The hardest word in the world to say is 'no' to an errant child."

A Greek insurance broker who has lived in SA for more than 25 years said he and his friends and family would vote "yes" next Tuesday.

He was at the department to apply for naturalisation. "I don't want trouble in this country," he said.

Billy, seeking a new identity book, said he knew of many people who were still undecided on the referendum question. "There is not enough real information about what the options are," he said.

Many of those in line at Home Affairs, mostly British, Greek and Zimbabwean citizens, had been intending to take out SA citizenship for some time but had been spurred into action by the referendum.

Home Affairs officials were unable to confirm rumours that there had been a

REFERENDUM

The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial poll, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters across the country. ADRIAN HADLAND spoke to people in the queues at the Home Affairs office in Johannesburg.

flood of applications for citizenship from embarrassed Zimbabweans after SA's cricket team trounced theirs in Canberra yesterday.

Penny Quinlan, a British citizen who has lived in SA for 30 years, said she expected a "yes" ballot, but was concerned about the numbers of "ignorant people" who might vote against negotiations.

The Home Affairs Department said yesterday that people who applied for identity documents before March 6 should not attempt to apply for temporary certificates as their documents should be ready from today.

"It is hoped that all such identity documents will be issued by March 11 and will therefore reach voters before referendum day," it said in a statement.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

S
L
R
N
d
t
p
b
p
b
t
e



Blast suspects fail to appear in court (84A)

Pretoria Correspondent

Warrants have been issued for the arrest of two rightwingers, allegedly responsible for sabotaging post offices, who failed to appear in court yesterday.

Only two of the four men allegedly responsible for blasts at post offices in the Transvaal appeared before Pretoria Regional Court magistrate BJO van Schalkwyk. *STAR*

Failed ^{143/92}

Prosecutor T Viljoen told the court that Andries Stefanus Kriel (47), of Kaallaagte Street, Waverley East, Pretoria, and Andries Cornelius Odendaal (27) of Mamba Street, Brits, who failed to appear yesterday, had apparently not kept their bail conditions since February.

Miss Viljoen said these conditions included reporting to the police daily, not leaving the

magisterial district of Pretoria and notifying the investigating officer of any change of address.

Petrus Jacobus Judeel (33), formerly of Kraanvoel Street, Brits, and Dirk Jan Hattingh (52) also of Brits, were present.

Mr Judeel said he had changed address and asked that he be allowed to move around the whole PWV for working purposes.

"Is that work to put up posters?" Mr van Schalkwyk asked. A voice from the public gallery replied: "Part of it is".

Granted

According to Mr Judeel, he erects thatch lapas.

Mr van Schalkwyk granted the alteration to Mr Judeel's bail conditions.

The case was postponed to March 31.

The R3 500 bail of Mr Judeel and Mr Hattingh was extended.

ANC to probe camp torture allegations

STAR 13/3/92

84A

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC yesterday revealed the terms of reference of a commission of inquiry appointed to probe allegations by former prisoners of torture in ANC detention camps outside South Africa.

Addressing a press conference at the ANC offices in Johannesburg, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the commission would be headed by three advocates: Lewis Skweiyaya, SC, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla. An independent lawyer, advocate Elna Revelas, had been appointed to interview witnesses, visit detention camps and lead evidence before the commission after her own investigations. She would, in effect, be acting as the former exiles' lawyers and act independently of the ANC and the commissioners, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The commissioners would probe complaints relating to:

- Detainees' conditions while they were held.

- Their allegations of maltreatment.

- Complaints about the loss or destruction of their property.

Mr Ramaphosa said the commission would compile a report to be presented to the ANC president and would be required to make recommendations consequent upon its findings.

He said the commissioners would be allowed to decide whether proceedings would be held in public or private. Their first sitting would be between March 23 and 25, and every month thereafter until June.

Mr Ramaphosa stated it was unreasonable to say the inquiry was "the ANC investigating itself", saying the independent investigator would see to the objectivity of the findings.

The findings of the commission would be by majority vote, he said, with each member carrying a vote of equal weight. Individual members would also be allowed to write separate reports.

Any ex-prisoner would be entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary of the commission and should contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.

Campaigns Blasts rock National Party offices in the Transvaal

84th
AUG 13 | 3 | 92

The Argus Correspondents

PRETORIA. — The spectre of rightwing violence looms increasingly as Tuesday's referendum approaches, with blasts at National Party offices in Cullinan and Nylstroom early today.

The first blast, which destroyed the mobile National Party office at Cullinan, was followed 30 minutes later by an explosion at the NP offices at Nylstroom. Damage was slight.

President De Klerk is due to visit Nylstroom tomorrow as part of his referendum campaign, but today he faces threats of violence by the Afrikaner Studentefront (ASF) when he speaks at the University of Pretoria campus.

In a statement released yesterday, the ASF warned the president not to provoke "already emotional students", saying they would make Friday 13 his "unhappiest day ever".

Police said today they would be questioning Mr Otto Gerner, vice-chairman of the ASF, following the issuing of the statement.

This follows a fire yesterday at the hall at the University of Pretoria at which President De Klerk is due to speak. Damage estimated at R3 000 was caused to carpets.

Mr Zach Riekert, chairman of the National Party at Cullinan, said he was still waiting for the police to complete their investigation, but there was little doubt in his mind who caused the blast.

"I presume it is the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB). For the past few days they have destroyed hundreds of posters, either by removing them or defacing them with No stickers. This just goes to show what kind of people they are," he said.

"We have been using this bus as an office for years now, and every time it gets the goat of the opposition."

Bus gutted

Although the bus was gutted, the NP suffered no other damage as vital documents and equipment were only due to be moved into the bus today.

Mr Riekert said a policeman on patrol had heard the explosion about 3.30 am.

When he got there the bus was engulfed in flames.

By 6.30 am the wreck was still smouldering.

Mr Riekert said it was now too close to the referendum to open a new office, and NP staff would work from their homes.

"In spite of these incidents, we remain very optimistic of an overwhelming Yes on Tuesday," Mr Riekert said.

Police have discounted claims by the so-called "Wit Wolwe" that the organisation was responsible for the Sunnyside church fire which killed eight children and injured 14, saying there was no evidence of arson at this stage.

One of the children is still being treated at the H F Verwoerd Hospital and 12 others have been transferred to the Kalafong Hospital.

Police have also dismissed claims that a white bakkie was seen racing away from the scene after three men had allegedly hurled petrol bombs through the window of the church.

A police spokesman said, however, that an arson docket would remain open and investigations were continuing.

(News by Eric Janssen and Peter van der Merwe, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, and Esther Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Red Cross attacks ANC over camps

THE ANC had denied the International Committee for the Red Cross access to camps abroad where, it is alleged, it is holding prisoners, the Red Cross said yesterday.

"Officially, the ANC has invited us to visit the camps," said Marc Henzelin, an ICRC official based in Pretoria, in an interview. "But in practice, we have not been able to carry out the invitation. We have met the highest representatives of the ANC several times over the past year, but to no avail."

He said the Red Cross now believed there was little chance that the ANC would allow it access to the camps, most of them in Tanzania or Uganda.

The Red Cross knew the ANC still ran camps, but until it made on-site inspections it could not say if camp residents were being held against their will.

The ANC said last August it would end its 15-year-old policy of barring the Red Cross from its camps.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus was adamant yesterday that the Red Cross had not been denied access to camps.

Marcus reiterated an earlier ANC statement extending an open invitation to the Red Cross to visit the camps, and said they were "free and welcome to do so". — Sapa-Reuter.

CP condemns NP office blasts

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party has condemned the perpetrators of the blasts which destroyed one National Party office and damaged another.

The first bomb destroyed the NP's mobile office in Cullinan at 3.15am yesterday, and was followed 30 minutes later by an explosion which caused slight damage to the NP's Nylstroom offices.

In a statement, CP Law and Order spokesman Advocate Moolman Mentz appealed to the public to maintain self-control in these "tense and emotional" times.

(News by: P vd Merwe, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

(847) AKG 14/3/92

□ P

e/pres 15/3/92

844

Straight-talking Lion of Azania

STRAIKHT talk and bold ideas are what one expects from a man dubbed "the Young Lion of Azania".

But this takes on new meaning when you meet PAC national organiser Maxwell Humbelani Nemadzivhanani - known by some as "Nemadzi-what-ever" because his Venda surname is difficult to pronounce.

Recently PAC leaders were battling around trying to respond to the shooting of policemen, allegedly by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Nemadzivhanani caused near-hysteria during a radio talkshow when he told its predominantly white listeners that "the armed struggle is the highest form of negotiations" and went on to support the shooting.

One caller suggested to the white rightwing that, instead of bombing empty multiracial schools, they should have waited for Nemadzivhanani outside the radio station and shot him dead.

That might sound rather harsh for an unassum-

S'BU MNGADI talks to PAC national organiser Maxwell Humbelani Nemadzivhanani about his politics, his travels, and the bombing charges he faced in Australia.

ing militant who switches between pin-striped suits and designer Afro-caftan dress. But wait until he opens his mouth. He pours out venom at everything that's opposed to PAC policies.

Surprisingly, he is married to a white Australian woman, Kerry, 34, with whom he faced charges of bombing vehicles belonging to American and South African diplomats in Australia in 1988.

So fearful of the couple were the Australian police that their investigations involved about 350 policemen and agents from different squads, including the Americans and South Africans.

Surveillance log books and charts brought to subsequent court hearings showed the police recorded about 40 000 hours in audio tapes and transcripts to assist them in the case against the couple, he said.

And the Australian government spent about \$A12-million (about R26-million) on the case which it later lost.

Nemadzivhanani was born at Vhufuli, Sibasa, in the Northern Transvaal on August 20, 1956.

Sibasa served as a symbol of resistance during PAC/Poqo campaigns. The PAC leader was initiated into active politics through the South African Student Movement, of which he was later elected branch organiser. He was also involved in the political campaigns of the Black People's Convention.

His mentor was late PAC stalwart Josiah Madzunya, who later recruited him into the then banned PAC underground.

Nemadzivhanani skipped the country in 1977 during his last year of a teaching diploma at the Venda Teachers' Training College.

"I was forced to leave

the country on the instructions of the PAC underground, following successive education campaigns in Soutpansberg," he recalled.

HE stayed in Botswana until February 1988 when he left to study in Australia.

However, on the instructions of his organisation, he disrupted his studies in 1983 to set up the organisation's first office in the country.

What began as a temporary departure from university trapped him in full-time political work.

As the PAC's chief representative in the region from 1983 to 1988, he shuttled between Canberra and the PAC observer mission at the United Nations in New York.

In 1988 the Australian police arrested him and Kerry, raided the PAC office, the couple's residence and his wife's workplace.

The two were charged

with bombing vehicles belonging to a US military attache and a SA military attache, Johannes Hough. Charges against Nemadzivhanani were dismissed even before committal stage and Kerry was acquitted by the jury in July last year.

Though acquitted, the US declared him persona non grata. He could not assume his appointment as the PAC's chief representative at the UN that year.

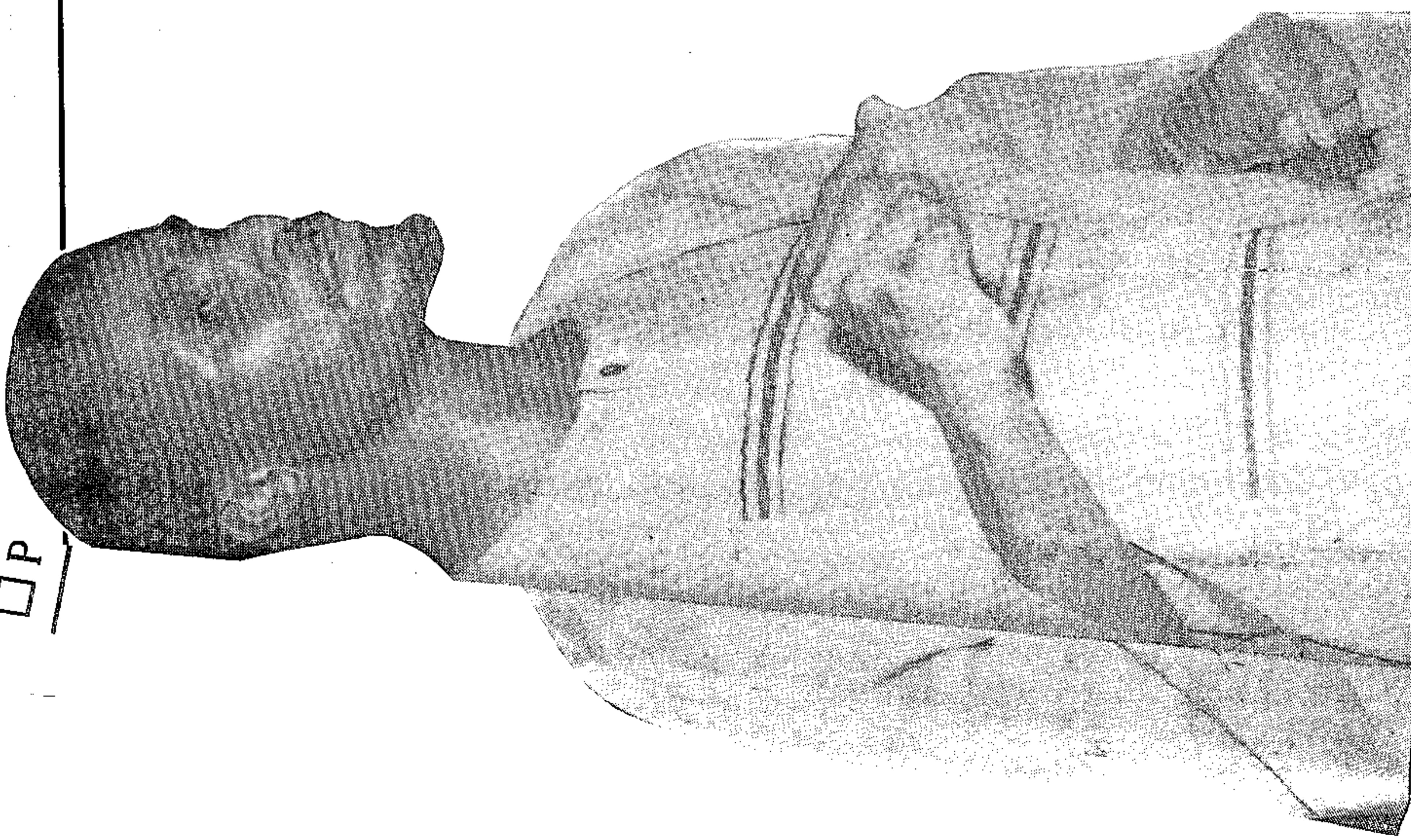
In March 1990 he was appointed chief representative in Nigeria - a position he held until he was recalled to Johannesburg to work as full-time national organiser.

NOW he is a member of the PAC's national executive committee.

His wife and two children Muthundinne, 10, and seven-year-old Shalanga, are still in Canberra.

He has a 15-year-old son, Madzanga, from a previous relationship.

Nemadzivhanani's elderly parents Elias, a retired headmaster, and mother Selinah, a dietitian, still live in Sibasa.



MILITANT MOUTH ... Maxwell Humbelani Nemadzivhanani had the predominantly white listeners to a radio station in a tizz when he went on air to defend the shooting of policemen.

Eight survive blast at principal's home

STAR 16/3/92

84A

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

Eight people miraculously escaped unhurt after a violent bomb blast caused extensive damage to the home of Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger yesterday.

The 3 am blast, heard from several kilometres away, crumbled sturdy stone walls, ripped out wooden doors, shattered windows and destroyed valuable antique furniture and other treasured possessions.

Mr Kritzinger (53), whose home is less than a kilometre from the recently opened agricultural college, said his two daughters, his son-in-law, his younger son and his girlfriend, and his frail 82-year-old mother were spending the weekend with him

and his wife.

"When I was woken up by the thundering blast, I jumped out of bed and rushed through the house to see if all the family were all right," Mr Kritzinger said.

"Thank God nobody was hurt. But my mother, who had come to us to recuperate after a sudden illness, was in a bad state of shock."

Pretoria schoolteacher Chrisna Swanepoel (25) who, with her husband, had been visiting her parents, said she got up shortly before the blast to go to the toilet.

"No sooner had I got back into bed when the bomb went off. Had I been in the toilet seconds later, I would have been hurt or killed," a shocked Mrs Swanepoel said.

Mr Kritzinger said he could not explain why he and his family should have become victims of a bomb attack.

"I am no politician,

only a college principal interested about the future of my students in the field of agriculture."

Police arrived with tracker dogs shortly after Mr Kritzinger reported the blast.

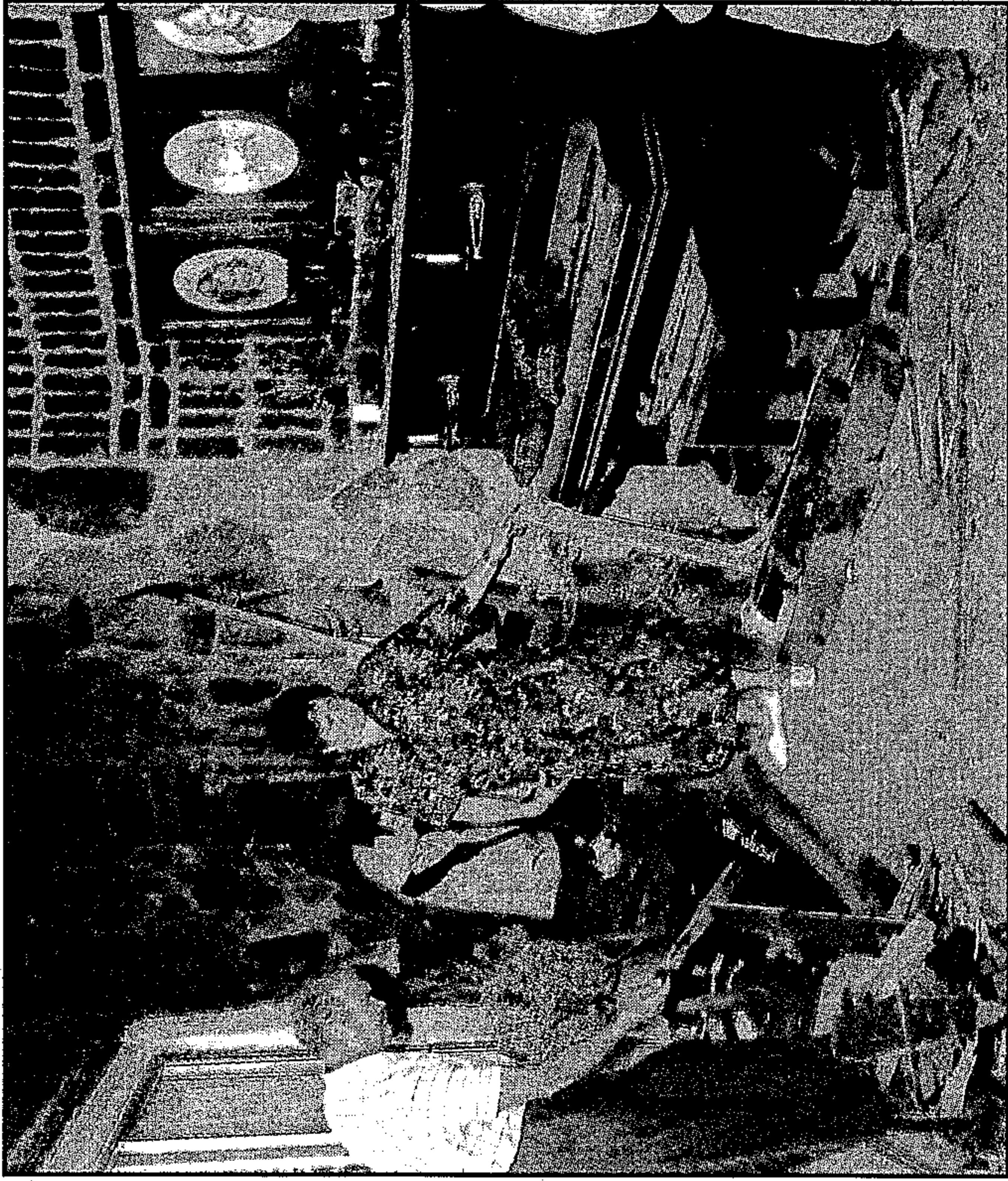
At 11 am they were still searching through fruit orchards for possible leads.

The blast follows an incident in January this year when a group of white students allegedly intimidated two black students in a college hostel.

One of the black students was injured when he was hit on the head by a stone allegedly thrown by a white student.

While the incident was being investigated, Mr Kritzinger made it clear to all students that political activity of this type would not be tolerated on the campus.

Anyone guilty of such behaviour would be expelled, he said.



Destruction . . . Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger and his wife Lettie sort through the debris of their possessions after an explosion demolished their home yesterday, destroying valuable antique furniture and other treasured items.

Picture: Clyde Johnson

Armed struggle stays while whites have veto, says ANC

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC had told government its armed struggle would not be abandoned until a white veto — like this week's referendum — no longer presented a threat to constitutional change, senior ANC sources said at the weekend.

The sources indicated that the armed struggle would not be abandoned until an interim government was in place and whites no longer had the ability to veto constitutional change. A shift in ANC policy in the military arena would only accompany an appropriate shift in the political arena. *84A*
Business 16/3/92

ANC spokesmen have said black South Africans would mount an unprecedented offensive should the "no" vote prevail.

Should there be a "yes" vote and should President F W de Klerk indicate his willingness to introduce rapid reforms "this should be an indication that we are going to move forward and quickly", a source in the ANC's legal department said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said at the weekend the ANC had been conducting

discussions on "the whole question of the referendum".

She said the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could only be resolved within the context of political and constitutional changes leading to an interim government and multiparty control of the security forces.

ANC sources said the movement would have been in a difficult position had it abandoned armed struggle only to find a whites-only referendum vetoing the reform process. However, a "yes" vote would lead to rapid constitutional change and a possible end to the armed struggle.

A source said discussions on the future of Umkhonto were "a sensitive matter especially with the referendum coming up".

He indicated that the outcome of the vote would determine progress made towards implementing the D F Malan Minute, which provides for joint government-ANC control of ANC arms caches.

Man killed by bomb at principal's house

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — In the second bomb attack on a lowveld educational institution in two days, a man was killed and a woman injured when a powerful bomb yesterday blasted a carport at the home of an Afrikaans high school principal.

Andries Sithole, a 50-year-old gardener, died at the scene, and domestic worker Sophie Mashaba (42) suffered an arm injury in the 9 am blast at the house of Con Booyens, headmaster of the Nelspruit Hoërskool.

Mr Sithole's dismembered body was found behind an outside room. The bomb had been planted under Mr Booyens's caravan in a carport which also housed a trailer.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday expressed suspicion that the Government might have planted the bomb to discredit the Right.

Asked at a Pretoria press briefing to comment on suspicions that the bomb had been planted by right-wing militants, Dr Treurnicht said there were many supporters of the National Party disillusioned with its latest policy direction who might have done it.

Detonated

Shortly after the explosion police explosive experts discovered and detonated two more bombs which had been planted under the trailer.

Police said commercial explosives were used.

The blast has puzzled police. Other bombings in the area have been blamed on right-wing extremists attacking schools

and colleges which admitted black pupils. But the Nelspruit Hoërskool has only white pupils.

The police officer in charge of investigations into the blasts, Colonel Denn Alberts, could say only that it appeared school principals were being selected.

On Sunday, eight people miraculously escaped death when a 3 am explosion caused extensive damage to the home of Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger.

Blamed

The admission of black pupils to the college had previously drawn the ire of right-wing extremists, who were yesterday blamed by Agricultural Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk for Sunday's attack.

Police are offering a R20 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for the bombings. The police can be contacted on (01311) 23785.

Yesterday Dr van Niekerk issued a statement on the Lowveld Agricultural College blast, saying "although it is not yet known who was responsible for the explosion, other incidents at the college recently have shown that a group of political activists and sympathisers of a specific political grouping are active at the college".

"Some of the students were involved in stone-throwing where a black college student was injured. Disparaging remarks, with a political flavour, about the principal and staff members were painted on the steps of the main building. Four students were identified distributing political pamphlets at a Nelspruit high school."

Yesterday's blast was the fourth bomb attack on educational institutions in Nelspruit since the beginning of the year.

84A
DWA

STAR 17/3/92

Ex-policeman says he helped doctor to send killer bomb

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — An ex-police constable who alleged he helped former rightwing hunger striker Dr Lood van Schalkwyk to send a parcel bomb that killed a Durban computer consultant has told the Pretoria Supreme Court Dr Van Schalkwyk admitted to him he was responsible for the Bloed Street bomb blast in Pretoria.

Mr Steyl Abrie, who claimed he became "like a son" to Dr Van Schalkwyk, testified yesterday that Dr Van Schalkwyk had told him he was responsible for the Bloed Street bomb in August 1990, in which one person died and 11 were injured.

He testified that he helped

Dr Van Schalkwyk with the Durban bomb, which killed Mr Nicholas Cruise on October 2, 1990.

Dr van Schalkwyk, with two other rightwing fugitives — Mr Adrian Hendrickus Maritz, 43, and Mr Henry Guy Martin, 49 — were arrested in 1990 on charges relating to the Durban parcel bomb and the Bloed Street blast.

Dr Van Schalkwyk pleaded guilty to a murder charge, two charges of attempted murder and two of malicious damage to property.

Throughout his appearance yesterday, a Correctional Services medic monitored his condition and periodically changed Dr van Schalkwyk's intravenous drips. ARG 18/3/92

The hearing continues

Police probe bomb blasts in Lowveld

(84A) (900)
STAR 181319Z.

NELSPRUIT — Police yesterday stepped up investigations into two bomb blasts in Nelspruit this week which killed a man, wounded a woman and caused extensive damage to the homes of two school principals.

A R20 000 reward has been offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators. Police can be contacted at (01311) 23-785.

Monday's blast at the house of Nelspruit Hoërskool headmaster Con Booyens was the fourth attack on education institutions in the Lowveld since the beginning of the year. The first three have been blamed on right-wing extremists.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht expressed his suspicion that the Government might have planted the bomb to discredit the right wing.

On Sunday, eight people miraculously escaped death when a 3 am explosion caused extensive damage to the home of Lowveld Agricultural College principal Fourie Kritzinger. — Lowveld Bureau.

Computer killing: Right-winger guilty

PRETORIA. — Right-winger Lood van Schalkwyk yesterday pleaded guilty to murdering a Durban computer consultant with a parcel bomb, attempting to murder two people with a bomb in Pretoria's Bloed Street and two counts of malicious damage to property.

The state accepted the plea. Mr Justice D J Curlewis is expected to pass sentence today.

Van Schalkwyk, who recently embarked on a hunger strike, arrived at court in a wheelchair. He was re-arrested in Bronkhorstspuit last month when he failed to meet his bail conditions. Last year he and two co-accused, Mr Henry Mar-

tin and Mr Adrian Maritz, went on a hunger-strike in an attempt to force the authorities to grant them indemnity from all charges arising from the Bloed Street and Durban blasts.

Mr Martin and Mr Maritz fled the country in October last year, and are now in Britain.

Van Schalkwyk admitted that on October 2, 1990 he murdered Mr Nicholas James Elvin Cruise, a trainee computer consultant of a Durban firm, PC Plus Consultants, with a bomb hidden in a computer.

He also admitted attempting to murder Mr George Baloyi and Mr James Allan Petrus Barton

in Bloed Street on August 11, 1990. The two men were injured when a bomb connected to a timing device exploded next to a busy taxi rank.

Van Schalkwyk had been in the Eastern Transvaal when the Bloed Street bomb exploded.

The Durban bomb was rigged to go off the moment the computer was plugged in, and the Pretoria bombs were attached to simple timing devices.

A total of 20 charges, including 10 attempted murder charges, were withdrawn against Van Schalkwyk in terms of the government's indemnity arrangements for certain types of crime. — Sapa

Right-winger pleads guilty to murder

PRETORIA (S) (84A) Right-winger Lood van Schalkwyk pleaded guilty yesterday to murdering a Durban computer consultant with a parcel bomb, attempting to murder two people with a bomb in Pretoria's Bloed Street, and two counts of malicious damage to property.

Judge DJ Curlewis of the Pretoria Supreme Court is expected to pass sentence soon. *B.I. Day 18/3/92*

Van Schalkwyk, who arrived at court in a wheelchair, had been rearrested in Bronkhorstspuit last month after failing to meet his bail conditions.

Last year Van Schalkwyk and two co-accused, Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, went on a hunger strike in an attempt to force the authorities to grant them indemnity from all charges arising from the blasts. Martin and Maritz fled the country last October.

Van Schalkwyk admitted that on October 2 1990 he murdered Nicholas James Elvin Cruise, a Durban trainee computer consultant, with a bomb hidden in a computer. He also admitted to the attempted murder of George Baloyi and James Allan Petrus Barton in Bloed Street on August 11 1990. The two men were injured when a bomb exploded next to a busy taxi rank.

Commercial explosives, used in mines, were used in both explosions.

A total of 20 charges, including 10 attempted murder charges, were withdrawn against Van Schalkwyk in terms of government's indemnity arrangements. — Sapa.

A POWERFUL team of lawyers sits in Johannesburg next week to consider evidence that young men and women were beaten and abused by African National Congress officials while being held at detention centres run by the organisation outside South Africa.

The creation of the commission — which gives wide powers to advocates Lewis Skweyiza, Gilbert Marcus and Bridget Mahanda so that they can probe reports of torture in camps run by the ANC's security department — places ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk in a peculiarly similar position.

While the government is being confronted with evidence at the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence that its security forces have instigated internicine feuding in black townships, the ANC's investigation is likely to come up with similarly damning evidence about members of its security department.

And while the workings of the Goldstone commission has heightened tensions between De Klerk's cabinet and "securocrat" officials in his army and police, there are strong indications that the ANC probe is likely to arouse the ire of some ANC security department officials.

Mandela and his colleagues in the civilian structures of the ANC are known to be determined that the truth finally come out about the happenings in ANC detention camps.

ANC probe asks: Did we torture detainees?

*Like the government's Goldstone commission, the ANC has ordered an investigation into its security wing. But that's where similarities end, reports **EDDIE KOCH***

Like the Goldstone probe, the ANC commission will have full access to witnesses, camps, reports of previous inquiries into the abuse of detainees and all internal records, documents, files and other materials relevant to the investigation.

But that's where the similarities end. Unlike the Goldstone commission, which allows the media and the public to attend its hearings, the ANC will conduct its proceedings in camera.

This has aroused criticism in some human rights quarters. "The ANC should do as the government has done and subject the behaviour of its security officials to public scrutiny. Otherwise its inquiry runs the risk of being seen as less rigorous

and impartial than that of the Goldstone commission," said a lawyer involved in collecting evidence about SADF involvement in violence.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa disagrees, saying there was no way the probe would amount to the "ANC investigating itself".

Explaining the commission's powers at a press conference, Ramaphosa pointed out advocate Elna Revelas had been appointed to track down evidence of detainees being abused and that she had broad powers to do this independently of the ANC and its commissioners.

He added the commissioners were entitled to call public hearings if they chose to and that they would issue interim reports that will be made public. The commission's final report will also be a public document.

The organisation's decision to set up an independent commission of inquiry into persistent complaints by former inmates of its disciplinary camps comes in the wake of reports that the International Red Cross has recently been denied access to ANC detainees still being held outside

the country.

ANC representative Gill Marcus this week said the movement's security wing was in full support of the new commission and made it clear that any ANC member implicated in abuse of detainees, including security officials, would be "dealt with".

It is known that many hundreds of young South African were detained and held, sometimes under appalling conditions, in detention centres located in Angola, Uganda and Tanzania on suspicion of spying for Pretoria after fleeing the country.

"We are looking at the way in which detainees were treated by ANC officials regardless of the reasons for their being held. This is not to determine the culpability of the detainees but to determine whether there were breaches of the ANC's standards and ethics," said Marcus.

The commission's brief is to probe all complaints relating to detainees' conditions while they were held, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about the loss or destruction of property.

The first sittings take place in Johannesburg from Monday to Wednesday this week with subsequent hearings taking place every month until June.

Former detainees are entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary for the commission and can contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.

SACP MAN KILLED

Sowetan
23/3/92

84A
~~84A~~ ~~84A~~

AN OFFICIAL of the South African Communist Party who is also a member of the ANC was killed with two other people in a handgrenade explosion in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle yesterday.

Conflicting reports on the death of SACP official Mr Saul Tsotetsi and two other men, Mr Alfred Yika and Mr Elias Motloun, emerged yesterday.

Police yesterday described the three men's deaths as "suicide".

However, SACP officials said Tsotetsi died

By KENOSI MODISANE

while being attacked by a group of five men.

Police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said yesterday said: "A handgrenade exploded in Tsotetsi's hands, killing him, Motloun and Yika instantly.

"Two other men, Enoch Khaiye and John Nhlapo, were injured in the explosion. They were both taken to hospital."

The ages of the men could not be established yesterday.

Officials of the SACP, however, disputed the police version of the incident.

● To page 2

SACP man killed

● From page 1

An SACP spokesman said yesterday the grenade exploded when Yika, Motloun and the two injured men attacked Tsotetsi.

SACP education officer in the Vaal Mr Oupa Modikoane said: "Tsotetsi was being attacked by a group of five men, who included the two who died and those who were injured." *Sowetan 23/3/92*

Modikoane said a fifth man escaped. He said the two dead men and those injured were not known to the SACP. Meanwhile, Soweto police said yesterday three people, including an 11-year-old child, were shot dead in separate incidents in the township at the weekend.

Spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the child and another man were shot in separate incidents by a mob passing in the streets in Zondi on Saturday evening.

The body of a man who had been shot was found at Meadowlands Hostel. Two other men were shot and wounded near Dube Hostel.

On the East Rand, the body of a man was found in Daveyton and another in Tokoza and in Alexandra a man was shot and killed by two gunmen.

Eleven people were injured in all, including one man who was found with serious burns in Daveyton. Three men were arrested in connection with this incident.

A woman was seriously injured when she was thrown from a train on the East Rand and another was hurt when she was hurled off a train near Alberton. In Johannesburg five black men were injured in clashes during in the city on Saturday. Most had hack or stab wounds, police said.

● See picture on page 3

ANC vows not to disband MK

841
25/1

THE ANC is adamant it will not disband its armed wing despite reports of a threat by the government to cancel Codesa Two if it does not. *Sowetan 23/3/92*

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said yesterday the Government was playing a dangerous game which was not in the interests of peace, progress and the country.

A Sunday weekly reported the ministers of Defence and Constitutional Development as saying: "... any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggle".

Marcus said MK would never be disbanded as it would eventually be integrated into a single democratised army.

She said there were only private armies in South Africa at the moment. - *Sapa*

ANC stayaway call in Nelspruit

Sowetan
24/3/92
84A

THE ANC and Cosatu in the Eastern Transvaal have called for a stayaway tomorrow when Andries Sithole, who was killed in a bomb attack, is buried.

Sithole, of Pienaar Trust, worked as a gardener for Mr Con Booyens, the headmaster of Hoërskool Nelspruit. He died when Booyens' home was bombed on March 16.

African National Congress spokesman Mr

Jackson Mthembu said the work stayaway was the first protest action against violence, terrorism and racism in the Eastern Transvaal.

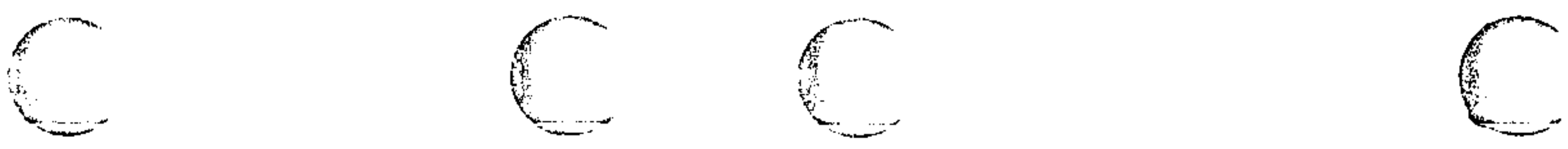
"The ANC strongly condemns the emergent bomb attacks on citizens' homes and public institutions."

Mthembu said the ANC was convinced that the bomb attack on Booyens' house was the work of "rightwing terrorists".

"The ANC in the Eastern

Transvaal calls on the rightwing . . . to stop their terrorist actions and join negotiations for a peaceful South Africa," he said.

Police have offered a reward of R20 000 for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for the bomb attacks on Booyens' house and that of rector of the Lowveld Agricultural College, Mr Fourie Kritzinger. - Sapa.



Govt and ANC discussing MK

DEFENCE Minister Roelf Meyer was confident yesterday that the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of the ANC's military wing could be resolved.

Speaking at Codesa, Meyer said Umkhonto we Sizwe's (MK's) continued existence was being discussed bilaterally by government and the ANC. *84A*

General discussion on private armies was on the agenda of working group one dealing with free political participation, but the MK issue would continue on a bilateral basis before it came to Codesa.

Meyer told Sapa he had never referred to Codesa II being suspended if MK was not disbanded, but had emphasised government's principles.

Throughout the recent referendum, Cabinet Ministers said they would not enter into any agreement on interim government until MK was disbanded — and Meyer was quoted at the weekend as saying Codesa II would not go ahead if this did not happen.

The ANC yesterday morning confirmed its statement that it would not disband MK until an interim government was in place. — Sapa.

Films get R6,4m

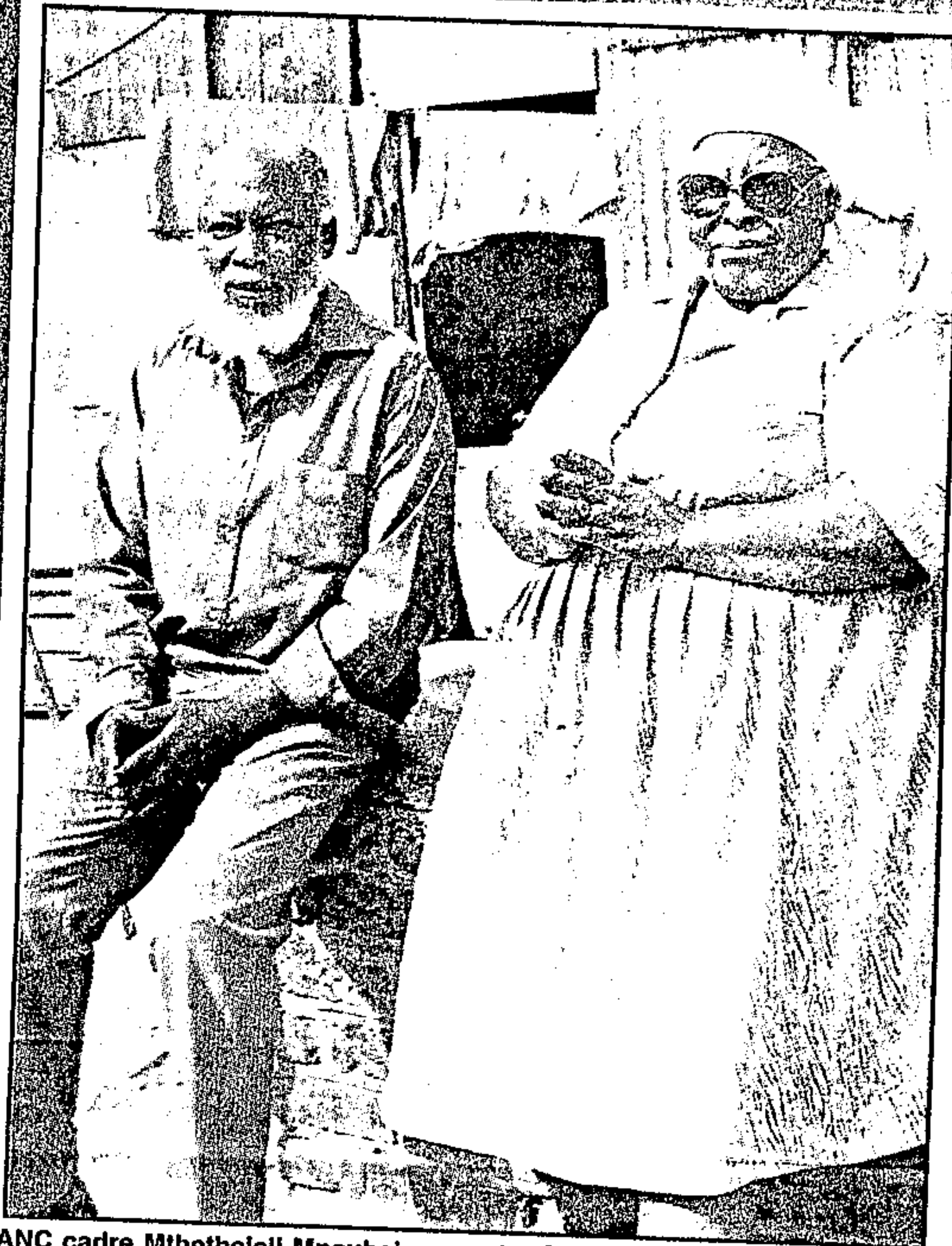
Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — Government paid R6,4m in subsidies to film producers during the 1991/2 financial year for 29 films, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

The lion's share of the subsidies went on five films, four of which were produced by Toron Screen Corporation, Louw disclosed in Parliament.

"Oh Shucks ... Untag", produced by Koukus Troika, received the largest subsidy of R1 055 047,97.

The four Toron films were granted a total of R3,9m and the other 24 were granted R1,3m altogether.





ANC cadre Mthetheleli Mncube's parents, George and Winnie, are angry over the commuting of his sentence to life term. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Parents demand:

FREE THEM

Socialist 25/3/92
THE parents of ANC cadre Mthetheleli Zephania Mncube greeted his Death Row reprieve yesterday with little glee.

Mncube and another ANC cadre Mzondeleli Euclid Nondula were among 16 Death Row prisoners who were granted a reprieve yesterday and given alternative sentences ranging from 15 years to life imprisonment.

Nondula (30) and Mncube (31), were sentenced to death for landmine blasts in Messina in 1988.

Their sentences have now been commuted

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
 and THEMBA MOLEFE

to life imprisonment.

Yesterday's announcement brings to 35 the total number of death penalty prisoners who have had their sentences commuted.

Reacting to her son's reprieve, Mrs Winnie Mncube said it was not enough for him to be removed from Death Row.

"Why should my son spend his whole life in jail for being an ANC soldier while its leaders are free and talking to the Gov-

● To page 2

P.T.O.

Accord on armed forces in the offing

BIDAY 26/3/92

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were nearing agreement on the future of SA's armed forces — including Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — and their control by an interim multiparty committee drawn from Codesa, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

"We seem to agree on this approach," said an ANC source close to the bilateral ANC-government negotiations on the armed struggle.

The talks have focused on issues outstanding in the implementation of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Accord, in terms of which the armed struggle was suspended and government agreed to release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday repeated government's insistence that the level of political violence be reduced and that the ANC finally renounce the armed struggle and mass action before an interim government came into being. They would not comment on progress in bilateral talks.

However, the bilateral agreement now being worked on — the ANC source said "we only need to iron out the finer details" — would pave the way for integration of the armed forces of SA and the TBVC states. The multiparty committee would help decide the future of Umkhonto and, by placing the armed forces under joint control, remove the threat of the SADF which the ANC argues is the reason for Umkhonto's existence. Under such an agreement the ANC would be prepared to end the armed struggle, the ANC sources said.

Government, in its proposals on interim rule tabled at Codesa on Monday, made provision for a transitional council on defence matters which would determine the role of the security forces under a new constitution.

While such a council at present has no specific executive capacity, government has indicated that its duties and powers are open to negotiation.

At the same time ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the bilateral talks were proceeding well and he was confident the Umkhonto issue could be resolved soon.

Senior government sources have indicated they regard the principle of renouncing the armed struggle as being as important as the actual demobilisation and disbandment of Umkhonto.

The ANC source said other aspects of the talks were an agreement that Umkhonto remain intact outside SA's borders but that it return only once a new democratic constitution was in place.

Related to the Umkhonto issue are the fate of the remaining political prisoners and those exiles who have not been able to return in terms of the agreement between the SA government and the UN High-Commissioner for Refugees. Although the prisoner and exile problem was tabled at Codesa, it was referred to bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government.

BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that government's Codesa negotiators yesterday sent a blunt and urgent

□ To Page 2

Armed forces

BIDAY 26/3/92

warning to the ANC and Inkatha to start talking to each other and stop using violence as a political tool.

Security Ministers also made it clear that mass action "was definitely not desirable in a society in transition".

Kriel warned that black leaders should stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order and stability.

"When it comes to violence, the police, with the assistance of the SADF, have the responsibility to handle the situation but there is a duty on black leaders to go to grassroots level and tell their supporters to stop fighting," Kriel said.

Referring to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's statement that his party would

be embarking on mass action, Kriel said government was having discussions with Buthelezi over this issue because it was highly undesirable.

"Government accepts that peaceful demonstrations and action are an inherent part of democracy but we stress that this has to be peaceful and very often these mass actions lead to violence," he said.

Coetsee said there was clear evidence that parties to the peace accord had violated the terms of the agreement regularly. Even the peace committee had referred cases to the Goldstone commission, which had found these parties were responsible for causing violence and intimidation for political ends.

Kriel said 30% of the police had been removed from combating crime in order to contain political violence.

□ From Page 1

MK: A problem of give and take

Sowetan 27/3/92

84A

256

256

CODESA'S work is seriously dependent on agreements reached in Working Group One, where negotiators are trying to reach agreement on "the creation of a climate for free political participation".

The big question in this working group is one that has until now been on the back burner in the general political scenario - the future of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

And the Government this past week dug in its heels on the issue, saying that no settlement can be reached on an interim government unless the ANC disbanded its army and called off the armed struggle.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town on Wednesday that there was no longer any need for an armed struggle and suggested the time for the armed struggle was over, especially in terms of internal political developments.

"Political normalisation in this country, especially after the referendum, has long passed the point of reversibility," Meyer said.

But be that as it may, to disband MK and to hand over all its arms caches is perhaps for the ANC a more difficult task than it was for the movement to "suspend" the armed struggle, as it did on August 6 1990 during the meeting from which the Pretoria Minute came.

Besides being politically unsavoury - the ANC could face mass dissent among MK cadres and its membership if it disbanded its military wing - it places the movement in a position where it has to let go of one of two of its biggest bargaining chips, the other being mass action.

But that is yet another story. The

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

immediate problem is one of reaching an amicable agreement on the disbanding of MK, which will not cause the ANC to lose too much face among (militant) black supporters, and which will at the same time not test the sensibilities of the present military regime.

The Government and the ANC are presently engaged in ongoing bi-lateral talks and both sides are confident that an agreement can be reached.

In the ANC, the question of integration is regarded as an "extremely complex and sensitive issue," according to its official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

Needless to say, the Government regards the issue in a similar way, but in terms of its thinking, the word is not so much incorporation as it is accommodation.

There is a train of thought in Government circles that members of MK could be "accommodated" in the SADF.

The Government fears that incorporation into the SADF could give credibility to ANC boasts that it was the armed struggle that has brought the political process as far as it is.

While the Government believes that there is no merit in this argument, it could be read by military personnel as admitting that MK was a force to be reckoned with.

The other, logical, fear is that if



MK chief Chris Hani

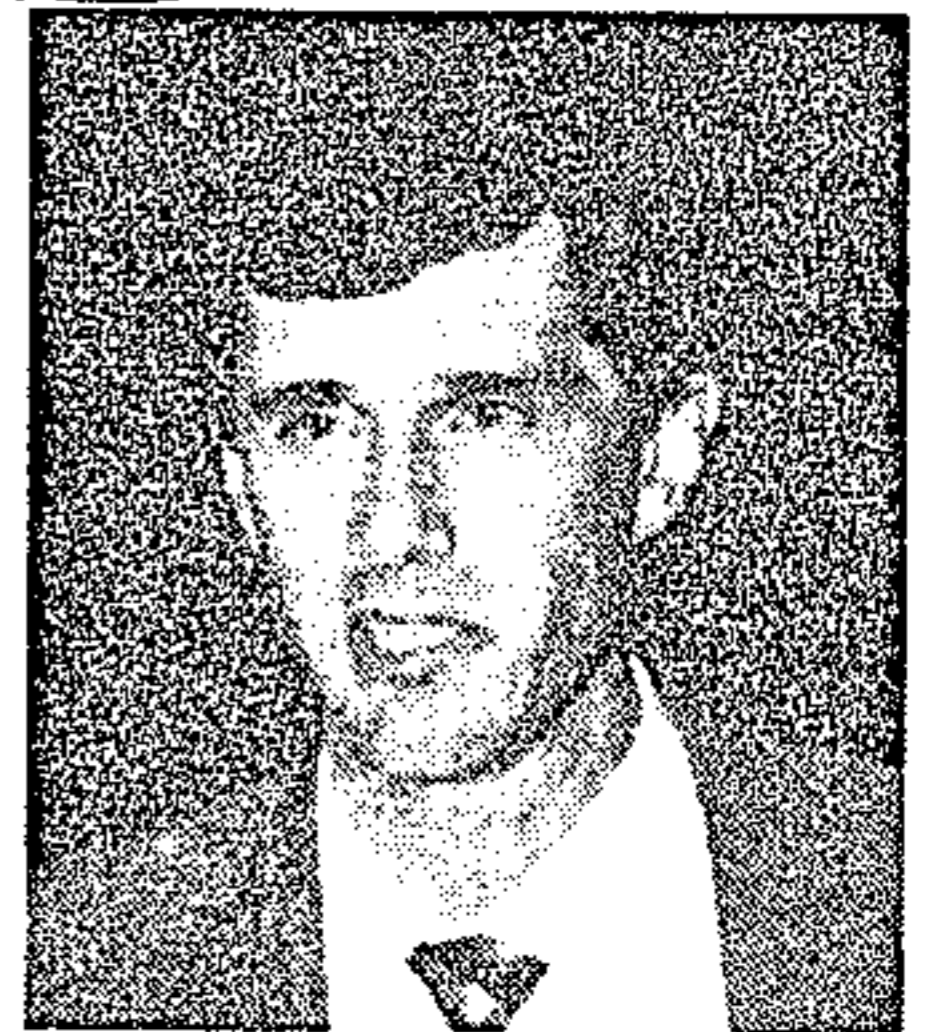
MK cadres are admitted to the SADF as ordinary volunteers without any rank or seniority, they could see themselves as foot soldiers of the white generals.

Both the Government and the ANC has, at least in terms of some of the ideas that are going around, given this serious thought, and there is confluence, particularly in the area of instituting specialised training of existing officers of high rank in MK so as to overcome this problem.

The ANC says in the April edition of Mayibuye that "continued upgrading of MK cadres and training for senior ANC members" obviously with an eye on placement in the Defence Ministry, was one way of overcoming this problem.

This would also solve the problem of "SADF domination". And, the ANC believes, this is ultimately what the ruling National Party seeks - as a kind of "security fallback" which Mayibuye explains represents "a more effective veto than a constitution would provide".

Therefore the ANC believes in the upgrading of its cadres and political leadership and working towards "ensuring a balanced and representative command structure



SADF chief Roelf Meyer

in the course of integration."

But it is now, possibly next month, before an interim government is appointed, that the question of MK will reach a critical point, and the argument cannot continue to be spoken of in the abstract or in academic discourse.

"It will be politically untenable for the different armed forces to retain separate identities under an interim government," Mayibuye says.

The ANC believes that a Joint High Command under an interim government has to be created to minimise the possibility of "SADF disruption of the transition".

"Ideally the new defence force should be established by the democratic government so that its role, composition, character and doctrines can be shaped by democratic principles," the ANC says.

Whichever way is chosen out of this obviously loaded situation, the ANC and the Government agree that the psychological and political preparation of the personnel of both armies would be the first step.

"Vital to this is a programme of reconciliation," Mayibuye explains.

'No agreement on SADF and MK'

31/12/85 27/3/92
CAPE TOWN — Government and the ANC had no agreement whatsoever on the future of the SADF or Umkhonto we Sizwe, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he responded to points made earlier in the debate by the CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

"Thus far there has been no negotiations whatsoever over the control of the SADF for the interim or long term," he said.

This also applied to MK.

"To claim there is an agreement is totally untrue."

Government's viewpoint was that there could be only one defence force

established and operating under a constitutional dispensation.

Private armies had to be disbanded before any progress could be made with the broadening of democracy.

He reproached Treurnicht for hiding away for almost a week since the referendum before speaking in Parliament.

There were democratic demands that a man who had set himself up as the leader of most whites before the referendum should also deal with the results of that referendum.

"But he has once more shown that he is not someone who is able to take on the challenges facing SA." — Sapa.

IFP taken to task over 'ANC terror'

South 28/3-2/4/92
THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was rapped over the knuckles this week in a remarkable statement by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

Issued by Mr Justice RJ Goldstone, chairperson of the commission, the statement responds to Transvaal IFP claims about "underground ANC structures" about to launch a "terror campaign" against Inkatha leaders and residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels.

Because of the seriousness of the allegations the Commission will meet urgently on Friday when the

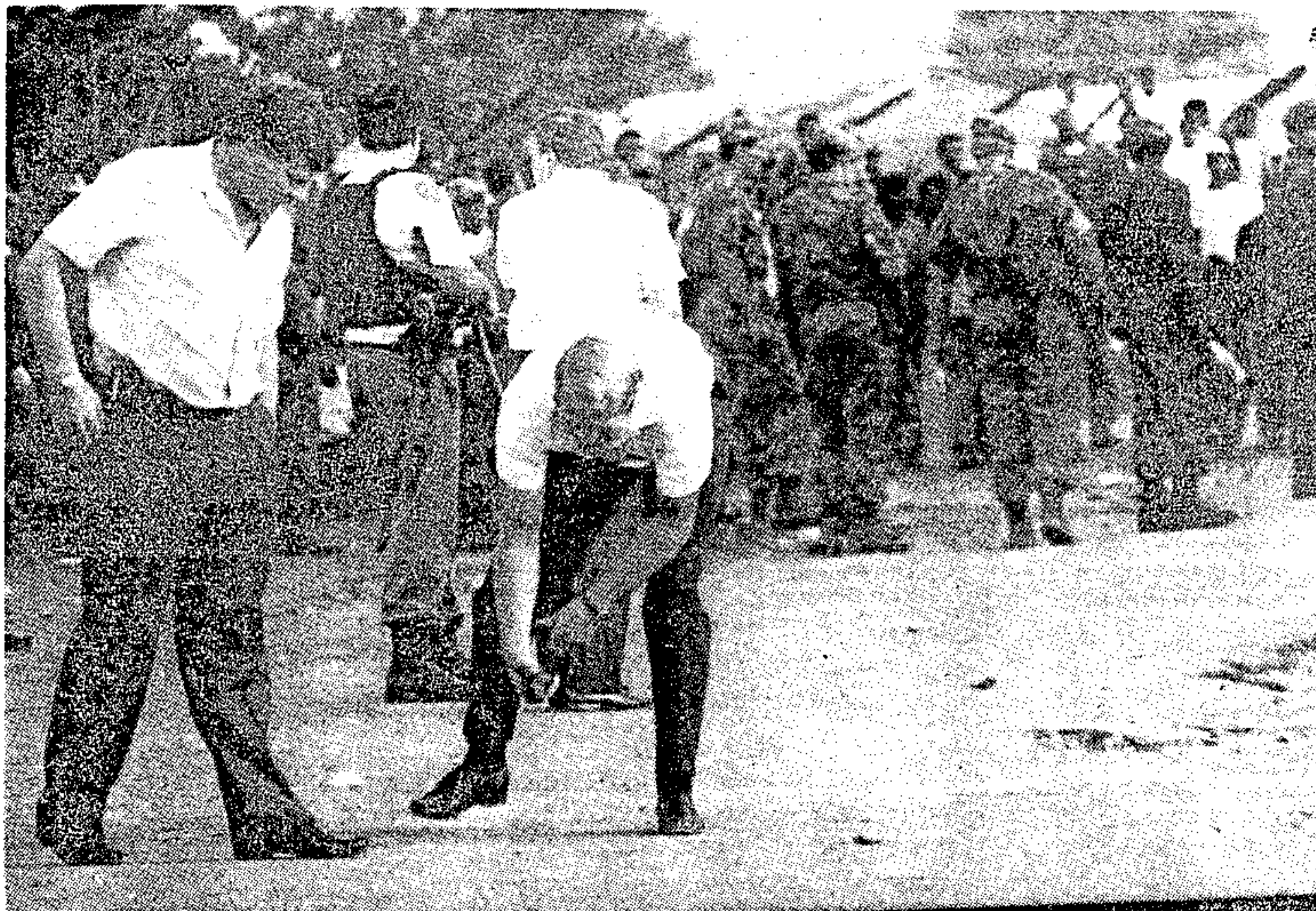
IFP in the Transvaal will be required to disclose the sources of allegations to the commission.

"In the meantime I would appeal to the public and in particular members of the IFP not to act on what are at this time unsubstantiated allegations," said the judge.

The alleged plan, according to the IFP, was being "engineered by MK commanders in Soweto".

The judge said: "The IFP statement contains other very serious allegations concerning the 'terror campaign' which I consider not to be in the public interest to repeat".

— Sapa



Forensic experts check the area where a handgrenade was thrown at people waiting for taxis in Meadowlands yesterday.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU.

Twelve injured in grenade attack

TWELVE people were injured yesterday when a handgrenade was thrown at people at a taxi rank in Vincent Road, Meadowlands in Soweto.

The incident was part of a weekend that also claimed the life of Mzimhlope resident, Miss Phindile Zwane (32), who was gunned down outside her home while walking towards a

By **JOE MDHLELA**

taxi rank in Vincent Road.

Police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said yesterday the 12 injured people had been admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

As Zwane lay dying on the ground, the gunmen continued firing towards her home. A bullet narrowly missed her blind

grandmother, Mrs Lina Khumalo, the dead woman's stepfather, Mr Johan Gama, said.

"We are living in fear for our lives. My stepdaughter was not even conversant with the problems of the area. She recently arrived from Bergville in Natal," he said.

Mariemuthoo said while police went to investigate at the scene where 12 peo-

ple were injured, they were attacked by hostel dwellers and a grenade exploded under a police Casspir. No one was injured in this attack.

Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza said the grenade attack on taxi commuters was a cowardly act by people hostile to the IFP.

"The victims of the attack were all residents of hostels who are known to be predominantly Inkatha supporters," Khoza said.

Yesterday most of the houses around Mzimhlope, Orlando West and Meadowlands were deserted.

People told *Sowetan*: "The residents have fled. They are scared of the attacks from the hostels."

Sowetan 31/3/92

84A

C

Grenade in bus

A WOMAN was seriously injured and six other people were hurt when a handgrenade exploded inside a Putco bus in Soweto last night. *Soweto*

A spokesman for Soweto police, Colonel Fanyana Zwane, said the bus was going past Meadowlands Hostel at 6.20pm when the grenade was thrown through a window. *24492*

The explosion tore a hole in the floor of the bus and knocked out most of the glass.

The bus was carrying passengers from town to Soweto. - *Sapa.*

Disbanding MK would anger the 'young lions'

Soul 4/4-9/4/92

The controversy over whether the military wing of the ANC should disband rages on.

Sabata Ngcayi sounds out the opinions of township residents about the continued existence of MK:

This is the first time such a demand has been put to a liberation movement in Southern Africa as a pre-condition for negotiations.

When the Zanu and Zapu patriotic fronts fought against Rhodesian forces, the two sides agreed to cease hostilities and neither was ordered to disband its army prior to negotiations.

Negotiations went smoothly and brought about the independence of Zimbabwe.

In Namibia, Swapo was not asked to disband its army as a prerequisite for freedom.

It would therefore be suicidal for MK to disband when violence is raging in the country and negotiations are barely off the ground.

Recently, when ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela spoke at a rally in Khayelitsha about victims of violence who frequently ran to his house for refuge, a shrill voice shouted from the audience: "Give us arms!"

Calls like this indicate disbanding MK would be unacceptable, specially to the numerous militant "young lions" in the townships.

It is ridiculous, one "young lion" argues, for the government to claim MK is a source of instability as the endemic violence in South Africa had been ravaging black townships long before MK even returns.

Evidence of police involvement in fanning the flames of violence has been presented in reams and the government had repeatedly ignored it, he argues.



SOLDIERS OF PEACE: MK delegates at a conference in Verwoerd

"Whenever a fight breaks out between two groups, the police are always implicated and accused of siding with one group."

Recently in the Cape townships, when the taxi war broke out between Lagunya and Webta, the police were repeatedly accused by the residents of siding with Webta against Lagunya.

In several other cases where this internecine violence has broken out and claimed many lives round the country, the police were and are still accused of taking sides to fan violence.

Many in Nyanga say the government's demand to disband MK appears to be nothing other than a bargaining strategy aimed at weakening the ANC's position in the

transition process.

Despite noises repeatedly made by the government demanding the disbanding of MK, the ANC has said its military wing would never disband on instructions from the government.

Mandela told Khayelitsha residents: "If the government wants MK to disband, it should first disband the SADF."

It is disturbing to find, at this transitional stage, that the South African government still wants to wield the big stick.

In the meantime, as the interim government has not yet been installed, Codesa is the only decision maker on national issues.

A decision on the future of MK, homeland armies and the SADF should be decided by Codesa, as it is the only legitimate and representative body at this stage. This decision should not be unilaterally taken on the basis of demands made by only one of the major players in Codesa.

The next step should be for the interim government to decide how to integrate the various armies to form a single army suitable for a non-racial, post-apartheid South Africa.

The view is also shared in MK circles. MK member Mr Lam Robertson said: "We are not prepared to disband while the interim government has not been installed."

Once the interim government is in place, it will take decisions on the future of not only MK but also that of armies in the homelands and the SADF."

On the possibility of MK being integrated into the SADF, Robertson said it was impossible for MK to join the army in the way it is presently structured and constituted.

"In the present form, the SADF is illegitimate in the eyes of the public."

The government and the ANC were presently engaged in bilateral talks on the question of MK, Robertson pointed out.

Although the government and ANC have formally ceased hostilities against each other, MK should be alert so that, if negotiations break down, the army would be able to resume hostilities against the regime, Nyanga's "young lions" argue.

The ANC's military wings, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), is the only hope for victims of violence in South Africa and would leave people vulnerable to hit squads if disbanded, township residents say.

Whenever township people are threatened, whether in the form of taxi wars or hostel violence, one hears voices proclaiming: "MK must come and save us."

The government claims MK is a cause of instability in the country and argues there can be no smooth democratic transition unless this alternative army is disbanded.

Although the government and ANC have formally ceased hostilities against each other, MK should be alert so that, if negotiations break down, the army would be able to resume hostilities against the regime, Nyanga's "young lions" argue.

Integrate armies to foster trust

Stives 5/4/92.

THE first plenary session of Codesa last December was marred by a fiery showdown between President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela over ANC arms caches and the status of its army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These issues continue to plague negotiations. The government insists transitional structures will not be established until the ANC agrees to end its armed struggle and disband MK.

The ANC refuses to demobilise MK "until a democratic government is in place". It argues further that "there is no difference between MK and the SADF, which is the National Party's army".

The way out of this impasse would be to focus briefly on a longer term issue: the political parties represented at Codesa could agree in principle that the future defence force will be an amalgamation of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies.

The actual integration of these forces will undoubtedly be difficult. But agreement in principle at this stage would clarify their future status and thereby make it easier to identify the steps required to control them in the interim.

In one form or another, integration is inevitable. Neither the government nor the ANC has the strength to ensure its army is installed exclusively as the new defence force.

Both parties are commit-

LAURIE NATHAN argues that agreement to integrate all military forces will lead to the ANC finally abandoning the armed struggle

ted to a negotiated settlement precisely because they recognise this reality. They accept, too, that negotiations necessarily entail compromising hard-line positions. It would be absurd to imagine military affairs as exempt from such a compromise.

Integration is also politically and strategically desirable. By virtue of their historic roles and characters, neither the SADF nor MK on its own would be regarded as a genuinely national defence force after apartheid.

Both armies have played a partisan role in the South African conflict.

The SADF's credibility is weakened by its aggressive defence of minority rule, while MK is regarded by many whites as a "terrorist organisation".

The exclusion of the SADF or MK from the new defence force would fatally undermine its legitimacy, embitter one or another political constituency and create the danger of banditry and armed resistance to the state.

Conversely, the merging of government and guerrilla forces would signal a real commitment by the major players to overcoming the

divisions of the past.

The logic of the above arguments was accepted at independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe. It has been accepted more recently in Mozambique and Angola — and it provided the basis for the formation of the Union Defence Force in South Africa in 1912.

The UDF was forged out of British colonial forces and Boer commando armies which had fought a bloody war only 10 years earlier.

If the parties at Codesa agreed to a similar integration of the SADF, MK and the homeland armies, the way would be clear to resolving controversial military issues and devising means of regulating these forces during the transition.

The government could agree to subject the SADF to a code of conduct and multi-party control. The ANC could formally end its armed struggle, surrender its arms caches and recognise the SADF as South Africa's legal defence force in the interim period.

A number of structures could be set up to implement and monitor these agreements. At political level, the

interim government could exercise civilian control over all the armies through a multi-party commission of security.

The commission could monitor SADF compliance with the code of conduct and MK compliance with the Pretoria, DF Malan and Groote Schuur minutes. It could also begin formulating new defence policy and planning the reconstitution of the security forces.

At a military level, a Joint Monitoring Committee comprised of senior officers from each of the armies could be created along the lines of the JMC's established by South Africa with Mozambique in 1984 and with Angola in 1984 and 1988.

An outstanding issue would be the status of the armed wings of the AWB, Azapo and the PAC, which have all rejected participation in Codesa.

These armies should be outlawed if they reject the option of multi-party control and eventual incorporation into the new defence force.

The essential point, though, is that every effort should be made to accommodate the various armies that exist in South Africa.

● Laurie Nathan is a senior researcher at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, an independent mediation group attached to UCT.

Nine people injured as limpet mine explodes in dustbin

BOMBERS IN DUSTBIN

By PETA KROST and SHARON CHETTY

A MINI-LIMPET mine exploded at the Rand Show 10 minutes before closing time last night, injuring nine people, police and witnesses said.

The mine, hidden in a fibreglass dustbin, detonated at 8:50pm in the middle of the Esplanade, a crowded pedestrian walkway, said Rand Show manager Anton Post.

Police found fragments of the mine less than an hour after the blast. They cordoned off the area, but found no more explosives.

No one had claimed responsibility for the bombing by late last night.

The injured, six men and three women, were taken to the Johannesburg Hospital. Eight people were treated and discharged. One woman, believed to have a broken leg, was admitted.

Bleeding

"I heard a loud noise and turned around towards a bright flash," said Phillip Gunell, an artist who was displaying his work about five paces away from the dustbin when the mine exploded.

"A bit of the fibreglass cut me on the chin," he said.

"As this happened, I saw people duck for cover and noticed a young girl who was bleeding from the eye.

Benjie Cooper, a bystander, was injured into the air and landed about a metre away.

He was also slightly injured by the exploding bin.

Another man, Martin Bullock, said he fell to the ground when the blast rocked the walkway close to the restaurant area.

Other Rand Show visitors — Craig

Kelly, Lesley Adrian, and Steven and Josephine Leepile — were in the toilets nearby.

"I thought it was a huge firecracker," said Mr Kelly.

"We knew it was a bomb when we saw smoke and injured people lying on the ground," Miss Adrain said.

"People were crying and many looked shocked," she said.

The blast occurred in the Esplanade area of the Nasrec showgrounds.

Thousands of panic-stricken visitors caused a massive traffic jam as they fled the showgrounds.

All dustbins near the scene were cleared as police checked for more explosives.

It was the first incident of its kind in the show's 84-year existence, Mr Post said.

About 240 policemen, 250 Rand Show security personnel and dozens of soldiers and emergency services personnel who were at the showgrounds rushed to the scene of the bombing.

News of the bomb was flashed on the SABC's regional Radio Highveld station.

Mr Post said the Rand Show would open again today despite the blast.

Mrs Susan Weber, who was on duty at an exhibition stall in Hall 9 when the bomb went off, said she saw little evidence of panic.

"Security guards came into the hall and told us to evacuate the building," she said.

Immediately after the explosion, as the area around the blast was being cordoned off, trained sniffer dogs were sent in to comb the area for more bombs.

A spokesman for the SAP said late last night there was no indication who had planted the bomb, or of the origins of the mini-limpet.



Picture: HORACE POTTER

paramedic Terry Lang with bulldog Liesel, whose life he saved after she was trapped in a house

ol
y's
ce
he
to
8-

Private armies pose war threat ~~to~~ journal

STAR 6/4/92

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

There are currently 25 000 men involved in private armies from the left to the right of the Government, according to the April edition of the journal, *Barometer*, published in Pretoria.

Left-wing liberation armies and right-wing armies, the publication says, will, "for the foreseeable future remain a reality in the South African spectrum".

The journal notes that the situation in SA is currently characterised by extremes — with a possible increase in acts of terror by the right wing at the time when the ANC appeared willing to reconsider its position on Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The publication says the activities of the private armies

were closely related to the progress in political negotiations.

"Once a political organisation perceives itself as holding some political power, the leverage which its armed force provides decreases considerably."

The journal says although the PAC, the right wing and other organisations with armed wings did not have the ability to wage sustained campaigns with their armies, "they will eventually leave behind a legacy which for many years will place intense pressure on settlement".

"Private armies are born out of mistrust and lack of political representation while their members are the most intense activists and militants," *Barometer* says.

It adds that the ANC had, since its unbanning on February 2 1990 and subsequent relaxation of the armed struggle, come to realise the dilemma

posed by a private army.

"Not only does the ANC find it difficult to support MK members financially, but more importantly, it has still to come up with a programme to re-orientate some thousands of MK members who have been trained only in armed struggle and find it difficult to adapt to a changing environment."

Although the ANC might face a breakaway of its more radical faction, the development could be a blessing in disguise as this would clear the way for the organisation to change from a liberation movement into a fully fledged political party.

"Until a major role player in the negotiation process decides to take the first decisive step — if the Government clamps down on these armies — or an organisation such as the ANC disbands MK, the spectre of civil war will remain."

B10 7/4/92

ANC leaders accused (844)

A HUMAN rights organisation declared yesterday it had sworn statements implicating top ANC leaders in the torture and execution of political prisoners (10)

The Frankfurt-based International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) called on Codesa to hear testimony alleging the ANC was still holding prisoners in Tanzania and Uganda, and that 500 people had disappeared in exile. (82)

IFP ~~8411~~ 8411
man's ^{Soweto}
house is ₇₁₄₁₉₂
bombed

ATTACKERS tossed petrol bombs at the Soweto home of an Inkatha Freedom Party member in the early hours of yesterday, but no one was injured.

Soweto Police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni confirmed the attack in Dobsonville.

He said he was unaware though that the house belonged to an IFP member.

The IFP West Rand member, Mr Bhekinkosi Magwaza, said he and his family were awakened by a loud bang at 1am and saw flames coming from the direction of the front door.

"We rushed to the back door and somebody threw a petrol bomb and we retreated," he said. "We were not able to go out. We finally decided to phone the police."

Ngobeni said none of the petrol bombs had exploded but a window had been shattered. - Sapa.

Show unaffected by blast

"THE show must go on" was the attitude of organisers and spectators as crowds flocked to the Rand Show at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, yesterday, apparently unfazed by Saturday night's limpet mine blast.

Nasrec general manager Mr Anton Post said by noon 22 000 people had clicked through the gates, a few thousand more than the first Sunday of last year's show.

Nine people were injured in Saturday's blast on the esplanade outside Hall 9.

Eight were released from hospital the

same night, the most serious injury being a broken leg suffered by an elderly woman.

The small hole caused by the mine had been filled and covered by a green plastic bin as the show opened for business as usual yesterday morning.

The shadowy Wit Wolwe rightwing group have claimed responsibility for the blast.

According to Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant Wickus Weber, a statement was left in an envelope at a service station near the showgrounds.

A translation of a part of the statement read: "The Boere will not rest before our self-determination rights are

acknowledged and our homeland is a reality. Stop gambling with the Boere's heritage. Apartheid is dead. Long live apartheid."

The statement was typed over a line drawing of what appeared to be a snarling wolf, and had a Wit Wolwe letterhead.

A reward of R20000 has been offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the explosion.

Post said he had a security meeting late Saturday night and again yesterday morning with the SAP, SADF, fire and ambulance departments.

He said security measures would be

"stepped up", but could not disclose particulars.

At present 240 policemen are deployed at the show, together with Nasrec security. There are also random body searches at the gate.

Yesterday's showgoers were mostly philosophical about the blast.

Mr Michael Druin, visiting from upstate New York, said he was not at all worried about the threat of another bomb.

"There'll be better security now. We were checked when we came in. I know it won't happen again," he said.

Mr Frank Lai from Bloemfontein said: "In your heart you feel a little

uncomfortable, but out of, say, 40 000 people your chances of being in the wrong place at the wrong time, even if a bomb does go off, are very slight."

Mr Matthew Malesa, in charge of a fast food stall close to the scene of the explosion, said he forgot to close his stall, and bolted for his life when the mine detonated.

"I don't trust this place. It's not safe, but I have to do my job," he said.

There was a heavy yet unobtrusive police presence as the crowd cheered the likes of Jimmy Abbott - weighing in at 235kg and clad in an orange and turquoise leotard - tossing his considerably smaller opponent around the ring.

Arrest of MK man sparks outcry over private armies

84A
B10uy 8/4/92
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Law and Order Ministry has joined the outcry over private armies following yesterday's arrest of an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member after the discovery of an arms cache in the Cape Town township of Guguletu.

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze described the incident as "very disturbing" and said it was another illustration of the "undesirability" of having private armies which may be difficult to control.

This comes within days of warnings by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee that the arrest of an MK member at the weekend in connection with the killing of a Free State policeman could have serious consequences for Codesa.

The issue has also been highlighted by government's Codesa negotiators, who have clearly indicated that an interim constitution will not be possible while the private army issue remains unresolved.

However, the ANC has stressed that it is not the organisation's policy to attack policemen or violate the Pretoria Minute or D F Malan accord, and members who did so were not acting under orders.

Yesterday Kotze said the recent incidents "serve to highlight the undesirability of having private armies". It was clear that members of private armies could not be controlled in the same way as those in the "constitutional security forces".

Kotze said members of private armies also became a "wildcat factor in the crime/violence equation".

"When you have a situation where people are running around shooting policemen and caches are uncovered in shanty towns ... you wonder what connection there is with the present violence," he said.

But he stressed that police were not accusing the ANC of deliberate involvement in violence.

He said police would continue to enforce the law as it existed until agreement on the issue was reached at negotiations.

In yesterday's incident a 32-year-old Western Cape University student was arrested in connection with the discovery of the arsenal of weapons, including an AK-47 rifle, limpet mines and hand grenades. He is expected to appear in court soon.

Clavin Khan, personal assistant to MK head Joe Modise, said members of the armed wing who violated agreements on the armed struggle were not acting on orders and would be investigated.

Sapa reports that the ANC confirmed the arrest and said there was "nothing sinister" about the man being found with arms. It said there was no suggestion that he had been engaged in activities that contravened the D F Malan accord.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Maps 'not sinister'

B 10 Aug 9/4/92
THERE was nothing sinister about the issuing of maps to members of Umkhonto we Sizwe detailing the whereabouts of arms caches, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday. *(84A)*

He was reacting to a report that Umkhonto members were being given maps to prepare combats should constitutional negotiations fail. If the information were being released to the public there would be cause for concern, but this was not the case, he said.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

TERRORISM

White fangs

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

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

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

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

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

FM 10/4/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Eddie Botha

84A

Judge rejects urgent application

SUPREME Court Judge WP Schutz has rejected an urgent application by suspended Diepmeadow director of housing Jooste Mothapo to prevent City Press publishing details of his alleged involvement in land allocations in Zone 4 Diepkloof.

Mothapo and Sibongile Mazibuko, suspended legal adviser to the council, brought an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday April 3, asking Judge Schutz to order City Press not to publish further reports naming them as officials involved in the allegedly fraudulent land deals in Zone 4.

They claimed that City Press reporting of charges laid against them and other council officials by the council was defamatory.

In his ruling denying the application, Judge Schutz said the courts must be loathe to stop the press in what he regarded as its duty to uncover corruption.

He said corruption was prevalent and persons in public office who found themselves under fire simply had to bite the bullet and in due course recov-

er damages.

Schutz found there was no basis for urgency and that Mothapo's founding affidavit had been prepared in late March, but only brought to court on April 10.

Mothapo and Mazibuko argued that by reporting that the council had laid charges against them, City Press had defamed them. They argued that "laid charges against" led the public to believe they were to be charged in court.

The judge found that it was not defamatory to say that charges had been laid with the police, and that the man in the street understood that charges were laid with the police to commence an investigation.

Costs were reserved pending the applicants bringing any action within 21 days.

Since commencing the action to silence City Press, Mothapo and Mazibuko have been suspended from their jobs in the council.

A special council meeting on Wednesday suspended them pending the outcome of an investigation by the TPA into allegations of corruption and mismanagement in the council.

Holomisa defends MK, Apla

LIBERATION movements should ignore calls for the dismantling of their military wings, Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said in Umtata this week.

Holomisa was addressing a seminar on the integration of military forces in SA, attended by senior officers from the defence forces of SA, Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana and members of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe and the PAC's armed wing Apla.

"The call for the dismantling of the military wings of the liberation movements must be ignored. All must concentrate on the establishment of the interim government which will level the ground for the Constituent Assembly elections," he said.

"When a new govern-

ment has been installed, serious talks about the integration of the armed forces can begin in earnest."

While deliberating on the future of the armed forces, all armies should brace themselves for the possible dispatching of an international peace-keeping force. Because, should Codesa participants agree on this, no rumblings of opposition would be tolerated from any quarter of the armed forces.

Holomisa said the dominance of one group in the military forces did not augur well for the future stability of a democratic government, as that group could be tempted to act against the wishes of the majority.

"To reverse this odd situation, it is imperative that the system of recruiting presently employed

by the SADF be abandoned in favour of one encompassing the entire nation.

"If SA aims at being a stable society, the volunteer system should be embarked upon. This will lead to the emergence of a highly professional and efficient army," he said.

"We have reached a stage when foes have to fuse into a new force and forget the past with its rhetorical baggage. This requires the formulation of a new military tradition."

There was an urgent need for all forces to agree on an identified country to provide advanced training.

The present SA government should offer an early retirement "package deal" to "securocrats". - Elnews

Call for ANC camps probe

Staff Reporter

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday called for an independent investigation into the alleged torture and killing of detainees in ANC camps in the neighbouring states.

IFF chairman Duncan Sellars said in Johannesburg the allegations cast doubt on the ANC's commitment to human rights and democratic values.

"In view of the important role that the ANC is

playing in the political process in South Africa today, it is essential that these allegations are dealt with in a satisfactory and impartial manner," said Mr Sellars.

He said the ANC leadership should be exposed and prosecuted if found guilty of human rights abuse, the failure of which would undermine South Africa's transition to democracy.

The IFF rejected the ANC's own internal commission of inquiry currently investigating allegations of mistreatment, saying the impartiality

of such a commission was highly questionable.

"We believe that this internal investigation has been started in response to public pressure, but is intended to whitewash the truth."

Mr Sellars said a commission similar to the Goldstone Commission probing violence was required whereby people would give evidence without intimidation.

"I believe that in the absence of impartial hearings in SA, it is likely that the US Congress will be forced to investigate these allegations."

84A

STAR 15/4/92

Guns ablaze over trashing of MK

South 18/4 - 23/4/92

THE TRAINING standards and culture of the SADF were closer to requirements for an accountable national defence force than those of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, delegates to a seminar in Umtata were told.

This was an argument put forward last week by Dr Jakkie Cilliers, former SADF member and Director of the Institute for Defence Politics at a seminar on integration of military forces in South Africa.

The seminar, hosted by the Transkei Defence Force, was

attended by senior officers from the defence forces of SA, Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Cilliers said the vast majority of MK members would require "extensive retraining" before joining a regular army because of lack of "minimum educational standards".

His paper drew a heated response from other delegates, including MK's acting chief-of-staff, Mr

Siphiwe Nyanda.

Nyanda challenged Cilliers' claim that it was highly likely the new defence force would be initially manned by a core of highly trained top-ranking officers who were professionals rather than racists.

Nyanda said the army had to be politically and morally legitimate.

Cilliers replied that it was a fact that the officer corps of the SADF constituted the largest resource of military skills in the southern hemisphere.

No party in the country was

regarded as absolutely legitimate by all the others, he said.

"South Africa is an unlikely democracy. There is no tradition of political tolerance, no balance of power and a high illiteracy rate," Cilliers added.

An Apla representative said Cilliers' speech was an "insult to the whole liberation struggle".

Apla speaker Mr Tobile Gola said there was a need for an international peace-keeping force during the transitional period, during which time the various military forces

would have to be confined to barracks.

It was too early to say which countries would be considered for the international force.

Nyanda argued that a future defence force should be answerable to the public, respect human rights, be a permanent volunteer force and be bound by international law and conventions.

He said there would be a reduction in defence expenditure as there would be no threat by neighbouring states. — Eena

84A
C/REN
19/4/92

Plea to FW over alleged captives

B. THEMBA KHUMALO

FORMER ANC detainees have written an open letter to President FW de Kerk asking him to intervene in the plight of captives they allege the ANC is still holding at its training camps.

The letter, signed by Returned Exiles Committee (REC) chairman Pat Hongwane, alleges that several dissidents are still being held in India and some African states.

The letter read: "Ex-ANC detainees are extremely concerned over the position of our friends who remain incarcerated in ANC training camps in the rest of Africa and more recently, in India.

Recover bodies

"Part of our task is to investigate the disappearance and death of our colleagues while in the hands of the notorious ANC. We also wish to recover the bodies of colleagues murdered by the organisation and which were discarded in shallow graves in countries like Angola and Tanzania."

The letter claimed that the parents of the detainees were receiving letters from their children who requested them to intervene on their behalf. The concerned parents had asked REC to take up the matter, the letter said.

The committee claimed to have information that the ANC's representative in Uganda planned to kill some of the captives there.

Hlongwana called for Odesa, the UN, the International Society for Human Rights and Amnesty International to intervene.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus denied her organisation was holding any detainees.

"We have invited the International Red Cross to visit our camps to see for themselves. We released the remaining dissidents late last year," she said.

Marcus denied emphatically that the ANC hid camps in India.

DA
CO
ICE
All

THI

TRAM
Carin
Louise
Pochy
Secun
Wass
NAT
Morg
Ulund
ORAI

SON
LUMI

ORIS



CHRIS HANI

Chris Hani no longer MK's top gun

MR Chris Hani is no longer chief of staff of the African National Congress's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, ANC official Miss Gill Marcus said on Monday night.

Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, who was arrested in a swoop by security forces soon after the ANC was unbanned in 1990, is acting chief of staff.

Marcus said Hani re-

signed about three months ago because of the workload of his position as general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

"It is incorrect to say he was demoted. Mr Nyanda

was appointed by the ANC national working committee after Mr Hani re-signed," she said.

However, Hani was still involved in Umkhonto, Marcus said. - Sapa.

Sowetan 22/4/92

(S.A)

(S.A)

Control of cadres 'not guaranteed'

84A
STEPHANE BUTHMA

SENIOR members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, told the Goldstone commission yesterday they could not guarantee absolute control over cadres.

Testifying about a meeting last month at Umkhonto's PWV regional headquarters, at which it was alleged a plan was hatched to attack Inkatha-occupied hostels, political commissar Oupa Monareng admitted that such a suggestion had been made but denied that any decision had been taken on it.

"Anybody can do his own thing without the mandate of the leadership," Monareng told the commission.

Monareng was among those asked to testify about events at the meeting after police supplied the commission with two written statements made by informants.

The informants said it was decided at the meeting that Umkhonto would attack Inkatha hostels in four Transvaal areas.

The two informants feared for their lives and therefore refused to disclose their names to the commission, Judge Richard Goldstone said.



ANC official arrested over Natal arms cache

84A

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

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

The arrested ANC official was not identified.

"It was necessary for the police conducting the

Sowetan 24/4/92

search to make use of force in order to gain access to the premises after the owner failed to produce the key," the statement said, adding police had acted on the authority of a search warrant granted by a magistrate. Police recovered 612 rounds of AK ammunition;

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

grenade detonators; and nine rounds of .38 special ammunition.

The arrested ANC member has been charged with unlawful possession of explosives and a firearm and defeating the ends of justice. - SA Press Association

MK denies a plot to attack hostels

MEMBERS of Umkhonto we Sizwe's PWV regional headquarters yesterday denied they had taken a decision to attack Inkatha Freedom Party hostels.

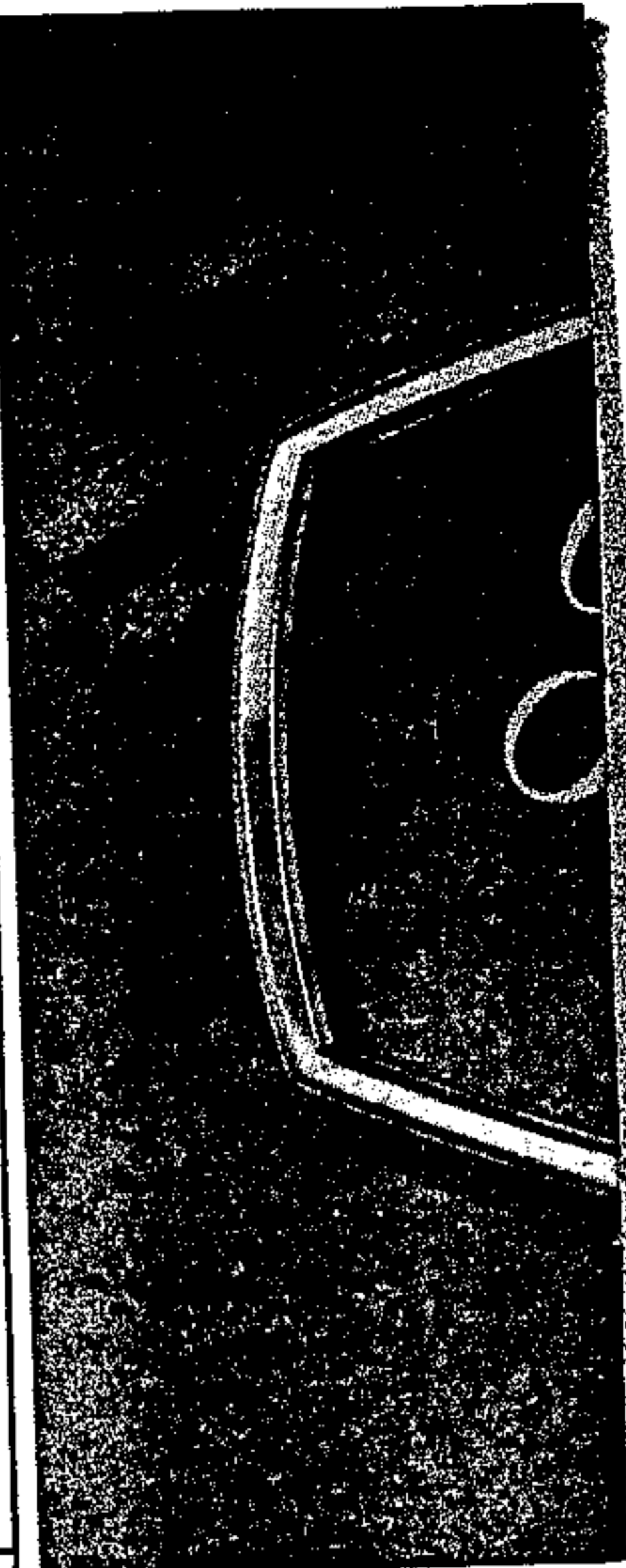
But they told the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday they could not guarantee absolute control over MK members.

"Anybody can do his own thing without the mandate of the MK leadership," Mr Oupa Monareng, MK political commissar, told a hearing chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

The hearing was convened after two police informers said they had attended an MK meeting at Shell House in Johannesburg last month, where a decision was taken to attack IFP hostels in four Transvaal areas.

Monareng said members at the meeting suggested MK attack the hostels, but the leadership's response was that the armed struggle had been suspended. MK had become more involved in mass action.

Mr Sidney Mbilo, the regional headquarters' chief of personnel, told the hearing the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the DF Malan agreement bound MK to suspend its action and that MK had no right to commit soldiers to action that would be detrimental to these accords. - Sapa.



84A

Sowetan 24/4/92

FW's package to curb violence

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

Assurance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STAR
24/4/92

84A



MK leaders testify before commission

By Mckeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

Two senior Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders on Wednesday denied allegations that an MK meeting on March 25 had decided to attack four Inkatha Freedom Party hostels in the Transvaal.

But they admitted the ANC's military wing did not have absolute control over its members.

MK political commissar Oupa Monareng and PWV chief of personnel Sydney Mpilo were testifying before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria following allegations by two police informers who had earlier claimed they had attended an MK meeting at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg where a decision had been taken to attack the IFP hostels.

Mr Monareng said members at the meeting

did suggest that MK should attack the hostels because they felt their lives were threatened.

However, the suggestion was turned down by the leadership because the armed struggle had been suspended and MK had become more involved in mass action.

Mr Monareng, however, told the commission that members "could do their own thing" without the mandate of the leadership.

The commission also heard that the PWV regional headquarters was not empowered to take such decisions. Only the national leadership had such powers.

Mr Mpilo said MK was bound by the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the D F Malan Accord to the suspension of the armed struggle.

He said MK had no right to commit soldiers to action that would be detrimental to these.

NEWS

Crime Staff

~~3245574~~
Police on Monday arrested a 23-year-old man in Pretoria who was dressed in AWB uniform and in possession of illegal explosives.

Northern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel W J Vlotman said the man, believed to be from Brits, near

Explosives in car: man held

^(84A)
STAR 29/4/92
Pretoria, was stopped at 4.30 pm on the Van Der Hoff Road Extension, outside the industrial area of Hercules.

While searching the man's car, members of the Internal Stability Unit, led by Major

Andre Truter and Lieutenant Koos van Rhyne came across a variety of commercial explosives concealed in a white bag under a seat.

The man, who had insignia of rank on his uniform, was arrest-

ed for illegal possession of explosives. Colonel Vlotman said the man was expected to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court today.

AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche last night could not confirm whether the man was a member of his organisation. "I don't know anything about it," Mr Terre-Blanche said.

We're not grumbling, says MK's pragmatic new chief

WITHIN the limits of his position as acting chief-of-staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, Siphwe Nyanda tries to break from the rhetoric which often marks the comments of other African National Congress militants.

Rather than just condemning police raids which have resulted in the arrest of a number of MK militants and the seizure of MK arms caches, Nyanda is practical about the clampdown: "In the DF Malan and Pretoria accords, the police never promised not to arrest people who are armed. We have acknowledged we have arms caches, the people holding our caches know they can be arrested and we are not grumbling about it."

These are not just casual comments from a leader safely based in the ANC's headquarters in central Johannesburg. While details of his military record remain scarce, Nyanda — or "Gabuza" as he was known in exile — was involved in a number of the ANC's military operations in South Africa while the organisation was banned.

Originally from Natal, he left the country in 1976 and received military training in the Soviet Union and East Germany.

Later he emerged as a key figure in the ANC's political-military committee in Swaziland, which controlled MK operations in Natal and the Transvaal. Nyanda's commander for most of this time, ANC national executive member Ebrahim Ebrahim, describes him being disciplined, efficient and "having the respect of those who served under him".

While serving in Swaziland, he narrowly escaped being kidnapped by South African Defence Force agents. His wife, commander and brother were not so lucky: his wife and Ebrahim were both kidnapped, forced to stand trial in South Africa and imprisoned. His brother was killed, allegedly a victim of an SADF hit-squad.

In 1987, when Joe Slovo relinquished his position as chief-of-staff, Nyanda first became eligible for the position he now holds. In a book by Stephen Ellis and Tselo Sechaba — a pseudonym for a member of the ANC and South African Communist Party — it is alleged he was passed over due to a feud between MK leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise. According to the book, Hani prevented Nyanda's appointment because he was seen as a Modise supporter.

Nyanda disputes this version of the events, saying: "I was unavailable for the position as I had been assigned to Operation Vula."

Operation Vula was a secret project, directly under the control of then-ANC president Oliver Tambo, aimed at strengthening the organisation's underground structures inside South Africa. Nyanda infiltrated the country in 1988 and remained underground until the operation was uncovered in a blaze of publicity.

According to Ellis and Sechaba, the project was discovered by "bad luck" rather than police work. Nyanda was arrested in Natal but

From field commander to acting chief-of-staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, Siphwe Nyanda has earned his stripes. He spoke to

PAUL STOBER about MK's new role

released in terms of the Groote Schuur agreement between the government and the ANC.

Nyanda is confident about his ability to move from field operations to the duties of chief-of-staff. These duties include developing a strategy to counter the problems facing the returning army and the administration of its members in camps flung across Africa and in South Africa's townships. "I have experience as chief-of-staff for the Transvaal region," he explains.

Nyanda identifies his main objective as re-orientating MK from a guerrilla army to a regular army and building the political structures of the ANC.

He dismisses conventional military wisdom which claims the size, professionalism and equipment of the SADF will prevent MK from making an impact on existing military structures. "The SADF cannot be the sole building block of a national defence force. We have sent people for training along regular lines for when integration takes place," he says.

However, Nyanda stresses MK's

political role: "Our national conference said it is the role of the army help to establish the ANC using our experience in building organisational structures."

Describing MK's military role as secondary, he includes the establishment of defence units in its functions which, he adds, "have very little to do with firearms".

Despite the secondary nature of its military functions, Nyanda does not agree that MK is a political liability to the ANC which provides the government with an excuse to stall at the negotiation table. "MK will not dissolve as a matter of principle," he says.

The announcement of steps by the government to ban private armies does not perturb Nyanda. "There are discussions going on between the ANC and the government about private armies and if this legislation presents a danger to MK we will regard it as provocative," he warns.

Referring to the progress in the bilateral meetings, he said: "I cannot say we have reached a point where problems are about to be solved."

Comparisons between the relatively unknown Nyanda and his high-profile predecessor, SACP general secretary Chris Hani, are inevitable. Like Hani, Nyanda is an SACP member, but as Ebrahim points out it is unfair to compare the two. "Hani is a top leader from the 1960s," he points out. "Siphwe is from the '76 generation."



Reducing the rhetoric ... Umkhonto weSizwe acting chief-of-staff Siphwe Nyanda
Photo: GUY ADAMS

Successful rights issues strengthen group's financial resources

— MALBAK R 440 million

— SAPPI R1 040 million

— GENCOR R2 000 million

Lower earnings per share in depressed markets

Dividend increased by 7%

Progress with projects and poised for growth



Interim results for the six months ended 29 February 1992

Six months ended February	1992 Unaudited	1991 Unaudited	Percent change
Attributable income R million	562	764	(26)
Earnings per share cents	47,8	65,0	(26)
Dividends per share cents	16	15	7
Net assets per share cents			
— at end of February	1 435	1 297	
— at 22 April 1992	1 365		

Interim dividend

An interim dividend No 132 (coupon No 140) of 16 cents per ordinary share was declared on 20 January 1992 payable on 29 May 1992 to shareholders registered on 31 January 1992.

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

On behalf of the board

B.P. Gilbertson
T.L. de Beer

Johannesburg
23 April 1992

Gencor Limited
(Reg. No. 01/01232/06)

General Mining Building
6 Hollard Street
Johannesburg 2001
(P.O. Box 61820
Marshalltown 2107)

Expelled CP MP held over bomb blasts

RECENTLY expelled CP MP for Wonderboom Koos Botha was arrested yesterday in connection with a series of bomb blasts at schools and post offices and the possession of explosives.

Botha, who told the media early yesterday of his impending arrest, appeared briefly in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court.

He told Business Day he would be arrested in connection with a bomb blast at the Hillview High School — which is in his constituency — in June last year. The school had been earmarked for the children of returning ANC exiles.

31 Day 30/4/92

STEPHANE BOTHMA

No charges were put to Botha yesterday and he was not asked to plead. He was released on bail of R1 500 and his trial was set for June 3.

The magistrate said Botha, who fell from grace with the CP because of his provokstaat statements, would be accused number five in a trial with four AWB members — Andries Stefanus Kriel, Andries Cornelius Odendaal, Dirk Jan Hattingh and Petrus Jacobus Judeel.

The four earlier appeared in court in

connection with several charges relating to bomb blasts at schools and post offices in Transvaal. They were released on bail of R3 500 each. Kriel and Odendaal have since skipped bail.

Botha was arrested previously by the police in connection with the Hillview blast, but was released. According to Sapa, police confirmed Botha had assisted them with "an investigation".

Pretoria police said in a statement yesterday that Botha had been arrested in connection with possible charges of sabotage and the possession of explosives.

Swazis hold ANC men 'en route for training'

STAR 215192.

PRETORIA — The Department of Law and Order will approach the Swaziland police for assistance after the arrest of 32 African National Congress members in the mountain kingdom, SABC radio news reports.

Yesterday Swaziland police confirmed they had arrested 32 men claiming to be ANC members travelling to Tanzania for military training. The police said the men would be deported to South Africa from Big Bend, where they were being held.

A spokesman for the South African Department of Law and Order said he had not received confirmation of the arrests, but the Swaziland authorities would be approached as soon as possible to help the SA Police in their investigation.

If the arrests could be verified, the matter would be raised at Codesa on Monday.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel had repeatedly warned against actions that were contrary to the spirit of Codesa and the National Peace Accord, said the spokesman. — Sapa.

Sebokeng ANC homes attacked

By STAN MHLONGO

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

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

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

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

They blasted windows

with gunfire before hurling a grenade into the house.

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

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

der the pillow on which she was sleeping".

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

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

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

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

Swaziland to expel MK recruits

By DE WET POTGIETER
THE 33 ANC recruits arrested in Swaziland on their way to Tanzania for military training will be extradited to South Africa. A senior SA Police officer said yesterday the men had been recruited by a

^{SI Times}
woman in Durban and came from Kwa Mashu.

All the men are in detention at Big Bend. 3/5/92

They were arrested on Friday after they crossed the border into Swaziland and applied for political asylum. They asked the UN

Human Rights Commission for financial support to get to Tanzania. Their requests were turned down.

A spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Her-nus Kriel said he was "deeply concerned" about

the arrests.

He is expected to raise the question of continued MK recruitment at Codesa tomorrow. (847)

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said: "It is no secret that the ANC is training people abroad."

**I'm sorry,
says ex-CP
'bomber'**

Sowetan Correspondent

FORMER Conservative Party MP and self-confessed bomber Mr Koos Botha returned to Parliament yesterday saying he regretted his actions.

He said he could look his fellow MPs in the eye because he had "come clean". *Sowetan 5/5/92*.

"I am sorry about what I have done. But I feel cleansed by my confession... Today I can walk into Parliament and face anyone," Botha said.

Botha, the independent MP for Wonderboom who was arrested last week in connection with four counts of sabotage, reported to police in Cape Town yesterday before making his way to the parliamentary complex.

With his upcoming trial clearly weighing heavily on his mind, Botha said: "If I have to go to jail, I will sit there and think about my sins."

Botha made his extraordinary confession regarding the bombing of Hillview High School in Pretoria in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper at the weekend.

At present, there is no legal reason stopping him from attending session in Parliament.

He blamed his actions on the "climate of violence" he said existed in CP circles.

SABC TV reported last night that Botha had indicated he would quit his parliamentary seat soon.

**I'm sorry,
says ex-CP
'bomber'**

Sowetan Correspondent

FORMER Conservative Party MP and self-confessed bomber Mr Koos Botha returned to Parliament yesterday saying he regretted his actions.

He said he could look his fellow MPs in the eye because he had "come clean". *Sowetan 5/5/92*

"I am sorry about what I have done. But I feel cleansed by my confession. Today I can walk into Parliament and face anyone," Botha said.

Botha, the independent MP for Wonderboom who was arrested last week in connection with four counts of sabotage, reported to police in Cape Town yesterday before making his way to the parliamentary complex.

With his upcoming trial clearly weighing heavily on his mind, Botha said: "If I have to go to jail, I will sit there and think about my sins."

Botha made his extraordinary confession regarding the bombing of Hillview High School in Pretoria in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper at the weekend.

At present, there is no legal reason stopping him from attending session in Parliament.

He blamed his actions on the "climate of violence" he said existed in CP circles.

SABC TV reported last night that Botha had indicated he would quit his parliamentary seat soon.

The ghost of torture claims haunts ANC

Sowetan 8/5/92 ~~HB~~ 84A

AS the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents within its own ranks in the mid-1980s.

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, have in the main rejected overtures from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead they have talked of "people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa" and demand an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC, already accused of covering up for Mrs Mandela, who is awaiting the outcome of an appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis.

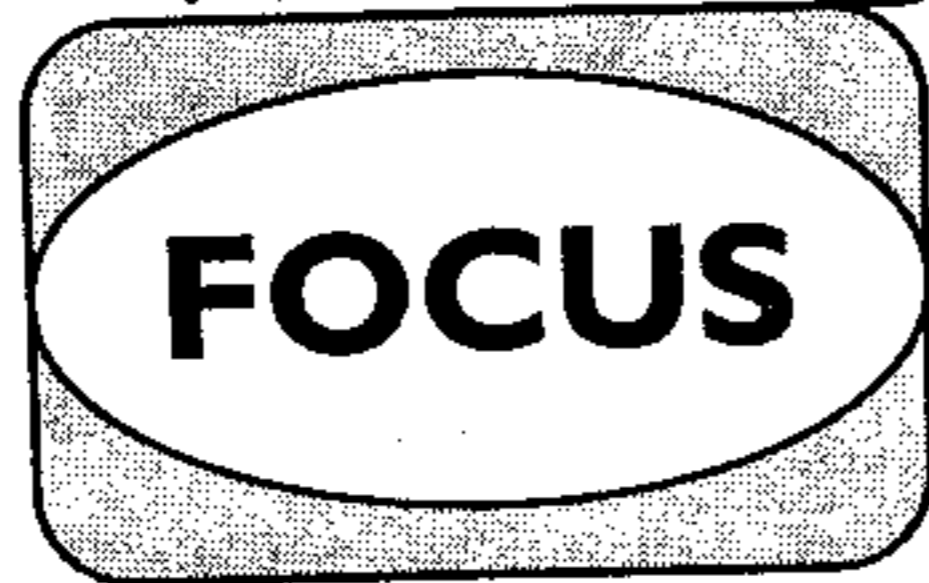
Its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the allegations fully.

Charges

Whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like Swapo in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture, remains to be seen.

One of the problems is that Mandela's admission - made more than two years ago when complaints of torture first started to surface - has been partially blurred by the terms of reference of its own commission.

Where Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents



The African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Mrs Winnie Mandela, faces another potentially explosive crisis, this time over torture in its camps, writes *Sowetan* correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE.

were tortured, the commission has not been mandated to inquire into the extent of torture but whether it took place at all.

Its terms of reference are to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the "complaints about the loss or destruction of their properties".

The members of the three-member commission are two respected lawyers, Mr Louis Skweyiya, SC, and Mr Gilbert Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Ms Bridget Mabandla.

Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and to cover up its alleged atrocities.

Skweyiya is related to Mr Zola Skweyiya, a member of the ANC national executive and of its legal and constitutional team. Their family ties and Louis Skweyiya's presumed ANC sympathies have gen-

erated suspicions in dissident ranks that the inquiry is a charade.

Marcus is assumed to be a relative of Ms Gill Marcus, a senior member of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's national executive.

Mr Marcus and Ms Marcus are not related but a majority of dissidents are convinced that they are.

Mr Rodney Twala, a leading dissident and chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, is emphatic: he will not give evidence to the "ANC commission".

His organisation has taken a decision not to testify before the commission and to insist, instead, on an independent judicial commission of inquiry.

Mr Patrick Hlongwane, another dissident leader, reaffirms the same point.

Bribery

"We will not participate in the ANC's investigation as we suspect the ANC will attempt to use its normal methods of bribery and threats to get the answers it wants."

If the ANC really wishes to dispose of this matter there is only one way: an independent commission of inquiry must be appointed."

Another former ANC detainee, Mr Mozolana S'khwebu, says of the three members of the ANC-appointed commission:

"They are members of the ANC ... At the same time they are being appointed to investigate the evil done by the ANC."

Their scepticism is deepened by a number of additional factors:

● Commission hearings are in camera and, in Twala's view, in contravention of the maxim that justice must be seen to be done;

● The murder of at least one dissident, Mr Siphon Phungulwa, by suspected ANC agents since the ANC rebels began to trickle back to South Africa; and

● The belief that some dissidents are still being detained in Uganda by, or at the behest of, the ANC.

Suspicions are heightened by their experience of an earlier commission appointed by the ANC to inquire into the causes of a mutiny by ANC fighters at guerilla camps in Angola in 1984.

Failure

As Mr Stephen Ellis records in his book *Comrades Against Apartheid*, the findings of the commission were never released, still less put on the agenda for discussion at the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia.

The failure to release the findings of the Stuart Commission are seen as evidence that instead of exposing the causes of the mutiny, including the brutal excesses of the ANC's security department, Mbokodo, the commissioners were more concerned to cover up and protect ANC leaders from their share of the blame.

There are, however, guarantees against the present Skweyiya Commission merely serving as a public relations exercise and then being locked away to protect the ANC from embarrassment. The ANC has given a solemn undertaking in writing to publish its reports, subject only to the deletion of the names of persons where deemed necessary for their safety.

The Skweyiya commission has already held one session of hearings and is due to hold two more in June and August. It does not have the power to subpoena witnesses.

MK rebels turn to gangsterism

W/Mail 8/5 - 14/5/92

The gap between the African National Congress leadership and rebel Umkhonto weSizwe groups is creating problems for the organisation and trouble in the townships. By **EDDIE KOCH**

RENEGADE groups of Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas who act as a law unto themselves in many of the country's trouble spots are creating organisational problems for African National Congress branches in the townships as well as political embarrassment for the movement's national leadership.

The problem surfaced dramatically at the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand last month when a local defence unit, reinforced by rogue MK men armed with AK-47 rifles, staged a coup d'etat and evicted the ANC-aligned residents committee.

Since then reports have filtered in to *The Weekly Mail* about bellicose cadres of MK fighters in other townships who, after returning from exile, refuse to take orders from the ANC, squabble with local civic leaders, and in some cases impose a reign of terror over the areas they live in.

Members of an MK cell in one of the townships south of Johannesburg this week told reporters they saw themselves as an "independent military force with our own methods for sorting out the violence" that was not accountable to political structures of the ANC.

The problem has become so widespread that it is causing serious concern in top echelons of both political and military structures of the ANC. Fears abound that irresponsible acts by *agents provocateurs* — such as sniping at police and army patrols — open the way for brutal repression of the type that characterised the recent invasion of Phola Park by 32 Battalion.

And the ANC's leadership is worried about the way in which the government is making political capital by exaggerating violence carried out by MK units and deflecting attention away from the activities of its own security forces on the eve of the next round of negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

In some cases the activities of these renegade MK groups reflect ideological disagreement with the political direction of the ANC on the part of militant youths who bear the brunt of right-wing violence in the townships.

"We do not wish to overemphasise the fact that our members on the ground openly criticise the organisation's political tolerance in the face of



Armed struggle ... Some MK cadres submit to discipline, others do not

Photo: GUY ADAMS

the enemy's brutal murders suffered by the masses who are defenceless," says a document prepared by an MK cell in the Vaal region.

"Members of the underground who are heading the defence units should meet the MK leadership in order to plan a form of strategy to recruit and screen selected members within the community to be trained properly for defence units. We fully agree that negotiations are another terrain of struggle, but this should not be done at the expense of our lives."

There are more ominous reports, however, that some of these out-of-control cells operate in much the same way as township gangs to impose personal power and fiefdoms over areas they live in — except that they use the name of Umkhonto weSizwe and the prestige of being former freedom fighters to legitimate their activities.

The Phola Park rebels, for example, are clearly operating hand-in-glove with criminal groupings who are opposed to a sophisticated development scheme that was pioneered by the former residents' committee and would have brought some form of order to the settlement.

Activists in the Vaal report that a local warlord-type figure, who operates out of one of the hostels in the name of MK, runs a private army that has aroused considerable resentment by collecting levies for arms and imposing protection fees on residents.

"This is pure gangsterism parading as political activity," said one of *The Weekly Mail's* sources.

In some cases open tension, bordering on armed clashes, has erupted between MK cadres just back from exile and local youths and civic leaders who were engaged in above-board political mobilisation during the liberation war — and there have been reports of violent spats between returned "cadres" and resident "comrades" over the control of townships.

The problem is also reflected in the Natal Midlands.

The controversial statement by ANC leader Harry Gwala that "we kill Inkatha warlords" is backed by evidence that there is a highly-trained ANC squad carrying out professional hits on some of Inkatha's most notorious warlords in the region.

Gwala is clearly operating in response to a deep-felt militancy and impatience among residents about Inkatha-sponsored violence. There is no evidence that his groups are operating for personal gain.

But the lack of discipline and control over MK units probably also explains the mystery detentions this month of two armed groups in Swaziland whose members claimed to be ANC fighters on their way to Tanzania for military training — even though the movement's political leadership expressed genuine surprise and confusion about their claims.

Howard Barrell, a political analyst who is researching ANC strategic policy at Oxford University, says he is not surprised that these dynamics have surfaced in the townships.

"The phenomenon has its origins in the post-1976 period when there was a continual parallelism between the ANC's political and military operational structures characterised by dislocation and bickering," says Barrell.

"Apart from a small group of highly trained operatives that conducted special hit-and-run missions, MK strategy consisted of sending small groups of three or more guerrillas into the country with AK-47s, a few score rounds of ammunition each, some hand-grenades and a few thousand rand."

Barrell's research indicates there was little attempt to link these military cadres to the political leadership that began to emerge in the mass movement and he argues this reflects an underlying belief in the top ranks of MK that political mobilisation was secondary to its military operations.

"A lack of command and control came to characterise these operations. Their resort to banditry and a form of warlordship has clear historical roots."

The government is taking advantage of the situation by using the work of wayward MK groups to weaken the ANC at the negotiating table and has signalled its intention to use their activity as a means of resisting demands for a revamp of the security forces.

ANC denies
recruiting
'trainees'

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE ANC had not recruited the 45 detained youths in Swaziland who claimed to be ANC members en route to Zambia or Tanzania for military training, the organisation said yesterday.

An ANC spokesman said it was suspected that the youths had been unwittingly used in a propaganda campaign to discredit the organisation and to convey the impression that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were involved in fomenting violence.

However, the ANC had decided to send a delegation to Swaziland to investigate the matter first hand.

Late last month, a group of 32 youths arrived in the eastern border town of Siteki claiming to be ANC members who wanted to be sent to Zambia. A week later, a second group of 13 youths arrived in Big Bend with a similar request.

Swaziland authorities detained the youths and explained they could not be granted refugee status because the ANC had been unbanned. The youths were believed to be from Natal.

The youths supplied names of people involved in their recruitment and illegal entry into Swaziland to Swaziland government representatives and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

UNHCR spokesman Gary Perkins said Swazi police had been unable to trace the names supplied by the youths. He said it was unlikely the 45 were bona fide ANC members.

The ANC said in a statement it had conducted extensive inquiries and was certain that no ANC structure had been involved in such recruitment.

It also said it had found no trace of the people named as recruiters.

The statement said the ANC had requested the names of the youths as well as the branches they purported to belong to.

Torture camps: Will the truth out?

STAR 8/5/92

84A

THE African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Winnie Mandela, faces another potentially explosive crisis.

As the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents within its own ranks in the mid-1980s.

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, have in the main rejected overtures from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead, they have talked of "people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa" and demanded an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC, already accused of covering up for Mrs Mandela, who is awaiting the outcome of an appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis.

Its president, Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the

charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission to investigate the allegations.

Whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like Swapo in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture, remains to be seen.

One of the problems is that Mr Mandela's admission — made more than two years ago when complainants of torture first started to surface — has been partially blurred by the terms of reference of its own commission.

Where Mr Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents were tortured, the commission has not been mandated to inquire into the extent of torture but whether it took place at all.

Its terms of reference are to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the complaints "about the loss or destruction of their properties."

The members of the three-member commission are two respected lawyers, Louis Skweyrya,

SC, and Gilbert Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Bridget Mabandla. Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and to cover up its alleged atrocities.

Mr Skweyrya is related to Mr Zola Skweyrya, a member of the ANC national executive and of its legal and constitutional team. Their family ties, and Mr Louis Skweyrya's presumed ANC sympathies, have generated suspicions in dissident ranks that the inquiry is a charade.

Mr Marcus is assumed to be a relative of Gill Marcus, a senior member of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's national executive. Mr Marcus and Ms Marcus are not related but a majority of dissidents are convinced that they are.

Rodney Twala, a leading dissident and chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, is emphatic: he will not give evidence to the "ANC commission". His organisation has taken a decision not to testify be-

fore the commission and to insist, instead, of an independent judicial commission of inquiry.

Patrick Hlongwane, another dissident leader, reaffirms the same point: "We will not participate in the ANC's investigation as we suspect the ANC will attempt to use its normal methods of bribery and threats to get the answers it wants ... if the ANC really wishes to dispose of this matter there is only one way: an independent commission of inquiry must be appointed."

Another former ANC detainee, Mozolana Skhwebu, says of the three members of the ANC-appointed commission: "They are ANC members ... at the same time, they are appointed to investigate the evil done by the ANC."

Their scepticism is deepened by a number of additional factors: a commission hearings are *in camera* and, in Mr Twala's view, in contravention of the maxim that justice must be seen to be done; the murder at least one dissident, Sipho Phunguwa, by suspected ANC agents since the ANC rebels began to trickle back to South Africa; and the belief that some

dissidents are still being detained in Uganda by, or at the behest of, the ANC.

Suspicious are heightened by their experience of an earlier commission appointed by the ANC to inquire into the causes of a mutiny by ANC fighters at guerrilla camps in Angola in 1984.

As Stephen Ellis records in his book "Comrades Against Apartheid", the findings of the commission were never released, still less put on the agenda for discussion at the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia.

The failure to release the findings of the Stuart Commission are seen as evidence that instead of exposing the causes of the mutiny, including the brutal excesses of the ANC's security department, Mbokodo, the commissioners were more concerned to cover up and protect ANC leaders from their share of the blame.

Ellis writes: "All the members of the Stuart Commission were elected to the ANC's national executive committee the next year, which was generally interpreted as recognition for their work."

There are, however, guarantees

against the present Skweyrya. The Skweyrya commission has Commission merely serving as already held one session of hearing public relations exercise and thenings and is due to hold two more being locked away to protect the in June and August. It does not ANC from embarrassment.

The ANC has given a solemn nesses. Whether it will attract undertaking in writing to publish enough dissidents to give its findings reports, subject only to the de- ings credibility is as yet unclear. tion of the names of persons if If it does not, it will have served that is deemed necessary for their no useful purpose and demands safety. Individual commissioners, will grow for an independent judiciary. moreover, have the power to cial inquiry. write separate reports if they do Already, these demands echo not concur with the findings of those faced over the years by the South African authorities for a judicial investigation into the torture and death in detention of anti-apartheid detainees. □

South African authorities for a judicial investigation into the torture and death in detention of anti-apartheid detainees. □

Torture camps: Will the truth out?

STAR 8/17/92

84A

THE African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Winnie Mandela, faces another potentially explosive crisis.

As the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents within its own ranks in the mid-1980s.

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, have in the main rejected offers from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead, they have talked of people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa and demanded an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC, already accused of covering up for Mrs Mandela, who awaiting the outcome of an appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis. Its president, Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the

charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission to investigate the allegations.

Whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like Swapo in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture, remains to be seen.

One of the problems is that Mr Mandela's admission — made more than two years ago when complainants of torture first started to surface — has been partially blurred by the terms of reference of its own commission.

Where Mr Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents were tortured, the commission has not been mandated to inquire into the extent of torture but whether it took place at all.

Its terms of reference are to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the complaints "about the loss or destruction of their properties."

The members of the three-member commission are two respected lawyers, Louis Skweyiya,

SC, and Gilbert Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Bridget Mabandla. Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and to cover up its alleged atrocities.

Mr Skweyiya is related to Mr Zola Skweyiya, a member of the ANC national executive and of its legal and constitutional team. Their family ties, and Mr Louis Skweyiya's presumed ANC sympathies, have generated suspicions in dissident ranks that the inquiry is a charade.

Mr Marcus is assumed to be a relative of Gill Marcus, a senior member of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's national executive. Mr Marcus and Ms Marcus are not related but a majority of dissidents are convinced that they are.

Rodney Twala, a leading dissident and chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, is emphatic: he will not give evidence to the "ANC commission". His organisation has taken a decision not to testify be-

fore the commission and to insist, instead, of an independent judicial commission of inquiry.

Patrick Hlongwane, another dissident leader, reaffirms the same point: "We will not participate in the ANC's investigation as we suspect the ANC will attempt to use its normal methods of bribery and threats to get the answers it wants... if the ANC really wishes to dispose of this matter there is only one way: an independent commission of inquiry must be appointed."

Another former ANC detainee, Mozolana S'khwebu, says of the three members of the ANC-appointed commission: "They are ANC members... at the same time, they are appointed to investigate the evil done by the ANC."

Their scepticism is deepened by a number of additional factors: commission hearings are *in camera* and, in Mr Twala's view, in contravention of the maxim that justice must be seen to be done; the murder at least one dissident, Siphon Phungulwa, by suspected ANC agents since the ANC rebels began to trickle back to South Africa; and the belief that some

dissidents are still being detained in Uganda by, or at the behest of, the ANC.

Suspicions are heightened by their experience of an earlier commission appointed by the ANC to inquire into the causes of a mutiny by ANC fighters at guerrilla camps in Angola in 1984.

As Stephen Ellis records in his book "Comrades Against Apartheid", the findings of the commission were never released, still less put on the agenda for discussion at the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia.

The failure to release the findings of the Stuart Commission are seen as evidence that instead of exposing the causes of the mutiny, including the brutal excesses of the ANC's security department, Mbokodo, the commissioners were more concerned to cover up and protect ANC leaders from their share of the blame.

Ellis writes: "All the members of the Stuart Commission were elected to the ANC's national executive committee the next year, which was generally interpreted as recognition for their work."

There are, however, guarantees

against the present Skweyiya. The Skweyiya commission has Commission merely serving as a already held one session of hearing public relations exercise and thenings and is due to hold two more being locked away to protect the in June and August. It does not ANC from embarrassment.

The ANC has given a solemn nesses. Whether it will attract undertaking in writing to publish enough dissidents to give its findings reports, subject only to the de-ings credibility is as yet unclear. I tion of the names of persons if If it does not, it will have served that is deemed necessary for their no useful purpose and demands safety. Individual commissioners, will grow for an independent judicial moreover, have the power to cial inquiry.

write separate reports if they do Already, these demands echo not concur with the findings of those faced over the years by the South African authorities for a judicial investigation into the torture and death in detention of anti-apartheid detainees. □

PAC lays down the law to OAU delegates

THE PAC told the visiting OAU delegation yesterday not to think about investigating the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Army (Apla), or of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani told a news conference the PAC understood that the OAU was supportive of liberation movements. "At our meeting (yesterday), we made it clear that activities of liberation armies ... do not constitute public violence."

Nemadzivhanani said the delegation was told to limit its investigations to fac-

81paw 12/5/92

WILSON ZWANE

tional fighting and "government-sponsored acts of violence designed to undermine the liberation movements".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the delegation was "a commission of inquiry" in SA to identify culprits and the nature of violence, not to end violence. It was hoped that its findings would be presented to the international community, which would then decide on a course of punitive action, Alexander said.

The delegation, of five ambassadors

based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, also met the ANC and the SA Council of Churches yesterday. Today it will visit unrest flashpoints in the Cape.

Sapa reports that delegation spokesman Segun Olusola said the aim was "to monitor and accelerate the democratisation process and to ensure the success of processes such as Codesa. We will also see what influence we can bring to bear on incidents and elements impeding democratisation, such as the violence".

Nemadzivhanani reiterated PAC opposition to the group attending Codesa II.

Explain camp deaths, ANC urged

By Michael Sparks
and Political Staff



Jenny de Tolly . . . rule of law one of earliest casualties in times of liberation war.

CAPE TOWN — The Black Sash yesterday called on the ANC to identify and act against members responsible for the killing of colleagues in ANC camps between 1976 and 1990.

It also urged the ANC to expose the truth about alleged deaths in its camps.

The call was made by Black Sash national president Jenny de Tolly and her predecessor, Mary Burton.

They were responding to press reports about an alleged ANC document which names 265 people who died in ANC camps in suicides, executions and shooting incidents.

The document, called List of Deceased Comrades, purports to give the travelling names of those killed, their real names, the causes of their death and where they are buried.

same camp during an "ANC confrontation" in 1984, and six others were killed by mutineers.

Mrs de Tolly and Mrs Burton said the rule of law was one of the earliest victims in times of conflict and liberation wars.

"If the allegations are correct, the ANC cannot escape responsibility for the actions of its officers," they said.

Even if prisoners were convicted of espionage and treachery, they had to be treated in terms of the Geneva Convention, they added.

Chris Hani, ANC executive member and former head of the organisation's armed wing, yesterday denied any knowledge of the list. However, Mr Hani said he was aware that a commission had been appointed to look into the matter.

Asked why the ANC would leak that kind of document to the press, Mr Hani said: "Although the Government is negotiating, it still regards us not only as a political enemy, but

some of the old-style people regard us as a real enemy."

He added: "The Government is reeling from scandals of corruption and killing. They are trying to say it was not only us who did the killing."

But Mr Hani pointed out there were distinct differences between what happened at the hands of the security forces and what happened in ANC camps.

Mr Hani said the ANC had to defend itself from agents of the security forces infiltrating into the organisation.

But he added: "What is now being debated by the commission is the strategies that were used, not all of which were correct."

Mr Hani said a key difference was that from the beginning, ANC president Nelson Mandela had said the organisation would fully investigate any irregularities. The Government, on the other hand, "has been trying to cover up what they did for years, and they are still trying to cover it up".

STAR 14/5/92

(849) **Blast at varsity lab** (90)

A hand grenade explosion damaged a laboratory used for post-graduate work in the chemistry department of the University of Natal, Durban, early yesterday. Police spokesman Major Coert Marais said the blast, caused by an RGD5 grenade, occurred at 15 minutes past midnight. Nobody was injured. It is not known whether it is linked to on-going unrest on the campus. University spokesman Dirk Kemp said it was believed to have been an act of sabotage.

STAR 18/5/1992

Two suspects have been in news

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

84A 201592
"Klein Koos" van der Merwe and Gideon Fourie, now being questioned by police in connection with last month's Rand Show limpet mine blast, are no strangers to the limelight.

Along with incumbent CP chief whip on the Boksburg council, Andries du Toit — who was also taken in for questioning yesterday — the two have consistently made headlines.

As one political opponent remarked: "I don't know what else to say about them, but no one will argue about describing them as colourful."

In April 1990, Mr van der Merwe was quoted as saying that if you gave blacks a "klap" or two, they would not be likely to return to Boksburg Lake. This was when tension over segre-

gation at the lake was at its highest.

In the same month, Mr Fourie had charges of assault laid against him by an HNP supporter and member of the Boksburg management committee.

In June, Mr Fourie was escorted out of the Boksburg Town Hall by plainclothes policemen after apparently taking part in the disruption of a meeting of Dawn Park residents. They had been discussing the desegregation of their suburb.

In March 1991, after the "pig's head" incident in the Boksburg council chamber — NP councillor Issy Kramer found a severed pig's head wrapped in a Star of David flag on his council seat — then-DP MP Harry Schwarz accused Mr van der Merwe of distributing anti-Semitic literature.

Mr Schwarz claimed

that Mr van der Merwe had admitted this, and called on the CP to sack him.

In August of the same year, both Mr Fourie and Mr van der Merwe were accused of taking part in a demonstration which disrupted a Boksburg meeting addressed by Cabinet minister Barend du Plessis and Reiger Park MP Jac Rabie.

In January this year, when it emerged that South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani had bought a house in the formerly whites-only suburb of Dawn Park, Mr du Toit called on him to "get out".

Mr van der Merwe said at the time he could not comment because he was "too busy preparing for a revolution to take back everything, and we are only concerned about getting our own white homeland".

ANC calls cops over bomb threat

27
SLA

Sowetan 20/5/92

THE African National Congress has called in the police for protection and advice after a threat to bomb its headquarters was received from alleged former undercover agents of the South African security forces, it was learnt yesterday.

The organisation learnt of the threat in the past two days, a senior official said yesterday. "It was not the usual crank who phones and hangs up quickly. We get lots of those. This time we learnt from reliable sources that this was someone deadly serious, people who know what they are doing."

Asked to confirm a report that the threat came from former agents of an undercover military hit-squad unit, the Civil Co-Operation Bureau, the official replied: "We take threats from the CCB extremely seriously."

Responding to a call from the ANC on Monday, a high-ranking policeman travelled from Pretoria to Johannesburg to discuss the bomb threat with ANC security officers.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that such a visit was made but said the details of the discussion were confidential.

Yesterday security arrangements at the ANC building in central Johannesburg were the tightest they have been since the organisation moved into the building last year.

THE Conservative Party faces the grim prospect of another major "bomb" scandal following the arrest yesterday of 10 rightwingers in connection with a limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show last month.

More than a dozen people were injured in the April 4 blast.

The suspects - among them two Boksburg town councillors - were picked up at their East Rand homes in a pre-dawn police raid.

The two Boksburg town councillors being held for questioning are "Klein Koos" van der Merwe - a nephew of Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe who has been dismissed from

CP faces flak over bombing

Sowetan 20/5/92

Sowetan Correspondent

the party - and Andries du Toit, CP chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council.

The former town councillor was named as Gideon Fourie, former management committee chairman of the council, who was unseated after being convicted of electoral fraud in 1990.

Also held is "Klein

Koos" van der Merwe's wife Trudie and two other women, identified only as Mrs J Visser and Mrs PP Engelbrecht.

The other people arrested have been named as JS Visser, Peet de Wet, P Pieterse and R du Toit.

While National Party and Democratic Party spokesmen immediately

tore into the CP for "encouraging violence" among its members, the Conservative Party's chief justice spokesman, Chris de Jager, said the CP had "taken note" of the arrests but insisted that the legal process be allowed to take its course.

"The CP will not participate in a trial by media," he said yesterday.

The CP has been rocked by claims that its leader-

ship knew in January of the activities of Koos Botha, its former MP who says he bombed Hillview School in Pretoria.

Botha, in a sensational confession to a Sunday newspaper, said he blew up the school with stolen dynamite.

The school was earmarked for use by the children of returning ANC exiles. Damage estimated at R2 million was caused.

PAC brands Apla hit list as cop work

8447
Sowetan
20/5/92

PAN Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke has slammed as "false" police allegations that the movement's military wing compiled a hit list of senior police officers and judges.

Police alleged last week that they had unearthed an Apla hit list.

Moseneke denied there was any murder or hit list or that Apla had any plans to kill judges and other officials.

He said the "true masters of hit lists are the South African Police".

Moseneke said Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel should flush out "the dirt and the murderers in the SAP rather than

Sowetan Correspondent

make false allegations against the PAC".

He said the allegations were an obvious product of the "dirty tricks department" of the police and other security structures such as military intelligence.

He said they had "distinguished themselves by not only compiling death lists or hit lists but by executing a large number of people or by being implicated in the execution of a large number of activists who have legitimately challenged the repressive regime".

Mandela plea to Norwegians

STOCKHOLM - African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday encouraged Nordic businesses to invest in South Africa only after an interim government had been installed.

Mandela told Norwegian

businessmen he hoped that negotiations with the South African Government and other parties would produce a transition council by July.

"The problems which came up during the negotiations last week were a

hindrance to the expected breakthrough," the national news agency, NTB, quoted Mandela as telling the businessmen.

Mandela flew to Sweden to appear at a musical concert held in his honour - Sapa-AP.



ANC calls cops over bomb threat

Sowetan 20/5/92

SLA

THE African National Congress has called in the police for protection and advice after a threat to bomb its headquarters was received from alleged former undercover agents of the South African security forces, it was learnt yesterday.

The organisation learnt of the threat in the past two days, a senior official said yesterday. "It was not the usual crank who phones and hangs up quickly. We get lots of those. This time we learnt from reliable sources that this was someone deadly serious, people who know what they are doing."

Asked to confirm a report that the threat came from former agents of an undercover military hit-squad unit, the Civil Co-Operation Bureau, the official replied: "We take threats from the CCB extremely seriously."

Responding to a call from the ANC on Monday, a high-ranking policeman travelled from Pretoria to Johannesburg to discuss the bomb threat with ANC security officers.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that such a visit was made but said the details of the discussion were confidential.

Yesterday security arrangements at the ANC building in central Johannesburg were the tightest they have been since the organisation moved into the building last year.

Talks 'a way forward'

Sowetan 20/5/92

TOP-LEVEL business and trade union leaders who met Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys in Cape Town this week about establishing an economic forum, were optimistic about the talks which they said were "a way forward".

They agreed on joint consultations and to try to reach consensus on restructuring and addressing various problems relating to the economy.

It was also agreed that another meeting be held, possibly in Johannesburg or Cape Town, within two weeks to take decisions on the issues raised.

Some of the points raised on the broad agenda were: the Government's economic policy, future economic investment, trade, retrenchments, provident funds, taxation, housing and education.

The Minister was accompanied by his special adviser Mr Japie Jacobs, while labour was represented by Cosatu and Nactu.

900 in hospital wage strike

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration says voluntary helpers have stepped in to maintain services at the Klerksdorp and nearby Tshepong hospitals, where

as many as 900 health workers are on strike. Workers went on strike on Monday, demanding a minimum monthly wage of R724 and a 15,3 percent

across-the-board salary increase for all general assistants, permanent employment status for all general assistants and that retrenchment be stopped.

Easter blast 9 held

Sowetan 20/5/92

NINE people — two of them Boksburg town councillors — have been arrested in connection with the limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show on April 4.

This was confirmed by the acting Police Commissioner, Lieutenant-General Hendrik de Villiers, yesterday.

He said in a statement the arrests were made on the East Rand on Tuesday morning.


The blast injured nine people.

The general added: "Soon after the explosion, letters were distributed to the media in which the 'Orde van die Wit Wolwe' admitted responsibility for the explosion.

"This aspect is also being investigated.

"Two of those arrested are Boksburg town councillors and one is a former member of the council. The suspects are being held for questioning."

De Villiers said the SAP "once again wishes to point out that we are there to serve all communities." - Sapa.



NOW T

From W

Highpoint
Hillbrow

**TASTIC
RICE**

1 kg

**BUFFA
SUGAR
BEANS**

500 g

**PYOTT
ROMAN
CREAM**

200 g

SUPER

350 ml

S 6108

C

New 'bomb' shock for Dr Treurnicht's party

Show blast: CP men held

By Esther Waugh
Monica Oosterbroek
and Anna Louw

STAR 20/5/92

The Conservative Party faces the grim prospect of another major "bomb" scandal following the arrest yesterday of 10 right-wingers — among them two Boksburg CP town councillors — in connection with a limpet mine explosion at the Rand Easter Show last month.

More than a dozen people were injured in the April 4 blast, for which the "Orde van die Wit Wolwe" claimed responsibility.

The suspects were picked up at their East Rand homes in a pre-dawn police operation. The two Boksburg town councillors being held for questioning are "Klein Koos" van der Merve — a nephew of Overval MP Koos van der Merve who was dismissed from the party recently — and Andries du Toit, CP chief whip in the Boksburg town council.

The former town councillor was named as Gideon Fourie, former management committee chairman of the Boksburg Town Council who was unseated after being convicted of electoral fraud in 1990.

Also held are "Klein Koos" van der Merve's wife, Trudie, and two other women, identified only as Mrs J Visser and Mrs P P Engelbrecht.

The other people arrested have been named as JS Visser, Peet de Wet (a hairdresser in Boksburg North), P Pieterse and R du Toit.

While National Party and Democratic Party spokesmen immediately tore into the CP for "encouraging violence" among its members, the CP's chief justice spokesman, Chris de Jager, said the



Former councillor... Gideon Fourie.



Former councillor... Sakkie Blanche.



Chief whip... Andries du Toit.

has been rocked by claims that its leadership knew in January of the activities of Koos Botha, the former CP MP who says he bombed the Hillview school in Pretoria.

Reacting to the latest developments, NP official Sheila Camerer told The Star: "They (bombers) are children spawned of the rhetoric of violence."

DP southern Transvaal leader Peter Seal said of the arrests: "It is a serious matter. The CP leadership is duty bound to reassure South Africa that within their ranks there are no further bombers lurking.

"Their policies of hatred and confrontation have led people not to understand what it is all about, and to engage in desperate acts."

Sakkie Blanche, NP MP for Boksburg, said: "Dr Treurnicht should relinquish his honorary citizenship of Boksburg. All his party has brought to the town is shame.

"He should call on the city council to resign and he should call for an investigation into the CP in Boksburg and pass all information to the SAP."

Mr Blanche added that Dr Treurnicht should also make available to the SAP any "valuable" information he might have resulting from a meeting with former CP members Beyers de Klerk and T J Ferreira on February 10.

In a separate statement issued before the news of the arrests emerged yesterday, Dr Treurnicht rejected claims published at the weekend that he had firsthand knowledge of irregularities in the Boksburg council.

He called on Mr Ferreira, Boksburg's mayor, to supply the police with any evidence that he might have of such conduct. Announcing the arrests

Rand Show blast: CP men held

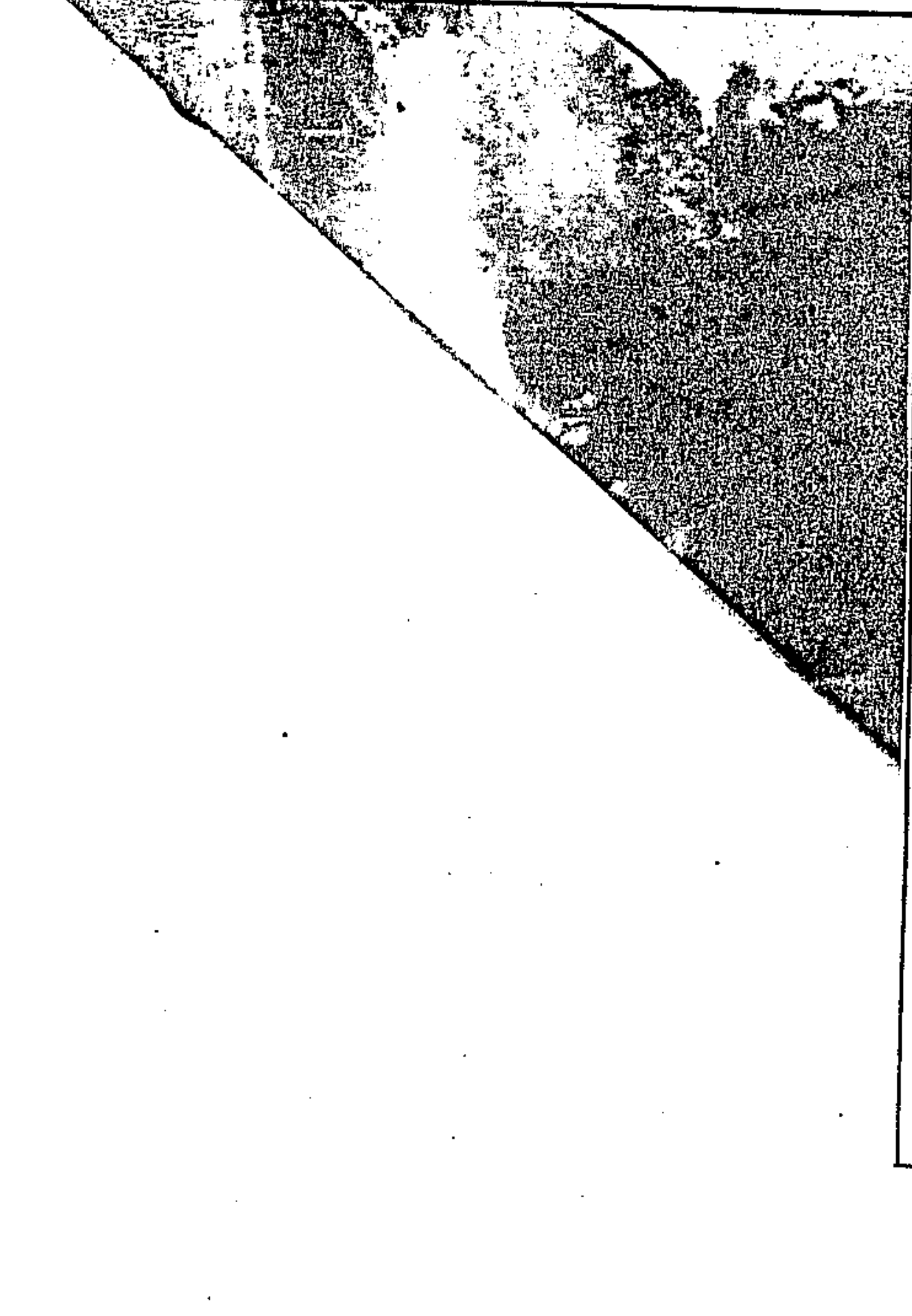
From Page 1

Acting Police Commissioner General Hendrik de Villiers said the Orde van die Wit Wolwe had originally in letters distributed to the media, claimed responsibility for the Rand Show explosion.

While searching the houses of those arrested yesterday, police found "Orde van die Wit Wolwe" letterheads. The wife of Mr Fourie, Isabel, said they were asleep when eight police men arrived at their home at 5.30 am. She said her husband was taken to get dressed and was taken to John Vorster Square.

Lia Andries du Toit's wife said her husband was arrested at 4.30 am. The suspects are being held for questioning and will appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court later this week.

Mr Ferreira said the arrests of two councillors had been a shock. He said the councillors would not be suspended unless they were found guilty and received prison sentences.



ANC to help return youths home to SA

MBABANE - An ANC delegation has told the Swaziland government it will co-operate in repatriating youths who arrived in that country demanding to be sent to Zambia for military training.

The arrival of the 47 youths, all claiming to be ANC members, baffled the Swaziland govern-

Sowetan Africa
News Service

ment and refugee officials in Mbabane because the practice of sending political refugees abroad for military training ended when the ANC was unbanned in South Africa.

Officials at ANC headquarters also denied knowledge of the youths, who entered the country illegally, apparently from Natal. They have been held in prison at the southern town of Big Bend since their arrival.

On Tuesday an ANC delegation, led by Mr Jackie Selebi, head of the ANC repatriation programmes, had talks with the youths, together with Swaziland Interior Ministry and United Nations High Commission for Refugees officials.

Confirmed

Later Selebi confirmed that the ANC was no longer sending people for military training abroad.

He said: "On the other hand, some or all of these young persons could be members of our organisation. They mentioned some names of high-ranking ANC officials, people who had directed them to come to Swaziland and then proceed abroad.

"I will not reveal those names. We have to carry out thorough investigations when we get back to South Africa."

The youths are expected to be returned to South Africa soon, according to the ANC delegation.

B/Daw 21/5/92

ANC quizzes youths

AN ANC three-man delegation visited Swaziland this week to interview the 47 youths detained after allegedly crossing illegally into Swaziland and claiming they were ANC members on their way to undergo military training.

Delegation leader Jackie Selebi said in Mbabane yesterday the youths said they had been recruited in Natal, although not through the ANC offices. Some of those involved in the recruitment were known to the ANC and at least one was a member.

~~21/5~~ 34A

B/D am 22/5/92

BILLY PADDOCK

SADF, Umkhonto begin unity talks

CAPE TOWN — Talks had begun between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe on creating a unified national army, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He told a briefing on Codesa that the aim was to rationalise the two forces, the TBVC defence forces and homeland paramilitary units into a single defence force.

Last week Meyer said there was about 80% agreement between the political negotiating teams of the ANC and government on implementation of the D F Malan Accord and the Pretoria Minute dealing with the armed struggle and arms caches. But the fact that both military command structures were now involved in bilateral negotiations indicated discussions had entered the detailed phase of practicalities.

Meyer said government welcomed ANC president Nelson Mandela's remark that the ANC could not return to the armed struggle if constitutional negotiations broke down. It showed that the ANC believed change was irreversible. (25/11)

Regarding the death of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe, Meyer did not respond directly when asked repeatedly whether he had "full confidence" that members of the military establishment had not been involved in assassinations. He said he would address the Goniwe issue in his Defence vote next week. (3/11) (RA)

Rebels on Rampage

RENEGADE members of the ANC's military wing have hijacked Phola Park township's self-defence unit and used it to conduct murders, armed robberies and attacks on security force members, police claim.

In a joint operation by the SAP's Crime Information Service, the East Rand murder and robbery squad and the Internal Stability Unit, 12 dissident members of Umkhonto we Sizwe were arrested in the past two weeks.

According to a police spokesman, one of them has confessed to seven murders and three armed robberies.

Another MK member — who returned to South Africa at the beginning of the year — told police during interrogation that he was one of 2 000 MK dissidents who decided, while in the ANC's Dakawa train-

ANC cadres turn defence unit into murderous gang

868
S/Times 24/5/72

By DE WET POTGIETER

they wanted to return to South Africa. They had been told by new recruits from South Africa that ANC-sanctioned self-defence units (SDUs) had been set up in townships. The group decided to set up their own SDUs, without ANC approval, but to retain their MK links in order to ensure a flow of funds and weapons.

The man told police that plans to rob banks, hijack vehicles, launch attacks on members of the security forces and eliminate informers and "the enemy,

like Inkatha" were laid in the Tanzanian camp.

Other suspects arrested revealed under interrogation that:

● Plans had been discussed for the abduction of children from a daycare centre in the Alberton suburb of Brackenhurst, attacks on soft targets as far afield as the Free State and executions by kangaroo courts;

● The Phola Park SDU replaced the residents' committee in March after two committee members were murdered and the rest fled the squatter camp in fear of their lives;

● The SDU is set on establishing a "liberated zone" and planned to use Phola Park as the model for other black townships and squatter camps such as Zonkeziwe (Vosloorus), Mandela Park (Kathlung) and Crossroads;

● Phola Park residents were intimidated into identifying soft targets at their places of work and providing details of security measures.

Patrols

Among the SDU members arrested are three charged with attempted murder following the recent attack on Phola Park residents by members of the SADF's 32 Battalion.

Also in custody is one of two former Frelimo soldiers who have been training SDU members in the township.

A senior SAP officer admitted this week that "ordinary" policing was no longer possible in Phola Park.

He said security force patrols had found the bodies of several people executed by kangaroo courts

in the ruins of a hostel formerly occupied by Zulus on the outskirts of the squatter camp.

Since January 1, 338 cases of serious violent crime had been committed in and around Phola Park, he said.

The head of the East Rand murder and robbery squad, Lieutenant-Colonel Ivor Human, confirmed that suspects had been arrested in connection with the following crimes:

● An attack in which Constable Lourens Oosthuizen was killed and Constable Hermanus Joubert seriously wounded in February when they went to the aid of an elderly couple who were being attacked on a smallholding near Bethlehem;

● An attack on a Rand Water Board minibus on the old Vereeniging road in February, in which four people were killed;

● The murder of Germaniston traffic officer Richard Cussins, who was shot five times in the back on March 27 this year while trying to stop a speeding minibus, and the murder of an SAP warrant-officer on March 30;

● The murder of 18 IFP members on September 8 last year while they were marching to a rally at Thokoza stadium;

● The murder of a Coin Security guard during an R80 000 armed robbery last September.

Winnie 'fired' Nelson's aide

By CP REPORTERS

WINNIE Mandela, estranged wife of the ANC president, is alleged to have fired her husband's personal secretary without his knowledge.

The secretary, Buntle Setshogwe, said yesterday she still regarded herself as Nelson Mandela's employee and would fight her "dismissal" through the right channels.

"I was not employed by Winnie and she has no right to fire me," Setshogwe said.

Earlier this month Winnie is also alleged to have chaired a regional executive committee meeting of the ANC Women's League (PWV) in which the region's general secretary, Lindi Maseko, was relieved of her post because the organisation did not have money.

Maseko said the meeting was attended by Winnie, deputy general secretary Maria Moja-pelo and Joan Fubbs a member of the regional executive committee.

She said during the meeting they told her that she had been stripped of her status as the full-time general secretary and that she should only volunteer her services. She was told to come into the women's league offices only once or twice a month, she said.

Maseko said: "I was shattered by the news and am pursuing the matter. Although we only have a draft constitution, I feel my dismissal was unconstitutional. I won't rest until the matter has been decided by the full meeting of the REC."

Winnie's deputy, Gwen Mahlangu, said she was not aware of Maseko's dismissal and added that the REC would meet today to discuss the latest developments in the women's league and they would issue a statement after the meeting.

A source said that heads are set to roll at today's meeting as disenchanted executive members are expected to tell Winnie candidly to stop behaving "as if she owned the ANC".

Swazis expel 47 ANC youths

By FRED KHUMALO

EIGHT Natal youths, part of a group of 55 who illegally crossed the border into Swaziland with the hope of being sent to Zambia where they would undergo military training, remain holed up in Swaziland's Big Bend prison, the ANC has revealed.

They were arrested two weeks ago. Forty-seven of the youths were repatriated on Thursday, but the remaining eight await final deportation procedures, according to southern Natal ANC deputy-secretary Sihle Ndlaazi.

Ndlaazi said the youths were expected back "sometime next week", as the deportation process was lengthy.

Ndlaazi told City Press that aspiring Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers could approach the ANC as the organisation was continuing with its military programme. *CP Press 24/5/92*

"Nothing is done in secrecy now as we are training a regular army for the future SA. The comrades should have gone through the right channels," said Ndlaazi.

Although officials at ANC headquarters had denied knowledge of the youths, the Durban structure of the organisation did not disclaim them outright.

They offer their lives and then?

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE plight of disillusioned Umkhonto weSizwe cadres who turn to thuggery because of bungling leadership is the theme of a new musical play *Ain't Gonna Be Easy* written by Don Masenya and Ali Segwai.

Playwrights Masenya and Segwai said that although the production was a work of fiction, it was based on the experiences of returned exiles who were confronted with the harsh reality of poverty and unemployment in the country.

However, plans to take the play on a national tour have hit serious financial snags.

Masenya told City Press that many township theatrical productions were facing serious crises because of a lack of resources and were not being taken seriously by black business.

"It is heartbreaking to see our

attempts at making people look at themselves through theatre go up in smoke because of a lack of resources.

"We were very keen to take the play around the country to highlight the seriousness of some of the hardships and problems that face former exiles, but that may not happen because of lack of money," said Masenya.

The play re-lives the 1980 "Silverton Siege" which saw three ANC cadres mercilessly gunned down after holding up a bank in Pretoria and capturing hostages.

At the same time it is a sequel to *We Have Had Enough*, which was an attack on corrupt leadership which thrives on the aspirations of the people without working for the realisation of their hopes.

Segwai said the story revolves around a returned exile who finally resorts to using his AK-47 to

rescue him from the throes of poverty and unemployment by committing a robbery.

"The excitement and hope which marked the unbanning of the liberation movement is slowly but surely giving way to bitter disillusionment and anger.

"Exiles have returned to the same apartheid situation and we want to awaken our people to take their lives into their own hands and channel their anger to more acceptable goals," said Segwai.

He told City Press that he embarked on a tour of the Frontline States to research the play.

"I realised that guerrillas were confronted with the dilemma of continuing with the fight or giving up the armed struggle altogether.

"Quite a number were angry and bitter at the compromise struck by the leadership," said Segwai.

■ See Page 28

Hani recalls days of 'paranoiac ANC'

B/D ay 27/5/92

84A (12) (17)
STEPHANE BOTHMA

PARANOIA and hysteria in the ranks of the ANC about government's ability to infiltrate it before it was unbanned resulted in innocents being detained in prison camps, former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief-of-staff Chris Hani has admitted in a magazine interview.

Hani is reported by the latest edition of Work in Progress as saying about 18 or 19 MK members found guilty by a tribunal of taking part in a mutiny against superiors in Angola in 1984 were executed.

At his request, the ANC leadership had stepped in and stopped further executions.

Speaking about ANC detention camps, Hani said one of the innocents detained in the mid-'80s, was national executive committee member Pallo Jordan, for making a derogatory remark about methods used by the ANC's security department. Jordan was detained in June 1983 for six weeks after criticising the security infrastructure in a private conversation.

"And that critical voice reached the ears of security, and because security was a law unto itself, Comrade Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days," he said.

Hani said the climate at the time, when "the regime" was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders and assassinating commanders of MK, had created a situation of overall suspicion.

When 60% of cadres sent to infiltrate SA were either arrested or killed, sometimes the wrong impression was drawn that those who handled the operations were working for the enemy, he said.

"People began to lose a balanced approach in terms of combating the infiltration of the ANC by the regime. That situation actually caused problems where, in my own view, the innocent and the guilty were sometimes lumped together."

Asked about several mutinies that took place in camps in Angola, Hani said he had been summoned to solve the mutinous situation. Cadres mutinied over the deployment of MK members against Unita in Angola, and not the apartheid regime, and refused to take orders.

"They actually took their weapons, took trucks and virtually took over our transit camp in Viana, in Luanda."

When they refused to stop their actions, Angolans were called in to help disarm them. They were disarmed and were sent back to camps of the ANC, Hani said.

Another mutiny took place a few months later, and although Hani said he was in favour of dialogue with the mutineers, he had "reached the end of my tether" when they killed several key commanders in one camp called Bango, and took over the camp. Bango was taken back by force and the mutineers were brought before a tribunal, of which Hani was not a part. Some were sentenced to death and executed.

On a new security force, Hani said "I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to Parliament."

He added: "I would favour, for instance, a parliamentary committee to oversee the security apparatus."

Bitter hostel debate continues

B/D ay 27/5/92

WILSON ZWANE

A FEW years ago hostel and township residents used to party together. Now they are enemies.

Residents say relationships with hostel residents started deteriorating in 1990 when violence rocketed in Reef townships.

They perceive hostels as the epicentre of violence. Civic organisations — such as the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) — have echoed that sentiment.

SCA official Kgabisi Mosunkutu told a recent meeting of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber that hostels should be "emptied" as they were breeding grounds for violence.

The civic organisations want the hostels converted into family units to allow migrant workers to live with their families.

However, this would be costly, and few hostel residents can afford to buy homes. Soweto City Council spokesman Moja-

lefa Moseki says emptying the hostels "will fuel tensions in the townships and cause more social strife". However, he supports their conversion into family units, saying women and children make up about 30% of Soweto's hostel population.

West Rand Hostel Residents' Association vice-chairman Joseph Kubheka says he has not come across any hostel resident who favours conversion, and East Rand Hostel Residents' Association chairman Zakhele Mlambo says his organisation is "totally opposed" to it. Mlambo says the hostels should rather be upgraded.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration is injecting funds into upgrading hostels under its jurisdiction. In Thokoza, hostels are undergoing a multimillion-rand facelift. Renovations to one of the township's three hostels will cost about R3.5m.

of agricultural and stock remedy marketing companies. At present training courses are being designed for the correct application of such remedies by end-users, especially for the application of hormone weedkillers and Group Ia agricultural remedies. The electronic media is also employed in this regard. A series of relevant programmes have already been televised in the programme, Agriforum.

The overall involvement of other bodies must be acknowledged. For instance, the Department of National Health and Population Development is responsible for monitoring residues in foodstuffs consumed locally by man. The Directorate: Plant and Quality Control monitor all export commodities. Likewise the Directorate: Meat Hygiene maintains a watch on the residues of agricultural and stock remedies found in meat.

Number of persons attacked/robbed/murdered on farms

271. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

How many persons (a) were (i) attacked, (ii) robbed and (iii) murdered on farms in South Africa in 1991 and (b) have been so (i) attacked, (ii) robbed and (iii) murdered from 1 January 1992 up to the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:
B664E

- (a) (i) 327
(ii) 239
(iii) 66
(b) (i) 148
(ii) 112
(iii) 26
21 May 1992.

NOTE:

The figures in (a)(i) and (b)(i) also include cases of assault and rape and only apply to persons and workers in and around own houses.

Bombing of Cosatu House: alleged announcements

272. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 210 on 5 May 1992 in regard to the bombings of certain premises, any further investigations have been carried out in this matter following the announcements allegedly made by a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, to the effect that he had been involved in the bombing of Cosatu House; if not, why not; if so, what (a) are the relevant details and (b) is the name of the person concerned?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

- (a) The person was arrested on 29 April 1992. He also appeared in court on a charge of sabotage on the same day. The case was remanded until 3 June 1992.

- (b) Jacobus Johannes Christoffel Botha.

Department of Development Aid: staff

273. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

How many members of staff (a) were employed by the Department of Development Aid at the time of its dissolution on 31 March 1992, (b) to which Government Departments were they transferred and (c) how many of them were transferred to each such Department?

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

- (a) 4 057 as well as 4 703 workers from the South African Development Trust.
(b) Department of Trade and Industry
Cape Provincial Administration
Office of the Commission for Administration
Department of Agriculture
Department of Manpower
Natal Provincial Administration
Department of Environment Affairs

Department of Education and Training
Department of Public Works
Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State
Department of Local Government and National Housing
Department of State Expenditure
Department of Regional and Land Affairs
Transvaal Provincial Administration
Department of Transport
Department of Water Affairs

(c) Department of Trade and Industry 2
Department of Justice 17
Cape Provincial Administration 90
Office of the Commission for Administration 37
Department of Agriculture 335
Department of Manpower 37
Department of National Education 1
Natal Provincial Administration 703
Department of Environment Affairs 10
Department of Education and Training 4

Department of Public Works 10
Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State 1 149
Department of Local Government and National Housing 5
Department of State Expenditure 40
Department of Regional and Land Affairs 706
Transvaal Provincial Administration 871
Department of Transport 2
Department of Water Affairs 38
TOTAL 4 057

Workers from the South African Development Trust transferred to—
Cape Provincial Administration 90
Department of Agriculture 1 226
Natal Provincial Administration 1 414
Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State 797
Transvaal Provincial Administration 1 176
TOTAL 4 703

ANC cadres in Lusaka face eviction

STAR 2715792
LUSAKA — More than 200 ANC cadres in Lusaka have been threatened with evictions from houses owned by the organisation.

The government-owned newspaper Zambia Daily Mail reported yesterday that the move had angered the exiles, most of them students who claimed they were still to be repatriated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

ANC representative in Zambia, Japhet Ndhlovu, last month issued a circular to all ANC cadres in Zambia that the organisation would no longer support its members outside SA because donors had withdrawn their support.

The newspaper quoted one of the ANC cadres as complaining: "There is no justification for the ANC to evict us from the premises

Most of those interviewed yesterday charged: "The ANC has sold the property. We are the direct beneficiaries. Why evict us?"

Efforts to obtain comment from the UNHCR failed. — Sapa.

I shot at security forces — 'Apla man'

STAM 2715192

A man claiming to represent the Azanian People's Liberation Army — armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — claimed responsibility in a telephone call to Sapa yesterday for recent attacks on security forces in Sebokeng and Phola Park.

The caller identified himself to a reporter but the line was bad and conversation broke up repeatedly. The reporter, who has spoken in the past to other

callers claiming to represent Apla, did not recognise the voice.

The caller said: "You must take this information quickly... I'm not going to be around for long."

The caller said Apla cadres had attacked security forces in Sebokeng and Phola Park in recent days. In an "operation" in Sebokeng at the weekend, three security force personnel had

84A

been killed, he claimed. The latest attack had been in Phola Park yesterday morning, when one person was killed.

The caller said the operations were aimed at protecting residents from "mercenaries and their defenders".

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said he doubted Apla was operating from Phola Park, which he described as a "strong ANC area".

"There are self-defence units

operating in Phola Park and all are ANC-aligned," Captain Opperman said.

He said police were not aware of the most recent Apla claims.

"This is the first we hear of Apla claiming responsibility for such attacks in recent days. Police are investigating several incidents in the Vaal Triangle and information will be made available when investigations are complete." — Sapa.

Azania, Apola Will continue armed conflict

Sanefin 29/5/92

844

THE Azanian National Liberation Army and the Azanian People's Liberation Army will continue their armed campaign until liberation is achieved.

Spokesmen for the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania said yesterday the announcement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that his organisation would not resort to the armed struggle again was unfortunate and premature.

BCMA publicity and information secretary Mr Vuyisa Qunta said Azania would continue with its programme of liberating black people until this objective had been achieved.

"Nothing has happened in occupied Azania so far that warrants any review of the policy of liberation by all means necessary. In fact, the circus at the so-called Codesa 2 over basic democratic principles

**By MATHATHA TSEDU
 Investigations Editor**

shows that the liberation armies should instead intensify their campaigns," Qunta said.

PAC spokesman Mr Waters Toboti, who said he was speaking on behalf of the political organisation and not the military wing Apola, said it was political suicide for a leader to dump "the principle form of struggle before liberation".

He said the PAC would not consider abandoning its strategies because Codesa was a failure. He said Mandela's announcement in Oslo, Norway, showed signs of capitulation to State President FW de Klerk's insistent call for the disbanding of Unkhonto we Sizwe.

Mandela said at the Press conference that the ANC was an organisation of peace and would not resort to the armed struggle even if the present deadlocked talks with the white minor-

ity regime failed. Mandela said the organisation would instead resort to a general struggle to force the regime to change.

The announcement has been widely seen as an indication that the ANC may soon agree to the disbanding of MK as it has by its own admission become an obsolete structure which will never be used again.

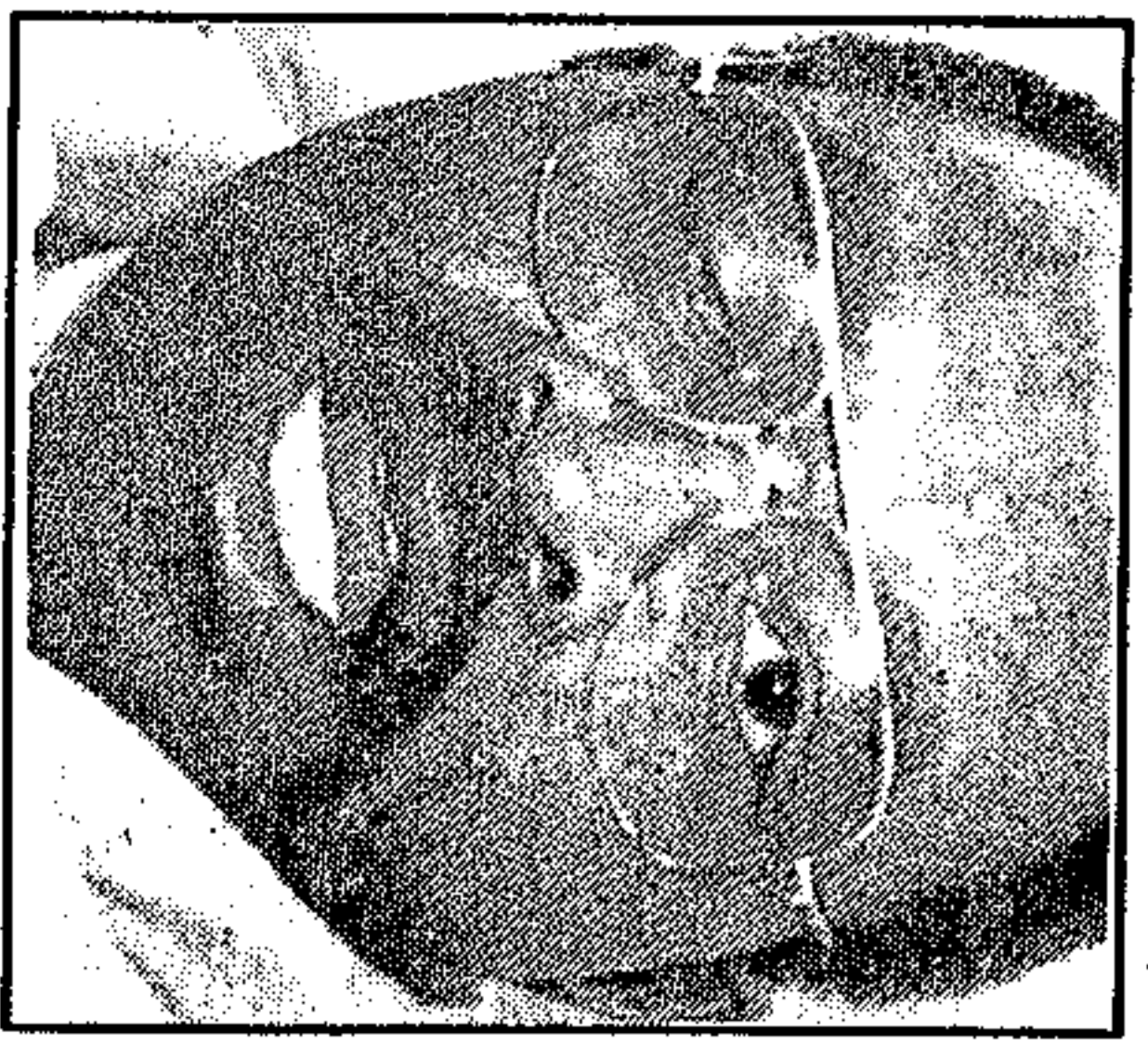
Government spokesman and Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer welcomed Mandela's announcement and said it was the first confirmation that the ANC had

abandoned the armed struggle. While the Government has insisted on the disbanding of MK, the ANC has always said this would not happen until an interim government is installed. It responded to criticism by other political organisa-

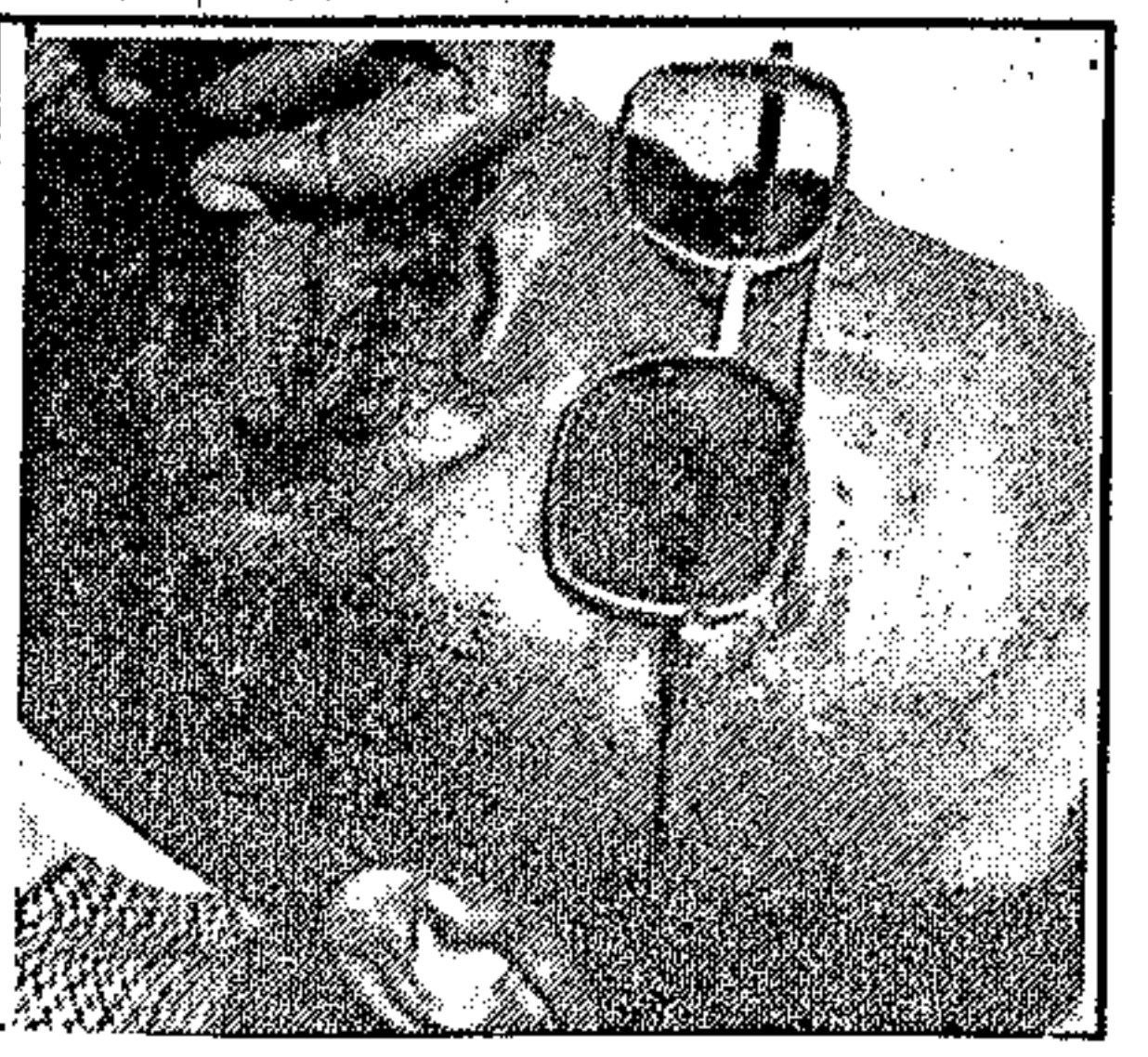
tions to its decision to suspend the armed struggle by saying that MK had not been disbanded and would be redeployed should the need arise.

But Mandela's statement, ironically made in an overseas country, has brought the ANC position

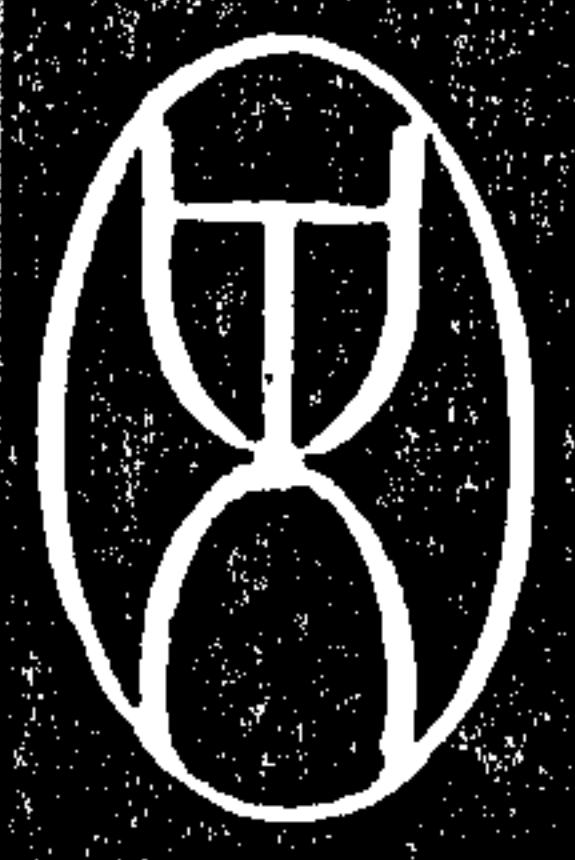
nearer that of the Government. Observers say however that the departure of Mr Chris Hani from the leadership of MK, to head the less important Communist Party, had been the first sign that MK had lost its status within the ANC.



JOHNSON MLAMBO



MOSIBUDI MANGENA



Iscount & Hair Products Cosmetics

**7c Beaconsfield Av.
 VEREENIGING
 Tel: (016) 22-5551
 Contact: Joe**

**36 Hoek Street
 JOHANNESBURG
 Tel: (011) 337-6493
 Contact: Pat**

**99 President Kruger St
 PIETERSBURG
 Tel: (01521) 71307
 Contact: Rashid**

Magic style

END PAPERS

Isoplus Relaxers

BEHIND THE VIOLENCE ...

... COMRADES OUT OF CONTROL

ANC WORRY OVER MK 'LOOSE CANNONS'

Wesley 29/5-4/6/92

GOLBERT KING, a union stalwart from the Iscor steelworks, walked into the grounds of the kwaMasiza hostel at midnight on May 5 after returning from his home in Port St Johns and was greeted by a comrade who took out an AK-47 and gunned him down.

It's nothing new when activists are shot dead in the streets these days. But the killing of King highlights a new and sinister twist to this spiral of township violence: vicious internecine feuds are flaring up around the country between renegade members of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and other anti-apartheid veterans.

King's murder in the township of Sebokeng, the subject of sensitive and high-level talks at African National Congress headquarters in Johannesburg over the past two weeks, is surrounded by political intrigue and secrecy.

But interviews with some of those involved in the controversy reveal that the murder was the culmination of an intricate squabble that has developed between pro-ANC union shop stewards from Iscor and a local self-defence unit led by militant members of MK in the township.

At the core of the dispute is a union demand that members of the defence unit, who are based in the kwaMasiza hostel and work closely with a group of returned MK exiles, accept the political leadership of the local shop stewards' committee and account for money that has allegedly gone missing after the pro-MK unit imposed a levy on hostel dwellers supposedly for the purpose of buying arms and ammunition.

The deadly vendetta escalated this month when the home of another senior Iscor shop steward was raked with automatic rifle fire — and this is clearly not an isolated incident.

Reports compiled by the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring unit in Natal indicate that the township of kwaNdengezi near Durban has been turned into a hotbed of intrigue and tension between resident comrades and MK members just returned from exile.

Conflict between local youth activists and a faction of armed Umkhonto fighters led to a shootout between the rival groups in January

Tensions are rising between Umkhonto weSizwe cadres returning to the townships and activists who remained behind. EDDIE KOCH reports on the ANC's battle to reconcile its military and political structures

this year. More recently the local comrades hounded some of the MK men out of the township after accusing them of stealing cars in the city, bringing them into the township and attracting unwelcome attention from the police.

"These guys tend not to respect the local township structures. They get involved in armed robberies and steal cars. Recently there was a shoot-out between them and the police in the streets of kwaNdengezi which endangered the community. But they refuse to be disciplined," a local ANC leader told *The Weekly Mail* on condition that he was not named.

Similar internecine battles have resulted in open violence between ANC supporters and an MK-led faction in the Phola Park squatter camp. Last month a rebel group in the informal settlement — a traditional ANC support base that has been subjected to repeated raids from the police, the army and Inkatha — ousted members of the local civic committee in an armed coup d'état that was backed by men described as "rogue" member of MK.

Members of the old committee now have their names on a hit-list and this month one of the ousted members was pulled off a bus, allegedly by members of the rebel group, and shot dead. Since then senior ANC leaders have held a series of fruitless talks aimed at getting the rebel group to disarm themselves. At one stage the MK leadership was so desperate that it considered sending in an armed detachment to do the job.

Reports from other parts of the country have filtered into *The Weekly Mail* offices of violent arguments between returned MK fighters and youths who stayed home and fought in the townships during the years that the ANC was banned. These frequently



Gunned down... Union official Colbert King was shot by a comrade

involve personal tiffs that range from competition for political positions to jealous spats over women.

"The MK guys believe they are heroes who devoted a large part of their lives out there in the bush and should be treated with a special respect now that they are home," said an ANC source.

"But the local boys believe it was they who fought on the front line of the struggle without much help from MK and resent being treated in this way. The comrades complain that the Umkhonto guys have access to guns and threaten to use these when there is a dispute in the township."

The actions of out-of-control MK cadres come nowhere near matching

the level of violence fomented by Inkatha and third force attacks in the townships. But the government and police are exploiting the lack of discipline in the ranks of MK to discredit the ANC and shift attention away from the role of security forces in township strife.

The SAP last week justified a series of "crime prevention" raids on Phola Park by saying their aim was to weed out a group of MK rebels that have imposed a reign of terror on the township — and, without providing any evidence, blamed this group for the massacre of 18 Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally in September last year.

Law and Order Minister Hennus

Kriel this week countered Nelson Mandela's blistering attack on the government's failure to stem the violence by claiming the SAP had uncovered a "crime network under the banner of the ANC's self-defence units" and listing a series of violent crimes in which MK members were allegedly involved — again without providing any evidence.

The ANC is deeply embarrassed by these criticisms and secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has held a series of meetings with Umkhonto leaders and other political leaders to look at ways of dealing with the problem.

Members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, who stress the need for civic groups and defence units to be strictly accountable to an elected leadership in the townships, are pressuring the ANC to inject more control and discipline over wayward MK groups.

MK member Rocklyn Williams, who works for the Independent Military Research Group, said a major reason for the breakdown of Umkhonto weSizwe control over some of its cadres was the failure to integrate these units into the army and to provide them with jobs and housing after their return from exile.

"The problem of MK banditry is linked to the material insecurity that exiles face upon their return to the country," says Williams. He points out that bilateral talks currently taking place between the ANC and the South African Defence Force about possibility of integrating the two armies are not taking place quickly enough to deal with the problem.

Political analyst Howard Barrell, who is researching ANC strategic policy at Oxford University, says the tendency of some MK members to use "banditry and a form of warlordism" has strong historical roots.

His research indicates that the ANC failed in the post 1976 period to link military cadres that were infiltrated into the country with the political leadership that took charge of the mass movements inside the country.

"There was a continual parallelism between the ANC's political and military operational structures characterised by dislocation and bickering," says Barrell. And the indications are that the organisation has failed to overcome the crippling effects of this flaw.

Talks on armed struggle end with Codesa failure

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — All negotiations on the armed struggle have ceased following the failure of Codesa 2 to reach agreement on a final constitution, and the subsequent war of words between the ANC and government.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said on Wednesday that negotiations on the outstanding matters of the DF Malan Accord and Pretoria Minute on the ending of the armed struggle and the identification of arms caches had stopped. Last week Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said the talks had reached 80% agreement.

Talks were under way between the SADF and Unk-honto, but no further meetings had been scheduled.

He said the honeymoon period when government refrained from attacking the ANC for the good of the negotiation process had come to an end. ANC president Nelson Mandela had misused a public platform once too many times in attacking President F W de Klerk.

Government could now be expected to react to the attacks. Kriel said government would point out the ANC's non-adherence to the peace accord and its alleged role in perpetuating the violence.

He warned that the law would be strictly applied if the ANC's ally Cosatu carried out its threat of mass action.

ig Manufacturers Limited

ncement of results for the 29 February 1992

(group") for the year ended 29 February 1992 are set out below:

ABRIDGED GROUP BALANCE SHEET

	Year ended 29 February 1992 R'000	Year ended 28 February 1991 R'000
Capital employed:		
Share capital	2 009	2 009
Non-distributable reserves	721	572
Distributable reserves	1 083	902
Shareholders' interest	3 813	3 483
Deferred taxation	218	149
Long-term liabilities	601	381
	4 712	4 013
Employment of capital		
Fixed assets	1 897	1 119
Net current assets	2 815	2 894
Current assets	5 510	5 122
Stock	3 269	2 538
Accounts receivable	2 006	2 409
Taxation overpaid	89	—
Cash resources	154	175
Current liabilities	2 703	2 228
Accounts payable	2 703	1 969
Provision for taxation	—	147
Dividend accrued	—	112
	4 712	4 013

PROSPECTS

It is anticipated that the coming year will be difficult for the economy in general and the clothing industry in particular. However, as a result of the group having completed its current expansion, thereby obtaining a market share in both the ladies' and men's sectors, your directors are confident of the group's ability to meet the challenges and to take advantage of any potential

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE short-lived days of the first white-organised violent resistance to the National Party government were recalled this week as a leading socialist of the time stood accused of recruiting members for sabotage groups.

Conservative author Jillian Becker this week defended her accusation that London-based historian Dr Baruch Hirson actively recruited South Africans for violent resistance to the state in the early 60s.

Dr Hirson, 71, is adamant he at no time tried to recruit Mrs Becker or anybody else to the National Committee of Liberation or its successor, the African Resistance Movement. And he rejected in the strongest terms Mrs Becker's assertion that he advocated violence against people.

"It was central to our beliefs that we would never harm people," he said.

Saboteur recalls an

era of white revolt

STW 31/5/92

84A

84A

84A

The period represented what doyen of South African liberals Dr Alan Paton called a tragedy.

It saw men and women who called themselves liberal betray their non-violent principles, socialists betray their classless struggle in order to take up arms in small sabotage groups, and leaders and members of the ARM betray their comrades to save themselves from prison.

The NCL, formed largely by former members of the SA Communist Party in the early 60s, changed its name in 1964 to the ARM. Dr Hirson, then a physicist

at the University of the Witwatersrand and an active socialist, helped draft the pamphlet setting out the movement's aims.

He eventually served nine years in jail for sabotage. He left for England, where he now lives, five days after his release.

Slogan

The decision to turn to violence "was impossible," said Dr Hirson. "I was an academic. This was not the kind of thing I thought of doing."

"But the decision came out of the entire situation. After the state of emergen-

cy was imposed in April 1960, there was a feeling of frustration. There was nothing we could do to stop the government.

"Violence was endemic in the state ... even the painting of a slogan could result in a prison sentence.

"We were constantly being approached by young people in the African National Congress with questions like: 'If we put a bunch of matchheads on a railway line, will it blow up the train?' (it won't). They wanted to know from us, 'How do we do it?'"

"My God, we were scared. We had been shown how to use dynamite, and it

was probably all quite safe, but we were very scared handling the stuff," said Dr Hirson.

The ARM's plans ranged from the modest — blowing up pylons or railway signal cables — to two ambitious projects never undertaken: infecting the Cape vineyards with a fungal disease and rescuing Robert Sobukwe from Robben Island.

It emerged that a letter to then Prime Minister HF Verwoerd calling on him to announce over the air that he had submitted to the demands of ARM had been drafted by members of the organisation.

"Doesn't it all sound silly, tragically silly?" then Cape Judge President Mr Justice Andries Brink Beyers was to remark in the trial of ARM members



in November 1964. Five members had been charged with sabotage after incriminating documents had been found in the flat of group organiser Adrian Leftwich.

After 70 days of detention and interrogation Mr Leftwich agreed to testify against his comrades.

Twenty members of the Liberal Party were detained in the crackdown on the ARM. According to Dr Paton, 16 members of the party were members of the movement.

"It was a shocking experience ... for the Nationalists, and especially for the formidable Minister of Justice, BJ Vorster, it provided the justification for all their security legislation ... It justified the minister's famous remark that the communists killed people, but the liberals led people to ambush so that they might be killed," wrote Dr Paton in his autobiography, *The Journey Continued*.

Horrified

While the leadership of the ARM was in detention, another member, Englishman John Harris, planted a suitcase bomb at Johannesburg Station. It killed Mrs Ethly Rhys, 77, and scarred for life her granddaughter Glynnis Burlaigh, then 12.

The blast horrified Liberal Party and ARM members. "Was this the end result of our campaign for right and justice? Had one given up 11 years of one's life to achieve this?" Dr Paton wrote.

PH

Looking back to his political activism of more than 30 years ago, Dr Hirson said this week: "We may have been naive, in retrospect, believing we would not harm anyone. "Morally I have no regrets over the work we did. Opposing the government was not wrong. Politically it was wrong. If you are a socialist you believe the government must be changed by the working class. As a sabotage group you are moving away from a class base," he said. "Alan Paton detested us. His attitude was completely wrong in saying liberals betrayed their own beliefs in deciding to take action. "In a way we were the pioneers of the struggle. In terms of results the NCL was streets ahead of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's armed wing). Not only was this the first organisation involved in sabotage, but most of the successful projects were the work of the NCL."

Naive

Harris had apparently been acting on his own. He was hanged for the crime. The revelation of the ARM's link to the Liberal Party gave rise to tough years for the party, with harassment and intimidation of members, jobs lost and doors shut in members' faces. In several cases their cars were damaged — and the Automobile Association, to which Dr Paton had belonged for 40 years, refused to insure him against damage of this kind.

Breakthrough on new army

Sowetan 14/5/92

THE Government and the ANC have reached basic agreement on the composition and functions of a new defence force which will incorporate elements of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the SADF and the TBVC armies.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer told a Press briefing that the ANC and the Government had made this progress in bilateral discussions.

Because of the progress made there, he was confident that the ANC and the Government would resolve their differences

on the termination of the ANC's armed struggle and the disbanding of the MK.

He reiterated the Government's viewpoint that these problems had to be resolved with conclusive agreements before it would agree to implement transitional arrangements.

Meyer said they had agreed on basic guidelines for the functions and composition of a future defence force "that will be respected and have the confidence of the whole nation".

Asked if the MK would be integrated into the SADF, Meyer said that proposal was not yet on the table.

84A

[5]

[3x5=15]

4. Name two of the main characteristics of a conflict or marxist approach to stratification? [6]

5. Define **THREE** of the following concepts:

- a. prejudice
- b. ethnicity
- c. racism
- d. affirmative action
- f. class
- g. deskilling
- h. embourgeoisement
- i. social mobility

[]

[6]

[]

[6]

[]

[6]

[3X6=18]

6. What is the difference between discrimination and disadvantage? [3]

'ANC hitmen are killing us'

By FRED KHUMALO

THE gunning down of Bongani Ntshangase last week was the work of an ANC hit squad.

So claim former ANC detainees who say the squad is out to eliminate people who were detained in ANC "torture camps" while the organisation was still banned.

The ANC denied the allegation saying the men were "acting in league with the government".

The former detainees, now working under the banner of the Returned Exiles Committee, this week threatened to "fight back" if another of their members is killed.

"What should be clear, though, is that we are not threatening to shoot ANC members at random. We know our targets within the ANC," said Derrick Headbush, who claims he was detained in ANC camps in Angola and Uganda between 1987 and 1990.

Five members of the committee who spoke to City Press told how they had been living in fear following anonymous telephone threats.

The members are Pat Hlongwane, Derrick Headbush, Siphosiso Laliso, Gege Kheswa and Siphosiso Ngema.

They live in Lindelani, thanks to the "sympathy and humanitarian spirit" of controversial IFP leader Thomas Shabalala who is "treating us like sons".

The fact that they are staying

at the mercy of an IFP leader should not be misconstrued as a reflection on their political leanings, they say.

"We are neutral politically. It's just that Shabalala is sympathetic to our cause," said Kheswa.

Hlongwane said: "We know that we are being followed by the ANC. And it is they who killed Ntshangase. We are not going to rest until he is revenged. Shabalala has offered asylum."

Like Headbush, Hlongwane says he is originally from Kwa-Zakhele township in Port Elizabeth. However, he is now based in Durban because "I had nothing to go back to in Port Elizabeth".

Families killed

Both men allege that while they languished in ANC camps, their families were killed in accordance with orders issued by the ANC's security officers.

Members of the committee said an ANC hit squad from Transkei has been instructed to eliminate committee members who have been campaigning for an inquiry into conditions at ANC camps.

He said an inquiry into the conditions that prevailed (or still prevail) in ANC camps would dent the organisation's image and erode whatever support it has, thereby limiting its chances in future elections in an apartheid-free SA.

The members say they have enlisted the help of different international human rights organisations - including Amnesty International and the ultra-conservative American-based Interna-

tional Freedom Foundation - in trying to bring about an inquiry into conditions in ANC camps.

Members of the committee allege the ANC hit squad was also responsible for the death early this year of Tsetitso Leballo, who was Winnie Mandela's chauffeur.

They were accused of being SA government agents and were wrongly arrested and kept in ANC camps, they claim. They say they were not given fair trials.

Hlongwane said he was sentenced to 15 years in an ANC jail for allegedly being an SA government informer.

Headbush, who says his ANC codename was "Bacon", said he first left the country for military training in Botswana in 1985, coming back soon thereafter to carry out "missions".

But while he was undergoing military training in Angola, he was suspected of being an NIS agent. He was arrested in Nova Stalassao, a prison in Angola.

ANC spokesman Joel Netshitenzhi confirmed that Laliso, Ngema, Hlongwane and Kheswa had at some stage been detained by the ANC but said he had no information on Headbush.

He confirmed that Laliso had taken part in the famous 1984 mutiny by ANC fighters based in Angola.

He, however, further confirmed that Hlongwane was indeed found guilty by a tribunal of trying to infiltrate the ANC and sentenced to 15 years inside an ANC prison.

To other allegations, Netshitenzhi reacted angrily, saying the ANC detractors were talking "nonsense".

Chris Hani's frank views



AT THE VANGUARD . . . "I think we must fight, but once you defeat an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like."

And that critical voice reached the ears of the security, and because the security was a law unto itself, Comrade Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days. There was an investigation into such events. You were central in trying to sort out the crisis of the 1984 mutiny. What went through your mind when you went into the camp to negotiate with the mutineers?

I was summoned to come and try to solve a mutinous situation. And you must bear in mind that when the Angolan camps were established I was not in

Angola, I was in Lesotho doing internal work. I only proceeded there in 1982-3. So, I never had a role in terms of establishing a foundation for our camps. I got into a situation where there was already a Quatro.

Before the mutiny, I had been given the responsibility of fighting with our comrades against the incursions by Unita which were threatening our very survival. It was becoming very difficult to move even between Luanda and the camps because of ambushes. And it was clear that, if we were to survive as a movement, in terms of retaining

our ability to train in Angola, we had to participate in flushing out Unita, especially in areas around our camps. So, I participated in that fight, around the Kwansa River.

That fight led to a situation where we began to suffer casualties. Some elements began to say: "Look, we are dying in Angola, why are we here, why are we fighting here and not fighting at home?" And that began to stir a feeling among our comrades into questioning our very role in fighting Unita, which impacted on some people. There was a mutiny and

they refused to take orders. They actually said they were fed up with going back to Luanda. And they took their weapons, took trucks, and virtually took over our transit camp in Viana, in Luanda.

It was at this point that I was called upon to persuade them to stop. They refused, and we had to appeal to the Angolans to come, to help us disarm them. They were disarmed. After that, they were sent back to camps of the ANC.

The mutiny did not take place in Viana. It took place

months later when we thought the whole thing was over. Now, I was in favour of a dialogue with the mutineers. But I reached the end of my tether when they killed several key commanders in one camp called Bango, and took over the camp. We had no alternative but to go and recapture the camp and assert authority.

The loyalists (if I may use that term) overran the camp. Lives were lost on both sides. Very sad, because these were all members of the ANC, fellow South Africans. And that was the end of my role. I was never a member of the tribunal which tried them. Some of them were sentenced to death. And executed - it was a big number, about 18 or 19, I can't remember. I rushed back to Lusaka and said to the leadership: "Stop the executions."

The leadership, in all fairness, intervened and stopped the executions, but by that time a few of those comrades had been executed.

I have never in my life been in favour of executions and capital punishment. I think we must fight, but once you defeat an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like.

If we look ahead: we know what the regime's security apparatus is capable of. These are people capable of great cruelty, "good" at their jobs. And we take the experience of the security apparatus of the ANC, the PAC, who have people capable of equal cruelty perhaps, also "good" at their jobs. Is this the kind of combination that we want to serve a democratic SA? No. I think a new democratic state in this country will have to sit down and draw up a code of conduct for a security force to serve a democratic SA. I'm not convinced that those who served the National Party government in a brutal manner would be the best sort of people to continue the role of serving a democratic country.

Within the ANC, there are certain people - in my own view - who I would oppose as part of a new security force. I have my own experience, I know my own movement, I know my roles and their attitudes, and I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to parliament. I would favour, for instance, a parliamentary committee to oversee the security apparatus.

We should never allow a situation with a group of men and women only answerable to an individual minister for instance. I would never accept trite answers like: "No, no, we are not going to answer in the interests of national security."

I'm aware of the fact that elements of the ANC, PAC and government will serve in a new security apparatus, but there must be clear guidelines to avoid the sort of thing that happened to a very small extent in the ANC and a very large extent within the security forces of the regime.

Former MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani, in a remarkably frank interview with **WORK IN PROGRESS/NEW ERA**, spoke about his role in dealing with ANC mutineers in the 80s, and what a future government would have to do to ensure that there was control over the security forces. The following is an edited version of the interview.

RICHARD ELLIS, co-author of *Comrades Against Apartheid*, makes the allegation that within the military and security structures of the ANC there developed a culture of "intolerance" and "repression". He ties this to the SACP's role in those structures.

That's sheer, ridiculous anti-communism. Yes, there was a culture of intolerance, but those who were critical of that culture were leading Communist Party members: Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, myself.

It is an open secret that the most vocal critic of detention without trial was Chris Hani. I was a member of the politbureau - people who challenged the detention of Thami Zulu and others were leading members of the SACP.

This was a period when our people were targets of assassination in Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, when the security branch in our country was sending dozens of agents to poison people, to destabilise our camps, to create a situation where our struggle would be neutralised. There was a need for us - and I will never dispute this - to set up an efficient security system.

But it is important in any movement, in any government, that security forces should be given clear guidelines and they should be accountable to a leadership in any democracy.

Did the regime's ability to infiltrate the movement create conditions where innocent dissenters could be targeted and drawn in under the same drag-net? Did this happen?

Yes, it happened. This was a climate where the regime was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders, assassinating commanders of MK, created a situation of overall suspicion.

And in my own view, people like Thami Zulu were victims of that situation of paranoia and hysteria about the ability of the regime to send in agents. People began to lose a balanced approach in terms of combating the infiltration of the ANC by the regime. That situation actually caused problems where, in my own view, the innocent and the guilty were sometimes lumped together.

What happened to Pallo Jordan?

Comrade Jordan, who apparently has a very big mouth (laughs), had said something derogatory about the security department, about its methods.

C/press
31/5/92

gram
which

**'Red plot' old
hat says Hani**

SACP PATRICK BULGER

A "SECRET" Kremlin plot to overthrow the SA government was in fact published in full in the SA Communist Party's newspaper more than 60 years ago, SACP general secretary Chris Hani said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report in the Russian newspaper Izvestia which said newly unearthed documents disclosed that the Kremlin ordered the SACP to overthrow the government and issued directives on a revolutionary uprising.

Hani said it was sad to see Izvestia "reduced to pawning some very stale information in an attempt to curry favour with the apartheid regime".

"The 'secret' strategy to which Izvestia refers was published in full here in SA in 1931 by our party newspaper, Umsebenzi."

Hani said the SACP, "acting on the will of the people", had sought to overthrow the government in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

Glenn Close

s
c
s
in
ce
le
be
ge
ha
ba

Arms caché found

A caché of weapons, explosives and other military equipment was recovered from a flat in Kempton Park on the East Rand on Monday night. *Sowetan*

A 32-year-old former member of the SA Defence Force has been arrested in connection with the find, Witwatersrand police said yesterday. *316192*

The caché consisted of seven live mortars, a R1 rifle, an anti-personnel mine, an AK-47 magazine and ammunition, more than 700 R4 and R1 rounds, 9mm and shotgun ammunition, Russian and Yugoslavian ammunition, 18 flares and some other types of ammunition.

The Police Bomb Disposal Unit also removed "various explosives" which were destroyed as they were considered highly dangerous.

SADF tents and equipment including detailed secret armament books were also recovered.

Police believe the suspect stole most of the goods from the SADF as he was employed in SADF stores for several years. ** Saph **

Nkomo's men help Umkhonto, says magazine

STAR 3/6/92

Star Africa Service (84A)

Former members of Zipra, the guerilla movement led by Dr Joshua Nkomo during the war in Rhodesia, are operating with the ANC's armed wing in South Africa, according to a report in the London news magazine *New African*.

The magazine says several highly trained former Zipra guerillas have joined the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and are based in the townships near Johannesburg, where they are conducting "undercover operations".

The writer of the article says that during a recent visit to Johannesburg he spoke to a former official of Dr Nkomo's Zapu organisation — whose armed wing was Zipra — who confirmed that former Zipra men were working with MK.

The writer uses the name Thabo Kunene, which is thought to be a nom-de-plume adopted by a freelance journalist living in Bulawayo.

He says the official, who did not want to be named, told him that the former Zipra guerillas were not involved in violence in South Africa but were prepared to help if MK were attacked by white rightwingers.

The ANC is known to have maintained close ties with Zapu during the Rhodesian war.

MK cadres based in Zambia trained with Zipra guerillas there and in Eastern Europe. Some took part with Zipra forces on raids into Rhodesia.

The *New African* report says more than 500 former Zipra guerillas fled their homes during the disturbances in Matabeleland, when hundreds were killed by the Zimbabwe government's notorious 5th Brigade. Some went to South Africa after the unbanning of the ANC.

Kunene says a former senior commander in Zipra now living in Bulawayo denied any knowledge of former Zipra guerillas being recruited by the ANC in South Africa.

He says, however, that some may have joined up with MK on their own.

● MK chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda has denied reports that trained former members of Dr Nkomo's Zipra forces had been absorbed into MK and were based in South African townships.

Responding to the *New African* report, Mr Nyanda said that though the ANC's military wing and Zipra guerillas had once fought side by side against Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia, the relationship between the two forces had ceased to exist since Zimbabwe's independence.

"I know of no presence of former Zipra guerillas in our ranks or even in the townships for that matter," Mr Nyanda said.

ALTIMORE TOWNSHIP COULD BE THE

UWard 5/16-11/6/92

84A

The case for defence units is that they help protect communities against hit-squad attacks. But they may provoke even more violence, argues EDDIE KOCH

WENTY years ago a colleague of Che Guevara warned that the idealised ghost of his friend, gun in hand and a star on his beret, would encourage a generation of militarists to destroy their prophet's vision of a just society with a rash abuse of weapons.

That warning has a grim relevance for South Africa today where self-defence units — manned by African National Congress activists armed with AK-47s and frequently adorned with insignia of guerrilla struggle — have begun to turn inwards and prey on people in the townships rather than protect them from rightwing attacks.

No systematic research has been done on the operation of defence units, which almost all organisations on the left of the Democratic Party hold up as the solution to the wave of assassinations and attacks directed against their members, but evidence is emerging to show that these groups serve only to alienate large sections of the populace and invite repression from the right.

Research conducted by Babylon Xekwevane, a post-graduate student at the University of the Witwatersrand, indicates that one in every three people from a small sample of Sowetans interviewed last year believed that defence units served, in the long run, to provoke violence and undermine political tolerance.

It's a view that Calvin Khan, personal assistant to Umkhonto weSizwe chief Joe Modise, rejects. He told *The Weekly Mail* in an interview this week that the work of defence units, especially in hotspots like the Natal Midlands, had stabilised a volatile political situation.

"If it was not for them, the level of political violence would have been much higher and it would have meant that the regime and its security forces would have had a free hand to run rampant. They have prevented a situation where these forces could openly and provocatively attack communities," says Khan.



Holding his weapon, an axe, a defence unit member warms himself from the winter cold in a Transvaal township. Photo: KEVIN CARTER

The claim may have been true in the past and may still hold for some townships. But it flies in the face of increasing evidence that townships, once the bastions of resistance to rightwing terror, are now being led by some defence units into a cycle of interethnic violence and lawlessness.

The Phola Park squatter camp, once a no-go zone for the police and almost immune to raids by Inkatha impsis, was the first to go. Then the townships of the Vaal, where returned MK cadres made a brave attempt to protect residents from some of the worst township violence, have turned into an organisational nightmare as rival groups of ANC members threaten to turn their guns on each other.

The townships of Natal, where defence committees have successfully rebuffed attacks by vigilantes that at times resembled organised military operations, are also being subjected to a wave of lawlessness by renegade members of defence units.

And the political leadership of the ANC is deeply disturbed by these developments, despite claims by Khan and others that "we have dealt very effectively with cases of indiscipline reported to us. For us it is an insignificant problem."

South African Communist Party central committee member Jeremy Cronin acknowledges that a number of self-defence units around the country have degenerated into township banditry.

But he argues cogently that communities will spontaneously resort to arms to defend themselves and that it is better for political organisations to exert some kind of control over these activities — rather than press for disarmament — precisely because of the danger posed by the unregulated and un-disciplined use of guns.

control and discipline over the self-defence units rather than demobilising them.

But efforts to do exactly this appear to have failed dismally. The ANC, as well as the top command of Umkhonto weSizwe, has attempted to intervene in some of the crises that have erupted around self-defence units. In some cases, efforts by ANC leaders to persuade renegade units to disband voluntarily have only caused increased tension and there are signs that organisational initiatives to control these people's militias have resulted in increasing disorder.

Even in the hostels of the Vaal, where the National Union of Metalworkers had built a strong shop stewards committee — once seen as the most disciplined and democratic forms of political leadership to emerge in the country — it has been impossible to prevent the violent fragmentation taking place on the left in the Vaal.

The reality is large elements of South Africa's township population have become ungovernable. No party or organisation — ranging from the government to the SACP — has the strength and ability to prevent these areas from falling under the rule of the gun.

Regis Debray, the compatriot of Guevara who warned that romanticised and uncontrolled use of arms to fight repression would prove to be counter-productive, coined an epigram in the 1970s: there is a time when myths can kill.

That time has now come. All political organisations should strip self-defence units of the legend that surrounds them and to seriously explore alternative forms of political pressure on the government to end the violence.

It is instructive that last month's consumer boycott of trains was far more effective than the work of any defence unit in reducing the spiral of violence on the Reef.

Non-violent protests — strikes, boycotts and defiance campaigns — are likely to be more effective in the long run in countering rightwing terror and, if properly organised, have the ability to lift the veil of despondency that has descended on places like Phola Park and Sebokeng.

ERNEST SOTSU is a slightly-built, wizened man who laughs a lot and looks much older than his 64 years. A humble-looking veteran in a boundstooth jacket, he's the picture of vulnerability. But looks can be dangerously deceptive.

Sotsu is a shrewd and powerful man who, by all accounts, commands the support of several thousand African National Congress-aligned hostel-dwellers in Sebokeng and is at the centre of a raging battle between rival defence units jockeying for power in the Sebokeng and kwaMasiza hostels.

A resident of Bojpatong township in the Vaal since 1956, Sotsu went underground as an Umkhonto weSizwe operative after being hounded by the police for his involvement in the 1984 Vaal uprisings. He was detained in 1986, charged with terrorism in 1988 in Transkei where he was active, sentenced to five years but was released from Robben Island a year later.

When his wife and two children were killed in a gun ambush in July last year while he was attending the ANC congress in Durban, Sotsu was taken into Sebokeng hostel by workers loyal to him. Now he seems to lord over the hardened fighters that make up the original defence units.

In part, the power struggle in the two hostels, and in ANC and civic structures in the Vaal Triangle stems from conflict between some 200 MK members returned from exile who support Sotsu, and existing leaders within the local ANC and civic structures. The latter are apparently threatened by the skills the MK members acquired abroad and are attempting to isolate them for fear of losing their positions.

Such tension may have been defused were it not for the fact that defence groups, loyal to either side and both armed to the teeth, have entered the fray.

Confusion reigns, with "comrades" grouping themselves around those with the most ammunition, fearing each other more than those they're supposedly defending their supporters against — Inkatha and the security forces.

"Bernard" a commander of one of Sotsu's units, says the situation has degenerated into one of "defence units of comrades fighting other comrades. This has only diverted the attention of the defence units against the real enemy".

The divisions are murky and complex and not even those in the defence units seem to know who, if anyone, is fueling



It was the murder of his wife that turned Ernest Sotsu into a centre of a bitter By PHILIPPA GA...

anarchic rivalry raging in defence units.

"The present difference existing are merely the energy doing things. They are trying to step down, as they are not step down, as they are not step down," he says vehemently.

Always articulate and polite Sotsu runs the interview. "I care any division within the for unity. It's wrong for any the ANC to turn a gun again"

Colbert King, a nurse's was gunned down in the kwaMasiza hostel on M denies any part in his death for these accusations to "against me. Firstly, I'm not

The perfect gentlemen at the centre of a battle

ing you into the fe

Broderstrom guerrilla indemnified

THE fifth member of the ANC's all-white Broderstrom guerrilla cell has been granted indemnity and has returned to SA. *Blowan g/l 19/2* Paul Annegarn, who left the cell to return to ANC headquarters in Lusaka before his fellow cell members were arrested in 1988, has been given indemnity from prosecution for deserting the SADF, entering SA illegally and making an illegal explosive device.

(guy) Annegarn had been variously reported to have been held by the ANC at its Quatro detention camp, executed by the movement, and to be studying in London. A family member said he returned to SA this year. His indemnity was published in the Government Gazette at the weekend. Three other Broderstrom cell members, Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Westcott were jailed but released early last year.



(Registration number 05/07982/06)

Convertible subordinated debentures 1992/1997

Declaration of payment of debenture interest No. 7

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that interest of 20,46 cents per unit, calculated at a coupon rate equal to The Trust Bank of Africa Limited's prime overdraft rate, has been declared for the period ending 30 June 1992, payable on 26 June 1992 to debenture holders registered at the close of business on 12 June 1992.

Cheques in payment of the above amount will be posted to debenture holders on 26 June 1992.

By order of the Board

R Pleaner
Company Secretary

Johannesburg
8 June 1992

Transfer Secretaries
NOTES: SECRETARIES TO APTC INITIATED

Viability study of Masterprop firms is mooted

(guy)
LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — An immediate audit and viability study of nine of the 11 Masterprop syndicated property companies had been called for, companies representative Donald Slade said at the weekend. *Blowan g/l 19/2*

Executive committees consisting of three members each were elected last week to manage the affairs of the nine companies under boards of directors' supervision. The boards were elected by shareholders recently.

Former Masterprop MD Graham Manchip has been appointed CE and manager of all nine properties.

Slade said the first task of the executive committees — which had limited delegated powers — would be to assess the companies' current affairs and report to shareholders. Focus would also be on centralising the functions of the individual companies.

Negotiations to defer legal action were in progress with bondholders whose bond interest was in arrears. Slade said possible tax liabilities in certain of the companies were also receiving the executive committees' urgent attention after Inland Revenue raised objections to certain tax deductions made.

Three members elected to most of the committees were Slade — a consultant for Masterbond's curators — Manchip, and Chris Brynns, a shareholder with a long history of involvement in property matters.

The other people elected were J H Isaacs director Peter Holling (on the executive committee of Masterbloem), Bill van Wezel (Medforum Welkom and Brackentfell committees) and Johan Swiegelhaar (Main Street, Port Elizabeth committee).

"The composition of the various executive committees was determined with continuity and depth of knowledge in property development management and finance in mind," Slade said.

Manchip was not involved with Masterbond's collapse. His deep knowledge of the properties would provide continuity in their management, Slade added.

Transfer Secretaries
NOTES: SECRETARIES TO APTC INITIATED

Armed struggle the ^{84A} answer, mourners told

By Mckeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

The oppressed masses of South Africa will not be liberated by negotiations but by intensified armed struggle against the "racist regime", Atteridgeville mourners were told yesterday.

Speakers at the funeral of Jan Shoba (31), the assassinated senior member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army — which is the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — called for the intensification of the armed struggle to wrest power from

"the minority regime".

Mr Shoba, of Serote Street, Atteridgeville, was gunned down by unknown persons with AK-47 rifles at his sister's home in the township on May 29. STAR 8/16/92

The funeral service at the packed Atteridgeville community centre was attended by the entire national executive committee of the PAC, with the exception of the president, Clarence Makwetu.

Also present was Veronica Sobukwe, the widow of inaugural PAC president Robert Sobukwe.

DEFENCE UNITS AREN'T OUR RESPONSIBILITY, SAY THE ANC

PAUL STOBER talks to MK leaders about their 'forces on the ground'

THE African National Congress has come out firing in support of defence units, but insists they fall outside the ranks of the organisation's military wing.

"We called for the community to defend itself because we believe they have the political right," explained Calvin Khan, personal assistant to the commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, Joe Modise. But, Khan added: "Defence is the responsibility of the community. It is not the duty of MK to establish and control defence units."

Khan pointed out that many of the existing defence units were attempts by communities to defend themselves from the attacks they had experienced over the past two years. "It is not as though the ANC created the conditions in which defence units have

flourished," he said.

According to Khan, the high profile of MK members in defence units came about because they were the only people in their communities who had the experience and training to organise an effective fighting force. However, he insisted MK members were a part of defence units in the areas where they lived in their individual capacity, and that the organisation had not assigned cadres to particular communities.

He described the constant stream of MK personnel, many of whom hold key positions in defence units, through the ANC's military headquarters (MHQ) as part of a process of consultation. "Our forces on the ground always follow the political leadership. There is nothing sinister in their looking to the ANC," he said.

The thin red line between an operational MK unit and the actions of individual mem-

bers is a point of dispute between the government and the ANC. According to the action of MK members who belong to defence units constitutes a violation of the Pretoria and DF Malan accords under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle.

Khan disagrees: "You cannot confuse the right to self-defence with contravention of the accords. Defence units are not organs of the ANC."

He firmly denied the ANC was using defence units as a means of having fully trained units on standby if the negotiation process failed.

The ANC sees defence units as non-partisan structures, open to members of the community who have identified the need for them. Although they provide training and political guidance, they cannot distribute weapons to unit members. The con-

stant complaint of members of defence units that they need more and better weaponry would seem to support this.

How weapons are procured is left to the local defence unit, but Khan admitted MK ordinance may be finding its way to the units: "If an MK unit had access to weapons before the unbanning and used them for self-defence, it is beyond our control."

However, Khan insisted all MK arms caches were under the control of MHQ. When pressed for details, he responded: "It is enough for you to know we control them." He believes the defence units have other means of arming themselves and pointed out that it is not difficult to obtain, or even make, weapons in South Africa.

Despite recent reports of defence units being hijacked by criminal elements and running amok in the very communities they are supposed to protect, Khan feels the

ANC will continue supporting the structures.

He described those defence units responsible for abuses as "insignificant elements" and "those cases that have been reported to us have been dealt with very effectively".

The organisation reasons that the units prevented a situation where the security forces and rightwing elements could openly attack communities, and that without them, the level of political violence would have been much higher.

Khan dismissed the apparent inability of defence units to end attacks and random killings: "Of course, there will be losses, but over the past year they have changed into an effective mechanism."

He agrees that the defence units are not the solution to spiralling violence: "It is absolutely necessary that we find a political solution," he says.

MK man guilty of illegal arms charge

Sowetan Correspondent

A MEMBER of Umkhonto we Sizwe, convicted of illegally possessing firearms and ammunition, told the Supreme Court he had the weapons in his capacity as a member of the ANC.

David Dlali (32) yesterday pleaded guilty to illegally possessing a Beretta pistol, a Makarov pistol, an AK-47 machine rifle, four handgrenades, two limpet mines, 30 AK-47 bullets, 27 9mm bullets and 2 0.22 bullets. *Sowetan*

In Dlali's plea explanation, he admitted the offences and said he was a member of the ANC, and particularly Umkhonto we Sizwe. *11/6/92.*

In 1989 he received instructions to accept the weapons and keep them in safe storage until further instructions. He buried them in Strandfontein.

Arms

In April he was informed that negotiations between the Government and the ANC in regard to MK and arms and ammunition had reached an advanced stage and he had to prepare to hand the weapons over to the joint command of the Government and the ANC.

He went to Strandfontein and retrieved the weapons.

Testifying in mitigation of sentence, Dlali said he visited Sweden and Norway last year to address groups who supported the South African struggle.

Under cross-examination by State advocate Mr J van Vuuren, he denied being an MK commander. He said he was an ordinary member.

Negotiations

If negotiations between the Government and the ANC failed and he was instructed by his commander to take up arms, he would do so, he told the court.

Questioned by his counsel, Mr S Desai, he said he knew that the president of the ANC had said that there was no likelihood of the organisation returning to the armed struggle. He accepted that.

Mr Christopher Dlamini, national president of the Food and Allied Workers Union, told the court Dlali worked in the union's legal department.

Dr Vincent Maphai of the department of political studies at the University of the Western Cape testified that Dlali was a part-time law student in his department.

He was a very determined, open-minded and highly motivated student. With his labour experience he had brought a very important dimension to his class and had contributed to debates.

Grosskopf 'is still a suspect'

84/1/92
8/10/89
STEPHANE BOTHMA

ANC member Hein Grosskopf was positively linked to the Quartz Street bomb blast in Johannesburg in 1987 which injured 68 people, and was still a suspect in two other blasts which killed seven, police said yesterday.

An SAP statement said a R50 000 reward for information linking Grosskopf or any other person to a blast at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court in 1988, which left three people dead, was still on offer. However, a reward for Grosskopf's arrest had lapsed, Sapa reports.

Police said Grosskopf, believed to be in Zambia, was still a suspect in the 1987 Johannesburg Magistrate's Court bomb blast and that at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court in 1988.

No pay for staying away, say employers

8/10/89
16/6/92

BUSINESS organisations yesterday called for a no work, no pay policy as they and unions engaged in a war of words over the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

Sacob, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Spoonnet and Anglo American's gold and uranium division all advised yesterday they would follow a policy of "no work, no pay", Sapa reports.

Seifsa recommended that disciplinary action be taken against employees staying away from work because of mass action.

"In this particular case, it would constitute an illegal strike," Seifsa spokesman Hendrik van der Heever said of the campaign, which starts today.

Cosatu yesterday said employers had done nothing about the issues motivating the mass action programme.

"If there is a better way to stop government corruption and death squads and get movement at Codesa, we would like to hear about it," a Cosatu spokesman said.

Cosatu has asked business organisations to support its mass action

DIRK HARTFORD

campaign as the quickest route to establishing the political stability needed for economic growth.

A Sacob spokesman said business did not have a position on these issues. In any event, it would rather engage directly with government than through Cosatu.

"We are concerned about government corruption and the (assassinated activist Matthew) Goniwe affair, but we don't respond to every issue like Cosatu does. There are institutions like the Goldstone Commission, the Justice Department and Codesa which should be used to solve these problems."

Meanwhile, the thousands of workers currently on strike at TPA hospitals, SABC and Toyota could swell to hundreds of thousands in the next few weeks if negotiations in the textile, municipal transport, forestry, metal, car, tyre, retail and mining industries were not settled, Cosatu said.

Disputes had already been declared in many of these sectors.

Tomorrow 250 000-member Numsa will unveil its mass action plan for the metal, motor, car and tyre and rubber industries.

Bill lifts ban on foreign funding

8/10/89
16/6/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has tabled an omnibus Bill which includes the temporary suspension of the ban on foreign funding of political parties.

A memorandum to the General Law Amendment Bill says the suspension of the Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act "emanates from the need of funds in order to expand the process of democratisation".

The Bill amends elements of another 20 Acts, among them the provision in the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 that an accused's race must be mentioned in a charge sheet or an indictment.

The Criminal Procedure Act is being amended to make it clear correctional supervision may be imposed for statutory offences.

Clause 6 of the Sexual Offences Act is extended to include males in the provision that anyone found in a brothel who refuses to disclose the name and identity of the keeper or manager will be deemed to be keeping the brothel.

Section 99 of the Insolvency Act is also being amended so that a preferential claim will be granted to the state in respect of VAT, as was the case with GST.

dered to carry bags of maize meal on their heads.

A woman who did not

that once more and you're the next to die."

That night she managed to escape. She

checked medically and immunised. Each person is issued with a blanket, a bar of soap, clothing

Refugee field co-ordinator Sally McKibbin, who has worked among

in more than a year. "I have held a bar of soap," an old woman said.

ANC denies having armaments in Angola

Star Africa Service

The ANC has denied reports that it still has huge quantities of armaments, including tanks, anti-aircraft guns and troop carriers, in Angola.

Weekend reports said efforts by the ANC to move the more than 27 000 tons of weaponry to Namibia were abandoned after last week's disclosure of their existence by the International

Freedom Foundation. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the reports were totally untrue. "The ANC abides by the international agreements reached with the independence of Na-

mibia," he said. ANC arms and personnel had been moved from Angola to countries "further north" after the signing of international agreements paving the way for the indepen-

dence of Namibia. According to the reports, an inventory of weapons was among documents seized when the ANC's offices in Rua de Liberdade were ransacked earlier this year.

STAR 16/6/92

SLA



Death of two persons at Noenieput: inquest

*8. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether an inquest was held in respect of the death at or near Noenieput in the Kalahari in November 1991 of two persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the result of this inquest and (b) what are the names of the persons concerned;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B769E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) No.

An inquest has not yet taken place. The docket has been forwarded to the Attorney General for his decision.

- (a) Falls away.
(b) Jurgens Mattheus White and Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar.

- (2) No.

Drivers' licences in KwaNdebele: abuses

*9. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether he has been informed of and/or has received any complaints on alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers' licences in KwaNdebele; if so, what is the (a) nature and (b) extent of these abuses;

- (2) whether he intends taking any action in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when? B773E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) Yes. The Department of Transport is aware of complaints regarding alleged abuses in the system of the issuing of drivers' licences in self-governing territories.

- (a) The complaints pertain to the issuing of drivers' licences to people on

payment without those people undergoing the appropriate tests.

- (b) The exact extent of abuses in this regard is unknown as self-governing territories, in terms of the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), themselves exercise legislative and executive authority with regard to road traffic, including the licencing of drivers. The awareness of alleged abuses is solely based on complaints which are received and media reports in this regard.

- (2) Yes.

- (a) and (b)

In terms of Act 21 of 1971, the Department of Transport has no statutory authority to take action regarding the alleged abuses. All complaints received are currently referred to the South African Police for investigation. The resolution of this issue is, therefore, in the process of initiating discussions with all parties concerned to address this problem in a coordinated fashion. The strategy will be finalized shortly whereafter further announcements will be made.

Steps against taxpayers

*10. Mr D P DU PLESSIS asked the Minister of Finance:†

- (1) What steps are taken against taxpayers who fail to pay personal income tax;
- (2) whether at any time during the past five years it was decided not to take action against politicians who failed to pay personal income tax; if so, (a) when and (b) why? B781E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) If a taxpayer fails to submit a return of income, legal proceedings are instituted against him and a court may, upon conviction, impose a fine not exceeding R2 000 or a prison sentence not exceeding 12 months. Furthermore, the Income Tax Act authorizes the Commissioner for Inland Revenue to impose an additional penalty equal to twice the tax chargeable.

If, after furnishing a return of income, he fails to pay any tax due in respect of an assessment issued to him, civil judgement may be obtained against him.

- (2) No.

Arms/ammunition caches: Umkhonto we Sizwe

*11. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) (a) How many arms and ammunition caches of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) have been traced by the South African Police in the Republic since 2 February 1990 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

- (2) how many of these caches were pointed out to the Police by MK itself? B782E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) 12

- (b) 11 June 1992

- (2) In ten (10) of the abovementioned instances arms and ammunition caches were pointed out by MK members after their arrest.

Trial of persons: Operation Vula

*12. Adv J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (1) Whether the trial of any persons charged as a result of Operation Vula has been completed; if not, why not; if so, how many such persons have been tried;

- (2) whether he will furnish the names of those who have been tried; if not, why not; if so, what are their names? B783E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) No. Indemnity has in terms of section 2(1) of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No. 35 of 1990) been granted to nine of the persons who were involved in Operation Vula.
(2) Falls away.

Marriages between Whites and non-Whites

*13. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

How many marriages between Whites and non-Whites have taken place in the Republic since the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act? B784E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

3 775

The figure is for the period 19 June 1985 till 31 December 1990. Since then, statistics on the group context of persons who married after 31 December 1990, are no longer being kept.

Alleged actions of members at Roodepoort counting hall

*14. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

Whether he will disclose his source for the statements made by him in an interpellation debate in this House on 22 April 1992 on the alleged actions of the hon members for Roodepoort and Losberg on 18 March 1992 at the counting hall in Roodepoort; if not; why not; if so, who is the source? B785E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The Department has at its disposal statements of persons who were involved with the counting of votes at Roodepoort on 18 March 1992. The information which my predecessor disclosed during the interpellation debate concerned was taken from those statements. The statements are available in the Parliamentary office of the Department for the hon member's confidential perusal if he so requires.

Companies/close corporations declared insolvent

*15. Mr J CHIOLÉ asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:†

- (1) How many companies and close corporations were declared insolvent in the Republic during the latest specified 5-year period for which information is available;
- (2) whether his Department has made any estimates or has any statistics on the number of job opportunities lost as a result of the above-mentioned insolvencies; if not, why not; if so, how many job opportunities were lost over the said 5-year period? B786E

in other countries that are just as high as ours. [Interjections.]

†Dr P J GOUS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon Minister that we are, indeed, a highly taxed country, is it not wise, at this early stage, to give the economy an indication that he is not going to use this source of income as a basis to plan what his expenditure will be, and that he has already decided to live within limited sources of income? Can the present income be sufficient for that or not? [Interjections.] Does he not want to give the taxpayer in this country such an indication at this stage?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I did not confirm that we are a highly taxed country. I only confirmed that our taxation is not low. [Interjections.] At this stage it would be completely premature to give the taxpayer any indication at all. It is far too early in the budget year. [Interjections.]

Research on greenhouse effect

*3. Mr J CHIOLÉ asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:†

(1) Whether any research has been done in connection with the influence of the greenhouse effect on weather and/or climatic conditions in Southern Africa, if so, what are the findings in respect of the incidence of drought conditions in Southern Africa;

(2) whether South Africa will make any contributions or have any contributions made on the greenhouse effect at the Earth Conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992; if not, why not; if so, what will the nature of these contributions be?

B752E

†The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes;

South Africa has an active programme of research on global environmental change which addresses the greenhouse effect and the possible influence thereof on terrestrial and marine systems, water resources, agriculture and forestry. Several State departments, universities and other research bodies are involved in this research. Preliminary results suggest that

some parts of South Africa could become drier, other parts wetter, under conditions of climate warming. However, there remains much uncertainty about global warming and its consequences.

(2) No.

South Africa was not officially represented at the Earth Conference in Rio de Janeiro and therefore could not make contributions on any subject at that conference. South Africa, however, made a contribution beforehand in the form of the report: "*Building the foundation for sustainable development in South Africa*" —pp 78–80 and p 109 of this report refer to the greenhouse effect.

†Mr J CHIOLÉ: My Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, in view of the research that has been done and the acknowledgement that certain areas will become drier and that certain areas may become wetter, are those findings sent to the various agricultural unions before the time or on an annual basis, in order to enable them to report back to the farmers in that area?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have already told the hon member that this research is very preliminary. It is not conclusive and it would be misleading to relay this information to the different agricultural unions.

†Mr J CHIOLÉ: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I would like to know from him what amount South Africa spends on this research annually.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if the hon member will have the question put onto the Question Paper, I shall reply to it later.

Number of self-defence units: ANC

*4. Mr C E HERTZOG asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether the South African Police has any information on the number of self-defence units established in the Republic by the ANC to date; if so,

(2) whether he will disclose this information; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many such units are there in the Republic and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(3) whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of these units; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when? B756E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) The South African Police is aware of the existence of eighty five (85) units in the Republic of South Africa.

(b) 5 June 1992

(3) (a) and (b)

No steps have been taken against the self-defence units, as no law makes provision for such action. However, steps are being taken against individual members of the units who commit criminal offences.

†Mr C E HERTZOG: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, does he not think that it is a dangerous situation that is developing?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, there are several organizations that we regard as dangerous and that may become dangerous. This is just one. We also regard the Wenkommandos and the Ystergarde, of whom the hon member is, no doubt, aware, as dangerous. [Interjections.]

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

Task force to Zaire

*5. Mr W A BOTHA asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether the government sent a task force to Zaire during the past year to renovate certain naval bases in that country; if so, (a) when, (b) why, (c) what naval bases and (d) what was the cost involved;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B757E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) and (2) No.

Buying-up of smuggled weapons

*6. Mr W A BOTHA asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether the Government has voted any money for the buying-up of arms smug-

gled into South Africa; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) what amount was voted for this purpose and (b) in respect of what date or period is this information furnished;

(2) whether such arms are being bought-up so that they may not reach *inter alia* the ANC; if not, why are they being bought up;

(3) whether the Government intends taking any steps in respect of the brokers and buyers of such arms; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B758E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Money has not been voted for the SA Defence Force for the buying-up of smuggled arms. There is, however, a fund which is used to reward persons for handing in arms.

(2) and (3) fall away.

(4) No.

SADF involvement in death of two persons: Noenieput

*7. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether he will furnish information on whether any members of the South African Defence Force were in any way involved in an incident during which two persons, whose names have been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, were killed at or near Noenieput in the Kala-hari in November 1991; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what way and (b) what are the names of these two persons;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B768E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) The SA Defence Force was not involved in the incident.

(2) No.

2 blasts: Grosskopf off hook

Sowetan 17/6/92

THE Government's one-time "most wanted man", African National Congress member Hein Grosskopf, is no longer under police investigation for two of the three bomb blasts linked to him. (SCLA) (SCLA)

Major Ruben Bloomberg this week said police no longer suspected Grosskopf of involvement in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court blast that killed four people in 1987, and the blast at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court that killed three people in 1988.

Question

However, Bloomberg said police still wanted to question Grosskopf in connection with the 1987 Quartz Street, Johannesburg, blast which injured 68 people near the SADF's Witwatersrand headquarters.

A R50 000 reward that former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had posted for Grosskopf's arrest had lapsed, Bloomberg said, but it was still being offered for information leading to the conviction of those responsible for the two blasts.

Vlok had accused Grosskopf of being a "trained terrorist".

Bloomberg said an application for Grosskopf's indemnity had been lodged.

Police said the reason for the about-turn on Grosskopf was that police investigators "have no evidence" to implicate him in the two blasts. - Sapa.

Private armies: Parliament acts

Sowetan 17/6/92

LEADERS, members and supporters of organisations who train, equip and arm themselves to take over functions of the SAP or Defence Force may be prosecuted.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament on Monday, prohibits the organising, training, equipping and arming of such organisations.

It also provides for a fine or imprisonment of up to 10 years for anyone convicted of such activities.

The Bill also extends the Intimidation Act to include indirect forms of intimidation and to admit as witnesses in court proceedings observers other than the person who had been in-

timidated.

A memorandum to the legislation states that the objective is to combat indirect intimidation at bus stops, shopping centres and polling booths.

The problem of getting people who have been intimidated to testify, is also addressed.

Memo

Certain offences involving violence and intimidation - including murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances - may be designated as "special offences" in terms of a certificate issued by an Attorney-General and a simplified criminal procedure may be followed in such trials.

The objective, according to the memorandum, is to

demonstrate to the community that offenders are tried speedily and called to account for their deeds.

In terms of this provision, both the State and accused are obliged to present their cases within a reasonable time, being not more than 90 days.

Courts hearing such matters may sit on any day of the week, including Sundays.

The State is compelled to provide the accused with a summary of the facts on which it had based its case and the accused has to disclose his defence.

The Attorney-General's certificate provides that the accused may not be released on bail or warning for the duration of the trial. The Attorney-General may, however, at any time

withdraw the restriction on bail.

Magistrates are also empowered to order the detention of anyone who withholds information from the police regarding the unlawful possession of certain kinds of weaponry.

A detainee must be brought before a magistrate within 48 hours and thereafter every 10 days.

No court may pronounce on the validity of the detention.

The provisions in the Bill with regard to special offences and the unlawful possession of certain weapons will only remain in effect for one year.

But it may be extended by the State President with the concurrence of Parliament. - Sapa

Man's hand blown off

A MUNICIPAL worker's hand was blown off when he pulled out the pin of a stun-grenade he found in a storm water drain in Rustenburg on Monday.

Mr Fondo Zeed Monwametsi (25), an employee of the Rustenburg Town Council, found the grenade in Geelhout Park. *Sowetan 17/6/92. (84A)*

Colleague Mr Simeon Mario said he saw Monwametsi pick up the grenade and pull the pin out. It exploded in his left hand and he was taken to the Paul Kruger hospital.

Police found a similar grenade and two flares in the drain. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

MK training claim

STEPHANE BOTHMA (84)

JANE's Defence Weekly believes some members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are receiving military training in India — in Transkei army guise.

This was done to avoid potential embarrassment to India, the defence magazine's SA correspondent Helmoed-Romer Heitman wrote in the latest edition. *Blumy 18/6/92*

Heitman wrote that a problem affecting integration of ANC personnel into the SADF was insufficient military training and experience. The ANC, therefore, was sending personnel on courses in various countries.

The ANC last night denied that members were receiving training in India in Transkei Army guise.

A spokesman confirmed ANC members were receiving training in various countries.

Order against Numsa march

SUSAN RUSSELL (12)

BARLOW Group subsidiary Barlow Appliance Company yesterday obtained an interim interdict in the Rand Supreme Court prohibiting the National Union of Metal Workers (Numsa) from associating itself with a march planned for today in support of workers dismissed during an illegal strike.

The Kew company dismissed 600 workers in September 1989 after an illegal strike and the matter has been the subject of arbitration proceedings between the union and management. *Blumy 18/6/92*

Yesterday's order granted by Judge C Plewman also prohibits the union from instigating, encouraging or associating itself with any conduct which is in breach of the arbitration agreement.

The union has been interdicted from publishing or disseminating

statements to the effect that the dispute was adjudicated in any forum other than by an independent arbitrator who was appointed by agreement between the two parties. (12)

Numsa has also been interdicted from publishing or disseminating statements which claim that the dismissals were unlawful or unfair.

In terms of the order the union may not encourage, incite or associate itself with any conduct amounting to a boycott of the company's products.

Nor may it associate itself with calls for the reinstatement of the dismissed workers.

Dismissed workers demonstrated at the opening of Codesa II last month protesting against the involvement of Barlow Rand CE John Hall in the national peace accord.

but in view of the wide diversity of share block

D
PR
fra
nu
De
an
co
Ri
en
ch
fi
a

12 MK caches uncovered S4A

STAR 18/6/92
A total of 12 Umkhonto we Sizwe arms caches were uncovered between February 2 1990 and June 11 this year, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Benny cocks a snook at CP

PAN Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander was unrepentant yesterday despite charges laid against him by the Conservative Party for

Sowetan 19/6/92
promoting attacks against the security forces.

CP MP for Losberg Mr Fanie Jacobs said in Parliament on Wednesday charges had been laid

against Alexander on May 4 as the CP was under the impression he had not been indemnified.

In a statement, the PAC official described himself

as "incurably addicted to the proposition that the armed struggle is legitimate".

"I am surprised at the statement of charges laid against me as no legal documents to this end were served on me nor was the matter brought to my attention."

"Besides, following confessions of senior CP leaders of their direct involvement in bombings, the CP is the last to point a finger at somebody who is not directly involved in armed activity. I will not be intimidated by self-confessed terrorists," said Alexander. - SA Press Association.

MY AMAZING WAR

84A
CIPERN 21/6/97

253

By MOSES MAMAILA

TODAY, exactly two years after he was captured in battle, Azanian National Liberation Army (Zanla) combatant George Mlungisa Biya is a free man.

Biya was released from prison after fasting for 56 days.

In an exclusive interview with City Press he told of the military clash with the SADF/Bophuthatswana platoon in which fellow combatant Mzwandile Mcooseli was killed.

He also alleges that 10 Bophuthatswana Defence Force soldiers were killed. He told how the two foreign-trained cadres of the Black Consciousness Movement's military wing had infiltrated the country through Botswana.

"It was on June 21, 1990 when Mcooseli and I were walking down a gravel road at Ramatla-

bama in Bophuthatswana when we met our ambush," said Biya who was born 27 years ago at Phiri in Soweto.

"We were in civilian clothing when the soldiers stopped us. We pretended to obey and a number of them approached us to check our passports.

"When they were at close range, I produced my passport - a hand grenade - and hurled it at them."

That explosion marked the start of a firefight which raged for three hours.

He said Mcooseli was shot while moving from one position to another.

"After holding them from 4.30 pm until 7.30 pm, I ran out of ammunition. That was when they surrounded me and I was captured."

He said he saw the bodies of 10 BDF soldiers.

He said an argument broke out between the two forces. Some wanted him to be taken straight to Pretoria while others maintained he should be kept in Bop where he was captured.

It was resolved that he would remain in the homeland.

When he told them who he was they were surprised as the name George Biya was well known to them.

They said he was "the chief terrorist and the Azanla general".

He however denied that he was a member of revolutionary Azanla.

"I think they did not kill me because they wanted information. After the severe torture failed to kill my fighting

spirit, a certain Colonel Craus employed psychological tactics.

"He told his men I did not deserve that kind of treatment. I was then offered a car, a big house and a negotiable salary in exchange for being an Askari.

"I told them I was worth the whole country. They said I was dreaming - but they were demoralised," he said.

In another attempt to break his spirit, the security forces forced him to identify the bullet-riddled body of his fallen comrade.

But to the surprise of the BDF soldiers he saluted the body of Mcooseli and commended him for taking several of the enemy with him.

"My torture stopped because my lawyers inter-

vened. I shot court."

How known that I did specific intelligence take st

He I der, a possess plosive

How was h that a spokes the cla any B

The only co dia th was k captu "We ment in we de



BUSH FIGHTER ... Azanla guerrilla George Biya has come back from prison to tell his fantastic tale.
Pict: TLADI KHUWELA

AZANLA STORY

By MOSES MAMALLA

Azanla man: We killed 10 of them

CPA 21/6/97

(844)

TODAY, exactly two years after he was captured in battle, Azanian National Liberation Army (Zanla) combatant George Mlungisa Biya is a free man.

Biya was released from prison after fasting for 56 days.

In an exclusive interview with City Press he told of the military clash with the SADF/Bophuthatswana platoon in which fellow combatant Mzwandile Mcooseli was killed.

He also alleges that 10 Bophuthatswana Defence Force soldiers were killed.

He told how the two foreign-trained cadres of the Black Consciousness Movement's military wing had infiltrated the country through Botswana.

"It was on June 21, 1990 when Mcooseli and I were walking down a gravel road at Ramatla-

bama in Bophuthatswana when we met our army bush," said Biya who was born 27 years ago at Phiri in Soweto.

"We were in civilian clothing when the soldiers stopped us. We pretended to obey and a number of them approached us to check our passports.

"When they were at close range, I produced my passport - a hand grenade - and hurled it at them."

That explosion marked the start of a firefight which raged for three hours.

He said Mcooseli was shot while moving from one position to another.

"After holding them from 4.30 pm until 7.30 pm, I ran out of ammunition. That was when they surrounded me and I was captured."

He said he saw the bodies of 10 BDF soldiers.

He said an argument broke out between the two forces. Some wanted him to be taken straight to Pretoria while others maintained he should be kept in Bop where he was captured.

It was resolved that he would remain in the homeland.

When he told them who he was they were surprised as the name George Biya was well known to them.

They said he was "the chief terrorist and the Azanla general".

He however denied that he was a member of revolutionary Azanla.

"I think they did not kill me because they wanted information. After the severe torture failed to kill my fighting

spirit, a certain Colonel Craus employed psychological tactics.

"He told his men I did not deserve that kind of treatment. I was then offered a car, a big house and a negotiable salary in exchange for being an Askari."

"I told them I was worth the whole country. They said I was dreaming - but they were demoralised," he said.

In another attempt to break his spirit, the security forces forced him to identify the bullet-riddled body of his fallen comrade.

But to the surprise of the BDF soldiers he saluted the body of Mcooseli and commended him for taking several of the enemy with him.

"My torture stopped because my lawyers inter-

vened. They insisted that I should be tried in court."

How had anyone known where to find him? "Our military network is very efficient. The fact that I did not call within a specific period made our intelligence operatives take steps."

He was tried for murder, attempted murder, possession of arms and explosives and sabotage.

However, his defence was helped by the fact that a Bop government spokesman had soon after the clash publicly denied any BDF casualties.

The spokesman had only confirmed to the media that one "terrorist" was killed and another captured.

"We used his statement in our defence when we denied the murder

charges. We asked the BDF if they lied in public or in court. They replied they did not lie and we produced newspaper cuttings, proving that BDF had suffered no loss of personnel.

"They had to withdraw the murder charges and I was convicted of illegal possession of arms and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on June 6 1991, after an 11-month marathon trial."

The following month, on July 27, further charges were put to Biya relating to four other acts of sabotage by Azanla.

Biya was said to have directing the operations which claimed a total of 22 BDF members.

On September 9 he was convicted of attempted murder and robbery charges and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

He said that he had continued converting people to Black Consciousness philosophy.

Three days later, on September 12 - the anniversary of Steve Biko's death in detention - he had recruited 27 prisoners for the cause.

A month later Biya and 31 political prisoners embarked on a hunger strike to secure their release.

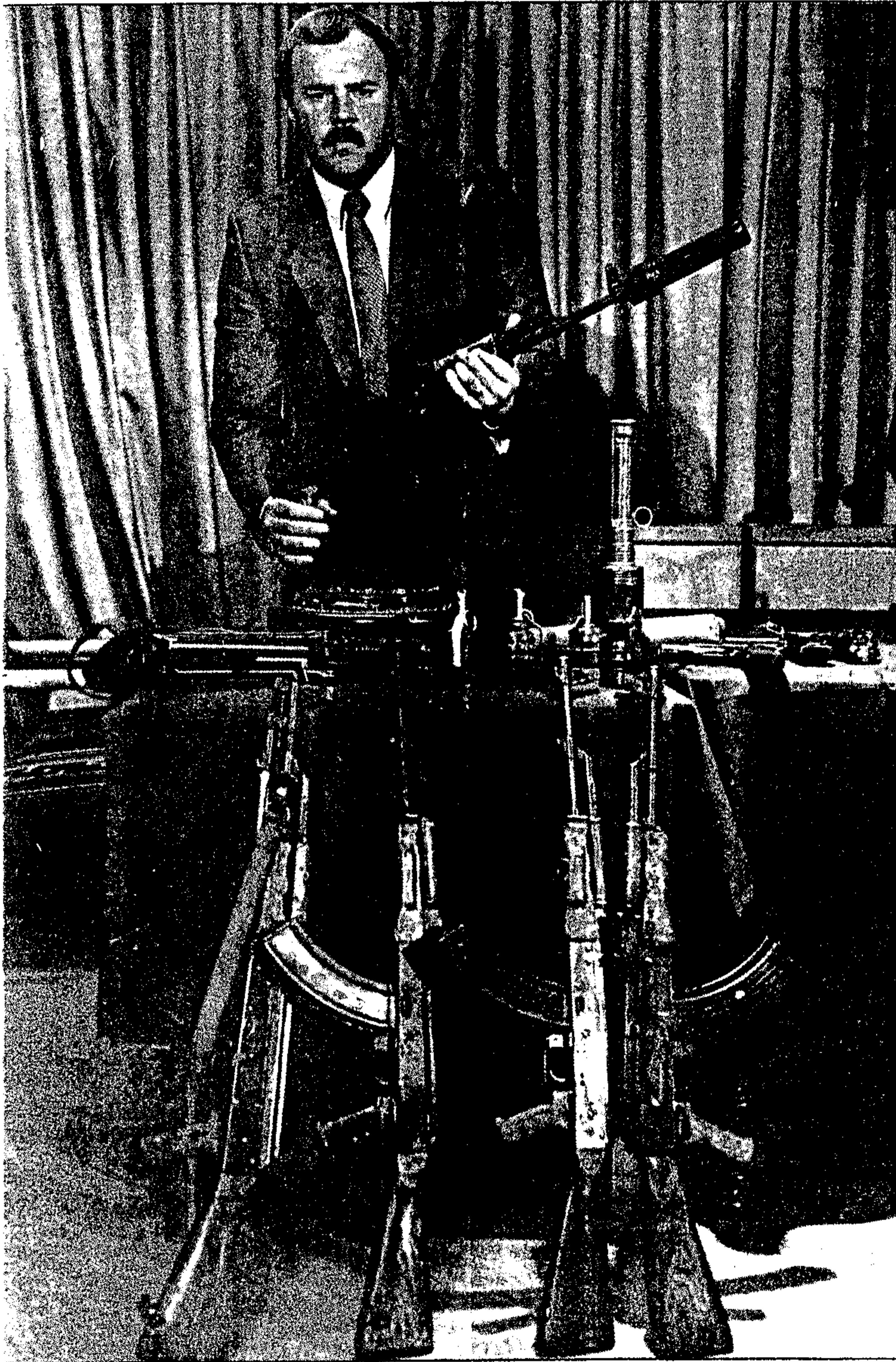
"We started the hunger strike on October 7 and ended it victoriously on November 28," said Biya, adding that he had lost 23,8 kg at the time.

"It was not easy. That is why only 14 of the strikers managed to reach the final goal."

With four rules - no treatment but medical examination, release of death, the struggle is above our interests and never kneel down - Biya and Bushy Molete, (who has since died), and their 12 fellow-prisoners were unconditionally released from jail.

Biya is now chairman of the Soweto branch of Azayo.

SA's most wanted



84A
Search
is on for
AK-47s
84

CI/press 21/6/92

ITS barrel shone for the first time in southern African sun in the hands of cadres who have attacked South African soldiers. Now these attacks are longer needed and the gun has become one of the most deadly aids for criminals. In 1991 alone, the gun was used more than 2 500 robberies.

This is the AK-47, also generally known as the "AK" or the "Soweto cheque book" - because people in Soweto supposedly believe you write your own cheques if you own an AK-47.

But why is it called the "AK-47"? In fact, the choice of name was very simple.

The "A" refers to the Russian word "awtomat" which means automatic. The "K" is the first letter of the surname of the designer - the Russian Mikhael Kalashnikov.

Honoured

And the "47" has nothing to do with the barrel of the gun. It simply refers to the year in which Kalashnikov presented his brainchild to the Soviet government.

Kalashnikov, who was honoured for his invention a few years ago by the then Soviet government, was a colonel in the Soviet armoured division during the Second World War. He was seriously injured during one of the battles that he was declared medically unfit to pursue his career as a military engineer.

Kalashnikov then concentrated his time on designing firearms.

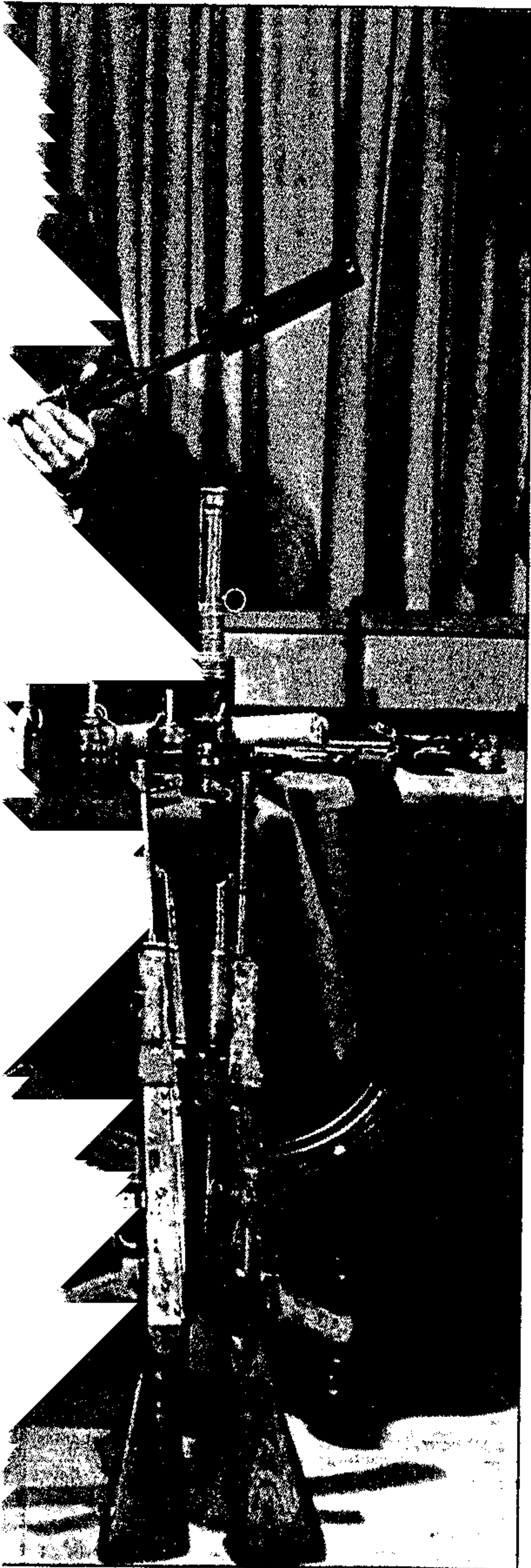
The original gun was very heavy and unwieldy. Its tolerance was also extremely low with the result that it was very sensitive to dirt and dust. The gun was also not very reliable in battle conditions.

Kalashnikov then designed an improved model in 1952. The gun was much more reliable and the initial shortcomings were nearly eliminated. The frame was made of light steel, hence the gun was much lighter than the initial version.

The AK-47 was only accepted as the official battle gun in 1952 after a number of adjustments were made to the prototype.

WEAPONS FOR AFRICA... The AK-47, also known as the "Soweto cheque book", is the weapon most often used in crimes committed in SA.

Most wanted gun



The "Soweto cheque book", is the weapon most

Search is on for AK-47s

CPRE 21/4/92

ITS barrel shone for the first time in the southern African sun in the hands of cadres who have attacked South African soldiers. Now these attacks are no longer needed and the gun has become one of the most deadly aids for criminals. In 1991 alone, the gun was used in more than 2 500 robberies.

This is the AK-47, also generally known as the "AK" or the "Soweto cheque book" - because people in Soweto supposedly believe you can write your own cheques if you own an AK-47.

But why is it called the "AK-47"? In fact, the choice of name was very simple.

The "A" refers to the Russian word "awtomat" which means automatic. The "K" is the first letter of the surname of the designer - the Russian Mikhael Kalashnikov.

Honoured

And the "47" has nothing to do with the barrel of the gun. It simply refers to the year in which Kalashnikov had presented his brainchild to the Soviet government.

Kalashnikov, who was honoured for his invention a few years ago by the then Soviet government, was a colonel in the Soviet armoured division during the Second World War. He was so seriously injured during one of these battles that he was declared medically unfit to pursue his career as a militarist.

Kalashnikov then concentrated full time on designing firearms.

The original gun was very heavy and unwieldy. Its tolerance was also extremely low with the result that it was very sensitive to dirt and dust. The gun was also not very reliable in battle conditions.

Kalashnikov then designed an improved model in 1952. The gun was much more reliable and the initial shortcomings were nearly eliminated. The frame was made of light steel, hence the gun was much lighter than the initial version.

The AK-47 was only accepted as an official battle gun in 1952 after a few adjustments were made to the proto-

The AK-47 rifle has already become a household name in SA. During the last months hardly any murder, robbery or other act of violence has been committed without the feared AK-47 being mentioned.

Ten of these guns were found on a train coach filled with weapons which the police confiscated from Inkatha supporters in Soweto last weekend. Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT traced the origin of the AK-47.

type.

Shortly afterwards Kalashnikov also designed the AKM and the AKMS. The latter was equipped with foldable butt, making it ideal for paratroopers.

The success story of the AK-47 soon became known outside the borders of the Soviet Union. This gun was used all over the world where the Soviets wanted to expand their influence.

Not only was the gun exported to communist-led countries, it was even manufactured there. It is generally known that the gun was manufactured in countries like Finland, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and the then Eastern Germany.

Today the gun's easy handling and reliability contributes to its popularity among criminals. It can also easily be hidden underground for a long time and remain in a good condition.

An instance is known of a group of infiltrators who crossed the border between Swaziland and SA with a number of AK-47s. The men were trapped and their guns confiscated.

Fired

A year later the investigating team returned to the scene and found another gun which was still hidden in the ground.

The gun was initially hidden in an ant heap. Rain had caused the soil to cave in and the gun was found as a result.

The investigating officer removed the soil from the barrel and fired a shot. To his surprise, the gun functioned perfectly.

The police launched an intensive campaign months ago in an endeavour to curtail the illegal distribution and possession of AK-47s. Since January this year a total of 238 AK-47s have been confiscated.

In the period January 1 to December 31 last year, AK-47s were used in more than 2 500 armed robberies, the SAP public relations division said. The robberies were especially aimed at institutions such as banks, building societies, post offices, shops and factories.

The police offers a reward of up to R6 000 for information which could lead to the confiscation of an AK-47.

We attacked hostel, says shadowy group

Crime Staff

(SUA)
An organisation calling itself Youth for the Revolution has claimed responsibility for a gun attack on Sunday which left five Dobsonville hostel inmates dead.

Three men and two women were killed when gunmen sprayed several rooms with AK-47 gunfire in the early hours of the morning.

A statement, which was hand-delivered to Sapa yesterday, said Youth for the Revolution had carried out the attack in retaliation for the "harassment" of local residents by hostel dwellers.

STAR 24/6/92
The statement, signed by Tamurai Shamuyarira, said the organisation was independent of the ANC, and that the ANC was not involved in the attack. The statement warned that the organisation would continue to attack its enemies, which included the police, SADF and councillors.

This was the second attack the organisation has claimed responsibility for. In May, Youth for the Revolution claimed to have started a fire that seriously damaged Dobsonville council offices.

At the time, it told Sapa its members would also attack the Dobsonville hostel until all

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters had left the area.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday he had never heard of Youth for the Revolution, but he confirmed that the ANC had nothing to do with Sunday's attack.

Soweto police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said he had also not heard of the organisation. No one had come forward to the police to claim responsibility for the attack, he added.

Colonel Halgryn asked anyone with information on the attack to contact the SAP at (011) 980-8320.

Stop the fight: I have to study

84A
CLIPPER-
28/6/92

By MOSES MAMAILA

IT'S extremely rare that released political prisoners should want to be placed back in their cells.

Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre Jaki Stone Seroke is the exception.

Seroke, who was released recently while serving a 10-year jail term for military activities, said he was disappointed over his "untimely" release from prison.

"I was studying for a Bachelor of Arts degree and had already passed four courses when I was released nine years early.

"It's much more difficult to concentrate on studies here because I have a lot of other things to do," explained Seroke, who was an APLA political commissar.

The Alexandra-born Seroke joined the PAC and its military wing in 1980 at the age of 20 and received his military training inside the country.

On September 9 1987, Seroke was detained with two foreign-trained APLA combatants in the western Transvaal.

"It was just after midnight when our car was stopped at a roadblock. There was virtually nothing we could do. They found explosives, grenades and a number of Scorpion machine guns.

"Our mission that day was to transport arms from the Botswana border to the township to arm our people," he said.

"What followed was the usual torture that left one of us in the enemy camp - he defected to become an Askari," said Seroke.

Seroke spent a year in custody during his trial. He was finally convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years on Robben Island at the end of 1988.

In prison he continued with PAC activities, and also joined the Patriotic Front, and the General Recreation Committee, composed of ANC, BCM and PAC members.

Although he was unable, for security reasons, to detail military contacts with the security forces, Seroke revealed that he formed an underground



NO PEACE ... The PAC's Jaki Seroke needs a quiet space to learn. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

network which is still functional.

"We did the groundwork which ensured that our military operations were successful.

"APLA has been responsible for several attacks recently on the police and security forces. Very few of our cadres can be traced because of

the strong network we have established long ago in the mid-eighties," he said.

Shortly after his release from prison with other political prisoners, Seroke resumed the struggle for liberation.

He holds the post of PAC secretary for political affairs.

By
A
be
Re
Int
Ch
sja
wo
he
kor

exp
am
me
ins
in
lea
is
e
1
the
tair
mo
Ma
sjar
wit
alle
into
bre
ser
I
con
who
pin
qua
I
Sos

CASH ON CALL!

CALL AND WIN THE R10 000 JACKPOT!

EVERY
50TH
CALLER
WINS
R200
ON THE
SPOT!



087 3022 342

PARROT PUBLISHING (Pty) Ltd (011) 402-4773. Calls cost R5.97 per minute. Average call duration of 4 minutes. Jackpot winner will be chosen out of all correct entries.

Magistrate rules

in ANC's favour

ALLEGATIONS of the existence of a special ANC unit to kill policemen, soldiers and spies, were made during a bail application in Cape Town's Wynberg Magistrate's Court on Friday.

The claims were made by ANC member Fumankile "Feti" Booi, of Gugulethu, who was arrested in January for the murder of Sgt "Kulu" Els in an ambush at Nyanga in July 1990.

He alleged the unit had been deployed as part of the ANC's "Operation Dragon" against security forces and ANC spies before July 1990. After that date, the ANC high command had given no more assassination orders, he said.

Former Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hanani told the court he and Booi had been part of ANC forces who had fought Unita in the Angolan bush war.

"I know him well and respect him as a courageous young man and a good soldier," Hanani said.

However, he stressed his office had never issued orders for Booi to kill Els, as the armed struggle had been suspended in March 1990.

Political tasks

On Booi's allegations, Hanani said: "I regard the SA Police and the army as criminals. Will I be guilty and Kat Liebenberg (Chief of the SADF) not guilty?"

"What is considered a crime was not considered a crime by 70 percent of the country. We must look at the special circumstances. Activists were killed in this country and though we killed far less than the SAP, there are certain things we are not proud of."

Under cross-examination, Booi admitted being part of "Operation Dragon". He added that at no stage did the ANC High Command issue him with orders to kill policemen during July 1990, saying his chief tasks were "political."

Booi said he was trained in Angola, Botswana and Yugoslavia.

He was granted bail of R10 000 on Friday although the money could not be raised in time and he was taken to Pollsmoor Prison.

Magistrate JG van Zyl, in granting bail, said: "The winds of change are blowing in SA. This changes the perceptions and goals of people and I have no reason to rule that this change did not come about within the accused."

The trial was postponed to July 23. — Sapa

Bombers strike again (218) (547)

THE home of the education officer of the Bekkersdal Civic Association, Mr Andrew Rammutle, was attacked at 2am yesterday, according to a statement from the organisation. An explosive device was thrown at the house and three windows shattered. The incident follows a similar attack on Saturday at the home of the publicity secretary of the association. No one was injured. - Sapa. Sowetan 717192

2 METRO

Umkhonto leader blown up

Star 2/7/92

By Stan Hlophe and Anna Louw

Controversy surrounds the death of Umkhonto we Sizwe (ANC military wing) "commandant" George Mashele, who allegedly blew himself up with a hand grenade at his Vosloorus home on the East

Rand early yesterday morning.

Mr Mashele died during a police raid on his Mohlala Street home. His mother, Lilian Mogashoa, was injured and died later in hospital.

Independent witnesses told The Star that Mr Mashele, who had a gun, blew himself up when he tried to throw a hand grenade at the police. As

he lay dying, he shot his mother.

Some of Mr Mashele's friends blamed the police, but other residents said the police raided Mr Mashele's house after he and his comrades had burnt down a house belonging to David Selepe — a relative of Vosloorus councillor Sidwell Mofokeng and a policeman whom the comrades

claimed had a hit list including the names of MK members.

During the petrol bomb attack just after midnight on Monday two-year-old Mamotshhare Selepe and cousin Khulu Radebe (33) died.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said five suspects were arrested after the Vos-

loorus attack. An informer later took them to another house which he said was occupied by the leader.

When no one answered, police threw a teargas canister through a window into the lounge. Soon after, there was an explosion. The body of Mr Mashele and his critically injured mother were found in the house.

ANC rejects reports of STAR 9/17/92 ~~of~~ ~~of~~ ~~of~~ 84A bids to assassinate police

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

The ANC yesterday hit out at reports in Afrikaans newspapers that the organisation had marked senior policemen for assassination.

The reports emerged after Brandon Samson, who had allegedly been trained by the ANC and ordered to assassinate policemen, was arrested in Piet Retief on June 28 for being in illegal possession of a firearm.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the eastern Transvaal

branch of the organisation could not confirm that Mr Samson was a member of the ANC.

According to the reports, Mr Samson left SA in 1986 and received military training in Angola and Zambia.

He reportedly came back to South Africa and joined the ANC.

It was reported he was given instructions from top ANC officials to eliminate a certain policeman in Piet Retief.

The policeman's name was one of several on a list of police to be assassinated, the reports said.

Mr Niehaus yesterday said the newspapers carrying the reports were guilty of conducting a trial in the media.

He said the story must have originated from the SAP and was an attempt to discredit the ANC.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant Thuys du Bruyn yesterday said the SAP knew nothing of the allegations about the ANC's alleged assassination plots.

Mr Samson is due to appear in court in Piet Retief on Monday.

ANC's arms stock

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise has confirmed that the ANC had stockpiles of weapons stored in Angola, the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation said yesterday. In a statement from Washington, the IFF said Modise's confirmation of the arms stockpile was reported in the June 19 edition of the British publication, *SouthScan*.

(84A) Sowetan 9/7/92

'Apla killed cop'

CLAIMING to represent the Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the PAC, a caller yesterday said he was responsible for the killing of a policeman in Tokoza township last Friday.

The caller said the policeman, who he named, had been killed in connection with attacks on the "unarmed Azanian masses". - *Sapa*.

Cops: Third Force may exist

THE ANC on Friday denied responsibility following Thursday's arrest in Durban of two alleged ANC members who were found in possession of a 9 mm pistol and two sets of army uniforms. (849)

Police said members of the Durban City Police arrested the men, whom police described as "prominent members of the ANC".

A police statement said this was not the first time ANC members had been found in possession of security force uniforms.

The statement said: "Is it not possible that the third force referred to by certain organisations is a reality, created by people pretending to be security force members?"

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said he was still investigating the incident, but added that police were withholding the names of the two men, which made investigations difficult.

Makhaye said: "The ANC or Umkhonto we Sizwe cannot be held responsible for such behaviour as there is no order which says our cadres must put on police or army uniforms."

He said police were victims of

Putco buses worth R2,8m destroyed during unrest

PUTCO has lost R2,8m in destroyed buses this year, but the company is not planning to ask the police for help.

WILSON ZWANE

Putco MD Jack Visser said at the weekend that 14 buses had been destroyed in unrest-related incidents in the PWV region this year.

Of these, three were destroyed in the East Rand township of Vosloorus last week after Umkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashele allegedly blew himself up with a handgrenade during a police raid on his house.

Another three buses were destroyed in the township this year. Five were destroyed in the Vaal area, two in the Pretoria area and one in Soweto.

Visser estimated the replacement cost of the buses at R2,8m.

Although he could not readily give figures of last year's attacks on his company's buses, he was convinced there had been as escalation.

Putco has 2 000 buses

countrywide.

Visser stressed that Putco was not considering withdrawing from the areas where the buses were coming under attack "because we are rendering an essential service".

Asked what the company could do to stave off the attacks on its buses, Visser said little could be done short of enlisting the help of police.

But the company would not have policemen deployed on its buses as such a move was bound to cause friction between the company and commuters.

"Since we want to remain at peace with our customers, we would rather render the services as best we can than get policemen in our buses."

Visser said there had been no pattern to the attacks on the Putco vehicles. They seemed to depend on the mood of the townships.

bomb attack.

ANC 'in breach of arms deals'

PRETORIA — The stockpiling of arms in Angola by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, contravened agreements reached by the SA government and the ANC, an SADF spokesman said.

"These agreements stipulate that the ANC was to have pointed out all their arms caches and they were to have ceased recruiting people for MK as well as training MK personnel."

The spokesman said in a statement to Sapa on Friday it was surprising the ANC dismissed the issue of what it intended to do about these weapons as "not being in the public interest".

Weapons similar to those stored in Angola were being used in SA against innocent people.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that the cache included 2 188 AK-47s and 2,2-m rounds of ammunition, 22 machineguns and hundreds of pistols and revolvers.

Heavy weapons included five Soviet tanks and five light armoured troop carriers.

The dispute began when Russia's par-

Reuter.

Many crimes 'the work of suspects granted bail'

SA's lenient attitude to the granting of bail resulted in a high number of suspected criminals committing more crimes while awaiting trial, legal sources said at the weekend.

Recent research by the SAP over a nine-month period showed that of a total of 61 306 accused released on bail, 10 353 breached their bail conditions and 3 850 committed crimes while on bail.

This situation not only placed a massive burden on police, but also caused growing dissatisfaction among the public, who suffered under a wave of crime, police said.

"In particular the black population finds it difficult to come to terms with this type of administration of justice and they take the law into their own hands or turn to people's courts," the police said.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau, SC, said: "It is a well known fact that SA criminal law has a very literal view on the granting of bail to accused."

The granting of bail to accused should be seen against the background of the presumption in SA law of an accused's innocence until he or she had been proved guilty, he said.

Other factors played an important role in courts' consideration of whether to grant bail.

These included the limited prison facilities for awaiting trial prisoners.

"One must always keep in mind that bail applications by accused are brought at a very early stage of police investigations," Von Lieres said.

Therefore, it was not always easy to convince a judge or magistrate that there was a strong case against an accused.

Depending on the facts of the case — the seriousness or nature of the crime, or the possibility that the accused might commit another crime — State lawyers would do their best to oppose bail, said Von Lieres.

Until 1977, attorneys-general had the jurisdiction to issue a certificate prohibiting bail in serious cases.

Since then, it has been in the discretion of the courts to grant bail, or not, after an accused has satisfied the court that he should be released.

Recently the Law Commission recommended that, at hearings on whether to grant bail, the onus should be moved from the accused having to prove why he should get bail to the State having to prove why the suspect should not be released on bail.

If the recommendation was accepted, it would be even easier for courts to grant bail, informed legal sources said.

RR

HAB

13/7/92

STEPHANE BOTHEMA

60 Vosloorus ANC members arrested

610A4
14/7/92
STEPHANE BOTHMA

POLICE arrested 60 ANC members in Vosloorus early yesterday and seized two handgrenades, an AK-47 rifle and several rounds of ammunition.

And in two other actions in Natal at the weekend, police said they discovered SADF uniforms allegedly in the possession of ANC members.

The Vosloorus Civic Association claimed the 60 arrests followed a swoop by security forces on a night vigil at the Vosloorus home of Umkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashele, who died last week in a handgrenade explosion at his home.

Six of those arrested had been assaulted by the police, the ANC claimed.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe yesterday rejected the claims of a "swoop" and assaults by the police as "typical smear tactics" designed to cast suspicion on police activities.

He said a routine SADF-SAP patrol spotted a large group of men gathered around a fire in the East Rand township.

When the group was approached, it very suddenly broke up and people ran in different directions, Malherbe said.

The reaction of the group caused the security force members to believe that "something suspicious had been transpiring" and they decided to cordon off and search the area, he said.

Police found two handgrenades behind a fridge and 15 rounds of AK-47 ammunition hidden in a hole in a garden. At another house they found an AK-47 assault rifle, 9mm ammunition and 12-bore shotgun ammunition. The search party found 60 men hiding in the vicinity. They denied knowledge of the arms and explosives, he said.

They were taken to the Vosloorus police station where six men claimed they had

been assaulted by police, but refused to make statements.

"At no stage during the operations did the search party have any reason to believe they were interrupting a night vigil. Had these men not reacted ... by running away and hiding, the security forces would not have done anything."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that police in Durban arrested an ANC member who was allegedly in possession of an SADF uniform.

The man was arrested at an ANC meeting at Glebelands Hostel south of Durban on Sunday.

The arrest followed the discovery of an assortment of SADF uniforms at Umlazi on Friday, also allegedly in the possession of prominent ANC members.

WILSON ZWANE reports Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday his government had no intention of ever arresting MK and Apla members for carrying weapons because it had "unconditionally" unbanned these organisations.

Holomisa said there were "informal" communication lines between his government, the ANC and the PAC which had been established to exchange intelligence and to ensure that members of the two liberation movements were not harrassed.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the arrangement — made in 1990 — between his organisation and the Transkei government minimised conflict.

In terms of the arrangement, MK and Apla members arrested by the Transkei police for carrying weapons are freed after their identities have been confirmed by their leaders.

Alexandra fears brushed aside

WILSON ZWANE

THE need to settle homeless people in Alexandra's Far East Bank area outweighed concerns of nearby residents about property depreciation, Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) official Richard Mdakane said yesterday. B10A-1517192

East Bank homeowners have reportedly said they would boycott their bond repayments if squatters were settled on their doorsteps. Reacting to complaints that East Bank residents were not consulted, Mdakane said they had until recently not regarded themselves as part of Alexandra. But that was changing, he said, and the East Bank Residents' Association had now applied to join the Joint Negotiating Forum.

Alexandra administrator Andre Jacobs said shacks would not be erected on the 7 000 sites, of which 1 700 had already been serviced. Meanwhile, STEPHANE BOTHA reports that an application by the Laezonia Landowners Association to prevent the TPA from resettling Zevonfontein squatters in their area was struck off the Pretoria Supreme Court roll yesterday.

Judge J M C Smit removed the matter with costs on the grounds the squatters were not joined as parties to the application.

In a similar action lawyers representing the Diepsloot Residents Association yesterday afternoon argued the legalities of having the squatters joined as parties to their application. A finding is expected today.

FW to get petition on hospital strike

B10A-1517192

LEADING medical academics from Wits University and Baragwanath Hospital said yesterday they would petition President F W de Klerk and Health Minister Rina Venter to intervene in the six-week-old strike.

They said 75 hospitals and 40 000 workers had been affected by the strike, a backlog of semi-urgent cases was building up and patients were being prematurely discharged.

The dean, deputy-dean and sub-deans of the Wits medical faculty and the chairmen of the Medical Advisory Committees of the PWV area's main hospitals said the strike had become a "national crisis".

"The ability of the medical and allied staff to continue under these circumstances is extremely doubtful," they said in a statement.

It called for a halt to dismissals until the crisis was resolved, even if this meant compulsory arbitration. The dismissal of workers would "almost certainly place hospitals, staff, students and patients at further risk".

The SAP warned yesterday that plans by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu), which is leading the strike, to occupy hospitals and government buildings would be illegal and "would invariably lead to confrontation with the SAP". Nehawu secretary-general

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

Phillip Dexter said that "if the police get involved then our membership will have to defend themselves".

Sapa reports that the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA has expressed its support for the strike, as had postal workers at Soweto's Power Park Telecommunications Yard. They have decided to stop installing and maintaining telephones at Baragwanath Hospital.

Amid new rumours of assaults and intimidations by strikers, Baragwanath's chief superintendent Chris van den Heever said that a fourth victim of last week's petrol bomb attack had died. The 13-year-old boy was the son of one of the three who died last week.

Dexter said an agreement which was reached yesterday afternoon in Cape Town between the Commission for Administration and employees organisations to give general assistants permanent status was "not concrete enough".

The commission also agreed to consider claims that public servants in the education sector had received over R1m more than they ought to have done and that other public servants might be reimbursed accordingly. Dexter, however, said that such a sum was totally insufficient.

ANC army on peace committee agenda

WILSON ZWANE

THE continued existence of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe is expected to be high on the agenda of today's national peace committee meeting.

A source close to Inkatha said yesterday Umkhonto's existence was a breach of the national peace accord, which outlawed private armies. The source said since talks between government and the ANC had broken down, the "unresolved MK issue" should be referred to arbitration in terms of the accord.

Inkatha had asked peace committee chairman John Hall to place the issue on

the agenda for today's meeting of the committee executive.

It is understood Inkatha has also urged the committee to discuss statements by ANC Youth League officials, which it regards as violations of the accord.

League president Peter Mokaba was quoted by a newspaper as saying the intention of his organisation's mass action was to return townships to the era of "ungovernability", which characterised the mid-'80s.

Ploy to make burials a lever

WILSON ZWANE

ANGER at continuing political violence has shifted into high gear, with township civic organisations threatening to bury victims in white areas.

The civics are also threatening to stage marches through white suburbs unless government ends the violence.

Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Dan Mofokeng said yesterday civic organisations needed to carry "the struggle in all its forms" into the white suburbs because whites were apathetic about the violence.

"We are sick and tired of the ongoing violence... and unless government acts and puts an end to it, we are going to bury victims in the white areas," Mofokeng said. He said when the cemeteries were full, civics would have "to find space anywhere in the white areas".

"If they see us burying our people in their areas, the whites are bound to bring pressure to bear on people they have elect-

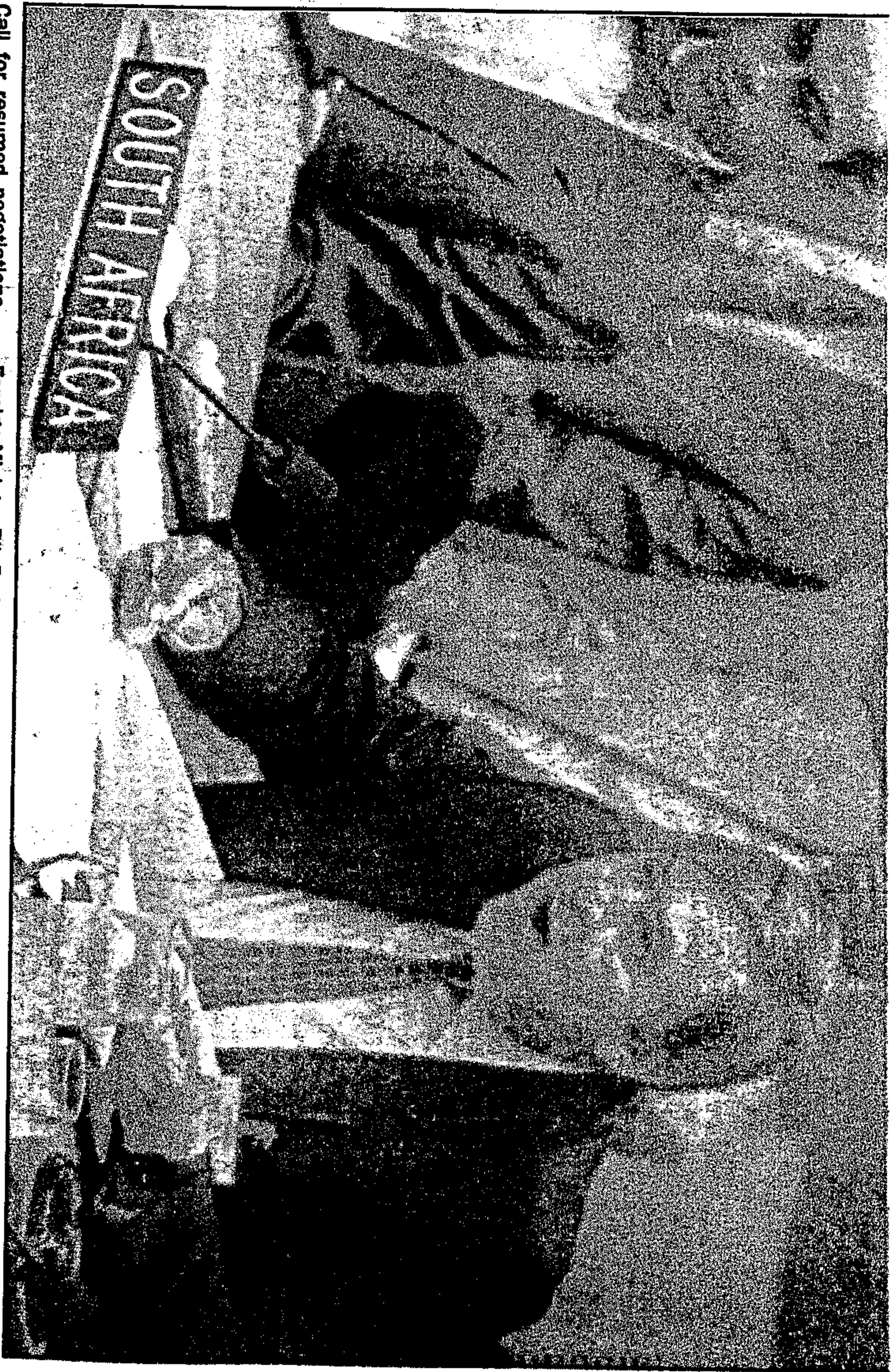
ed to power to do something about the carnage," Mofokeng said.

A policeman died in an attack yesterday, bringing the total number who have died this year to 109.

Sapa reports acting regional police commissioner Maj-Gen Gert May said the attack occurred during an investigation of an assault in Matlulapark, Vosloorus.

Two men armed with AK-47 rifles burst into the house, shooting dead Const F R Rikholso, 38. A second constable was seriously injured while a third escaped unhurt. A shooting incident in Zone 11, Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle claimed the lives of two men on Monday night, a police unrest report said yesterday.

Two men were gunned down in Bojpatong on Monday evening, said PAC national executive member Mark Shinnars, but police were unable to confirm it.



Call for resumed negotiations . . . Foreign Minister P. W. Botha addresses the United Nations Security Council yesterday. Picture: AP Star Bureau

Council told of ANC plot to bring weapons into SA from Zimbabwe

STAR 17/7/92

24A

NEW YORK — Foreign Minister P. W. Botha told the Security Council yesterday the Government had received information this week of a conspiracy by the ANC-SACP alliance to infiltrate weapons into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

The weapons included automatic assault rifles and grenade-launchers and were to have been transported to the northern border of the

Transvaal with the assistance of the Zimbabwean army. Mr Botha said the weapons were stored at Masvingo, in Zimbabwe, and that the Government had learnt that the instruction to move them to South Africa had come from the ANC-SACP alliance in South Africa.

ca. He declined to elaborate on the matter after his speech. Zimbabwe representatives at the U.N. said they had no information about the matter. No ANC officials were available for comment.

Mr Botha said a major cause of death in the violence in South Africa was the use of AK-47 assault rifles. "Only two days ago, the ANC Communist Party admitted to the existence of arms caches inside South Africa," he said, before going on to describe the alleged conspiracy to smuggle weapons from Zimbabwe.

"These reports should be seen against the background of the admission by an ANC National Executive Committee member, Joe Modise, of an ANC arsenal located outside Luanda . . . If these reports are correct, it is a cause for grave concern."

"However, there is therefore all the more reason for us to talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process."

UN told of 'Harare's complicity'

ANC cadres smuggling arms

SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — ANC elements, with the complicity of the Zimbabwe National Army and possibly without the knowledge of the movement's leadership, were attempting to infiltrate weapons into SA, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha charged before the UN Security Council yesterday.

With the council on the point of adopting a studiedly even-handed resolution calling on all parties to return to the bargaining table, Botha asserted government's desire to end the violence and negotiate a new constitution.

Throughout his presentation, Botha pointedly referred to the ANC as "the ANC-Communist Party alliance".

Answering points raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday, Botha:

- Offered to hold immediate bilateral talks with the ANC on resolving the organisation's lingering claims that political prisoners are still being held and that government had failed in its undertaking to repeal all repressive legislation;
- Holy contested Mandela's assertion that government was determined to keep a veto for whites, arguing that the NP had every intention of becoming a majority party under a new constitution by aggressively competing for black votes which would only be alienated by the entrenchment of a white veto;
- Urged the ANC and Inkatha to join government in setting up a joint monitoring body, possibly with international observers, to defuse township flashpoints; and
- Supported the establishment of a code of conduct under the auspices of the Gold-

11/1/92

Pik



Picture: AP

● BOTHA

stone commission to ensure that mass action remained peaceful.

In what seemed a direct retort to Mandela's claim that government was conducting a campaign of "state terror", Botha countercharged that the ANC had publicly admitted the existence of arms caches both inside SA and in Angola.

He said that shortly before his departure he had received information that the ANC-Communist Party alliance had instructed its Zimbabwe representative to transfer assault rifles and grenade launchers stored at Mashvinga to the northern Transvaal for infiltration into SA.

This, Botha said, illustrated the difficulty of creating a climate for negotiations, but was also "all the more reason for us to

□ To Page 2

Pik

11/1/92

talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process".

Mandela was not present as Botha spoke.

At a news conference after his address, Botha said he would be "very much encouraged" if the council adopted the draft resolution before it, since it put the international community on record as believing that SA had to solve its own problems without outside interference and "telling all parties to hurry and get around the negotiating table".

He hoped the UN secretary-general would send his special envoy to SA as soon as possible. All outside assistance was welcome, so long as it was done in consultation with all parties and did not constitute an effort to "run the show" — a level of intervention, Botha added, that the Security Council would not support either.

In an interview with SABC TV last night, Botha said the ANC would "get a resolution they do not want".

"The ANC is going to get a resolution telling them to go back to the negotiating table."

"The UN has said 'the SA government is quite right. We have listened to all of you and you had better all get back to the negotiations table'."

Botha said the hearing was a victory for government. "The political attempt by the ANC to get at us was a total failure."

Sapa reports Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi hit back at the ANC in an aggressive address to the council yesterday. While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the violence and to

kick-start the stalled negotiations process, Buthelezi said the ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

Defending the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, he waved his ceremonial stick of office to a packed council and said he would carry it "to the end of my days".

He said his party would welcome a "strong, effective" international fact-finding mission to SA. But unless it was unbiased and fair, it would only exacerbate the situation.

In his address to the council, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday accused the ANC of destabilising its political opponents.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo also slated the ANC in his address, alleging it was no longer a progressive liberation movement, but had changed into an oppressive organisation bent on seizing power "through the barrel of a gun".

And PAC president Clarence Makwetu on Wednesday told the council it should empower the secretary-general to identify a neutral venue where the modalities of a constituent assembly for SA could be thrashed out.

He supported a draft resolution before the council empowering the secretary-general to send a UN mission to the country to investigate and make recommendations on the violence.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew told the council the international community could play a constructive role in resolving the crisis in SA, but in the end a new constitution would have to be drawn up by South Africans.

● Comment: Page 8

11/1/92

'Hit-man' jailed over illegal gun

23
84A
STAR 17/7/92

Returned ANC exile Kgatso Branden Samson (25), who was allegedly under instructions to kill policemen, was yesterday sentenced in the Ermelo Magistrate's Court to 18 months in jail for the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Nine months were suspended.

A police spokesman said Samson was first arrested in Piet Retief over illegal arms. He then admitted in a statement he had been instructed by a member of the ANC's executive committee, John Nhlanhla, to obtain information about certain policemen in Piet Retief.

Samson said he was instructed to return to Johannesburg on July 5, where he would be told to kill the policemen.

He said he would be killed for not obtaining the information and was convinced that Mr Nhlanhla would now send other people to complete the mission.

● Mr Nhlanhla has rejected the allegation. "It is a complete fabrication," he said yesterday. He believed a senior member of the security forces was behind it. — Sapa. 17/7/92.

The terrible cost of the struggle

CIPRM 19/7/92

(S) (S) (S)

(S)

THE struggle for peace and democracy has taken a heavy toll on the life of Reverend Ernest Sotsu.

Like marriage, his dedication to these goals is a lifetime commitment.

Rev Sotsu lost his wife and two family members in a single violent attack.

"Peace in this country will be preceded by democracy. The struggle for lasting peace is, in the final analysis, the struggle for democracy," he said.

But who is this old man who has such a hold on the Vaal community?

Sotsu was born of a peasant family on November 19 1928 in the remote village of Qumbu in the Transkei.

The son of a miner, Sotsu was the last child in a family of six. He had four brothers and a sister.

His first encounter with a classroom was at Somerville Mission School where he passed Std 6 before enrolling as a student teacher at Hilltown college in Kimberley.

Orders

However, he did not complete his course as he had to return home on his father's orders.

In 1945 he registered at Tigerkloof College hoping to study for his matric certificate - but again his father called him back home.

The following year he went to the Transvaal where he worked on a state-owned mine in Brakpan as a clerk for about two years before returning home.

The young Sotsu joined the Iron and Steel Corporation (Iscor) in 1948 but his political activities, and the leading role he played in the labour movement, led to his dismissal in 1953.

As a student Sotsu was interested in history - especially mounting oppression and disempowerment of blacks under the apartheid regime. It was no accident that he joined the ANC in 1954.

In 1956 he settled in Vanderbijlpark in the township of Tsirela, better known as Boipatong. He was employed by the local town council.

After the pan africanists split from the ANC, Sotsu was one of the few in the Vaal - which had become a strong base for the PAC - who stuck it out with the ANC.

The banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960, following the massive pass campaign led by the PAC, drastically changed Sotsu's operational methods.

His went underground, giving up his job to become a fulltime revolutionary.

Some of his tasks included smuggling



FIGHTING ON ... Rev Ernest Sotsu continues to soldier on for peace and democracy in SA.

CITY PEOPLE

By MOSES MAMAILA

youths out to neighbouring countries to join the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, and smuggling in weapons.

Sotsu, with his innocent appearance, was one of the first MK guerrillas to be trained inside the country.

His most important underground period was smuggling out hundreds of youths following the 1976 black consciousness-inspired insurrection.

The Black Consciousness Movement, he maintains, was the only public political mouthpiece of the oppressed during the 70s.

Then came the United Democratic Front era, and Sotsu re-emerged into the open as a UDF activist in the Vaal.

In the mid-80s, he fled to Lesotho to avoid being arrested as part of the Delmas treason trial.

"During that trial, the prosecutor kept on referring to 'the old man'. That old man was me," he says smiling.

Before fleeing the country, he had engineered the rent boycott in the Vaal which started on September 3 1984.

While in Lesotho, the ANC ordered him to migrate to the Transkei to form underground units. It was not an easy assignment as the Matanzima brothers strove to eliminate the liberation movement with a vicious passion.

Camouflage

The energetic Sotsu was able to camouflage his activities by posing as a "farmer" in the rural villages.

Following a number of sabotage acts by MK cadres which claimed several lives, he was arrested by Transkei police along with 19 others.

They were charged with murder and terrorism. However, the State lacked evidence against them and charges were withdrawn.

Yet he was later convicted of terrorism and jailed for five years.

In jail he met Bantu Holomisa, later to become the homeland's military ruler. He was released a year later after Holomisa came to power in a bloodless coup.

Sotsu returned to Boipatong to agitate for the ousting of the local council in 1989.

He said most councillors identified themselves with the warlords based at Kwamadala and other hostels.

During the ANC conference in Durban last year, Sotsu learned of an attack on his home.

His wife, a daughter and a grandson had been killed in a hail of bullets pumped out by men believed to be from Kwamadala.

"It would be a waste of time to rebuild my house now because I know there are people who want to see me dead," he says from his room at the pro-ANC Sebokeng hostel.

"I am a reverend in the Church of God. I am a man of peace and that is the reason why I am in the struggle for liberation. However, to be peaceful does not mean giving up our right to self defence," says the man who has been dubbed the spiritual leader of the Vaal.

We'll help disband MK, says Inkatha

STAR 2017192

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday called for Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to be disbanded by September 14 — the anniversary of the signing of the National Peace Accord — and said the IFP would do all it could to ensure this happened.

The IFP also said it would encourage communities to form "self-protection" units in accordance with the accord, and that it would call on all its members to withdraw membership fees from any Cosatu-affiliated union immediately in the light of the labour federation's mass action campaign.

In a resolution adopted at the IFP's annual general conference in Ulundi, Inkatha said MK — the ANC's armed wing — was a com-

mon denominator in all political violence.

The IFP further called for the peace accord to be given "teeth".

In the same resolution, the IFP said it would instruct its national chairman to lay a formal complaint with the National Peace Committee, charging ANC president Nelson Mandela with violating the accord.

Because of Mr Mandela's alleged violations, a planned meeting of signatories to the accord on July 30 had become impossible, the IFP added.

The resolution also said the IFP would investigate the possibility of seeking legal redress through the courts for "hideous violations on personal integrity and rights". — Sapa.



How come huge ANC arms cache was left behind?

STAR 28/7/92

(S4A) (P)

ABOUT the only thing that seems certain about the ANC arms cache uncovered in Angola is that the weapons will never be fired in anger. What the world will never know, probably, is how they evaded the prohibition on such caches and what the ANC intended to do with them.

When the Angola-Namibia peace accord was signed in New York in 1988 the presence of the weapons on Angolan soil became illegal and they were supposed to have been moved out of the country along with the ANC forces that had been based there.

MK's other armaments were moved to Tanzania and Uganda but somehow the arms cache in question was left behind. Technically, its continued presence in Angola is an indictment against the MPLA government's failure to fully implement the New York agreement, but nobody seems to be getting their underwear in a knot about that.

But why the arms were left behind in the first place remains a pertinent question. Surely not by accident; you don't accidentally overlook a cache of thousands of firearms, large quantities of ammunition and even some armoured vehicles (tanks, according to some accounts, and MK did not exactly have a surplus of tanks).

It is essentially an academic issue now, for there was little chance that the weapons could ever have been moved out of Angola and deployed by MK against the SADF or SAP after 1988. For that they would have had to be transported through Namibia or through Zambia and then Zimbabwe or Botswana and none of these countries is likely to have allowed such an exercise.

Could it be that MK simply wanted to have something available with which to stage a victory parade down Church Street in Pretoria after the ANC had won power through the ballot box?

If so, MK leader Joe Modise must have forgotten to tell ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who at first denied the existence of the cache only to be contradicted by Mr Modise.

It seems that we are no more likely to be told all about the

Out of Africa
GERALD L'ANGE



cache by the ANC than we are likely to be told by the International Freedom Foundation who leaked to it the information that enabled it to reveal the existence of the weapons.

What will happen to the weapons now? Most likely they will quietly be absorbed into the arsenals of the new joint army that the MPLA and Unita are supposed to be forming after having agreed to end their long civil war and resolve their power struggle through elections.

MK and the SADF are supposed to be doing something similar: examining the formation of a combined army after the politicians have worked out a new dispensation for South Africa. If MK and the SADF are in tune with developments in the rest of Africa they will be thinking in terms of a smaller armed force than either of them has been trying to build up in the past.

There are signs that militarism is on the wane in Africa, where popular opinion is that scarce funds should be spent on essential economic development rather than on unnecessary armies.

There has hardly been a single instance when an African army has had to repel an invasion from a neighbouring state. Rather the armies have tended to be used by dictators to suppress democracy or they have seized power for themselves.

In general, Africa has been ill-served by its armed forces and their record as protectors of the people and defenders of democracy has been abysmally bad.

Given the propensity of South Africans to use violence to promote group interests, it may be naive to expect that it will be any different here. But that doesn't necessarily mean we should abandon hope. For a start, perhaps we might expect MK to publicly abandon that arms cache in Angola. □

late
ved
A
prod
feel
to
re
sic
Sta
p
R
unt
ir
it
he
ere
sh
it
er
it
ng
p
st
he
ve
u-
al
on
u-

News in brief

841

Azanla says it burnt cars

ABOUT 10 vehicles - six belonging to the Lebowa government - were set alight at Seshego on Sunday in an apparent revenge attack by the Azanian Liberation Army, the armed wing of Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

An anonymous caller yesterday said the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement had claimed responsibility for the incident, adding that the organisation was "engaging the enemy" for jailing its cadres.

Three Azanla members on Friday were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for a bomb attack on a Transvaal Provincial Administration camp outside Potgietersrus.

Author dies in his sleep

AUTHOR and top educationist Mr Isaac

Sowetan 28/7/92

Mass mobilisation bodes ill for negotiations, writes Stanley Uys from London

Playing the one-card hand

84A

STAR 30/7/92

WHEN the ANC returned from exile in 1990 it had three cards to play: mass mobilisation; the armed struggle; and international opinion, which included sanctions. Now it has only one card left — mass mobilisation.

The armed struggle is a dead duck, unless the ANC returns to making South Africa ungovernable, in which case it will have to abandon negotiating its way to power and, ultimately, after more long years in the wilderness, inherit a wasteland.

As for international opinion, here the game has changed. The pace-setters in international opinion are the industrialised nations, who feel they have escaped at last from the years-long role of periodically pronouncing moral judgments on Pretoria. Their interest now is to play a conciliatory role, not to put either side in the dock.

This change has been strikingly evident in the past few weeks. The

ANC secured a Security Council debate and an experienced UN envoy, Cyrus Vance, was duly despatched to South Africa, but the mission was to reconcile the parties, not to nail Pretoria to the cross. The British government played a key role in steering the Security Council in this direction, but major objectors were few and far between.

Even Africa cannot be relied on any longer to support the ANC unquestioningly. Officially, the OAU still awaits the ANC's signal to allow South Africa to return to the African community, but member states are defaulting at a rate of knots. Governments like Kenya, Nigeria and Cameroon have publicly snubbed the ANC by refusing to keep their distance from Pretoria.

Even publications usually sympathetic to the ANC acknowledge that its victory at the UN was pyrrhic. The resolution drafted by Zimbabwe on behalf of the OAU

was rewritten to tone it down. The New York correspondent of an ANC-sympathetic publication, while pointing out that racism in South Africa is still a powerful issue in the US and that several dozen speakers queued to speak in the Security Council debate, wrote:

"With the West giving unqualified approval of Pretoria's progress, the South African Government has come in from the cold in international terms. The calls by Western diplomats for negotiations are addressed to the ANC as much as calls for the ending of violence are directed at De Klerk."

Even Chief Buthelezi, the correspondent said, succeeded in raising his world profile, while "South Africa, for the first time in recent history, secured speaking rights for Buthelezi as well as a string of other loyal supporters ranging from Solidarity's Dr J N Reddy to Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo".

Another sympathetic (London) publication reported that UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his staff are "unwilling to continue the UN role as an advocate for the liberation movements... (They) have effectively sidelined the UN Centre Against Apartheid, which since the 1960s has taken the lead in UN activities on South Africa".

An international hearing on violence in South Africa, convened in London in mid-July by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and co-sponsored by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, rallied most of the faithful (but few Western government representatives), and presented a solid case on violence. But when the final resolution was sent to the Security Council, it disappeared among the other supplications.

Two important points should be noted. One is that most of the world is no longer interested in

reimposing sanctions as an instrument to control Pretoria's behaviour. Another is that although the UN and Western governments are ready to respond on the violence issue, it is because they are deeply concerned about it themselves, not because they acknowledge the ANC's moral high ground.

Where does all this leave the ANC? Only with mass mobilisation, currently being implemented through mass action. Cyril Ramaphosa describes mass action as a "rolling" campaign, but can the ANC ride the horses of both mass action and negotiations? Professor Lawrence Schlemmer expresses it rather well, I think:

"To the extent that the ANC has realistic anxieties about a loss of symbolic status and leverage in negotiations, it will continue to adopt strategies outside negotiations which generate reactions (by the IFP or the authorities) and, in turn, become impediments for negotiation for the ANC itself. The



strategic situation of the ANC, therefore, is trapping it in contradictions."

What lessons can be learnt from events of past weeks in South Africa? One is that negotiations will never be the same again. Bilateral talks between the ANC and the Government, and Codesa itself until the final stumbling block was reached, flowed exceptionally smoothly, too smoothly, because the meetings were between elites. What mass action has done, whether intentionally or not, has been to democratise ANC involvement in negotiations, and consequently make agreements so much more difficult to reach.

The other lesson is that it is not in the Government's interests to force the ANC to continue to play its last card of mass mobilisation. The longer the ANC engages in mass action, the more the country can kiss goodbye to fruitful negotiations. Along this route lies only tears. □

NEWS

Witness disappears after promising to testify against friends ● Cops promise peace

Cops shown Apla OFS arms cache

Sowetan 31/7/92
Cops uncover arms while investigating murder:

AN arms cache of two AK-47 rifles, a Scorpion machine pistol, ammunition and four Chinese handgrenades were pointed out by an Apla cadre, the Bloemfontein Regional Court heard yesterday.

Two police officers testified that an Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre, who they identified as Mr Ledogang John May, took them to a house in Mangaung township where they found the arms cache.

Sergeant AP Muller told the court that the house belonged to a Mr Velile Phillips, an alleged member of the Pan Africanist Congress. Apla is the PAC's armed wing.

Muller claimed Phillips, who was in detention at the time, disappeared after

his release from police custody although he had promised to give evidence against Mr Velile May (20), another accused in the trial.

May and Mr William Mxhosana (23) have pleaded not guilty to a charge of attempting to murder three policemen on December 14 last year.

They also face alternative counts of malicious damage to property and unlawful possession of weapons, ammunition and explosives.

The second police officer, Captain Jacobus Bestler, told the court that May and Mxhosana were arrested on December 19 last year, five days after Apla had launched armed attacks on two police stations in Mangaung.

The case is proceeding. - Sapa.

844

S-30
ie
m
s-
a
r-
s-
id
d
ll
y
t
a
e

New legislation on intimidation

84A
TIM COHEN

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

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

The schedule effectively includes AK-47s, hand grenades, rocket launchers, mortars and mines. A minimum five-year prison term will be imposed if a person is convicted of committing an offence with a weapon possessed unlawfully. *BIDA 3/8/92*

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

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

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

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

Numsa workers jump strike gun

BIDA 3/8/92

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

199
192

DIRK HARTFORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANC units out of control - Hani

Soweto 3/8/92

■ **MILITANT MENACE** ANC members of self-

defence units are running amok in the townships:

AFRICAN National Congress militants were running riot in black townships and committing atrocities among their own communities, a top ANC official said in a newspaper yesterday.

ANC leader and South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani said in the interview that ANC "self-defence unit" members were out of control and "had no conception of democratic tolerance".

ANC self-defence units have

been cropping up in townships since the onset of severe political violence.

Their ostensible purpose is to protect township residents from attacks by mystery assailants, often linked to the ANC's bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Hani is reported as saying that the SDUs are involved in bloody battles among themselves for political turf, that they are unaccountable to the communities they are supposed to represent, and that ANC members in Soweto, Johannes-

burg, and in the troubled townships of the Vaal Triangle had "necklaced" political opponents.

Police liaison officer for the Vaal, Captain Piet van Deventer, reported that 18 alleged members of a self-defence unit in the Sharpeville township in the strife-torn Vaal Triangle were arrested on Friday morning.

The 18, who were being held in terms of unrest regulations, were arrested after two houses were searched and police discovered two army uniforms.

248

84A

147

'Special treatment' for armed wing

Govt, ANC struck deal on Umkhonto

B/DAY 7/18/92.

84A

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had concluded a deal on the status of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe which effectively excluded it from the provisions of the national peace accord, according to a senior ANC official.

The agreement on close co-operation on the supplies, activities and existence of Umkhonto was disclosed in documents submitted to the national peace committee by ANC national executive committee member Sydney Mufumadi. The agreement is an elaboration of the DF Malan Accord dealing with the armed struggle.

The national peace committee is examining Umkhonto's existence at the request of Inkatha, which has demanded that it be disbanded by next month. Inkatha, which argues that Umkhonto is a "private army" and therefore subject to the peace accord, has asked the committee to refer Umkhonto's continued existence to arbitration.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi pulled out of a summit meeting with peace accord signatories President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela partly because Umkhonto continued to exist a year after the peace accord was signed. The peace committee meets again today to prepare for the summit.

Mufumadi's submission was made in February this year when Inkatha was refusing to sign a code of conduct for the security forces because Umkhonto continued to exist. It provided details of an ANC-government agreement on Umkhonto and its weapons which had previously been

PATRICK BULGER

rejected as speculation by both parties. Mufumadi said Umkhonto was keeping to the letter and spirit of the peace accord "notwithstanding the fact that its continued existence and operations are regulated by bilateral agreement and hence fall outside the accord".

He said in his document: "The existence of Umkhonto and the extent of its continued operations are matters covered by existing bilateral agreements between the ANC and government.

"The matters covered by these agreements and negotiations fall outside the scope of the peace accord as expressly provided for in the opening chapter of the accord which states: 'This Accord will not be construed so as to detract from the validity of bilateral agreements between any of the signatories.'

"Although the existence, function and operations of Umkhonto continue to be regulated by the bilateral accords, these will also be the proper subject of discussions at Codesa."

According to Mufumadi, a working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle two years ago, had agreed, among other things, "to process of informing the government of the extent and nature of arms under its control. Such arms and ordinances will be placed under the joint control of any transitional authority and Umkhonto upon the formation of an interim government. Umkhonto will be

□ To Page 2

Umkhonto

B/DAY 7/18/92.

84A

□ From Page 1

disbanded upon the completion of the process of transition to a democratic constitution."

Mufumadi submitted that Inkatha was aware of the agreement when it was involved with peace accord negotiations.

"The existence of Umkhonto and the exclusion of matters covered by the (agreement) were explicitly dealt with during the negotiations of the accord. The

IFP was represented during the negotiation of the accord.

"The reference to private armies in the accord plainly emanates from the signatories' desire to regulate self-protection units. The existence of Umkhonto falls outside the discussion of such units," Mufumadi said.

Government has indicated it intends dealing with the issue of Umkhonto in its deliberations with the ANC on prisoners.

Fall in, ANC tells self-defence units

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

84A

THE African National Congress this week began a top-level probe into reports that self-defence units, including fighters from Umkhonto weSizwe, had run amok in various townships around the country.

"An internal commission of inquiry is sitting at this moment and taking evidence from members of rival self-defence units in the Vaal townships and will make urgent recommendations direct to Nelson Mandela about how to deal with this problem," said Tokyo Sexwale, chairman of the ANC's powerful PWV region.

Sexwale said the commission, administered by the office of ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, would examine evidence that members of an ANC-run unit in Sebokeng was responsible for the murder of a union shop steward and other killings in the township earlier this year.

The commission will also consider strong recommendations from Chris Hani, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, about the need to impose discipline and political control over maverick elements that have taken over defence units in various parts of the country.

Hani urges that recruitment of members for these units be carried out with much more caution and that political organisations "must be seen to be punishing people who act contrary to the aims and objectives of the democratic movement and of the self-defence units".

Other proposals include:

- The need to establish political control and a clear line of command over the units. "I have heard of examples where some self-defence units have tried to exact a special tax on business people with some implied consumer boycott if they don't comply. Political organisations must curb any such tendency immediately."

- Strong action against members who use weapons to settle private disputes. *The Weekly Mail* has reported cases where former MK fighters have attacked, and killed, other activists during jealous tiffs over women.

- "Weapons in the hands of defence units must never be used to settle political differences ... even if leadership has become extremely unpopular the only way to settle political differences is through the proper democratic chan-

has taken a very strong stand against the barbaric method of killing by necklacing," says Hani.

"Some elements have used defence units to obstruct the police when the police have been engaged in justifiable crime prevention activities. Defence units must never be seen to be sheltering criminals."

Most of these proposals have been outlined in a recent edition of the SACP journal, *Umsebenzi*. While making frank criticisms of some self-defence units, both Hani and Sexwale believe the units cannot be disbanded.

"There can be no question that the formation of these units has contributed to saving many lives in a situation of escalating violence," said Hani.

Sexwale notes that the police have lost all credibility in most townships around the country and that residents, faced with a huge increase in violence since the unbanning of the ANC, will arm themselves to protect themselves.

"Unless we try and give them some form of direction, chaos will reign," said Sexwale.

However, provisions of the National Peace Accord — which prohibit political parties from having their own armed units — have made it difficult for the ANC to exert the amount of discipline required to control the units.

"The National Peace Accord has forced us to leave the running of self-defence units to members of the community who often lack military and political experience. This opens the situation to a number of elements who are not subject to our discipline," said Sexwale.

"Ideally, the security forces should protect the people, or at least co-operate with the self-defence units in providing some kind of law and order in the townships. But with the existing police force this can never happen. Instead, they go around kicking down doors, kicking around peoples' jaws and pushing old women around."

Sexwale said that if the commission found evidence that members of the self-defence units were involved in murder and other serious crimes they would be expelled from the organisation.

EXCLUSIVE

EWATHE PLOT

We're ready to take out ANC torturers, says squad of revenge exiles

By S'BU MNGADI

Bring the ANC leaders and cadres to justice or we will immediately proceed with our assassination campaign.

A NEWLY launched body known as the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has drawn up a programme to assassinate leading ANC members.

In shock disclosures to City Press this week, it was revealed that the group, consisting mostly of former ANC detainees who broke away from the movement, intend working hand-in-hand with the Askaris.

The chilling scheme is designed as a vendetta against high-ranking ANC leaders and cadres implicated in atrocities in ANC detention camps outside the country.

The REC's assassination threat comes barely a week after an attempt

was made on the life of the ageing Harry Gwala, ANC's Natal Midlands chief. Gwala managed to escape injury after his car was shot at during the mass action march in Edendale on Tuesday.

Two weeks ago there was another assassination attempt on SACP general-secretary Chris Hani. The former Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) chief-of-staff has been implicated in numerous torture claims in ANC detention camps.

In an interview with City Press at the Lindelani squatter camp, chairman of the newly formed group Pat Hlongwane said his organisation together with Askaris (turned former guerrillas of both MK and the Azanian Liberation Army) were on the verge of declaring war on the ANC.

Hlongwane, 33, revealed that about 200 Askaris and REC members had

undergone "re-training" in Israel. They have all regrouped around the greater Durban area.

"The bulk of our members arrived back in Durban yesterday, fully re-trained in guerrilla warfare and intelligence to afford us security to face the full might of the ANC," he said.

Hlongwane refused to say where in Durban the trained soldiers were based, citing security reasons.

Following the formation of the organisation last year, the Askaris asked him to recommend strong REC members to join them in re-training in Israel, Hlongwane claimed.

Some of their trained members formed part of the REC march through the streets of Durban yesterday to welcome the trained returnees.

About 600 people, mostly Inkatha supporting squatters from Lindelani,

marched to the ANC offices yesterday. Former ANC detainees present appeared to be armed.

Speaking to City Press, Hlongwane alleged he was tortured and severely beaten up by members of the ANC security department during his eight years in detention in Africa.

Yesterday's march marked the beginning of the campaign which could culminate in the assassination of ANC leaders and cadres who committed atrocities against detainees in exile, he warned.

Phase two, the former ANC guerrilla said, would entail a commission of inquiry into atrocities in ANC detention camps appointed by the rightwing Washington DC-based International Freedom Foundation.

"If the commission fails to bring the

■ To Page 2

P.T.O.

STAR 10/8/92

84A

IFP identifies blast victim

Police confirmed last night that on Friday they found body parts of an unidentified man who had been blown to bits outside Ratanda township, near Heidelberg.

West Rand police liaison officer Major Henriette Bester said police suspected that the man had been carrying a limpet mine that exploded.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Themba Khoza yesterday named the

man as Welcome Khanyile, the organisation's secretary in Ratanda. Major Bester said the man had not yet been identified.

Mr Themba said Mr Khanyile was last seen alive on July 30 when he was taken, allegedly by police, for questioning from his work in Heidelberg.

Major Bester said she could not comment on the allegations because

the identity of the dead man was not known to the police.

A pair of plastic gloves was found on the scene, Mr Khoza said. It was unlikely the ANC was involved in the death, he added.

Mr Khoza said the IFP in Ratanda would march on the local police station to demand an explanation from the police on the circumstances surrounding Mr Khanyile's death. — Sapa.

UN call for inquiry gets wide backing

By Peter Fabricius and Helen Grange

STAR 11/8/92

The National Party and other major political players have backed the United Nations' call for a probe by the Goldstone Commission into the security forces, the KwaZulu Police and the ANC and PAC's military wings.

But it emerged yesterday that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a general amnesty to encourage members of these organisations to testify about unlawful conduct would be controversial.

Concern has been expressed that a pre-emptive amnesty would provide an escape route for those responsible for the killing of high-profile activists such as the Cradock UDF leader Matthew Goniwe.

The ANC and Democratic Party want full disclosure of the detail of any crimes by members of the security forces who may receive amnesty or indemnity.

Backing recommendations in a report by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Judge Goldstone said in a weekend statement that unless the SA Police and SA Defence Force were fully investigated "they will have no prospect of receiving the trust ... of the South African public".

Yesterday National Party security spokesman Hennie Smit said the NP supported in princi-

ple Mr Boutros-Ghali's call for a probe.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC national working committee would study the proposals before reacting.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said yesterday that the PAC would react fully once it had read Mr Boutros-Ghali's report.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr Justice Goldstone's call for a probe.

He said that a finding by a person of Judge Goldstone's "high authority" would convincingly settle the issue of alleged security force involvement in violence.

IFP spokesman Walter Felgate said that although the Goldstone Commission had no real grounds for probing the KwaZulu Police, the KwaZulu government would not refuse to co-operate.

In another statement yesterday, Judge Goldstone explained his weekend statement that a general amnesty would assist an inquiry into security forces and political armies.

He said amnesty for political prisoners would encourage members of all organisations to come forward and disclose any unlawful conduct in which they may have been involved.

Mr Justice Goldstone offered his assistance in working out the amnesty details.

The ANC and the Government have already held discussions on the issue of political prisoners, where the idea of a general amnesty has been raised.

I killed policeman, says 'Lion of Apla forces'

STAR 12/8/92

Staff Reporter and Sapa

A caller identifying himself as the "Lion of the Apla forces" yesterday claimed responsibility for the killing of a municipal policeman in Katlehong on the East Rand on Monday.

Apla — the Azanian People's Liberation Army — is the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, whose officials last night met top Government representatives to discuss the negotiations process.

Police yesterday said municipal policeman Constable J de Wet Moloi (55) was killed by two unknown gunmen in Katlehong on Monday.

Constable Moloi, who died on the scene, was also robbed of his 9 mm firearm.

Also early on Monday, a northern Cape policeman, Constable Jan Appelgryn (22), who was doing duty in Sharpeville, was shot and injured in front of the township's police station.

In a call lasting only about 20 seconds, the alleged Apla caller also claimed responsibility for the killing of policemen in other areas, such as Kagiso. He did not elaborate.

Reacting to the caller's claim, SAP Witwatersrand spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the police had taken note of what had been said "as well as the fact that Apla has publicly said war has been declared against the police".

According to the police unrest report yesterday, three other people died on Monday night.

One man was shot dead by the police after gunmen opened fire on policemen in Ivory Park

squatter camp near Tembisa.

The body of a man was found in the same area, and police also found the body of a man who had been shot in Katlehong.

Police said they also arrested 19 people after a group shot at a vehicle in the same area.

In Kempton Park a group of 8 000 yesterday staged a protest march to the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court where they burnt the South African flag.

In Natal, two people were killed in political fighting in Port Shepstone's Murchison township on Monday night, bringing the death toll there since weekend clashes to at least 12, police said.

A delegation of Natal church leaders, African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party officials, and the SAP are scheduled to meet in Murchison today in a bid to begin peace talks.

Man with a difficult mission

■ Returned Exiles Committee chairman Patrick Hlongwane makes many people feel uneasy:

Sowetan 12/8/92

By Ruth Bhengu

THE chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee (REC), Mr Patrick Hlongwane, is a man with a mission.

The only problem is that his mission makes many people uneasy.

In fact most South Africans, including the ANC and the South African Government, would rather he vanished into thin air.

Hlongwane (33) startled television viewers again on Sunday night when he announced that his organisation would hound members of the ANC and kill them if they were not brought to book for the atrocities he alleged they committed in their prison camps.

He also told the *Sowetan* that his organisation would team up with anyone who is anti-communist and anti-ANC to bring the ANC to its knees.

Hlongwane, who has been given refuge by the Inkatha Freedom Party at Lindelani, says he is not a member of the organisation but he will fight to protect the "Zulu nation".

"The ANC and its allies are involved in a conspiracy to eliminate the Zulu nation. They are afraid that Zulus will outnumber them. We will

do anything to protect Zulus," said Hlongwane.

This seems to be a diversion from his usual fiery speeches on human rights. Since he and 31 other ANC dissidents came back to the country in February last year, Hlongwane has campaigned vigorously to get leaders like Chris Hani, Joe Mabuza and Joe Nhlanhla to be brought to court and tried for what he calls "crimes against humanity".

‘The ANC and its allies are involved in a conspiracy to eliminate the Zulu nation’

He has lobbied human rights organisations to open an inquiry into the ANC detention camps in Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda.

The ANC has appointed its own commission of inquiry into its prison camps headed by Advocate Louis Skweyiya.

Hlongwane's REC wants an inde-

pendent inquiry. One of the organisations making arrangements for an independent commission of inquiry is the International Freedom Forum based in Washington.

Hlongwane says he will not rest until his former captors have been punished. He insists that he was not a South African Government spy when he left the country and was arrested by the ANC.

"I left the country because I was opposed to the Freedom Charter and I wanted to meet Oliver Tambo. Instead I was thrown into detention camps and accused of being an enemy agent. I was tortured over and over," said Hlongwane.

"In 1990 I went on a hunger strike for 31 days and had to be taken to a military hospital in Uganda. Thereafter I appeared before a tribunal and was sentenced to 18 years hard labour," he said.

Hlongwane was, however, released soon after and sent home.

The ANC's Mr Saki Macozoma describes Hlongwane as "some kind of a loony".

"I know him well because he comes from the same area as I do in Port Elizabeth."

TOMORROW: A survivor of the torture describes his ordeal with Angolan ants.

NEWS ANALYSIS ANC detainees vow action against torturers • TV viewers startled by threats

Attempt on Hani denied

By Ruth Bhengu
Investigations Staff

REVENGE MISSION Chief Patrick

Hlongwane says there are attempts to kill

members of the Returned Exile Committee,

who have moved to wipe out ANC leaders:

Sowetan 12/8/92

"If there is anyone in the ANC who can kill us, it is Lawrence. He knows our faces and our real names."

"He transported us from Zambia to Angola's Novasta La Sau. He was responsible for the prison where Wynand du Toit was held."

"Lawrence is also highly trained and vicious. He is looking for us but we are also looking for him," said Hlongwane.

Hlongwane claimed his committee had received information from its



Chris Hanl ... Returned exiles want him punished.

FORMER ANC detainees who have vowed to kill their former captors have denied responsibility for recent assassination attempts on some of the organisation's leaders.

Instead they have charged the organisation with trying to "wipe them out".

Chairman of the Natal based Returned Exiles Committee (REC) Mr Patrick Hlongwane said the ANC had appointed a former head of the security forces in Angola, known only as Lawrence, to lead a hit squad to assassinate all members of his organisation.

"I don't know what Lawrence's real name is but I know that he was Alfred Nzo's bodyguard and was head of security in Luanda until 1988."

Sowetan 12/8/92

sources within the ANC. He said they were Bongani Malinga and Nhlantla Mchunu, two former prisoners who briefly denounced the ANC but later returned to the organisation.

Hlongwane has said the REC recently formed a military wing which will wipe out ANC leaders who participated in or ordered their torture in detention camps.

Responding to whether REC was involved in the recent attempts on the lives of ANC's Harry Gwala and the SACP's Chris Hanl, Hlongwane said when his organisa-



Harry Gwala

tion embarked on any "operation" they would take responsibility for it.

The ANC's Natal Midlands chief, Gwala, managed to escape injury after his car was shot at during the mass action march in Edendale on Tuesday. Two weeks ago the SACP general secretary, Hanl, survived an assassination attempt.

ANC nod
STAR 8/9
to camps
13/8/92
inquiry

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The ANC has given the Goldstone Commission and the South African Council of Churches permission to investigate its camps outside South Africa.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela disclosed this on Tuesday night while speaking in Umtata.

He said the ANC had undertaken to approach the governments of countries where ANC camps are based so that the commission could investigate them.

He welcomed a call by Mr Justice Goldstone for a thorough probe of the South African Police, SA Defence Force and liberation movements' military wings.

The National Party and Democratic Party have already welcomed the call for a probe.

In an apparent attempt to reassure the businessmen who filled the hall, Mr Mandela promised that the establishment of an interim government would end mass action.

An exile at home

By Ruth Bhengu

2303
844
80 weeks
13/8/92
NO RETURN Forbidden

home is 10 minutes away:

CHARLETON MAVUNDLA is recuperating from a hernia operation. A few months ago, he received treatment for his kidneys which he says are "giving in". Under normal circumstances Mavundla would be at home enjoying the loving concern of family and friends. But Mavundla has not lived a normal life for four years.

After surviving three years in ANC detention camps in Mozambique, Zambia and Uganda, he came home to be exiled again.

A group of people he identifies as Umkhonto we Sizwe members told him he had 12 hours to leave town because he had exposed the ANC.

Mavundla is a dissident from the ANC. His only ambition is to see to it that officials of the organisation who ordered his torture and that of other former prisoners of the ANC are brought to book.

He is one of the Returned Exiles Committee members who have sought refuge at the offices of an Inkatha official in Lindelani township a few kilometres from his parents' house.

12 hours to leave

"It would not take me 10 minutes to walk home but I can't go there. My family cannot come here because it would not be safe," says Mavundla.

"Two days after I had arrived home from Uganda, a group of MK members came and told me I had 12 hours to leave the township. They said I had exposed the ANC," he said.

The Durban-born Mavundla left South Africa for Swaziland in 1987 to join the ANC.

He later went to Mozambique where he was questioned extensively about his activities in South Africa.

"They told me they suspected I was a captain in the SAP security branch. I was told to write down all the names of the South African agents I knew."

"They started to hit me and insisted that I admit I was an agent of the South African Government. Later they tortured me again in Lusaka in a safe house where I was asked

to write another biography."

Later he was transferred to Quatro in Angola where he was made to: Squat on the floor carrying a 60 litre steam pot for hours while beaten with a sjambok; given pork fat to smear on his body and left in the bush to be eaten by ants; kept in isolation for three weeks, the only contact with human beings being in torture sessions; kept in a dark room where leaking pipes flooded the room.

While the dissidents see themselves as the injured parties, the ANC dismisses them as sellouts who have allowed themselves to be used by the Government.



Charleton Mavundla ... survived three years in ANC detention camps.

You can't understand
the **BLUES**
if you've never been

NEWS IN BRIEF

ANC probe completed

A COMMISSION of inquiry appointed by the ANC to probe allegations of atrocities in its former camps in Tanzania and Uganda has finished hearing evidence.

The commission will present its report and recommendations to ANC president Nelson Mandela within the next few weeks.

Durban-based advocate R S Douglas, appointed by the International Freedom Foundation to probe the camps, said yesterday he would begin hearing evidence in Johannesburg later this month.

BIDAY 13/8/92

(112) (24A)

Senior ANC officer

will bear the blame

w/m cil 14/8-20/8/92

A senior African National Congress office-bearer is expected to be named as the chief culprit in the abuse of detainees in exile.

By ANTON HARBER

THE ANC's inquiry into the treatment of detainees in its camps in exile will expose shocking abuses and put the burden of blame on a senior office-bearer currently working in the organisation's headquarters.

Mzwai Piliso, head of human resources for the African National Congress, was chief of security and a national executive committee member when the abuses occurred and has been directly implicated in some of the assaults on prisoners. Piliso said yesterday: "I have no guilty conscience... I carried out instructions as best I could under the circumstances of the time."

However, though the commission of inquiry has been criticised for lack of independence, its report is expected to put pressure on the ANC to take disciplinary action against Piliso.

Piliso was relieved of his post as chief of security and his entire department was closed down at the ANC's 1985 conference in Kabwe, Tanzania, after the allegations of abuse of prisoners began to emerge. But no further action was taken against him and he is presently responsible for administering ANC training programmes, and bursary and other study schemes.

The report is expected to clear Piliso's successor, current head of security Joe Nhlamhla, and military leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise of responsibility for the abuses. The evidence that emerged backed their claims that they had "cleaned up" the way the camps were run after taking over from Piliso.

The inquiry was effectively an internal one: it was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and two of the three commissioners are ANC members. It was also hamstrung by the refusal of members of the Returned Exiles Committee, now aligned to Inkatha, to give evidence.

However, there are indications that the commissioners, concerned about their credibility, are

who can say that I did."

The ANC's response to the report will play a critical role in deciding whether the organisation is able to put to rest the controversy over the treatment of detainees, which has plagued the organisation since its unbanning. Already the inquiry has drawn flak from other political organisations and the rightwing International Freedom Foundation has set up its own inquiry under Durban advocate RC Douglas. This inquiry, however, is likely to be seen as no less partial than the ANC one.

Douglas has disputed criticism of his inquiry, saying that the fact that the IFF has instructed him will have no effect on his findings: "The fact that they have initiated it means nothing to me. I will do my job as a professional."

"I am a pretty independent soul. I have done work for the ANC in Natal and made findings favourable to them and unfavourable to Inkatha."

The ANC's inquiry, Douglas said, was fundamentally flawed: "They have breached the fundamental rule that you cannot judge yourself."

Some ANC members, however, believe their own inquiry could present an opportunity to deal with the problem in the way that their counterparts in Namibia never did.

Just this week, Africa Watch of New York released a report stating that Namibia still had not healed the wounds of war because of the reluctance of both Swapo and South Africa to come clean on the abuses of the past.

The ANC is in a comparatively fortunate position in that, unlike Swapo, its most senior leaders — such as Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa — were not in exile at the time and therefore cannot be implicated in any way. They therefore have an interest in putting to rest a problem that is not of their making.

time. We were a movement in struggle and had to confront certain problems. It (the ANC) had to have an attitude towards those things. We are in a different period now," he said.

"Over 500 of our cadres were poisoned in the camps and it was very fortunate that no one died as was intended. Five South African Air Force aeroplanes bombed the place and destroyed every building. This was the situation we were in."

"The commission is important for those who do not understand this setting. For the rest of us, it is of no importance," he said.

Asked his view on a recent admission by Hani that there had been abuses in the camps, Piliso said: "I don't care what he says... If you are convinced in yourself that you carried out instructions as best you can, that is all that matters."

Asked if he feared disciplinary action, he replied: "If you had a certain responsibility given to you by the movement, if you believe you did everything possible to do that successfully, what happens afterwards does not really matter. I am convinced I did as best as I could under the conditions that pertained at the time."

About whether he regretted what he had done in the camps, he said: "I have no guilty conscience." Asked if it was true that he had personally taken part in physical abuse, he said: "I don't think there is a single one of them (detainees)



NEW CONTROVERSY OVER TORTURE IN ANC CAMP...

RETURNED exiles committee leader Patrick Hlongwane is a bitter man on a personal vendetta. Bent on making the African National Congress pay for the harsh treatment he received in its detention camps, Hlongwane this week appeared on television threatening to assassinate high-ranking officials and cadres in retaliation for atrocities committed in the camps.

He is also furious about the "false allegations" of his being a police spy.

But the ANC has a documented confession which paints a very different picture.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail* this week Hlongwane said the "confession", which claims to reveal the true extent of his police connections, was given while he was "under pressure" because he feared for his life—"I wanted to satisfy them." He gave his interrogators "information I knew they would believe".

"They think they are intelligent but they are in fact stupid."

He has challenged the ANC to make its intelligence report available to a commission or neutral body made up of, among others, Amnesty International, the South African Council of Churches, the United Nations, International Freedom Foundation and the Organisation for African Unity.

He was also "willing to point out the graves of those murdered by the ANC in exile, which has already been admitted to by the ANC through (Umkhonto weSizwe) chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda."

Then—he believes—all the allegations ever made about him will backfire in the ANC's face. "It has backfired already," he said, referring to the admission by Nyanda and South African Communist Party general secretary and former Umkhonto weSizwe commander, Chris Hani, of camp atrocities.

Hlongwane said he had "offered his life" to organisations such as the Port Elizabeth Black Congress (Pebco) in 1979, eventually becoming an organiser. However, the ANC document reports that Pebco was just one of the organisa-

A returnnee tells why he can't forgive the ANC

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

Accused of being a police spy, returned exile Patrick Hlongwane counters that his confession was forced out of him when he was tortured in an African National Congress camp. By LINDA RULASHE

tions he infiltrated in the eastern Cape.

He is guilt-ridden, believing that his mother died in a 1985 petrol bomb attack by comrades "because of my political involvement. She was never involved in politics", he said.

He lays the blame squarely on the ANC, saying: "I don't care if I was to die at the hands of the ANC, because their hands are full of my mother's blood."

Fuelling allegations of police collusion, the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has set up offices in Lindelani outside Durban at the residence of Inkatha leader Thomas Shabalala who has been "sympathetic" to their plight.

Born in Port Elizabeth where it is alleged most of his work as an operative took place, Hlongwane said he was not willing to reveal his background because he feared that part of his life would be distorted by the media.

"Besides, I do not see why I should go back as my mother was killed following instructions by the ANC." He sarcastically added: "If you want to know more, go to the ANC."

The little he would reveal was that he joined the South African Students Movement while schooling in Port Elizabeth and is "a product of black consciousness".

Talking about his time in ANC camps—of which he says he still bears the political scars—Hlongwane said he was made to take off his clothes and stand in a cell for the whole night in water up to his waist.

"The next day, my left hand was put in boiling tar and I was burnt with hot tea. There were times when I was punished with no water or food for three days.

"Shots were fired next to me and I was then forced to sign the confession."

Hlongwane said he was later transferred to Novasthasau, the central prison in Luanda, Angola where he was kept for three weeks on death row.

When transferred to an ANC safe house, he said he witnessed police spy Olivia Forsyth being "treated as a slave."

"We couldn't communicate but I am prepared

to testify that she was beaten up day and night. She was ill treated like me. I read about her after she escaped," he said.

Hlongwane said he was again transferred to Quatro in the northern part of Angola where he was "deprived of his right to get food, movement and to voice my feelings.

"We used to eat half-cooked beans from Cuba, rotten miele-meal from the Soviet Union and were forced to eat monkeys, snakes and dogs."

Hlongwane has sent letters to the Goldstone Commission and the state president, calling for a meeting to explain why he made his assassination threat.

"Over 200 parents who are looking for their children have come to me since last year December," he said.

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF), a fighting Washington-based pressure group, has claimed that more than 500 people were still being held in these camps and that detainees had been tortured or executed. In July, the organisation instructed advocate RS Douglas to conduct an inquiry into alleged torture, murder and other human rights violations in these camps.

Douglas, who has consulted various organisations such as Amnesty International and Red Cross International, said he would be hearing evidence from the end of August.

"Maybe then the truth will come out and justice will be done."

Hlongwane said if that failed to bring ANC cadres "to justice", REC's men would start their own assassination campaign as threatened. He announced last weekend that 200 former exiles had undergone training in Israel and had infiltrated ANC ranks around Durban.

His threats have been linked to recent assassination attempts of fiery ANC Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala, who escaped death after gunmen fired on his car in Edendale near Maritzburg last Tuesday. His deputy, Reggie Hadebe, was wounded in another gun attack on a funeral in which an ANC official was killed nearly two weeks ago.

3

ANC's torture chief named

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



*Camps probe that Mandela ordered
uncovers widespread abuses ...
and pins blame on a key official*

THE African National Congress' inquiry into the treatment of detainees in its camps in exile has uncovered evidence of shocking abuses, for which it blames a senior headquarters official.

Ex-security chief Mzwai Piliso, a former national executive committee member, has been directly implicated in some of the assaults on prisoners.

The inquiry was appointed late last year by ANC president Nelson Mandela, following widely published allegations of torture in the exile camps.

The report, to be submitted to Mandela next week, is expected to clear military leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise of responsibility for abuses. The evidence that emerged indicated they had "cleaned up" the camps after taking over from Piliso.

PAGE 5

(77A) (86A) (25)

PAC army to meet police

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army and the Police and Prison Officials' Union will hold talks on the killing of policemen, Popcru general secretary Peter Nkuna said yesterday.

The meeting will take place in Zimbabwe or Tanzania early in September.

Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, regularly claims responsibility for attacks on policemen in South African townships.

Sowetan 14/8/92

We never trained anti-ANC group, says

THE Israeli ambassador to South Africa has dismissed claims made by Returned Exiles Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane that his "army" of 200 former guerrillas was trained in Israel.

The "army" is reportedly ready and waiting to assassinate ANC leaders.

"The allegations by the REC's Pat Hlongwane that members of his Askaris have undergone training in Israel are totally false," said ambassador Zvi Gov-Ari. "Whatever the reasons, in-

JOE LOUW

tentions or motivations behind these allegations, Israel distances itself from them."

Hlongwane, a controversial 33-year-old returnee who has said he was detained and tortured repeatedly by the ANC while in exile, dropped a bombshell during a TV interview last week when he said his organisation was intent on killing ANC leaders if they were not brought to book for alleged atrocities in prison camps.

The police said yesterday they had completed an investigation into his threats and had handed TV recordings of his utterances to the Attorney-General.

This week Hlongwane repeated the threats to the Saturday Star — and revealed a possible connection with the Inkatha Freedom Party by speaking from the stronghold of IFP national committee member Thomas Mandla Tshabalala, who he said was "my friend, my comrade and my father".

Hlongwane refused to comment on the Israeli Embassy's denial of his claims. "I have support from all over the world," he said, "and I will work with anybody who is anti-communist and anti-ANC."

Hlongwane admitted having received aid from the International Freedom Foundation, a right-wing organisation based in Washington.

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, one of the leaders mentioned by Hlongwane, said he was "a fool, but a dangerous fool".

ANC sources say Hlongwane is a police spy who, because of his activities, cannot return to his hometown of Port Elizabeth. They claim Hlongwane was part of the 1982 commando raid in Maseru, Lesotho, in which 42 people were shot dead.

Hlongwane denied he was ever a police spy or had taken part in the raid.

He also denied being a member of the IFP. He said his stay with Tshabalala, who has been identified as an Inkatha "war-

lord" and in complete control of Lindelani, 25 km north of Durban, was temporary. Tshabalala, Hlongwane said, was "more than a comrade — I die where he dies". He said the REC was not a political organisation, nor did he see himself as a national leader. "When we get satisfaction and redress from the ANC," he said, "all of my men will disband and everyone can follow whatever political organisation he wishes — even those who want to return to the ANC."



PAINFUL PAST
... To help heal the scars of war - such as this SADF commando raid against ANC members in Lesotho - former enemies have to account for their violations of human rights, says Africa Watch a group which monitors human rights abuses throughout Africa.



FORGET NOT THE

By **SEKOLA SELLO**

AS THE government and ANC grapple in private with the issue of amnesty, an important document released by Africa Watch could help the two navigate the many minefields around this problem.

Focusing on Namibia, AW, a human rights group which monitors human rights abuse throughout Africa and is part of the worldwide Human Rights Watch, warns against the ill-considered granting of an amnesty. In fact, HMR says it "opposes amnesties for those responsible for gross abuse" and calls for criminal prosecution for those responsible.

The report, which looks at Namibia during its war of independence, argues that a lot more needs to be done by both SA and Swapo, the two combatants in the war, for the healing process to be real.

Contrary to popular belief, contends AW, two years after the end of the long and bloody war between the SADF and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, the wounds of the war have not yet healed in that country.

The essential factor for the healing process to work, says AW, is for the former enemies who have committed atrocities (in this case Swapo and the SA government) to account for their gross violations of human rights.

The document makes a telling observation that "when a country moves from repression to a more democratic system that respects human rights, the abuses committed under the previous regime are not forgotten by the victims, their families and their friends".

The report, titled "Accountability in Namibia - Human Rights and the Transition to Democracy", is of equal importance to SA.

Just like apartheid

The histories of SA and Namibia are interlinked. Swapo, through its military wing, Plan, fought to oust SA from its homeland.

As a colonial power in Namibia, SA introduced a system of government similar to apartheid and committed human rights abuses similar to those which took place inside SA.

Deaths in detention (in our case Steve Biko's tragic end being the prime example) and the disappearance of political activists (Pretoria's Stanza Bopape comes to mind) were common

South Africa

needs the

truth to help

heal the

war wounds

features in Namibia.

The SADF launched several attacks into Angola, killing unarmed Swapo members. The SADF carried out similar commando raids in Lesotho and Botswana against ANC members.

And when Namibia gained its independence two years ago, SA was not made to account for its human rights violations. Instead, because of the policy of national reconciliation, those who were responsible for committing crimes retained senior positions in the new government.

Swapo also committed a number of abuses against its members. Members suspected of being agents of Pretoria were held under terrible conditions in dungeons in Angola. Many were tortured. Suspects were rarely given a fair hearing and most were arrested on the flimsiest evidence. Some members died in these dungeons, others disappeared and have not been accounted for.

Similarly, no one in Swapo has been called upon to account for these atrocities. And some Swapo members who were responsible for abusing these people today hold senior positions in government.

The most controversial senior appointment was that of Solomon Hwala as the commander

of the armed forces. Known as "Jesus" or the "Butcher of Lubango", Hwala was accused of having overseen the arrest, interrogation, torture and disappearance of Swapo detainees in southern Angola.

According to AW, experience shows that in nations torn apart by violence, national reconciliation requires a recognition and acknowledgment of "great crimes and great suffering".

"Mere forgetfulness," argues AW, "glosses over but does not heal the damage caused by gross violations of rights".

Victims of abuse and their families have repeatedly emphasised that for reconciliation to be meaningful it is essential that the past should not be forgotten.

The human rights body acknowledges the difficulties if not the dangers inherent in such a policy. AW correctly points out that a newly elected government often has a fragile command over the armed forces and may be reluctant to antagonise the military by pursuing accountability.

As a result of the danger posed by restive forces, the tendency by a new government may be to say it is preferable to forgive a few lest you jeopardise the position of the majority by pursuing accountability.

AW points out, however, the danger exists that those pardoned may then conclude that they are above the law and may commit other violations.

This dilemma is likely to face any future black-dominated government. The security forces are dominated by whites who hold most of the senior positions. This is no mean threat to any future government.

Bringing to book the miscreants would most likely lead to destabilisation of the new government. On the other hand letting them free is no guarantee that they will not repeat the wrongs. And what about the families of the victims?

Mysterious deaths

The other dilemma is that if an ANC government were to pursue accounting, even some of its members would be in the dock. The organisation has admitted that wrongs were committed in their detention camps in Angola. Among prominent ANC members who died under mysterious circumstances was leading MK commander Thami Ngwenya.

Naming those responsible for human right violations, says AW, is a way for society to condemn that conduct. In addition, disclosing and acknowledging the truth may help to prevent similar abuses from occurring again.

The report comes at a time when there is talk that the country's armies police forces - such as the PAC's Apla, the ANC's MK and the SADF, the SAP and KwaZulu Police - be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Last week former MK members who now call themselves the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) threatened to assassinate ANC/MK leaders whom they claim tortured them in exile.

REC chairman Patrick Hlongwane claimed that they had formed a squad to eliminate ANC and MK members unless those responsible for abuses were brought to justice. REC also claims that some MK dissidents have disappeared.

As SA abandons apartheid and moves towards an open and democratic society amid the talk of amnesty for all, the AW report has important lessons for this country.

Granting amnesty, no matter how desirable, may not necessarily be the best way of achieving national reconciliation. And calling for people to account for their misdeeds is not in itself a Nuremberg-type trial.



Steve Biko's spirit lives on

PAINFUL PAST
... To help heal the scars of war — such as this SADF commando raid against ANC members in Lesotho — former enemies have to account for their violations of human rights, says Africa Watch a group which monitors human rights abuses throughout Africa.



NOT THE FALLEN

AW points out, however, the danger exists that those pardoned may then conclude that they are above the law and may commit other violations.

This dilemma is likely to face any future black-dominated government. The security forces are dominated by whites who hold most of the senior positions. This is no mean threat to any future government.

Bringing to book the miscreants would most likely lead to destabilisation of the new government. On the other hand letting them free is no guarantee that they will not repeat the wrongs. And what about the families of the victims?

Mysterious deaths

The other dilemma is that if an ANC government were to pursue accounting, even some of its members would be in the dock. The organisation has admitted that wrongs were committed in their detention camps in Angola. Among prominent ANC members who died under mysterious circumstances was leading MK commander Thami Ngwenya.

Naming those responsible for human right violations, says AW, is a way for society to condemn that conduct. In addition, disclosing and acknowledging the truth may help to prevent similar abuses from occurring again.

The report comes at a time when there is talk that the country's armies police forces — such as the PAC's Apla, the ANC's MK and the SADF, the SAP and KwaZulu Police — be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Last week former MK members who now call themselves the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) threatened to assassinate ANC/MK leaders whom they claim tortured them in exile.

REC chairman Patrick Hlongwane claimed that they had formed a squad to eliminate ANC and MK members unless those responsible for abuses were brought to justice. REC also claims that some MK dissidents have disappeared.

As SA abandons apartheid and moves towards an open and democratic society amid the talk of amnesty for all, the AW report has important lessons for this country.

Granting amnesty, no matter how desirable, may not necessarily be the best way of achieving national reconciliation. And call-



Steve Biko's

ALWAYS REMEMBERED... "When a country moves from repression to a more democratic system that respects human rights, the abuses committed under the previous regime must not be forgotten by the..."

Premiums set to rise sharply

LIFE insurance policy premiums particularly for young people will increase because of AIDS, a spokesman for Southern Life said at a seminar on AIDS yesterday in Johannesburg.

The insurance industry had recognised that the HIV virus, which can lead to full-blown AIDS, "is going to become a killer of young people in a big way", Paul Truysens said.

The industry's ability to provide life assurance to the average man in the street might become endangered, he warned, unless it introduced changes.

Testing applicants for the HIV virus itself would become common.

"The second thing that will happen is that there'll be a steady increase in the premiums that young people will have to pay."

"Even though a young person might be tested negative and is given life assurance, the younger he is the more likely it is he might still become positive because he has not changed his (social) behaviour," Sapa.

SACC probe into

ANC under way

8104y 17/8/92

AN SA Council of Churches (SACC) team which plans to visit ANC camps to test claims of maltreatment and disappearances also wants to inspect government installations used in the covert war against the ANC.

SACC Justice and Social Ministries director John Lamola said the SACC had been given the go-ahead two months ago to begin interviewing people who claim family members had gone missing in ANC camps in Africa. The ANC had camps in Angola and still has a presence in Uganda and Tanzania.

Lamola said the SACC was planning to visit the ANC's camps once a full list of missing people had been drawn up. He said the SACC team had been in contact with a number of ANC dissidents who had returned from exile complaining of maltreatment.

"Our intention is to go with a list of names. The visit will involve international church figures," Lamola said.

He said the visit to the camps, permission for which was granted by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week, would probe alleged human rights violations committed by the ANC in exile.

"We have stood against human rights violations of the apartheid regime. We

should not overlook what has happened outside the regime," he said.

Lamola said the SACC wanted to visit government installations used during the undercover war against the ANC, in particular Viakplaas police camp, which regarded policeman Dirk Coetzee said was used as a base for attacks on anti-apartheid figures.

Meanwhile, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions in its camps had not completed its report and would sit for another day, a source close to the commission said.

The source denied that the commission had named ANC administrative official Mzwai Piliso as being primarily responsible for abuses in the camps.

The source said the commission's terms of reference were limited to an investigation into conditions of detention, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about loss of property.

The ANC said a report would be submitted to Mandela and that there would be no comment on the issue until he had studied and made public its findings. The ANC said it had committed itself to publicising the findings when it set up the commission.

PATRICK BULGER

Buthelezi issues fresh appeal on peace to ANC

8104y 17/8/92

MSINGA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in a bid to end the carnage in the country.

Addressing the people of Msinga and neighbouring districts in Natal, Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika consisting of him, Mandela and President F W de Klerk ruling the country.

"I want no alliance with the ANC... All I have said is that unless Dr Mandela, Mr de Klerk and myself come together to combat violence, violence will flourish.

"I say today to Mandela yet again, act against the violence with me. I say to him, have the courage to go back to your very own suggestion that you and I should share platforms to combat the violence.

He also slammed the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa. "The going is going to get tough because of political tensions created by the ANC's refusal to go back to the negotiation process."

Meanwhile, eight people were wounded in Alexandria, north of Johannesburg, when attackers armed with AK-47 and R-1 rifles fired on the police but missed their target, wounding bystanders instead.

The wounded were treated at a clinic in the township. On Saturday, two bodies were found, police said in their daily unrest report. One had been shot and another hacked and stabbed to death.

On Saturday night a commuter was shot dead and another seriously wounded when they were attacked by unidentified gunmen on a train in Soweto between Phomolong and Dube stations.

No arrests were made. Two bodies with hack wounds have also been found at Ivory Park, Midrand, where a taxi war claimed four lives last week.

Explosions rock N Cape town

84A

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating a charge of terrorism after a series of blasts rocked a shopping centre in the township of Roodepan, about 10km outside Kimberley, early yesterday morning.

No one was injured in the blasts — 10 in total — which were heard in Kimberley, according to police. Evidence of commercial explosives were found on the scene.

CT 2518192

at the offices of Education Minister Mr Petros Jacobs. The others were suspended on the outcome of a

to meet Jacobs without the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Students and South African Democratic Teachers Union being present.

Kriel nod for AWB camps - claim

Sowetan 26/8/92.

■ ET claims cabinet minister agreed to let training camps operate:

~~State~~ 84A

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday claimed that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had sanctioned the continued operation of AWB training camps.

Speaking in Pretoria after meeting with Kriel and Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe to discuss the implications of legislation relating to the training of private

armies, Terre'Blanche said he had invited the SAP to monitor the AWB camps.

Terre'Blanche challenged the communists and Umkhonto we Sizwe to let the SAP monitor their camps as well "so that we can see who are the aggressors and a threat to human life, when they prepare bombs to take the lives of women and children". - Sapa.

'Torture, beating' in ANC camps

STAR 27/8/92

84A ~~852~~ ~~877A~~

By David Katz

Allegations of torture and abuse in ANC camps have been made by two former ANC members in affidavits presented to the Douglas Commission of Inquiry, set up by the conservative Washington-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF).

The commission this week began gathering evidence of alleged torture and human rights atrocities in ANC camps in countries such as Angola, Uganda and Tanzania.

The commission, under advocate Robert Douglas, SC, yesterday made affidavits available to The Star in which former ANC members detained in the camps describe acts of torture at the ANC's Quatro camp in Angola.

In his affidavit David Mak-

hubedu (41) said "torture and beatings were a regular occurrence administered on inmates indiscriminately".

He said he witnessed this during the nearly five years he spent in Quatro before being released on November 16 1988.

He said Quatro was initially established for suspected infiltrators but was later used "for any people whom the leadership of the ANC and MK (ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe) regarded as dissidents".

In another affidavit, Robert Shange said that during his stay at Quatro he saw "numerous acts of torture". Once, boiling water had been poured on the head of a prisoner.

He said many prisoners — who lived in conditions "shocking beyond belief" — had died of malaria and other tropical diseases, and that complaints were met with more torture.

Mr Shange said he was seeking redress "against the ANC-

SACP alliance for all the wrongs done" while he was in detention.

The ANC has in the past acknowledged that atrocities took place, and a commission of inquiry appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate them finished taking oral evidence last week.

An ANC spokesman yesterday said the organisation had full confidence in its own commission, which was due to release its report soon.

She said the ANC commission had "sounder motives than the right-wing IFF" and that the ANC was eager to find solutions based on the report.

Speaking from Washington yesterday, IFF international chairman Duncan Sellars said the purpose of the commission was "to help the ANC come clean" on its past and "bolster true democrats within the ANC against hardliners aligned with the SACP".

Goldstone to meet ANC, PAC armies

RAY HARTLEY

THE Goldstone commission would meet Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing Apla soon to discuss how they could contribute to the peace process, a commission source said yesterday.

The talks follow an ANC offer at the weekend to help the commission, but the source said it was highly unlikely the two guerrilla forces would be co-opted onto the envisaged special investigative unit.

The source said Judge Richard Goldstone was likely to release details of the composition and structure of the unit by the end of the week. *BIDAY*

It is believed the unit will be headed by a senior police official and be directly accountable to the judge. *11/9/92*

Earlier Goldstone had suggested an investigation into the role Umkhonto and Apla could play "in reducing the level of political violence and intimidation".

Centre for Applied Legal Studies lawyer Fink Haysom, an advocate of the need for an independent investigative team, said the unit would probably be made up of policemen who had proved their investigative abilities.

"The generals who have been appointed to head such teams up to now have appeared to be pretty ineffective. One hopes they won't simply appoint a tired general."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would not try to dictate the composition of the unit because it had to be independent of all parties.

ANC report on alleged torture in camps completed

By Patrick Laurence

The report of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC camps has been completed and is due to be handed to Nelson Mandela, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Completion of the report comes as the ANC leadership deliberates on whether to resume negotiations with the De Klerk administration after breaking off discus-

sions in the wake of the Boipatong massacre of June 17.

President F W de Klerk has served notice that his administration will raise the treatment of detainees when negotiations are resumed.

The ANC has undertaken to publish the report. The three members of the commission, all lawyers, are Louis Skweyiya, Brigit Ma-

bandla and Gilbert Marcus.

The commission has been viewed with scepticism by some of the rebels who were detained, mainly because Mr Skweyiya and Ms Mabandla are ANC members.

Mr Mandela has admitted that torture did take place in the camps but denied that it was official ANC policy. So too has Chris Hani, former

chief of staff of the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He attributes the abuses to "paranoia and hysteria" caused by the infiltration of spies into ANC ranks.

In view of these admissions by senior ANC men it will be unsurprising if the report finds some dissidents were maltreated and ANC security personnel were

guilty of abusing power.

Earlier unofficial reports have named Mazwai Piliso, a former head of security in the ANC, as one who allegedly abused power. The commission's terms of reference, however, do not mandate it to allocate blame.

The commission is required to make recommendations. These may include

the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged detention and torture.

The commission is reported to have heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses, made up of both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

The detainees are understood to have included ANC information chief, Dr Pallo

Jordan. Mr Hani and Jacob Zuma are known to have been among the officials who testified.

The present commission is the second appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions at its camps. It differs from the first, known as the Stuart Commission, in two important respects: its members include a respected lawyer, Mr Marcus, who is not an ANC member; and the ANC has pledged to publish its report.

Weapons confiscated

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

(84A) (23)

STAR 119192

being questioned.

NELSPRUIT — Members of Eastern Transvaal Command yesterday confiscated a large consignment of weapons allegedly being smuggled into the country from Swaziland.

A military spokesman said a group of four people were intercepted on the Swaziland-South African border near Mozambique.

Three men escaped and returned to Swaziland but a woman was detained and is

Weapons confiscated include 11 AKM assault rifles, 13 AK-47 assault rifles, 30 rifle magazines, two Tokarev pistols, three Makarov pistols, four pistol magazines and 4 399 rounds of ammunition.

The spokesman said weapons such as these had in the past been used to arm self-defence units in KaNgwane townships and elsewhere.

It is believed the weapons had been earmarked for criminal activities, agitation and intimidation during mass action, he said.

Blast blacks out centre of Jo'burg

84A

ARG 11/9/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Central Johannesburg was without power today after at least one explosion rocked Fordsburg power station, injuring four people.

It was not immediately clear what caused the explosion but police refused to rule out a bomb.

A police spokesman said "one, possibly two" explosions hit the power station soon after 9.15am.

Most of central Johannesburg, including the SABC and The Argus's sister paper, The Star, was left without power and operating on emergency generators.

There was also a power failure in suburbs to the west and south of the city.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said two people were burnt in the blast and two men in a delivery vehicle were injured when two walls collapsed.

Ten vehicles parked near the building were damaged.

Power was expected to be restored by noon.

MK plans to kill Gqozo - army chief

STAR 12/9/92

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, intended assassinating Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, SA Army chief Lieutenant-General George Meiring claimed yesterday.

Meiring said reports indicated that MK chief of operations Lambert Moloi was expected to arrive in the eastern Cape yesterday to co-ordinate planning and activities in the area.

"There is information which indicates MK intends assassinating Gqozo. This can hardly be construed as adhering to the requirements for peaceful demonstrations."

Meiring said his information indicated weapons, including small arms, a 122-mm rocket launcher and Ciskei police and military uniforms were being stockpiled.

He was concerned at reports

that MK members from the PWV area and Transkei, and self-defence units from Motherwell, New Brighton, KwaZakhele and Cradock, had been sent to the area to initiate violence.

Meiring said Ciskei Defence Force and Police members were being assaulted and robbed of their weapons. "Since the tragedy, Ciskei is experiencing violence on a scale not seen in a long time. At least 15 houses of members of the Ciskei Defence Force and Police have been burnt."

Meiring said there were "blatant attempts" by the ANC to implicate the SA Army in the blood-bath, and charged that MK was responsible for the deaths.

Statements by the ANC's department of information and publicity (DIP) that 32 Battalion was deployed in Ciskei and on its bor-

ders, and that 31 and 32 Battalions were to be incorporated into the Ciskei Army, were absurd.

He also rejected as "scurrilous" reports originating from a German publication claiming Lieutenant-General CP van der Westhuizen, SADF Chief-of-Staff Intelligence, had sent a signal to the Ciskei Defence Force "instructing him to use force and all means necessary to crush the demonstration". The allegations appeared in New Nation yesterday.

"This is absurd and no more than disinformation from the DIP aimed at trying to cover MK's responsibility for the deaths. It was never their intention to hold peaceful demonstrations in Bisho. They openly stated that they intended to occupy Bisho itself and to overthrow Gqozo."

5/10/92
Arms caches found:

Four anti-tank missiles and launchers and a cache of ammunition were found in Pretoria yesterday. (SAPA)

Louis van Heerden of the TPA's roads department found the missiles in stormwater drains in Garsfontein Road.

And in Brakpan, two boys came across a cache of ammunition — including R-1, R-5 and AK-47 magazines — at the Brakpan sports grounds yesterday. — Sapa.

Arms seized in border operations

STAR 25/9/92

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Eastern Transvaal police have seized hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition in border operations since the beginning of the year.

The haul was yesterday displayed for the media and included 336 AK-47 assault rifles, 44 submachine-guns, 63 pistols, 30 hand grenades, two RPG7 rocket launchers, 84 ordinary rifles, 78 handguns and 12 home-made firearms. Most of the weapons were of Eastern bloc origin, police said.

Crime Combating and Investigating Services regional commander Colonel Jack Roux said most of the weapons had been recovered as a result of intensified anti-smuggling operations in recent months.

The weapons, which came from Mozambique and Swaziland, were found in the Piet Retief, Pongola, Komatipoort, Hazyview Trust, KaNgwane,

Gazankulu and Lebowa border areas. They had been smuggled into the country by air, rail, road and even on foot.

He said smugglers used many ingenious methods, including hiding weapons in specially adapted fuel tanks.

Colonel Roux said firearms smuggled into South Africa were being used mainly against security force members, in armed robberies, faction fighting, taxi wars, general crime and for individual financial gain.

"Many arrests have been made in recent weeks and we are confident of more successes, in all criminal fields, as a result of follow-up operations," he said.

Colonel Roux stressed that much of the success achieved had been as a result of help from the public and he appealed to anyone knowing of persons in possession of unlicensed firearms, ammunition and explosives to report to the police.

Substantial rewards are payable for information leading to the recovery of firearms and subsequent convictions, he said.

Paso wants PAC jet-set to give up plane seats for Apla effort

By **THEMBA KHUMALO** ^{9/11/92}
THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) has asked the PAC leadership to allocate 50 per cent of PAC funds to its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Paso secretary for publicity and information Adam Bosman said the decision was taken by Paso's national executive last weekend.

"We've decided that instead of flying around, the PAC leadership should spend that money on supporting its guerrilla army," he said.

Bosman also took the PAC leaders to task for their tendency to distance the organisation from military operations carried out by Apla inside SA.

He said the PAC could no longer

pretend for legal reasons that it was a separate entity from the military wing.

He said Paso believed Apla was implementing the PAC call for the intensification of the struggle against Pretoria on all fronts.

It is standard PAC practice to refer all media questions about Apla military activities to Apla leaders outside the country.

Observers believe this is a tactic to prevent the government taking heavy-handed action against the PAC.

"We won't condone the PAC distancing itself from Apla. If they avoid questions about Apla they are distancing themselves from the armed struggle," charged Bosman.

He pointed out that Apla com-

mander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo was the second vice-president of the PAC.

Bosman also announced that Paso was planning a summit with SA's two progressive student movements in Zimbabwe next month with a view to forming a united student organisation.

The League was prepared to invite Paso, the Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) and the South African Students Congress (Sasco) as these were the only "genuine student representatives in SA", Bosman said.

However, he warned Sasco against sending white delegates to the summit because they did not represent the "true needs and aspirations of the oppressed masses".

THE SUMMIT

De Klerk gamble brought SA back from the brink

STimes 27/9/92

849

THE decision to bite the bullet was taken on Thursday afternoon.

President FW de Klerk and his senior lieutenants had before them a draft agreement that promised to end months of tedious bickering with the ANC and a golden opportunity to kick-start the stalled negotiation process.

The only snag was that part of the deal was the release from prison of three men — Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride, 30, and Mzondelele Nondula, 29, and Mthethelele Mncube, 32, who had been found guilty of the Messina landmine murders in 1987.

President De Klerk was acutely aware that should he accede, as the ANC insisted, to the release of these three — most of whose victims had been white — it could cost him dearly among his own supporters.

On the other hand, should he refuse to release them and the summit did not take place, the cost to the country in terms of dashed expectations at yet another failure of negotiations could prove even more devastating.

Compromise

Reluctantly, Mr De Klerk and his ministers accepted that the three would go free. But, unlike other political prisoners who would be freed without conditions, they would be let out on parole.

It was a compromise suggested, according to diplomats, by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who had spoken to both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha earlier that morning.

Of the three prisoners around whose release the fate of the nation turned this week, Robert McBride is the best known.

A tall Allan Boesak look-alike, he is the least experienced of the three

CHARLENE SMITH reports on the three men whose release from prison paved the way for yesterday's summit meeting



ROBERT MCBRIDE

ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres. A teacher, he became a member of the ANC almost by default, recruited by childhood friend Gordon Webster.

He received no formal military training by Umkhonto we Sizwe, but proved an enthusiastic recruit, conducting a bombing campaign around Durban in 1986, culminating in the Magoos Bar bombing, which led to the deaths of three people and left more than 20 injured.

McBride was sentenced to death, but on review last year his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, as were the sentences of Nondula and Mncube.

Mncube and Nondula were what was known at the time as the Messina trialists.

Both are highly trained MK officers. They were part of a unit that crossed into South Africa on more than one occasion.

However, in 1987, after laying a number of landmines in the Messina district which cost the lives of 10 people, including seven whites, and

injured 20 others, they were arrested.

They refused to testify in their own defence, claiming that they were soldiers and should be treated as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva convention.

Mncube was initially arrested by two policemen who placed him in the back of a bakkie next to an AK-47. Mncube managed to free himself and killed his captors.

During his trial his defence claimed he was tortured after his arrest, including being forced to eat his own excrement.

Raised in Soweto, Mr Mncube also married while in prison late last year.

Schooling

Mr Nondula, who is being released a few days after his birthday, is a gifted writer and poet. He was transferred to prison in East London early this year. An orphan, he grew up in extreme poverty in Mdantsane near Ciskei and left South Africa to join the ANC while in his teens.

His first schooling took place at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania along with Mr Mncube.

Mr Mncube was instructed in fire-arms and politics in Angola before infiltrating South Africa in 1986 through Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mr Nondula received training in Mozambique — where key ANC prisoner-release negotiator Matthew Phosa was in charge of military operations — before getting further training in Angola and East Germany. He was for a time an instructor at an Angolan training camp and infiltrated South Africa a number of times on various missions.

Strikers to meet

■ All those who were dismissed urged to attend:

Sowetan 1/10/92

THE Johannesburg Central Local branch of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa will meet at the Neac Centre, Dobsonville on Saturday.

The branch chairman, Mr Aubrey Thomas, said: "The meeting is very important. We are calling on all our members including those who were dismissed during the strike.

"We also call on any member who was a victim of any mass dismissals to attend the meeting."

A series of important issues are scheduled for discussions.

Exiles group threatens ANC with violence

Sowetan 1/10/92

THE Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has again threatened violence against the African National Congress - this time to pressure the ANC into releasing dissidents allegedly held in detention camps outside South Africa.

"We foresee the possibility of reaching a stage whereby we will be forced to resort to violence as a means of pressuring the ANC to release our prisoners should an agreement not be reached peacefully," said REC chairman Mr Patrick Hlongwane.

In a statement on Tuesday, Mr Hlongwane emphasised that "we do not

■ Returned exiles group calls on the Red Cross and the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments to visit 'hell camps'

wish to resort to the violent means used by the ANC to pressurise the government into releasing ANC prisoners."

Mr Hlongwane was broadly criticised for stating his organisation would kill ANC leaders allegedly responsible for the deaths and torture of dissidents.

In his statement on Tuesday, Mr Hlongwane also requested the International Red Cross to pressure the ANC and the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments into allowing the Red Cross to

visit the ANC's "hell camps" in those countries.

"Based on the ANC's previous record we feel that our comrades are in danger of losing their lives should this matter not be attended to in the near future."

Hlongwane also asked the Red Cross to request State President FW de Klerk to negotiate the release of ANC captives "in view of the fact that we are in the process of releasing all political prisoners in South Africa". - Sapa.

FM 2/10/92

POLITICAL DEALS

84A

~~2412~~~~2412~~

One Wit Wolf, one bomber

There are extremely disquieting elements in the deal struck by F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela at the weekend. The release from prison of Robert McBride and Barend Strydom is bad enough — an obscenity which the nation is supposed to swallow for the sake of a pious reconciliation which is far from happening.

But again — as we suggested last week — one is struck by how quickly our leaders are moving away from genuine democracy. There is nothing propitious in this release for our future freedom, happiness and security. The entire affair was stage-managed to precede yet another of Mandela's foreign fund-raising jaunts and almost immediately contradictions emerged.

Let's consider some.

Now that they have been forgiven for their murders, McBride and Strydom — both young men — have been received back into their markedly segregated and mutually hostile communities. Neither has shown any remorse; rather, they have been glowing with an idiotic triumphalism and McBride has said he would be prepared to "do it again" (blow up civilians) in the same circumstances as 1985. This so that "peace and democracy" will prevail.

We do not yet know what Strydom thinks, since he has sold his story exclusively to *Rapport*. But clearly he, as much as McBride, is a hero to some.

The victims thus brushed aside, we are enjoined to consider the big picture — the national interest. These points arise:

□ Government has finally indicated that it will move on certain glaring catalysts of violence, specifically the carrying of weapons of death in public and the monitoring of volatile hostels. These matters, one would have thought, should have long since been dealt with firmly — before Boipatong. The suspicion exists that they were left unattended for so long not because their potential for violence was unknown, but because they became chips in a bargaining process.

The cost of such neglect has been many deaths. In addition, there is the alienation of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who now seeks an alliance with the likes of Oupa Gqozo.

□ The ANC can with some justification claim that mass action has worked — it brought government to the point where it had to act on public weapons and hostels as a kind of concession.

This supports the suspicion that government has all along had a hidden agenda in negotiation which, at the least, it backed with a dangerous tolerance of black-on-black vio-

lence. Yet, in employing the means of mass action to achieve this end, the ANC has shown itself prepared to sacrifice ruthlessly its followers for propaganda. They dutifully went straight into the death trap at Bisho.

□ The issue of amnesty for "political" crimes is far from being settled. In any comparison of psychopaths, the ANC can presumably claim that McBride believed that killing three women in Magoo's Bar was a blow for freedom and democracy but that Strydom is in a different category. There are already warnings that the ANC might rescind amnesty for the Wit Wolf — which defeats the purpose of whatever was actually agreed at the weekend.

Clearly McBride and Strydom were "swapped" for symbolic reasons, the essential understanding being that political deals transcend the rule of law. Both sides have thus laid the basis for continuous rule by expediency. Any government of "national unity" would be an uneasy — if not treacherous — coalition of political bosses continually looking over their shoulders at their constituencies.

And who exactly are the senior figures for whom government wants amnesty? How high up are they in the political and military hierarchy? De Klerk surely knows.

The extent to which justice has been subverted is emphasised by the behaviour of the Ministry of Law & Order — which abruptly suspended its well-publicised investigation of the crimes of returnees and security force agents. What only a week or so ago was said to be a matter of principle has been "temporarily postponed until such time as finality has been reached on this matter," according to Craig Kotze.

In other words, such retrospective investigations can be turned on and off like a tap, depending on what suits government.

The De Klerk/Mandela summit was a turning point. Now we know that justice itself is a pawn in a far bigger political game. Buthelezi sees this well enough — and has the potential to wreck bilateral deals which exclude him. But in

his new leopard-skin garb he appeals directly to tribal, sectional emotions and, in this, is also merely playing that bigger political game with its basis in raw power.

Who can doubt that government and the ANC will be back at Codesa, or its equivalent, within a few months? Their interests lie there. But with or without Buthelezi, scepticism over the validity of any agreements reached must be well-founded. Our two big leaders now have certain qualities in common: they are wooden, unconvincing and contradictory. ■



Brother of Magoo's victim hurt in blast

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The brother of a woman killed in the Magoo's Bar bomb blast in 1986 was seriously injured after an explosion at his Glenashley home in Durban North on Wednesday night.

Clive Pattenden (25), of Ypsilanti Avenue, was working with a mixture of chlorine and an oily substance when there was an explosion and a fire.

Mr Pattenden suffered burns to his face, arms and chest.

He was taken to hospital but it is believed that family members insisted that he not be admitted.

Police spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said a neighbour telephoned the police after the explosion.

It is believed that apart from chlorine and the oily substance, Mr Pattenden also had a 2 litre plastic bottle.

Captain Ngidi said police had opened a docket and were investigating charges under the Explosives Act.

A person at the Pattenden home denied any knowledge of the incident.

Mr Pattenden's sister, Angeli- que, was one of the victims in the Magoo's Bar blast.

Anger

Last week Mr Pattenden was reported to have voiced anger that Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride was to be freed.

Mr Pattenden was reported to have said: "He is still a murderer. He murdered people and there is no excuse."

An attempt was made on Mr McBride's life by prisoners shortly before his release on Monday.

Since his release, the African National Congress has provided Mr McBride and his wife Paula with a 24-hour bodyguard.

JUNE 14 1986. It was exactly one year, to the day, after a South African Defence Force sortie into Botswana left 12 people dead, only five of whom even had African National Congress links, and one of whom was a six-year-old child. It was two days before the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. It was two days after President P W Botha renewed his State of Emergency.

It was the day on which a powder-blue Cortina exploded outside the crowded Magoo's Bar on the Durban beachfront, killing three young white women and making horribly clear to white people what blacks had known for years: that, in the words of Oliver Tambo, "the distinction between soft and hard targets is going to disappear

I bombed Magoo's on ANC

W/Wand 2/10-8/10/92

(SUA) (SUA)

in an intensified confrontation". The car-bomb was planted by Robert McBride, commander of a Durban-based Umkhonto weSizwe cell. McBride was sentenced to death in 1987 — and released this week after an agreement between the ANC and the government over the week-end.

Was McBride a renegade firebrand acting on his own volition? Or was he a disciplined cadre acting, albeit reluctantly, on the orders of his exiled commanders? The question is critical, for it cuts to the heart of questions

about what constitutes a "political murder" and whether McBride should have been released. Upon McBride's release, ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said: "Whatever he did he did on the instructions not only of MK High Command but the entire political

leadership of the ANC." And in April last year, in a statement to the Indemnity Committee, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo wrote: "At all times hereto McBride acted under the command and instructions of his superiors in Umkhonto weSizwe." In his trial, McBride stated under oath that he had been "undisciplined that day", and that he had acted against the orders of his superiors. But today he refutes this and is adamant that he was "acting under the express orders of my commanders, who instructed me to target the Why Not bar, next to Magoo's, as this was in keeping with the 'soft target' policy of the ANC".

McBride told *The Weekly Mail*: "I received this instruction from my commander when I visited Botswana a few days before the bombing, and I was told that it had to happen on June

Apla, Popcru call a truce

South 3/10 - 7/10/92

84A

253

THE guerilla wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) undertook last weekend to exclude members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) from attacks on security forces.

The two organisations met in Zimbabwe last weekend. Their delegations were led by Popcru president Mr Gregory Rockman and Apla chief political commissar, Mr Romero Daniels.

Apla has claimed responsibility for numerous attacks on policemen in the past few years and Popcru, concerned that its members were at risk, requested a meeting to discuss the issue.

"We could not assure Apla about the actions of policemen and

warders who are not our members and who cannot defy brutal and deadly instructions from their masters," said Popcru general secretary Mr Peter Nkuna.

Nkuna said the union undertook to meet senior police officials to find ways of minimizing and possibly stop the killings on both sides.

He advised security force members who were not covered by the agreement to place their loyalty with the community they served rather than with the government.

"They must be seen to be protecting and serving the public rather than their masters, even if it means facing expulsion like Rockman did in 1989," Nkuna said.

Bush-war buddies are back in arms again

By MOWWABISI

MOIMADGLO FRIENDS, compatriots, comrades: for 13 years these words described the bond between two exiled ANC soldiers - one white, one black.

Now Michael "Chris" Malo, 33, and Tibiliki "Tebogo" Pharase, 44, are home again.

The pair were repatriated last year.

In the chaos of the return the two were separated. It was only after searching tirelessly and at length that the war survivors got back together.

The reunion was "too great to explain emotionally", they said.

The two met in the Angolan suburb of Vienna in

1979. Their tents were pitched close together at an ANC camp.

"It was friendship at first sight," said Pharase, commonly known by his MK codename Tebogo.

At times life in exile was difficult, but the friendship kept them going - even made them stronger.

Pharase, a veteran who fled SA in 1974, was a source of comfort and warmth for Malo who had arrived from Swaziland's Matsapa Maximum Prison where he was tortured before being deported eight months later.

"He went through hell in detention - like many of us did when arrested," Pharase said.

In the war zone the pair were ambushed by Unita while riding a food convoy and Malo was hit twice. Pharase was there to see him through it.

In 1982 they also survived the bloody SADF raid on Matola.

"It's so difficult to put it (reunion) in words. I'm overwhelmed," said Malo, patting his friend's shoulder.

Yet despite their happy reunion, coming home has meant hard knocks.

"We cannot find jobs and often we have to queue for hours at the head office (ANC) for grants," they said.

This is despite the skills they acquired abroad. Malo is a qualified boot-

A total friendship out of total strategy

lermaker and Pharase a confectioner, who baked scrumptious bread and scones using flour sent from Finland. His creations were in great demand - MK commander Joe Modise was hooked on his products.

They speak several languages including Portuguese, German, Russian and Swahili which they learnt while globe-trotting.

The duo were trained in Russia, East Germany, Cuba and Zambia. Now back in SA, Malo has been disowned by his "conservative" mother and relatives whom he accused of being members of the AWP.

His father - a card-carrying member of the SACP - was shot dead in his home town of Port Elizabeth in 1982 following his arrest under the Internal Security Act. He added that he was greatly influenced by his father's political thinking.

Left homeless and destitute, he has now settled with Pharase in the East Rand township of Kwa-Thema where he has been

picked up by police in an unmarked white car. At that time he had not yet been granted indemnity.

"I was bundled into the car and I realised this was a real mess," he said.

He then attempted to escape by jumping out of the moving car. "The next day I woke up in the Far East Rand Hospital - white section! - under police guard," he said.

"That morning I knew I had to escape so I escaped through a toilet window on the second floor.

"Fortunately I found a taxi driver who asked no questions and made a bee-line for Shell House (ANC head offices)."

come a populist character and a household name. Pharase's uncle Solomon is looking after them.

"I've a new family now," Malo sighed. But he laughed sadly and said candidly: "I'm a stranger to my family and relatives. We differ ideologically."

"Life around here is cool. Many people have accepted me and I spend time playing soccer with young lads in the street.

"I changed flats in Hillbrow several times before settling here."

Malo told of the first time he came looking for Tebogo: "I could not find him. On my way back to Johannesburg I was picked up by police in an



COMMON DESTINIES ... MK veterans Michael Malo (left) and Tibiliki Pharase are back together. ■ P. TLADI KHULLE

Bomb victim's brother hurt

By FRED KHUMALO

~~153/237~~ (847)

THE Robert McBride saga took another turn on Wednesday when the brother of a victim killed by the MK fighter's blast was injured in an explosion at his home.

Clive Pattenden, 25, whose sister Angeline was one of the three killed in the Magoo's Bar bomb blast, was apparently making an explosive with a mixture of chlorine and an oily substance when the mixture exploded in his northern suburb home in Durban.

This was confirmed by SAP spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi.

Pattenden sustained severe burns to his face, chest and arms.

In press interviews last week Pattenden expressed anger at the news of McBride's release.

"I don't think that he falls into the category of a political prisoner. He is a murderer and should stay inside forever," he said.

"I don't believe that his release is going to make Dr Buthelezi become friends with the ANC and that there will be peace in the country."

Pattenden was apparently also embittered by the death of his mother Charmain two years ago. She was

Express 4/10/92
said to have given up on life after Angeline's death.

The Pattenden family refused to have him admitted to hospital and he is being treated at home.

Capt Ngidi said police had opened a docket and were investigating charges under the Explosives Act.

McBride was attacked with a homemade knife by other jail inmates at the Westville Prison on Sunday.

At a news conference he disputed reports that prison officials had intervened to save his life.

"Prisoners who stood by my side were of all races - black, white and brown. It is a lie that prison officials intervened to defend me," he said.

The ANC has placed a 24-hour guard on McBride and his wife as a result of assassination threats.

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Dumisani Mak-haye said: "The man is uncontactable. Ever since his release, I haven't even had a chance to shake his hand and have a comradely chat with him."

His mother Doris McBride is also bitter that she has not had the chance to talk to him and share jokes with him.

But Doris is hoping that some day she will be able to sit down with her son and play him his favourite music - the lilting sound of reggae outfit UB-40.

Bisho bomb 'not Apla's'

STAN 5110192
Claims that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for Friday's Bisho car-bomb blast were devoid of truth, the PAC said yesterday. (HA)

PAC publicity director Waters Toboti referred to a telephone call to Sapa on Saturday by a certain Karl Zimbiri, who claimed he had been informed by the eastern Cape unit of Apla that it had planted the bomb in a car belonging to Ciskei Defence Force Colonel Horst Schubesberger, the man who reportedly gave the order to fire on ANC marchers at the Bisho stadium on September 7.

"We spoke to the Apla political commissariat and they say Apla is not responsible," Mr Toboti said. — Sapa.

Disband MK says Buthelezi

STAR 5/10/92
84A
Political Reporter

Negotiations could not continue until the ANC's "ruthless army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was disbanded, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in KwaMsane outside Mtubatuba, Chief Buthelezi said that as long as MK continued to exist, the IFP and the KwaZulu government would not return to negotiations.

He accused the ANC-led tripartite alliance of orchestrating violence against IFP members, and Zulus in particular, and said "the anarchy now reigning in some parts of the country" was a direct result of the ANC's previous campaigns to make South Africa ungovernable.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation would not disband MK at this stage. He said MK was not operative and the armed struggle had been suspended.

"MK is not a problem for the negotiations process and as far as violence is concerned. It sounds as if this is once again an excuse raised by Chief Buthelezi. Perhaps he doesn't want to return to

78. ● To Page 3

Disband MK: Buthelezi

● From Page 1

negotiations and the consequences of full democracy," said Mr Niehaus.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible, and it was "unable to establish a foothold in our communities".

This, he said, had put "the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region high on (the ANC's) political agenda".

"Umkhonto has to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact," he said.

"If it is to remain ... after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

Chief Buthelezi's angry speech contrasted with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement in which he expressed the hope that multilateral negotiations would resume before the end of the year.

In a speech at the University of Durban-Westville on Sat-

urday, Mr Ramaphosa also said he expected constitutional talks to be followed by elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Chief Buthelezi vehemently criticised ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday, saying their September 26 "Record of Understanding" amounted to a declaration of war against the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people.

He accused the Government of siding with the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance against the Zulus, and said the agreement to ban the carrying of "cultural weapons" was indicative of a plot "to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people".

He said that by signing the "Record of Understanding" with Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk knew that he would oppose it, and in so doing Mr de Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not understand why the Government continued to "fall all over itself to capitulate to the ANC-SACP alliance".

Radicals 'showing their true colours'

EAST LONDON — Both left- and right-wing radicals had unmasked themselves through their actions and the world was beginning to see them for what they really were, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said last night.

"The government did not ban their activities. We allowed them the democratic freedom to show their undemocratic natures," he said at the official opening of the Cape NP congress in East London.

The government had conducted itself with patience, reserve and responsibility. Law and order had been maintained as well as was possible under "horrendously difficult conditions".

The influence of left- and right-wing radicals was beginning to wane and the opportunity was available for genuine negotiators to come forward, said De Villiers.

"Responsible and constructive people seek to pioneer the road to the future through negotiation rather than conflict. The discussions between the government and the ANC have taken this process further forward."

It was regretted that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had decided to withdraw from negotiations on the basis of incorrect allegations against the government.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without Inkatha, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA," De Villiers said.

The NP would devote attention to the stumbling blocks which kept Inkatha from participating in negotiations. The overriding aim had to be to resume multiparty talks, he said.

NP leadership faces concerned congress

Political Staff

A resolution which Meyer will have to respond to calls for a commitment that a new constitutional dispensation will ensure that "civilised norms, values and standards remain intact" and that Afrikaans be retained as one of the official languages.

A total of five constituencies have expressed their "deepest concern" over the corruption, fraud and malpractices taking place in government departments and have called for tough action against offenders, including the instant dismissal of officials with loss of pension benefits — instead of the now common practice of transferring guilty parties to other government departments.

With legislation designed to outlaw hard gambling due to be tabled in Parliament next week, another hot topic at the congress is bound to be a request for the government "to clarify its policy with regard to casinos", sources say.

A number of MPs are known to oppose government moves to close up to 2 000 private gaming clubs that have mushroomed across the country in recent months.

Other topics to be debated include the high incidence of violence throughout the country and the "deteriorating security situation in the Transkei", the growing squatter problem across the country, rising unemployment and rocketing food prices.

EAST LONDON — The NP leadership — reeling from a series of setbacks in negotiations — will face the music when the party's Cape congress gets under way in the city today.

Growing perceptions among the party rank-and-file that the ANC has won the lion's share of concessions at recent bargaining sessions and fears that government could be alienating its potentially valuable election allies like Inkatha will have to be addressed directly by government ministers.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent decision to break off talks with government will also be dealt with by President F W de Klerk, party sources indicated yesterday.

They say delegates will be looking to De Klerk, who addresses the congress this morning, to allay many of their fears and uncertainties about the future.

These anxieties are reflected in the resolutions to be debated at the two-day congress.

De Klerk is also expected to deal with the growing furore over the release of political prisoners — as well as a number of hardened criminals released as political offenders.

Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will also be called on later today to allay concerns about the nature of the deal government is holding out for at negotiations.

Hani tells IFP: Drop die-hard white racists

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party members should distance themselves from the warm embrace their leader gave to die-hard white racists this week, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday. **CT 8/10/92**

Mr Hani was apparently referring to Tuesday's mini-summit which was attended by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's Dr Lucas Mangope, and right-wing groups including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

"Enough is enough. Every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths into which Mr Buthelezi has now plunged himself," said Mr Hani.

Chief Buthelezi had once presented himself as an anti-apartheid fighter and had even borrowed the colours of the African National Congress for his IFP, he said.

Yet CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht "represents racist white foremen who daily make the lives of migrant workers a misery. His followers represent the most backward white farmers who oppress farm labourers." Whatever the IFP's differences with the ANC alliance, Chief Buthelezi's relationship with white racists was degrading, said Mr Hani.

● The IFP said yesterday that it would never allow the National Party and its "new-found allies", the ANC and SA Communist Party, to dictate to the majority of South Africans and destroy their future. — Sapa

84A

Suefen 9/10/92
Bomb under car (Suefen)

A LIMPET mine was found under a car at Natal University's Durban campus yesterday. The device had been attached to the undercarriage of the car which was parked opposite Mabel Palmer Hall.

Police said the car belonged to a man who was visiting a friend staying at the residence.

The man discovered the mine while trying to push-start his vehicle. Police were notified and specialists moved the mine, and it was detonated.

Parents ask: How did our son die?

South 10/10 - 14/10/92
THE PARENTS of a Khayelitsha youth who died in a Tanzanian camp run by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — are upset at the way PAC officials handled the matter.

Mrs Victoria Meselane said she was still awaiting a certificate confirming the death of her eldest son, Daniel, 21.

She said the first the family knew of Daniel's death was when a neighbour told them it had been announced at a PAC meeting in Khayelitsha.

The following day two PAC officials arrived at their home with a fax from Dar es Salaam saying he had died, "but they could not tell us how he died," she said.

"We struggled for information and eventually were told we could go to Dar es Salaam. We wanted to bring his body home for burial, but when we got there we found that he had already been buried."



Patricia de Lille

Meselane said that while in Dar es Salaam she and her husband, Howard, were shown a video they were told was of their son's funeral.

They were given a post mortem report which stated that Daniel had died of cerebral malaria.

She said the family was also unhappy about PAC officials in Cape Town suddenly changing the date of a memorial service planned for their son in Khayelitsha.

Invitations had gone out to family and friends when the date was changed, so they had their own ser-

vice, she said. Later the PAC also held a memorial service.

"I can't say anything sinister happened to my son," said Meselane. "But there is so much confusion around his death that a person can't

help thinking.

"Surely they can tell me what happened — I am after all his mother. Why did they bury him first, before asking us what we wanted done with the body?"

Ms Patricia de Lille, the PAC's national secretary for relief and aid, said it was untrue his death had first been made public at a meeting.

De Lille said the PAC had made every possible effort to assist the family — arranging visas and air tickets for them to travel to Dar es Salaam, holding vigils at their home in Khayelitsha and organising a memorial service attended by Western Cape PAC chairperson Mr Theo Mabusela and national executive committee member Mr Kwedi Mkalipi. — **South Reporter**

IT IS almost two weeks since I was bundled into a car with prison guards and policemen at the New Mill Prison in East London. I was awoken at 5am on Monday and by 6.30am was home.

All I had was my sleeping shorts, a T-shirt, a pair of socks and a pair of training shoes.

Coming home was different to how I dreamt it would be. I used to imagine mum would be there to hug me and say 'Welcome home'. Caleb, my elder brother, was the only one there.

I felt so hollow. I can't describe it. I put my things down and walked to the shop. No one in my family is employed, and there was no food in the house but for half a bag of mizele meal.

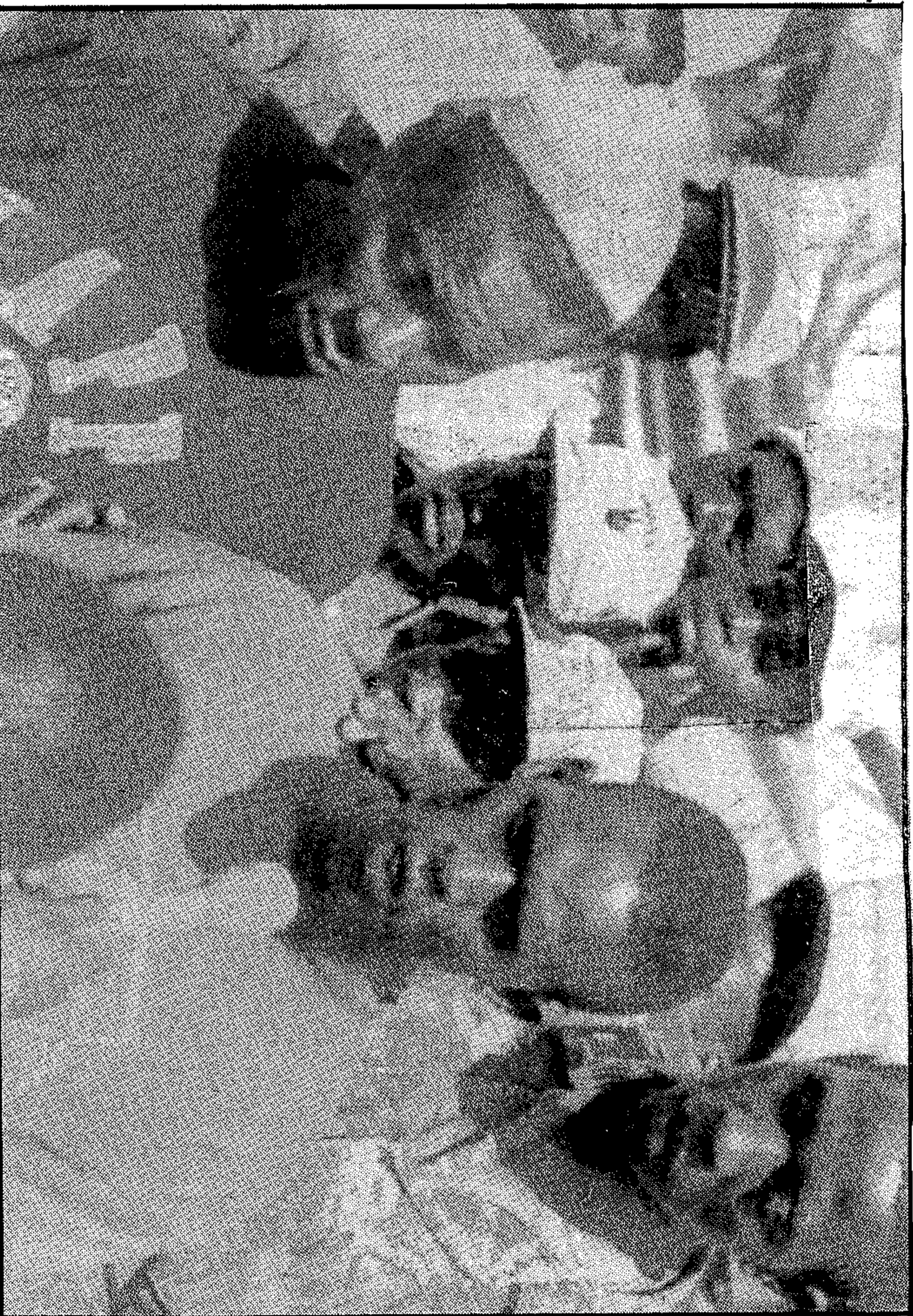
I knew I was out and free but felt nothing. Home felt empty and desolate, cold. I felt as though the world was crumbling down on me. At home after 10 years away, it felt as though I did not belong there any more.

I was born on May 19, 1963, in East London. My dear colleague Mthethleli Mncube was born on that same day three years earlier.

By African standards we were better off in prison than at home: we had electricity, and did not have to sleep on an empty stomach; we were quite a big happy family.

My dad, Joseph, worked in a motor assembly plant. In 1968 he passed away. This is where my life actually begins — with dad's departure the family broke apart.

**In 1988
Mzondelele
Nondula and
Mthethleli
Mncube were
sentenced to death
for laying
landmines that
killed 10 people —
including children
— in the Messina
district. Both
claimed they were
prisoners of war.
Here, to illustrate
the mind and
motives of a
political killer, the
Sunday Times
publishes
Mzondelele
Mondula's story in
his own words**



FREEDOM DAY: Mzondelele Nondula being interviewed after his release ... 'The country can't continue bleeding as it is'

We made a bivouac until the following day. Standing on the banks of the Limpopo watching South Africa on the other side was the most exciting moment of my life.

We had a lot of food with us, which was heavy. We journeyed south through scrubland — not ideal for day operations. The other unit had already come in, planted a mine and returned to Zimbabwe.

The terrain they moved across was irrigated cotton plantations; their footprints were all over.

The first detonation came at 8am. I heard something like thunder about 10km away. One chap said: "No Gabu (my MK name), that is a landmine." We later heard it had blown up a cement truck.

You can imagine the tension. We had all our stuff with us and could see enemy activity. We split into three groups of two each, about 25m apart.

A helicopter came by and we thought we were for the high jump. We laid low. It is difficult for people to see you when an area is rocky and you are on grey blankets. It circled three times above us. The commander said no one must shoot as it hadn't seen us. On that occasion we were in South Africa for four days.

CONFESSIONS OF AN MK SOLDIER

STWES 11/10/92

844

THE strong tiler of the house had fallen; only the pillar of the home remained, mum, Nosidina Nondula.

It is a wonder how she managed to bring us up. It was two years before she found employment as a domestic worker. She was unable to care for us, and from 1969 to 1976 we were a family scattered among friends and relatives.

I was six when I was sent to a rural place near King William's Town for two years, but I pined and was brought home to live with my aunt until 1976. Inside I was lonely, though I had many friends. Once in three months we saw our mother, who would visit when she could. We lost the family home because mum could not keep up rent payments. However, in 1976 we got this house. It was a victory; the family could be reunited.

Mum lived away from home as a domestic worker. I never got to know my dear mother like other children, and this shall remain a sorrow for the rest of my life, although I was always certain of her love for me. On the eve of my departure for the unknown, on January 24, 1982, marna had already left for work when I came home to pack. I had no contact with her until I was arrested and awaiting trial in Pietersburg in 1987. She said: "Toto, I'm very proud of you." After that I regretted nothing.

She attended the trial. When I was sentenced to death she was so brave. She didn't cry; she just hugged me. I was the one who cried. I was so sorry for her. She visited me on Death Row in Pretoria about four times from 1988 to 1990. She died on May 2, 1990. It was the month of the first summit between the government and the ANC. On May 6 Madhuba (Nelson Mandela) came to brief us. It was the moment of my life.

life. I stood in my way and I didn't feel regret. I asked myself what moral justification I had to oppose the death sentence. I debated that with many people, especially abolitionists. It would be hypocritical for me to be an abolitionist. On Death Row at times you would not want to make friendships, because you could be dead tomorrow. I found an outlet for this emotional turmoil through pen

every detention period Bon-gani would come home with scars, bruises and cigarette burns all over his body. He is now deaf as a result of torture. It was a nightmare for all of us. When the security branch came in the early hours to fetch him, the house would be ransacked, torches and guns all over the place, the dignity of my home violated. It was unbearable. We never knew if he would come back alive.

Those were the days of black consciousness. Mandela and Robert Sobhwe were our heroes. I wanted freedom, but most of all I wanted to see my family rise above squalor. Education seemed the only way. I studied hard, but my political baptism came in 1979 when the first MK commandant, Solomon Mahlangu, was hanged. I took part in the boycott on the day of his execution. The story of Mahlangu touched me. I knew MK was alive and I could defend myself.

I became involved with ANC underground structures distributing political literature. Then finally the call came to leave the country. We went in a group of four to Lesotho. I stayed there the whole of 1982. I was 19 years old. On December 9, 1982, I sur-

I never got to know my dear mother like other children, and this shall remain a sorrow for the rest of my life, although I was always certain of her love for me

and paper, writing poems and short stories. It gave me internal peace. You get used to death. In Angola I survived a close-range ambush on December 25, 1983, on the eastern front against Unita, when I lost a dear friend, Mbongeni. He was only 20. My political life began in 1976, my elder brother Bongani, 35, was an activist and my political mentor. After

We are a people without dignity, a nation without a nation, without citizenship. We ask ourselves: What could be worse than that?

He was everything a soldier should be, Caesar and I have been through hell and he has never failed me. Later that year I was in a group of 40 that went to East Germany for advanced training. On our return I was deployed on the eastern front against Unita bandits. That was quite an experience. I became a political instructor, joining the commissariat of MK. I later completed a commando course in Tanzania

I went back to the cell so happy and began writing a letter to mum. It was then that the prison authorities informed me of her death. I still wrote the letter — to be read at her funeral. That's when I began to question some values. I couldn't say killing people, whether judicial or otherwise, was wrong, because I had already condemned those

I became involved with good reputation in matters of discipline, morale and military skills. A week or so after commencing training I was made the first section commander by our platoon commander, Caesar, the MK name for Mnucle. That is how we met.

and was sent to Zimbabwe in 1985. At that time the national conference of the ANC approved an intensification of armed activities along the northern border. We infiltrated South Africa in November 1985. There were two groups, six to each unit, one in the eastern part of the terrain, the other in the west. We were supposed to get inside and come back the same night, but our commander felt time was against us.

We were told to lay mines along the main road to the border, but we were under such pressure from the enemy that we scattered our mines far apart. On the 15th we heard about two families that had exploded a landmine; five died, including children. It is always regrettable that there should be loss of human life, but this was war. We are a people without dignity, a nation without a nation, without citizenship. We ask ourselves: What could be worse than that? It was a military area and, from a strictly military point of view, how can a soldier who is deployed to monitor enemy activity take his family to a braai when barely a week or so before landmines were exploding in the area? What kind of soldier or father is that? I support negotiations in principle. What I don't support is the government tactic of negotiating and conducting war. If the government continues this strategy I am afraid the future of our country is bleak. Nevertheless, the ANC is committed to peaceful solutions, and whatever I do will be in line with that. We need reconciliation. The country can't continue bleeding as it is at the moment.

5 500 illegal firearms found ~~11/10/92~~

POLICE seized more than 5 500 illegal firearms and uncovered an additional 23 arms caches between January 3 and September 24. ~~11/10/92~~

Police said in a statement that 2 132 rifles and 3 383 handguns had been confiscated. Of those, 539 rifles and 790 handguns were recovered as a result of information received and with the cooperation of the public. ~~11/10/92~~

Nearly R400 000 was paid out to informants, with R186 300 of the reward money going for the recovery of 296 AK-47 rifles. ~~11/10/92~~

Three of the arms cache finds were the result of tip-offs and R10 000 was paid out.

Police appealed to the public to assist in tracing illegal firearms. ~~11/10/92~~

"In order to bring the violence to an end we once again appeal to all people to assist the SAP with any information that will bring those responsible to justice." The anonymity of all sources was guaranteed, the statement said.

FW's warning to military wings

13/10/92
LUTHULI SQUARE ANC's Walter Sisulu leads

3 000 marchers to Parliament to rename Stalplein:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk warned yesterday that "the struggle" must end and negotiations must resume or the Government would clamp down on the ANC and PAC military wings.

Opening the short session of Parliament yesterday, De Klerk said negotiations could not continue while "underground activities" and mass action continued or while there were still arms caches stored in the country.

He said the unbanning of certain political organisations did not give them licence to continue their "revolutionary" objectives.

De Klerk said the ANC and PAC (as well as the AWB) would have to "deactivate and dissolve" their private armies completely.

"It remains a crime to be in illegal possession of weapons, to be in control of arms caches, to take part in illegal marches," De Klerk said.

He said considering the intensified violence and breakdown of negotiations over the past four months, Parliament was gathering under

difficult and challenging circumstances.

This short sitting of Parliament was not a denial of the importance of negotiations.

Meanwhile, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, led about 3 000 people to Parliament yesterday in a march and rally that was a lot cooler than a Cape Town spring Monday.

After the weekend estimates of 25 000 marchers, the small crowd marched from Cape Town's Grand Parade to the House of Parliament, to rename Stalplein - a square outside Tuynhuys, the office of the State President - Albert Luthuli Square.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has confirmed the meetings with the PAC and IFP, and said that they bode well for the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations, as early, possibly, as November.

The Government is confident that multi-party talks will resume within a month as it prepares for two high-level meetings with the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

STAR 12/10/92

Report on camp 'torture' out soon

By Abdul Milazi

(847)

The report of the ANC's commission of inquiry into alleged killings and torture in ANC prison camps will be released this week, the organisation said yesterday.

An ANC spokesman said the report, containing names of people believed to have been involved in torture, has been handed to ANC president Nelson Mandela and will be discussed by the national executive committee before publication.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 14/10/92
No prisoners - Mandela (84/15)

AFRICAN National Congress President Nelson Mandela yesterday denied the organisation had any prisoners in camps in African countries.

Speaking after a meeting with US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, in Johannesburg, he said he had invited SA Council of Churches secretary general the Reverend Frank Chikane and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to inspect ANC camps.

MK blamed for IFP deaths

By CARMEL RICKARD 16/10-22/10/92.

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has directly blamed Umkhonto weSizwe for the killing of 60 IFP supporters in six recent Natal massacres, after another murderous attack this week.

On Wednesday, about 20 uniformed men killed and burnt Lena Mvonu, wife of Mthiyoke Mvonu, the IFP vice-chairman in Felekisi, near kwaMakutha outside Amanzimtoti, according to Inkatha central committee member and kwaZulu health minister Ben Ngubane. They then shot dead four others in the homestead, including two children.

Dropping Inkatha's previous innuendo, Ngubane directly pointed a finger at the African National Congress' armed wing, saying the attack bore all the hallmarks of MK. He also warned that the spate of killings would have to be addressed before the IFP would consider returning to the negotiating table.

"The six massacres over the last six weeks have all followed a similar pattern and this without doubt is a planned strategy employed by MK and ordered by the ANC," he said.

"Nelson Mandela, as commander-in-chief of MK, must take direct and full responsibility for the actions of his death squads."

The phrase "death squads" appears deliberately chosen and follows the ANC's constant reference to "death squads" allegedly financed, trained and run by the state.

Ngubane said that in each case in which Inkatha people were killed, "trained assassins wearing security force uniforms" carried out the massacres. He also claimed that following four of these incidents ANC or MK members have either been arrested or killed by Inkatha members in self-defence at the scene of the massacres.

He listed the continued killings of Inkatha supporters as one of the major issues which had to be addressed before any further constitutional talks were held.

"Inkatha is adamant that MK, the death merchants of the ANC, must be disbanded immediately and unconditionally." Ngubane said the IFP would otherwise find it difficult to explain to its members why they went back to talks "while the killings continued".

Reporting breaches of the peace accord to the National Peace Committee proved a waste of time. When the ANC was found guilty of violating the accord "there is no internal discipline of those who have violated the accord, and the ANC just shrugs its shoulders as if violations are of no consequence."

IFF dipping in to sad saga

By S'BU MNGADI

ALLEGATIONS of abuses in ANC camps in exile continue to haunt the organisation.

No sooner had an ANC-appointed three-person commission of inquiry into the allegations submitted its findings to president Nelson Mandela than another equally damaging commission began hearing evidence from former ANC detainees earlier this month.

Advocate Robert Stuart Douglas of Durban has been crossing the country gathering evidence from returned exiles who claimed they were detained, beaten and tortured into admitting they were security police agents. Some alleged their friends were killed by members of the ANC's security department.

Appointed by the rightwing Washington DC-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF), the Douglas Commission has been as controversial as the ANC-appointed commission. The ANC commission consisted of independent advocate Gilbert Marcus, Durban advocate Louis Skweyiya and ANC lawyer Bridgette Mabanda, also a member of the ANC's constitutional committee.

Maverick US congressman Jesse Helms, who heads the IFF, is a renowned ANC-basher and supporter of Renamo in Mozambique, Unita in Angola and other rightwing causes elsewhere in Africa and Latin America.

However, Douglas dismissed the parallel between the two commissions: "I can't speak for the IFF. All I know about them (the IFF) is that they stand for a free-market economy and multi-party democracy. Why that should make them a rightwing organisation, I don't quite understand," the advocate said.

In an interview with City Press this week, Douglas denied the main function of his inquiry was to gather information that could be used in a wave of civil actions against the ANC.

But Pat Hlongwane, chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee, which initiated the commission, said the commission formed phase two of the REC's campaign which could culminate with the assassination of ANC leaders and cadres who allegedly committed atrocities against detainees in exile.

"If the commission fails to bring the ANC leaders and cadres to justice, we will immediately proceed with our assassination campaign. And coupled with assassination campaign will be a wave of civil actions for damages against the ANC," Hlongwane



BITTER AND TWISTED ... Exile Pat Hlongwane wants to kill ANC officials.

said. Douglas replied that although he was aware of Hlongwane's assassination threat, that had nothing to do with his inquiry.

"I can't see why my findings would lead to violence. It's accepted by the ANC that human rights abuses did take place in their camps. So, that's not really to a great extent an issue. There is nothing new even if there is (such) a finding.

"The main function of my inquiry is to ascertain the truth," Douglas said.

About 40 former ANC detainees, most of them from the PWV region, and others from Natal and KwaZulu, had so far testified before the commission, he said.

A number of the witnesses preferred to remain anonymous because they feared reprisals. Those witnesses who didn't mind their names being published had their affidavit deposited with the SA office of the IFF in Johannesburg, the advocate said.

Former ANC member Alfred Kunene told the commission he survived a firing squad at which four people were mowed down by members of the ANC's security department in the presence of then-Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani, and other senior MK members.

Kunene claimed his only crime was to have an affair with an ANC member who had spurned propositions from a member of

Imbokodo - a clique in MK.

As a result of severe torture and beatings at the Quattro ANC camp in Angola, he had suffered mental breakdowns and the gunshot wound in his stomach caused him to frequently pass blood.

Other witnesses repeated allegations of severe torture and beatings at the hands of ANC guards, who acted with the apparent authority and acquiescence of MK leaders.

The commission's hearing in Maritzburg last week was meek and mild. Former ANC prisoner Ndabakayise Mbatha, 55, gave Douglas a statement during a hearing attended by Hlongwane in which he said that although he was wrongfully imprisoned by the ANC, he felt no bitterness as he understood that the paranoia within the ANC was caused by the assassination of a number of its members by "enemy agents".

He said he was not tortured during his imprisonment and received proper food and medical care. He said he had raised the matter of his wrongful arrest with the ANC leadership to get redress and advised Hlongwane to do the same.

There were frequent exchanges between Hlongwane and Mbatha during the interview, debating - among other things - whether food was good or bad in prison.

When Mbatha suggested he could set up a meeting between ANC leaders and Hlongwane for him to state his grievances, Hlongwane retorted that if he were to meet ANC leaders, he would do so with a "time-bomb around my waist to die with all of them".

Explaining Hlongwane's presence during the hearing, Douglas said the interview was open to the public and that Mbatha's three observers were also allowed in. The advocate said Hlongwane was present at Mbatha's invitation. He added that the REC leader had previously attended some hearings.

This week, REC political researcher Skesana "Keke" Kheswa resigned from the REC barely a week after testifying before the Douglas Commission.

Kheswa, who was detained by Imbokodo and "falsely" accused of being a State agent, said in his statement this week he joined the REC because he wanted redress as he had been abused by the ANC. He said ANC allegations that he was a spy were "blatant lies and a distortion of my image".

The former exile has been staying in the Inkatha stronghold of Lindelani near Durban since returning last year. He now wanted to return to his home in Maritzburg and start a new life with his family, he said.

Kheswa said REC secretary Siphosiso Lalisa had also left the committee.

84A
**Bomber hits
wrong house**

DAMAGE estimated at thousands of rands was caused by a petrol bomb thrown into a Port Elizabeth house in error.

Police said the attack appeared to have been intended for another house in the Schauderville area.

Mr Joseph Baartman, 44, of Glendinning Street, awoke to the sound of a window breaking and found his lounge ablaze.

S/Times 18/10/92.

The fight for Press freedom

Sowetan 19/10/92
■ Today, 15 years ago, the Government clamped down on the black Press:

Sowetan Correspondent

ON October 19 1977, the Government banned *The World* and *Weekend World* newspapers and 18 other black consciousness organisations.

In honour of media practitioners who were victims of this action, and in defence of a free media in this country, Sowetan today hosts a seminar on press freedom at Vista University from 8.30am.

The Union of Black Journalists was one of the 18 organisations that were banned.

Among the others were Sasm, SSRC, Saso, BPC, BPA, Medupe Writers Association, African Women Federation, six provincial youth clubs, Zimele and Siyazingceda Trust Funds.

There have been many occasions since 1977 when newspapers were banned, journalists detained and arrested, and legislation used to curtail access to information and freedom of expression.

(See story on Page 6)

the nation in brief

ANC's torture findings

THE African National Congress (ANC) is to release its findings today on allegations of torture at its camps. *(84A)*

A statement said a report of its commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners would be released to the Press later today.

"There will be no further comment until then," the ANC said. *Sowetan 19/10/92*

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela appointed a three-member commission consisting of lawyers Louis Skweyiya, Bridgit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus to inquire into conditions at its camps in the wake of the torture claims.

The commission is expected to make recommendations which may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged torture.

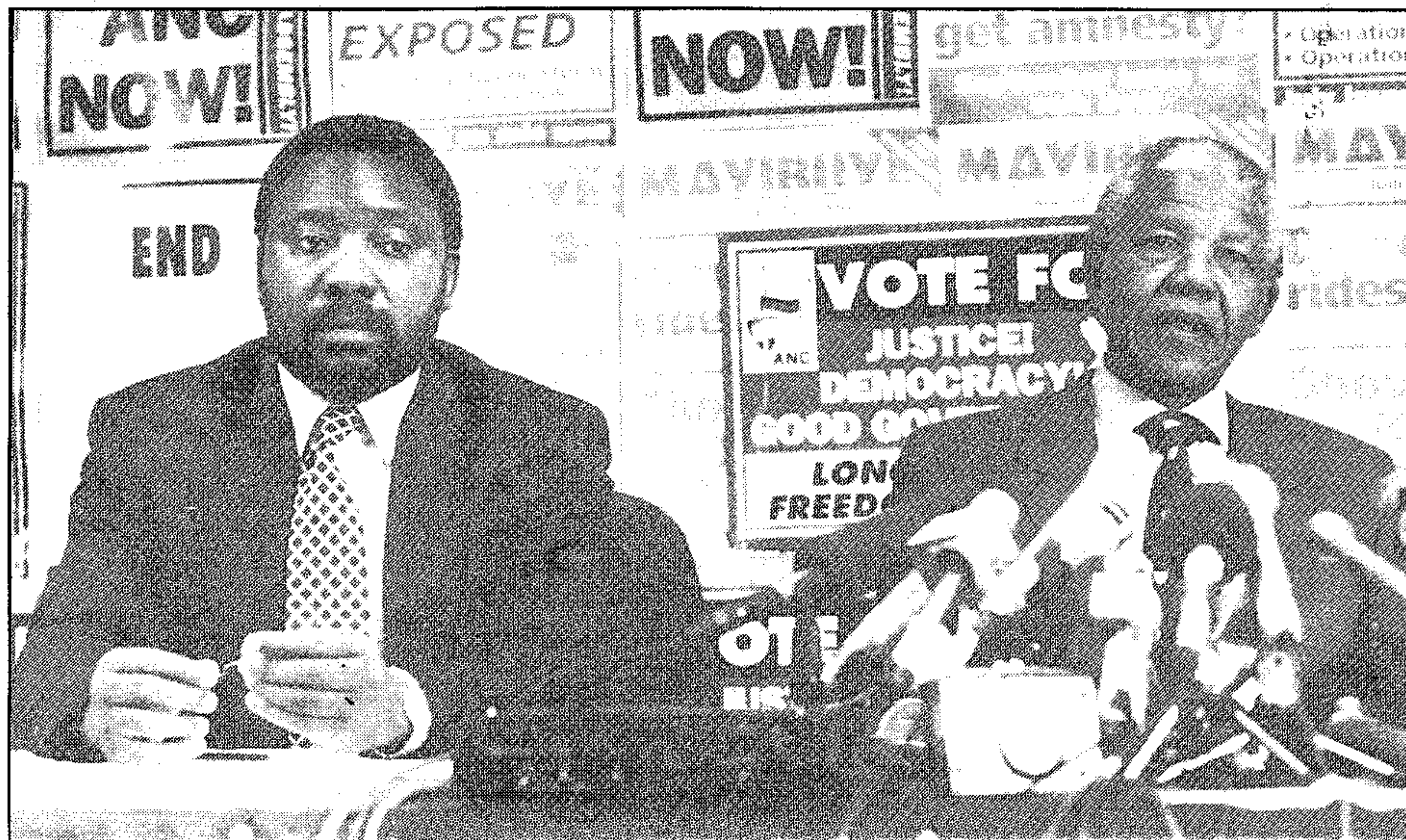
It is believed the commission has heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses - both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

325 000 sit matric exams

MORE than 325 000 matric pupils will sit for their final examination from tomorrow amid unresolved problems between the education authorities, teachers and pupils. *Sowetan 19/10/92*

The Congress of South African Students has resolved that the final examinations be written despite the violence and harassment affecting their members in Ciskei, Natal and the PWV areas.

However, Cosas said they were not going to hesitate in calling the exams to a stop if these factors affected students. Cosas blamed the Department of Education and Training for its intransigence and unwillingness in responding to the pupils and teachers' demands.



African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and president Mr Nelson Mandela face the Press at yesterday's media conference . PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

ANC guilty of torture

By Abbey Makoe

■ **CAMPS OF DEATH** The organisation to compensate victims of torture and abuse:

A THREE-MAN COMMISSION of inquiry into brutalities in the ANC's detention camps yesterday revealed that certain individuals still in the organisation were guilty of inhuman activities.

In response to the findings, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the organisation's leadership accepted "collective responsibility".

The commission was headed by Advocate Zola Skweyiya and Mrs Bridget Mabandla, both of the ANC, and Advocate Gilbert Marcus.

The ANC is expected to spend thousands of rands to compensate individuals it has wronged.

The commission made several recommendations, saying it was guided by three principles: redress, accountability and prevention.

These included:

- People who were detained without trial should have allegations against them unconditionally withdrawn;
- People who were subjected to torture in ANC camps should receive monetary compensation;
- The ANC should provide medical and psychological assistance to some of the complainants interviewed by the commission;
- The organisation must provide financial assistance to complainants whose academic careers were interrupted by "long periods" of de-

tention;

- Detainees who lost property be compensated for their losses; and that
- Consideration be given to an independent structure to document cases of abuse and give effect to the commission's recommendations.

The commission said it was apparent that many people had suffered. Some of the allegations, according to the commission, were, however, found to be false.

The commission found the "gravest abuses" had been perpetrated in the ANC's camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda against suspected infiltrators and agents.

Those detained in the organisation's Quatro camp in Angola were detained without trial for long periods under shocking physical conditions and were denied adequate health treatment.

"The evidence revealed that camp guards and commanders made it virtually impossible for detainees to maintain themselves and their clothing in a healthy condition," said the report.

It described as "unconscionable and pernicious" the lack of adequate nutrition provided to inmates at the camps.

The report said the commanders of the Quatro

camp, which was for suspected enemy agents and dissidents, were "universally hostile to the inmates".

"The inmates, whether convicted of any offence or not, were denigrated, humiliated and abused, often with staggering brutality. It was violence for the sake of violence."

According to the evidence, beatings were meted out gratuitously and brutally. After the 1984 mutiny at the Quatro camp, mutineers were executed. The commission said there was a "sense of unease" that the executions were carried out summarily.

The head of the ANC's department of intelligence and security until 1987, Mzwai Piliso, candidly admitted to the commission his personal participation in the beating of suspects in 1981, saying it was justified on the basis that he wanted information "at any cost".

The chairman of the Returned Exiles Coordinating Committee on Monday expressed doubt about the credibility of the report.

Mr Mwezi Twala expressed concern about the ANC taking collective responsibility for the abuses, and the fact that the names of perpetrators had not been published.

Abuses: ANC takes full responsibility

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday announced that his organisation accepted full responsibility for the chilling human rights abuses perpetrated in its detention camps.

However, he refused to make public the names of the perpetrators of maltreatment given to him by the ANC's internal commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners. No immediate action against these people, some of whom were still in the ANC, was envisaged.

In compliance with one of the commission's 10 recommendations, the ANC had undertaken to appoint an "independent and impartial body" to further investigate allegations of torture and murder.

The commission's 74-page report released yesterday details horrific human rights abuses in detention camps beyond SA's borders, including torture, humiliation and "staggering brutality".

The most important recommendation of the commission is that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible.

No person "guilty of committing atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume a position of power", the commissioners said.

The commission reports how torture was inflicted to extract confessions. It also

lists incidents of abuse and punishment sometimes for no apparent reason.

These include:

- Detainees disappearing or being murdered in detention, while others died from maltreatment;
- Description of a routine torture called "the gasmask", in which a pawpaw shell was pushed onto the face of the detainee.
- Former head of ANC intelligence Mzwai Piliso, a reluctant witness, stating he watched as the soles of detainees' feet were beaten to extract information; and
- No food for detainees while commanders ate their fill and fed leftovers to pigs.

The three-person commission, two of whom are ANC members, said there was a consistency in the evidence, but ruled out any collusion or fabrication.

The 10 recommendations include appeals for allegations against detainees to be unequivocally withdrawn; monetary compensation and medical assistance for those who suffered, and education provision for detainees who wanted it.

Mandela said he regretted the clear and unequivocal indictment of the ANC and said the abuses were inexcusable. Everything would be done to ensure nothing like this ever happened again.

BILLY PADDOCK

8/10/92
B/DAM

ANC guilty of torture

Duefan 20/10/92
84A
■ **GRAVE ABUSES** ANC commission finds gross

maltreatment of detainees in detention camps:

AN ANC commission has found that the "gravest of abuses" have been perpetrated in the movement's camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda against persons suspected of being infiltrators and agents.

The three-man commission of inquiry yesterday revealed that certain individuals still serving in the organisation were guilty of these abuses.

In response to the findings,

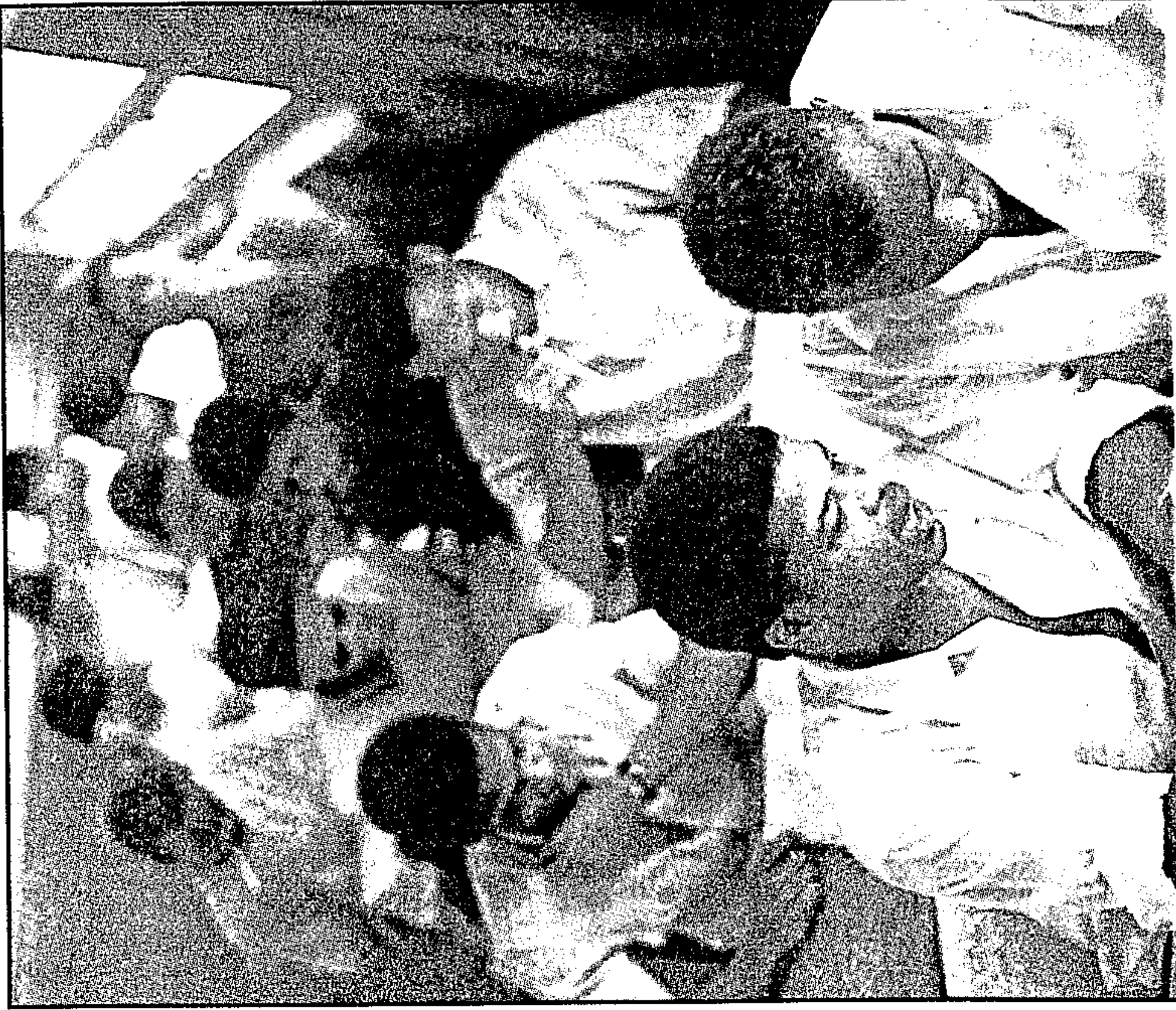
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the organisation's leadership accepted "collective responsibility".

The commission found:

- Detainees were held without trial;
- Detainees were provided with inadequate nutrition;
- Detainees were humiliated "often with staggering brutality".

The ANC is expected to compensate individuals it has wronged.

See story page 2



NEWS Disclose names, ANC told

Probe deeper call to ANC

Sowetan 22/10/92
■ **DETENTION CAMPS** Praise for accepting
full responsibility for human rights abuses:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress (ANC) has received praise from several organisations for accepting full responsibility for human rights abuses at its detention camps.

Now human rights and political groups have called for a full and independent inquiry and for the ANC to reveal the names of those involved in the torture and abuse of detainees. The Azanian People's Organisation said it appreciated the ANC's admission that "it committed atrocities against innocent people".

It said that not only were the atrocities committed in ANC camps abroad but against Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement formations through the United Democratic Front between 1985 and 1988.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said: "We look forward to the establishment of a full and independent commission empowered to hear evidence from all sides. The commission should further recommend that those found guilty of gross human rights violations should not in future hold public positions."

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) said it welcomed the ANC's acceptance of responsibility but said it was "shocked and aggrieved" at how detainees were treated at ANC camps. The church group supported the ANC's intention to appoint an independent commission and called for the naming of those responsible for the abuses. Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said Mr Nelson Mandela deserved credit.

"People will be satisfied only once the names of perpetrators were known. It is important that the ANC should disclose, just as the Government should disclose."

Included in the report of a three-person commission are details of detention without trial in the Quatro camp in Angola for long periods under shocking physical conditions.

Meanwhile, the Returned Exiles Coordinating Committee (Recoc) chairman, Mr Mwezi Twala, said while he welcomed the ANC's report his organisation wanted a full and independent inquiry. He said Recoc was awaiting the completion of a report into exiles' claims headed by Mr Robert Douglas, SC, which has been sponsored by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation.

MP admits he blew up Pretoria school

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Right-wing MP Koos Botha admitted in Parliament yesterday that he blew up a Pretoria school — and then blamed the CP leadership for inspiring him to violence. *610AM 22/10/92*

Botha, currently on trial for his involvement in the July 1991 bombing of Hillview School, which was to have housed exiled ANC children, said he blew up the school to demonstrate the power of the Afrikaner.

Speaking during the Further Indemnity Bill debate, he blamed CP leader Andries Treurnicht, deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Cape leader Jan Hoon for speeches that inspired him to violence.

Treurnicht rejected the claims and said Botha was the only person among the 100 000 people at the Voortrekker Monument who took his statement that "the third war of freedom has begun" as a personal instruction to violence.

Botha had forgotten repeated warnings that individuals should not take the law into their own hands, said Treurnicht.

Botha, in his speech supporting the Bill, said something had built up inside him and he reached his Rubicon of violence when it was announced the ANC would be allowed to use the Hillview School, a cherished place in Afrikanerdom.

Botha said he now believed it would be stupid to engage in violence.

"We now need freedom fighters with a trowel and a spade in their hands. Let us put away the AK-47s and the R4s and work ourselves free."

FM 23/10/92

~~(S)~~ (S4A)

ANC DETENTION CAMPS

A haunted past

The decision by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to appoint — and publish the findings of — a commission of inquiry into complaints by former ANC detainees was a commendable first step. Similar allegations against Swapo were not investigated before it contested elections and became the government of Namibia.

But the real test of the ANC's commitment to ethical standards, openness and the prevention of such abuses in future depends on whether and how it intends acting on the commission's recommendations.

Most important, the commission "strongly recommends that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible for the maltreatment of detainees."

The commissioners — advocates Gilbert Marcus and Louis Skweyiya and ANC member Brigid Mabandla — say: "It is for the ANC itself to ensure that it cleanses its own ranks of those responsible for the acts of brutality described in this report.

"It is clear that several persons against whom serious allegations of brutality have been levelled are currently employed by the ANC in the security department." A list of these people has been supplied to Mandela.

The commissioners add that those in senior ranks of the security department who were responsible for the situation in the camps should not escape the net of accountability either.

"We consider this recommendation to be of the greatest importance, particularly in the light of the role that the ANC is likely to play in a future government." No-one guilty of committing atrocities should "ever again" be allowed to assume a position of power. The best formula for prevention of such acts in future would be to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to account "and are seen to be brought to account."

For the ANC leadership to accept "ultimate responsibility" for not having adequately monitored the situation in its camps is one thing — ("an example the government might follow," says the Institute of Race Relations' Jill Wentzel). But that would be like the State President simply accepting responsibility for security force dirty deeds in the past without having to reveal all.

However, it would seem reasonable for the ANC not to divulge the names until those in question have had a chance to put their case and defend themselves.

Guided by the principles of "redress, accountability and prevention," the commission also recommends the creation of an "independent structure" which is perceived to be impartial and is capable of document-

ing cases of abuse and giving effect to the type of recommendations in its report. The ANC says it is considering the appointment of an independent commission.

Among the commission's 10 recommendations are compensation to victims including medical assistance, monetary award, psychological treatment and return of property.

A former ANC member and detainee who now heads the Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee, Mwezi Twala, described the commission's report as "a victory for us," arguing that the ANC was forced into appointing the commission after having attempted to sweep the matter under the carpet. He says the ANC acted partly to preempt the findings of another commission of inquiry, appointed by the International Freedom Foundation and chaired by Durban advocate Robert Douglas, which expects to report by the end of the year. Its terms of reference are wider than the Marcus commission's: it intends naming those responsible and legally accountable and whether anyone is still being detained.

Twala says the ANC's exiled leadership at the time — not its internal leaders or those who were on Robben Island — should accept responsibility for the atrocities. He names as directly responsible: Mzwai Piliso, then head of an ANC security organ called Mbokhodo ("the stone that crushes"); security directorate bigwigs like Andrew Masondo, a

FM 23/10/92 ~~(S)~~ (S4A)

national commissar thought to be in Uganda; Sizakele Sigxashe; and Reddy Mazimbo, a former chief ANC representative in Zimbabwe. Twala adds that ANC sports chief Steve Tswete (then army commissar) visited the Quatro camp in Angola in about 1986 and that Chris Hani was a regular visitor. ■

DAY 23/10/92

ANC names withheld

THE names of those implicated in cases of maltreatment in ANC detention camps would be withheld until those accused had been heard, the ANC said yesterday.

Responding to demands that it release the names, the ANC said people named had not had the opportunity to give evidence to the commission of inquiry.

DAY

REPORTS: Sapa-AP-Reuters

SUA

ANC officials denounced for prison camp terror

Guardian/W/In W/Man 23/10-29/10/92

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

(84A)

SENIOR officials in the African National Congress have been denounced in the strongest terms for "staggering" brutality and torture of prisoners, as well as possible murder, by an internal commission of inquiry.

The investigation, into conditions under which detainees were held in ANC camps abroad during its years of exile, confirms many of the worst allegations made by former members who have been denounced by the organisation as South African government "spies" and "traitors".

It details horrendous maltreatment — with even medical staff partaking in assaults — as well as the systematic use of torture to extract "confessions." In one case a detainee was tortured until "due to a confusion in the use of code names", he "confessed to murdering himself". Another was beaten for 14 hours until he confessed to killing several people who were subsequently found to be alive.

The report calls for further investigation into allegations that some prisoners "simply disappeared or were murdered".

It lists a wide variety of torture, including kicks to the genitals and beatings on the soles of the feet, prisoners being forced to crawl through red ant colonies with pig fat smeared on them to attract bites, starvation, and solitary confinement.

"It was violence for the sake of violence," says the report by three lawyers appointed by the ANC to probe the charges.

"We were left with the impression that for the better part of the 1980s there existed a situation of extraordinary abuse of power and lack of accountability."

Several of the persons accused of committing acts of torture are still employed in the security department of the ANC, the report says.

The findings of the inquiry — headed by a Johannesburg silk and ANC member, Advocate T. L. Skweyiya — were reluctantly released by the ANC leadership after what appears to have been acrimonious debate within its executive, the national working committee.

The ANC's president, Nelson Mandela, said the leadership accepted "ultimate responsibility for not adequately monitoring and, therefore, eradicating such abuses".

But he qualified this by saying it was the view of the working committee that the speed with which the investigation had to be completed meant it was unable to hear mitigating evidence. Such evidence included the difficult conditions under which the ANC operated in exile and "inaccuracies in some of the sources which the commission used as authoritative reference".

The qualification is likely to be received with some cynicism in view of the time it has taken for the ANC to release the report, which was completed in August.

The report is startling for the bluntness of its criticism of the ANC. Although one of its three commissioners, Advocate Gilbert Marcus, is not an ANC member and is highly regarded among civil rights activists, it was feared the inquiry would end in a cover-up.

The commission said it had received evidence from 17 former detainees, including the ANC's present director of publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan, who had been held for six weeks for accusing the security department of "conducting itself like a repressive police force".

Twelve of the 17 had received no trial, and had been held for between three to seven years.

The worst abuses were committed at the notorious "Quatro rehabilitation centre" in Angola, it says. But conditions in other camps and prisons in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, and Uganda were in no way "remotely acceptable".

It confirms that men who took part in a mutiny at Quatro had been executed. "The circumstances in which this occurred are far from clear. However, there is a sense of unease that these executions may have been carried out summarily."

The commission says no one who was guilty of atrocities should ever again be allowed to occupy positions of power, and it recommends that victims of torture be paid compensation irrespective of whether they were proved to be spies.

THE Weekly Mail publishes here a list of African National Congress members accused of responsibility for the torture and abuse in the organisation's camps in exile in the 1980s.

The ANC's own inquiry, which published its report this week, catalogued a range of horrors committed by the security department at ANC camps, but fell short of naming the individuals accused of being involved.

The Weekly Mail conducted its own investigation to identify these individuals and gives a full breakdown. They fall into three categories: senior officials directly implicated in the abuses or who had immediate responsibility for them; lesser officials; and those who turned a blind eye — senior ANC personnel who are guilty by complicity.

THE INSTIGATORS and TORTURERS

●Mzwandile "Mzwai" Piliso — ANC national executive committee (NEC) member until July 1991 (when he failed to secure re-election), head of ANC security department until 1985 and since then head of the ANC's manpower department, member of the South African Communist Party until the early 1980s.

Those who did

W/Mail 23/10 - 29/10/92

Piliso, who has admitted his involvement in the abuses, is very widely accused of direct involvement in both ordering and in physically carrying out torture and political "executions", at least from 1979 until 1985.

The assaults, torture and murders in the Angolan camps occurred under his direct authority, and frequently under his orders. Mainly as a result of the recommendations of the ANC's 1985 Stuart Commission (which investigated the abuses) he was pushed sideways to the manpower department.

●Andrew Masondo — member of the ANC NEC and the SACP central committee until the Kabwe conference, June 1985, ANC commissar until 1985; currently ANC chief representative in Uganda.

He is widely accused of ordering the torture of dissidents, some of whom died as a result, throughout the 1980s. He was removed from his positions in 1985 as a result of the Stuart

The ANC has published a report on torture in its camps but hasn't named those responsible. Here are the names. By **GAVIN EVANS,**

PHILIPPA GARSON and MICHAEL BOWERY

23/10 - 29/10/92
Commission report, after which he became the secondary school principal at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania.

●Thami Zulu (Muzi Ngwenya) — former commander of the Camalundi camp in Malanje province, and later ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe head in Swaziland. Was himself detained by ANC security in 1988 and 1989, and died, probably as a result of poisoning, shortly after his release.

He is accused by several former ANC



Who should take the rap? ... ANC leaders Oliver Tambo, Chris Hanl, Nelson Mandela and Joe Modise

By **MARK GEVISSER**

ONE of the "heroes" named in this week's African National Congress report on torture and abuse in detention camps was removed from her job and replaced by one of the report's villains.

When Umkhonto weSizwe personnel were transferred from Angola to Uganda in 1989, Thenjiwe Mthintso — an MK commander now on the South African Communist Party central committee and a former close associate of black consciousness leader Steve Biko — was given the title of chief representative in Uganda and the responsibility of "setting up shop".

But the next year she was replaced by Andrew Masondo. According to senior sources within the ANC and evidence from ANC detainees, Masondo, who still runs operations in Uganda, was guilty of some of the most horrifying abuses of detainees in Angola.

Within the ANC, Masondo is widely held responsible for the conditions that led to the MK mutiny of 1984 in Angola.

Mthintso, on the other hand, is widely admired by ANC cadres for the way she handled thousands of dispirited, shell-shocked soldiers coming out of the Angolan hellhole.

In the ANC report, Mthintso is singled out for the positive role she played in combating detainee abuse. The commission reports that she "displayed a genuine capacity to listen to complaints and as a result conditions improved ... For the first time, detainees were able to relate their complaints without the guards being present."

Masondo, however, allegedly abused his position greatly. As one of only three senior ANC officials allowed into the Quatro detention camp — the other two were MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise and head of secu-

The unsung 'heroes' of the camps

W/Mail 23/10 - 29/10/92
rity Mzwai Piliso — he was, according to several accounts, directly involved in the system of detainee torture condemned in the ANC report.

Why, then, was he appointed in 1990 to the position of chief representative in Uganda and given command over the very cadres who hated him? And why was Mthintso, loved by the cadres in Uganda, sent back to South Africa?

The official ANC explanation is that, after the organisation was unbanned, Mthintso herself "requested to be relieved of her duties so that she could return to South Africa and continue her studies".

But according to some MK sources, another answer lies in the fact that Mthintso was sympathetic to the complaints of the detainees. They comment that she alienated the ANC's military establishment in her quest for fairness and justice, and through her advocacy of the rights of ANC rank-and-file.

While MK rank-and-file members in Uganda felt conditions were stabilising under Mthintso's command, military leaders allegedly held that discipline was flagging. So they replaced her with one of their more notorious strongmen, to the intense dissatisfaction of the cadres in Uganda.

Other sources counter, however, that suggestions that Mthintso was sidelined are mere

rumours resulting from the fact that she is popular and her successor so universally disliked. Mthintso is unwilling to talk to the press on the issue.

By all accounts, Masondo, despite his unpopularity, runs one of the ANC's tightest ships from his offices in Kampala, and the ANC comments that "there are no plans to recall him at present".

The ANC will not divulge how many cadres are still in Uganda, but rumours put the number in the thousands. Whether Masondo will be relieved of his stewardship over these cadres as a result of this week's revelations remains to be seen.

A second person who emerges in a positive light in the ANC report is Zola Skweyiya.

Now a member of the national working committee and head of the ANC's constitutional department, Skweyiya was appointed officer of justice in 1986 with responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the organisation's code of conduct on the treatment of detainees.

However, he was constantly frustrated in his job, mainly because of "the lack of co-operation from the people connected with security". He was blocked at every turn when he tried to visit Angola and met hostility when trying to carry out his official function. At one stage, he even felt that his life was in danger.

Skweyiya told the commission that matters improved when Joe Nhlanhla replaced Piliso as head of security, but he was still blocked from going to camps in Angola and Uganda to carry out his watchdog function.

It was only after years of trying that he managed to bring certain security department members before a disciplinary tribunal and ensure that others were prosecuted in Zambia and Tanzania.

it and those who knew

W/maill 23/10 - 29/10/92

detainees of overseeing the torture of several dissidents, including Oupa Moloi, who died during the first day of his interrogation in 1981 (allegedly for obtaining liquor outside the camp).

●**Morris Scabelo** — Soviet-trained intelligence officer and leading SACP activist, former Quatro camp commissar and later commander, and regional chief of security in Angola, who died mysteriously in Lesotho in 1985. He has been accused of direct involvement in torture and deaths and widely mentioned as one of the most notorious of the security officials.

●**"Africa Nkwe"** (also known as Oupa Shadrack Khumalo) — Soviet-trained intelligence and security officer, former senior commander and commissar at Quatro, and currently an ANC security department official in the PWV. Accused of overseeing and participating in assaults and torture at Quatro.

●**"Cyril Burton"** — former senior Quatro camp official accused of being directly involved in beat-

ings and torture, and in ordering them.

●**"Sizwe Mkhonto"** — East German and Soviet-trained intelligence officer and former student at Moscow Party Institution, and served for several years as Quatro camp commander. Currently with the ANC's directorate of intelligence and security in the PWV region. Accused of being responsible for assaults and torture at Quatro.

●**Griffiths Sebani** — former senior Quatro camp official. Accused of torture at Quatro. Later threatened to shoot anyone who repeated anything concerning problems in the camp.

●**"Itumeleng"** — senior ANC security department official who worked for a while in Quatro. Widely mentioned as one of the most notorious torturers in the movement.

●**"MK Doctor"** — MK and security official in Tanzania, accused by former ANC detainee Skekana Alpheus Kheswa, among other things, of severely assaulting and torturing detainees.

Other senior officials cited by several sources as

being involved in the abuses include: Peter Raboroko (former Zambian security chief); Dexter Mbona (former security chief at Quatro and later ANC regional chief of security in Angola); Pro (former Quatro camp commander); "Ralph" (also known as Lawrence Pieterse — former chief warden at the ANC "Sun City" detention centre at the Chongela farm near Lusaka); John Redi (former ANC director of security, removed from his position in 1988 after a departmental cleanout); Dan Mashingo (former Quatro chief of staff; "Mountain" (former Quatro commissar currently working for ANC security); "Johnson" (former Quatro camp commander).

Among the many guards and less senior ANC officials alleged to have been directly involved in atrocities include:

●**MB Mavuso ("Jomo")** — Nelson Mandela's bodyguard, based at the Shell House headquarters of the ANC. He is a former guard at Quatro, widely alleged to have been directly involved in torture.

●**"Joe My Baby"** — Former Lusaka-based ANC security official and Quatro guard, currently based in ANC headquarters.

●**"Stalin"** — currently in Lusaka mental hospital (may also be Stalin Ncube — former security official in Mozambique). Was directly involved in torture, including of one Cape activist, whose foot he crushed (and who is now suing the ANC).

●**"MK Tekere"** — former guard at Mazimbu detention camp near Morogoro, and currently MK official. Accused by Kheswa of being responsible for the "inhuman treatment" of detainees, including beatings with bicycle chains during 1987.

Other junior officials include: Siphon Mechanic (Quatro guard involved in assaults and torture); Golden Rahobe (former Quatro guard); "Kingsley" (former Quatro guard and Mandela bodyguard); "Willy Williams"; FK Khosa (also known as Nkete); "Mojo" (Angola-based ANC security official accused of extensive involvement in torture and assaults); Jackie Mabuza (former Lusaka-based ANC security official — also accused of participating in beating eastern Cape activist "Seku" to death); "Pushkin" (also known as Kgomo and Jabu Kosane — former Quatro guard currently in ANC security); MK Stanley; Refilo Thembele (security and intelligence department member); "Brian" (former Quatro camp official accused, among other things, of shooting Alfred Kunene in the stomach and both legs for no reason).

THOSE WHO TURNED A BLIND EYE

There are many current ANC leaders in the category of those who must, or should have, known and did not act to stop it. It includes current ANC honorary president Oliver Tambo — but several with more direct access to the detainees:

●**Joe Modise** — MK commander, ANC NEC and national working committee head. Widely accused of, at minimum, being fully aware of the torture and "execution" of dissidents carried out by those under his command, and of visiting the camps (such as Quatro) while this was happening, without making any attempt to intervene.

The 1984 mutineers cited Modise (along with Piliso and Masondo) as the chief villains, and continue to regard him in this light as a result of subsequent events.

"He frequently came to the camps — including Quatro — and did absolutely nothing to improve our situation," said former detainee Bandile Ketelo.

●**Chris Hani** — SACP secretary general, member of the ANC NEC and National Working Group, former MK chief of staff.

Hani's role in the whole affair is ambiguous. On the one hand he was the man initially trusted by the 1984 Angolan rebels, and who persuaded them to lay down their arms. He was also critical of the brutal treatment handed out to several and was responsible for their release, and has openly castigated the security department for their "excesses".

On the other hand, according to several affidavits and accounts by former detainees he endorsed the decision by the Military Tribunal for the execution of seven of the rebels (which he denies), and was present at the subsequent execution of four others. They say he was also present when Mwezi Twala was shot in the back in Angola in 1984.

Former ANC detainees also say that at times he suppressed their right to speak and hold office (after their release) and did not keep the promises he had previously made to them. They say he also did little to help them while they were in detention in Quatro.

"Hani visited Quatro a number of times when I was there and he did nothing to assist us. He knew the details of our situation, because we had spoken to him at the time of the mutiny and because he could see with his own eyes the terrible situation at Quatro. For instance, at one time a friend of mine had been severely beaten, and his face was bruised and swollen," said Ketelo.

●**Joe Nhlahlaha** — served as ANC head of security and intelligence from about 1985 until today, and is currently a member of the ANC NEC and its working group.

According to an affidavit by former ANC detainee Kheswa, Nhlahlaha frequently visited the ANC detention camp in Mazimbu near Morogoro in Tanzania, which was run by Mbokodo in around 1987. Detainees there were regularly assaulted and tortured and several died as a result. He would tell them that unless they confessed to being enemy agents they would spend the rest of their lives there.

Rebel betrayed by his cause

W/maill 23/10 - 29/10/92

By PHILIPPA GARSON

IN October 1976 Charles Thembekwayo left the country for military training, his head filled with romantic dreams.

He believed that when he next crossed South Africa's borders, it would be to destroy the apartheid machinery in a blaze of military glory.

But after spending six years in the notorious Quatro camp in Angola, Thembekwayo's dreams had turned to nightmares. His soldier spirit had evaporated in the suffocating heat of Quatro's cells.

Articulate and soft-spoken, Thembekwayo (40) is a reluctant rebel stripped of a cause. To many, he's an unpleasant symbol best ignored.

Yet he is still an ANC member, despite the fact that he blames the exile leadership for the brutal treatment he and many others experienced at the hands of a security apparatus gone mad in its frenzied attempts to purge traitors from its ranks. The high-ranking officials who visited Quatro knew what was going on, he claims. Either they were involved, or they turned a blind eye.

A member of the South African Students Organisation, Thembekwayo was among several students from the University of Zululand arrested in 1976. He escaped from jail and fled the country.

After training in Angola and Cuba, he spent time in 1981 in Quibaxe and Pango camps in northern Angola. "We all lived for the day when we could go on a mission," he says, instead of "rotting in the camps".

When they came to fetch him he thought his hour had come. "I was told to collect my civilian clothes and was driven away. I thought we were heading for Luanda, but instead we drove into the mountains and I found myself in prison, in Quatro, or Camp 32 as it was called."

Thembekwayo never saw combat. What began instead was a six-year ordeal of beatings

and punishments. "Mzwai Piliso, Andrew Masondo and others interrogated me. They asked me how I had escaped from prison (in South Africa). They thought I was an agent released to infiltrate the ANC.

"Mzwai himself promised me I would be thoroughly beaten. And I was — with electric cable all over my body. They expected a confession but that was something I never gave them."

Thembekwayo describes how the hungry prisoners would pilfer leftovers from the dustbins when working in the yards.

After a year of continuous beating and hard labour Thembekwayo appealed to Masondo, who ordered the beatings to stop. However, in a reshuffle at the end of 1982, he found himself in "Battalion" cell, where treatment was even harsher.

"By 1986 I had had enough. I told Mzwai (Piliso) that after six years I still did not know why I was there." After Chris Hani intervened he was freed and sent to Viana to work in the construction unit.

Thembekwayo lays most of the blame on Piliso. "If the leadership was honest in its attempts to fix the situation it should have got rid of Piliso long ago. He controlled the lives and destinies of everyone in the camps."

Though he lost his youth, Thembekwayo is not as bitter as one would expect. "In a situation like that, obviously you would expect infiltration. It was justified for the movement to defend itself and find out who were the infiltrators. But my bitterness is that instead of going about it in an intelligent manner, they turned themselves into animals."

Now he lives on the east Rand in the midst of the violence. "We failed to take the war to the end, we lost the revolution and now that war has turned inwards on us," he says. "I hope for an ANC government but there will not be the kind of future we dreamt about."



Tortured...Charles Thembekwayo

The question remains: Who killed Thami?

By PAUL STOBER

W/maill 23/10 - 29/10/92

IN the end, Thami Zulu fell victim to the inquisition of which he had so eagerly been a part.

According to Bandile Ketelo, a former Umkhonto weSizwe commander, Zulu was directly involved in the killing and torture of suspected African National Congress dissidents in 1981, seven years before his own detention in an ANC camp. He died mysteriously days after his release.

The ANC's national executive committee has decided to withhold the commission's report into the death of Zulu, *nom de guerre* for Muziwakhe Ngwenya. The report is carried as an appendix to the main report on complaints of former prisoners and detainees.

In April 1981, says Ketelo, when the ANC security department was beginning to fan through the organisation's camps to investigate breaches of discipline, Zulu commanded the Camalundi camp in Malanje province, Angola.

The head of the political department, Oupa Moloi, was killed at Camalundi on the first day of his interrogation. In a calculated response to the death, Zulu lined up other suspected dissidents and spies — who had been badly beaten — in

front of the camp, and threatened to kill even more of them.

Eight years later, amid allegations that he was a South African government agent, Zulu died shortly after his release from an ANC detention centre. His death and the circumstances surrounding it continue to rankle in the organisation.

According to sources who have seen the Zulu report, it clears him of being a state agent and concludes that he died from unnatural causes. But it fails to answer the key question: who killed Thami Zulu?

A possible reason why the organisation is treating the Zulu affair as particularly sensitive is the persistent allegation that ANC assistant general secretary Jacob Zuma was involved in his detention.

It is known that Zuma opposed Zulu's appointment as commander of Natal MK operations in 1983 because he favoured a Natal-born candidate for the position; Zulu was born and bred in Soweto. And by the time Zuma assumed the powerful position of head of ANC intelligence in the late 1980s, he was among those convinced Zulu was a South African agent.

Another reason for the sensitivity of the issue is

the high office Zulu held in the organisation. He was popular in the ranks of the ANC and is often described as having been exceptionally intelligent and able.

While ANC officials continue to insist that much of what has been written about Zulu's death is wrong, the reluctance to come clean about his death is being noted by ordinary ANC members who fear a cover-up.

In June 1988, Zulu was detained in Lusaka by ANC security after two groups of MK cadres were killed by police hit squads while infiltrating back into South Africa from Swaziland.

When he was released 17 months later, in November 1989, he was clearly in a bad state. He died five days later. A Zambian coroner found his death was due to tuberculosis, but a later report by a laboratory analyst found traces of a deadly pesticide, diazinon, in his blood.

The poison had to have been administered during the five days between Zulu's release and his death because it was a quick-acting drug. For whatever reason Zulu was poisoned, it is assumed to have been administered by one or more of the few people who had contact with him during his final days — all of them ANC members.

WEEKLY MAIL

R2,80 (including VAT) ★ Southern Africa: R2,80, excl tax ★ Zimbabwe: Z\$6,00, incl tax ★ Malawi: K5 Volume 8, Number 43. October 23 to 29 1992

The names the ANC tried to hide

Something new out of Africa



The newsmagazine of the sub-continent, *Africa South & East*, is included in this issue of *The Weekly Mail*.

It is packed with political, business, sport and cultural news from a southern African perspective and features extracts from editorials and opinion columns from five independent newspapers in the region.

It used to cost R3,85 on its own — now this 40-page magazine will be given free to *Weekly Mail* readers on the third Friday of every month.

W/Mail
23/10 - 29/10/92
WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS



THE *Weekly Mail* this week publishes names and details of African National Congress officials accused of responsibility for torture and abuse in the organisation's camps in exile.

The ANC's own report into what happened at the camps, published this week, confirmed that there had been widespread abuses, but fell short of naming the individuals accused of involvement.

An appendix of names that emerged during the hearings of the commission of inquiry was left off the document handed to the media.

The ANC has come under criticism for failing to come fully clean. However, the organisation argues that a further, more independent, inquiry is needed before allegations can be made against individuals.

The Weekly Mail conducted its own investigation and found that:

- A number of people currently employed at ANC headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg, were personally and directly implicated in torture and murders. These include one of Nelson Mandela's bodyguards and others who are still in the department of intelligence and security, which was responsible for events in the camps.

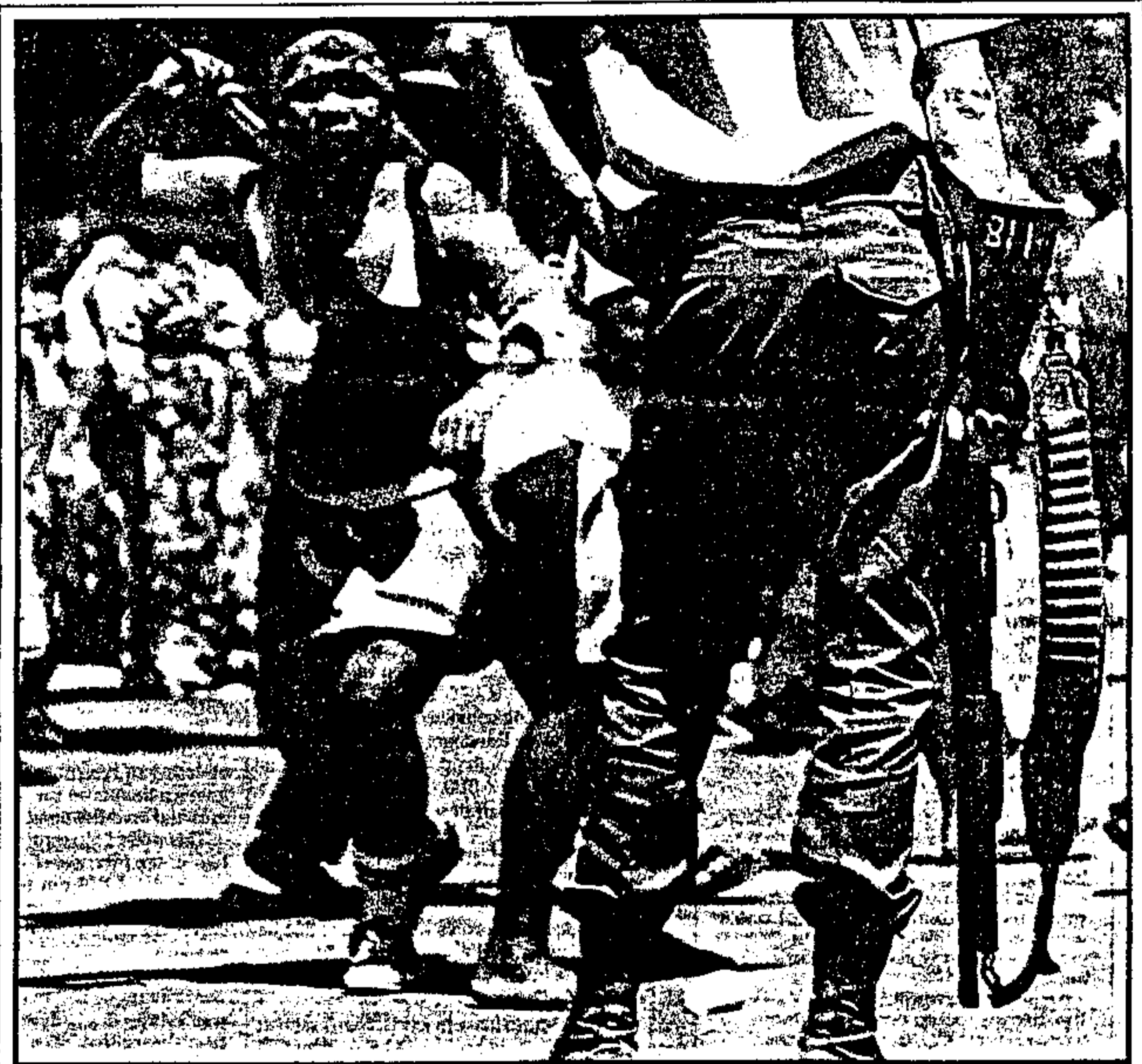
- Others involved in the abuses have since been promoted, such as Andrew Masondo, the current head of the ANC mission in Uganda. He replaced Thenjiwe Mthintso, "hero" of the report and one of the few ANC officials who went out of their way to help the detainees.

- Many of the most senior ANC officials knew about conditions in the camp — and did not do enough to stop it. These include the then president, Oliver Tambo, and the commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, Joe Modise.

- A notorious camp commander, Thami Zulu, himself became a victim. He was detained on suspicion of being a spy and died mysteriously within days of his release.

- The victims were not just those accused of being spies, but loyal soldiers who criticised the hierarchy or the camp practices.

The names are given on PAGES 4 and 5.



Spot the cultural weapon ... Despite the ban on weapons, about 20 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters marched through the centre of Johannesburg while police looked on

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Government on auto-pilot: Minister on auto-Pilate

The British government announced the closure of 31 collieries — putting 30 000 miners out of work — but president of the Board of Trade and Industry Michael Heseltine was forced to back down

PAGES 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8



Scandal haunts Bush's dog days

Whether he wins or loses the election, a furore involving arms deals with Iraq that will dwarf Watergate is hanging over the president

PAGES 10, 11, 17



By CHARLENE SMITH

DOZENS of ANC members, some in senior positions, face investigation later this year over allegations of torture.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the independent inquiry promised by ANC president Nelson Mandela would begin work after the ANC's national executive committee meets in November.

However, there is pressure from other top-ranking ANC officials for the inquiry to be appointed sooner.

The findings of an inquiry into ANC camps released this week reveal chilling human rights abuses in ANC detention camps. A list of those believed to be implicated in abuses has been given to Mr Mandela by the commission.

The commission's report has caused a furor among ANC members. Some are angry that the commission did not give those it accuses of torture the chance to defend themselves.

The commission itself has not been criticised although there was an error in the commission's list which names Andrew Mlangeni, an ANC NEC member and Rivonia trialist who was in jail from 1962 to 1989 in South Africa as one of the alleged torturers.

Thenjwe Mhinto, the ANC's chief representative in Uganda for some years, and who the commission says was singled out by several witnesses as having listened to complaints and tried to improve conditions, said that the report was "being taken out of context."

She said: "In the process of doing our work, many had failures and many had successes."

A former prisoner — who was held for six years without trial and who was frequently beaten, but remains a

loyal ANC member — said there was a "frenzy of fear about infiltration and enemy agents".

The Sunday Times has gathered a list of names of those allegedly involved in abuses. It is not the list given to Mandela by the commission, but the names have been checked with senior ANC sources who say that those on the Sunday Times list correspond with those on the commission's list.

Victims say torture was the preserve of security officers, while daily beatings were at the hands of prison guards, some as young as 14 years old. Most security officers were trained by the Stasi, the East German secret police.

Some names below are the Umkhonto we Sizwe code names used by all ANC members as a security precaution. However, code names were

not necessarily unique to a single individual and there are some who shared a code name with a torturer who were not involved in abuses of this nature.

Among those identified by victims are:

● Mzwandile Pheko, code names "Mzwai" or "Tata" (father), a former ANC NEC member who now heads the manpower department. He was head of ANC security until 1986.

● Andrew Masondo, "Dilonga", ANC chief representative in Uganda. Former member of the ANC NEC and the SACP central committee.

● Oupa Shadrack Khumalo ("Africa Nkwe"), former commander and commissar at Quatro.

● Some of Mr Mandela's body-

guards were allegedly involved in abuses, including "Kingsley", "Mountain" and MB "Jomo" Mavuso.

● Peter Raboroko, former security chief in Zambia.

● Dan Mashego, chief of staff at Quatro.

● Lawrence Pietersen, a security officer at ANC headquarters, who has experienced attempts on his life since his return to South Africa.

● "Willie Williams", real surname Motsweni, a senior officer in ANC security headquarters.

● "Professor" also known as Pro, a Tswana former camp commander of Quatro.

● "Soweto" (married to the sister of Nobleman Nxumalo, "Mzala", who wrote *Chief with a Double Agenda* about Chief Mangosuthu Buthe).

● "Johnson" who rose from being a guard to camp commander at Quatro.

● "Sizwe Mkhonto" now with ANC PWV directorate of security and intelligence.

● John Redi security director until 1986.

● Dettler Mbona, former head of security for Angola.

● "Nkosi", who occupies a senior position in ANC security headquarters. He was not much older than 18 when he became the first commander of Quatro after training in East Germany and the Soviet Union.

All the former security chiefs of Quatro were involved in torture, former detainees claim, their code names are "Pale", "Captain" and "Yuki" who both died under mysterious circumstances, and "Spinks", who also now works at ANC headquarters. The Sunday Times was not able to establish further details about these individuals.

Fresh torture probe may reach top ranks

25/10/92

Disgracing into the entrenchment

By QUINTON RHODES

THE ANC's report of the commission of inquiry into abuses of power reads in a depressingly familiar way.

Brutality and the stupidity of unbridled power mixed in more or less equal measure; deprivation of food and sleep; long periods in the hell of solitary confinement; detention for periods of up to four years without ever resulting in a trial; extended tortures; confessions extracted by torture including suffocation of the victims, burying them alive, hanging them upside down and beating the soles of their feet and burning them with candles.

But mainly the report lists a bread-and-butter brutality of often unprovoked beatings which just go on and on.

It reads pretty much like the news on any given day in past decades. Only this time the shoe is on the other foot: this is a report commissioned by the ANC into allegations of torture within ANC prison camps. The torturers are not the security police but ANC cadres and the victims not those suspected of furthering the aims of the ANC, but those within the ranks suspected of furthering the aims of the apartheid State.

The irony is inescapable. But there is a difference: The report of the "Commission of Enquiry into Complaints by Former African National Congress Prisoners and Detainees" was commissioned by the organisation itself.

And, though responding to public concern - it is in part an exercise in damage control - it does not read as a cover-up of the order we have come to expect from government-appointed commissions: it finds the organisation guilty as charged.

At least within its own

terms of reference, the report - prepared by advocates Louis Skweyva and Gilbert Marcus and ANC functionary Bridget Mabhanda with evidence presented by an independent lawyer - pulls few punches.

Prompted by allegations made by a group of 32 former ANC detainees, who later constituted themselves as the fiercely anti-ANC Returned Exiles Committee under the patronage of Inkatha and the leadership of suspected police agent Patrick Hlongwane, the commission invited both loyal ANC members and dissidents to present evidence of abuses in detention.

While the REC refused officially to participate in what it labelled a "tame commission", the evidence of 11 of its members, as well as that of five serving ANC members and various members of the ANC's leadership corps, was heard.

Largely because of the consistency of evidence presented before it, the commission was left in no doubt at all that the substance of the allegations were true. It found unambiguously that serious violations routinely took place in the prison camps despite the ANC's commitment to the Geneva Convention and its own code of conduct - which specifies that detention should aim at re-education rather than punishment.

The code also states that torture should never be practised, that life and limb should at all times be respected, and that the principles of justice should at all times guide ANC members' conduct.

Yet the picture which emerges of the ANC's specially constituted Quatro camp - set up to house those suspected of being agents of the SA regime - is of a place of unrelenting and unredeemed horror. Food was inadequate,

CP News 25/10/92

(847)



Names of those implicated

THE Weekly Mail this week published a list of names of people it said were involved in abuses in the ANC's camps.

- Mzwandile "Mzwai" Phiso, NEC member until last year, head of the security department until 1985, and now head of manpower.
- Andrew Masondo, NEC member and SACP central committee member until 1985, now chief representative in Uganda.
- Thami Zulu (Mazi Ngyweya), former commander of Camahundi camp and MK head in Swaziland. He was detained from 1988-9 and died of suspected poisoning soon after his release.
- Morris Seabelo, the one-time Quatro camp commander and chief of security in Angola who died mysteriously in Lesotho in 1985.

mask" in which a hollowed out pawpaw shell was pushed over the face of the detainee until breathing was impossible. Another practice - psychologically as much as physically - was

forced to crawl through colonies of red ants, sometimes with pork fat smeared on their bodies to make the ants even more savage.

- "Africa Nkwe" (Oupa Shadrack Khumalo), former Quatro commissar and now a security official in the ANC's PWV headquarters.
- "Cyril Burton", former Quatro official.
- "Sizwe Mkhonto", former Quatro commander and now in the ANC's directorate of intelligence and security (PWV region).
- Griffiths Sebomi, former senior Quatro camp official.
- "Immeleng", senior security department official who once worked in Quatro.
- "MK Doctor", MK security official in Tanzania.
- MB Mavuso ("Jomo"), currently Nelson Mandela's bodyguard and based at the ANC's Shell House headquarters.

known as "slaughter" in which a detainee was thrown into a pit. As he fell, evidence was also presented of detainees being

Such abuses were justified by the need to extract information and confessions from the detainees. And as the report notes, such confessions flowed free and fast, so unrelenting were the means used to arrive at them.

And, as the report again notes, the confessions were as often as not useless: instances are recorded of detainees confessing to "killing" people they had never met or who were still very much alive. In one memorable instance, a detainee was shown to have confessed (under his nom de guerre) to having murdered himself.

Considering the evidence the commissioners conclude with a comprehensive set of recommendations.

- These include:
 - That an independent structure be set up to investigate and act upon abuses not dealt with by the commission and the whole matter be laid open, as State President De Klerk would say, to the bone;
 - That alleged murders and disappearances within the prison camps be further investigated;
 - That the names of those detainees who were never brought to trial be immediately and unequivocally cleared;
 - That financial compensation be provided to victims of prison camp abuses, and medical and psychiatric care be made available;
 - That those guards and ANC members guilty of violations of human rights be identified and made accountable for their actions. Especially at issue here are serving members of the ANC's security department frequently named by witnesses before the commission (see box story); and
 - That the ANC be seen to be making public the shame in its history and thereby showing its accountability to the public.

The report is in many ways a fine and honest document, but we should not therefore suspend criticism. The only offender named is Mzwai Phiso, head of security until 1986. Present incumbents in senior positions are given a more or less clean bill of health, and, though the report does note failure to root out abuses and the condoning of abuses by the leadership, one is still left with a sense that a certain amount of scapegoating is being performed.

At the same time the fact that the ANC has refused to release the names of offenders, while understandable in the short term - as the report notes, they have not been given an opportunity to defend themselves - will need to be reversed if the organisation is really to come out smelling of roses.

It should not be forgotten that whether or not it was designed to do this, the report has served the ANC very effectively.

Firstly, the release has largely pre-empted and neutralised the effect of an avowedly hostile commission of inquiry being sponsored by the right wing International Freedom Foundation.

But more immediately, in the timing of its release, it has thrown into a sharp and unflattering relief attempts by De Klerk to push a general no-questions-asked amnesty through an uncharacteristically resistant tricameral parliament.

While De Klerk is seen to be trying to cover up the dark past of his security forces and government, the ANC is demonstrating its own willingness to seriously examine and redeem itself.

Meanwhile, De Klerk's undignified parliamentary schiefing has caused a drain of support from foreign governments who initially supported his reformist moves.

'Stick your hand up if you're a good cop'

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE agreement between the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) and Apla that the guerrilla movement should not attack union members during their military operations in the townships is clouded with controversy.

Popcru general secretary Peter Nkuna this week tried to explain to City Press how PAC soldiers would identify Popcru members during their operations, but the process seemed complicated and confusing.

He said Apla would work closely with PAC local structures such as student bodies and civic associations to identify "good" policemen or Popcru members who lived in each township.

Those policemen would be introduced to local communities and would in turn be "known" to the guerrillas so that they were exempted from possible attacks.

When the "good" police were sent out on patrols, they should inform PAC structures in those areas so they did not fall victim to Apla attacks.

But the agreement seemed not to have taken into account the fact that in terms of the the police rules to ensure security and secrecy, espe-

cially among black members of the force, policemen are usually not told in advance about where they would patrol, raid or man roadblocks.

In some cases they are simply issued with the necessary equipment, including guns, and ordered into vans without being told where they are going to until they are at or near the scene where the operation will commence.

But Nkuna, an imposing young prison warder at Johannesburg Prison, conceded that very few of Popcru's 5 000 paid-up members were policemen.

"Because of intimidation by white officers and certain regulations regarding the police force, most policemen are either reluctant or scared to join Popcru," said Nkuna.

Popcru drew most of its membership from black prison warders who were frustrated by the racial discrimination and repression that took place in prisons, he said.

The Apla/Popcru agreement came in the wake of increased attacks on black policemen.

A man calling himself Karl Zimbiri and claiming to be the Apla commander in the country, has claimed responsibility for many of the attacks.

CIPRES 25/10/92
84A

84A
**'I'll sue
Hani'**

ANC dissident Mwezi Twala announced that he intends instituting a civil claim for defamation against SACP secretary-general Chris Hani.

Twala, leader of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, said his claims of massive torture in ANC detention camps had been vindicated. cifren 25/10/92

He said Hani had accused him of "stealing blankets in Mozambique" and had implicated him in the killing of ANC mutineers in 1984.

Suicide is not ruled out, says Azanla

STRANGE circumstances surround the death of two Azanian National Liberation Army guerrillas in a grenade blast in Naledi early this week.

Mongameli Gxowa, 26, and Shaun Tshume, 23, died when a grenade exploded on Monday night.

Police have confirmed the incident and said one man died on the scene and the second died in hospital. ~~84A~~ 84A

While details of the explosion remain unclear, a source said a "suicide attack on the enemy forces could not be ruled out".

He added it was not unusual for Azanla combatants to kill themselves to avoid being captured by the enemy which might lead to the arrest of other guerrillas and the destruction of underground units. C/PREN 25/10/92

In March 1991, Azanla guerrilla Thabang "Cobra" Mothlodise died with a Lebowa policeman after he detonated a grenade. At his funeral speakers told of how Mothlodise had vowed that he would rather kill himself than be at the mercy of his capturers.

PAC will not ^{84A} disband army

THE South African government failed yesterday to force the Pan Africanist Congress to disband its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

S. Times 25/10/92

● Blast victims to be buried

Azapo honours slain guerillas

Sowetan 26/10/92
■ Azanla members die in grenade blast in Soweto: *(SCA)*

THE Soweto region of the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday paid tribute to two members of the Azanian National Liberation Army who died in a grenade blast last week.

Mr Mongameli Gxowa (26) of Port Elizabeth and Mr Shaun Tshume (23) of Dobsonville, died within minutes of each other after a blast in Naledi Extension on Monday last week.

The region's chairperson, Mr Monwabisi Duna, said last night that both men died while on their mission of liberating

black people from oppression.

"The two comrades have joined Abu Asvat, Muntu Myeza and other martyrs by sacrificing their lives for liberation."

He called on members of the Black Consciousness Movement to give the two men fitting funerals.

Tshume will be buried on Saturday while Gxowa's funeral takes place on November 7 in Port Elizabeth.

A memorial service for the two men will be held at Kopanong Community Centre in Dobsonville at 6pm on Thursday.

THE SOWETO REGION OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

Cadres are remembered (84A)

THE armed struggle was the best way of defeating the South African government, a memorial service for two slain Azanla cadres was told in Dobsonville last night. *Sowetan 30/10/92* (84A)

The service at the Kopanong Community Centre was held in honour of Sean Rapiitse of Dobsonville and Mongameli Gxowa of Port Elizabeth who died in action last week.

Addressing about 400 people, Mrs Joyce Kalaote, head of Azapo's women's wing, said black people had to realise that freedom would not be given on a platter and that they had to fight for it.

Mr Lybon Mabasa, projects co-ordinator of Azapo, said the two cadres had understood the risks involved in military life. Mrs Doris Thinane said Rapiitse's understanding of politics was amazing. She called on black people to fight the system by any means necessary.

McBride says he 'feels remorse'

LLOYD COUTTS

ANC cadre and former death row prisoner Robert McBride said yesterday he had planted the bomb in a Durban bar which killed three women during a "dirty war" in SA and nobody could deny his cause had been just. *Blom 2/10/92*

McBride, 28, who received the death sentence for the 1986 bombing, said in an interview with Radio 702 he did, however, feel remorse for the deaths and injuries caused at Magoo's Bar. *(84A)*

"The killing of people is always tragic, and it is something I have to live with for the rest of my life ... It is a tragedy that people have to die and people have to fight and kill for their freedom," he said.

McBride said he had carried out the bombing at the express orders of ANC commanders, even though he had initially questioned its wisdom. The intended target had been the neighbouring Why Not bar, a hangout for off-duty policemen and soldiers identified by ANC intelligence.

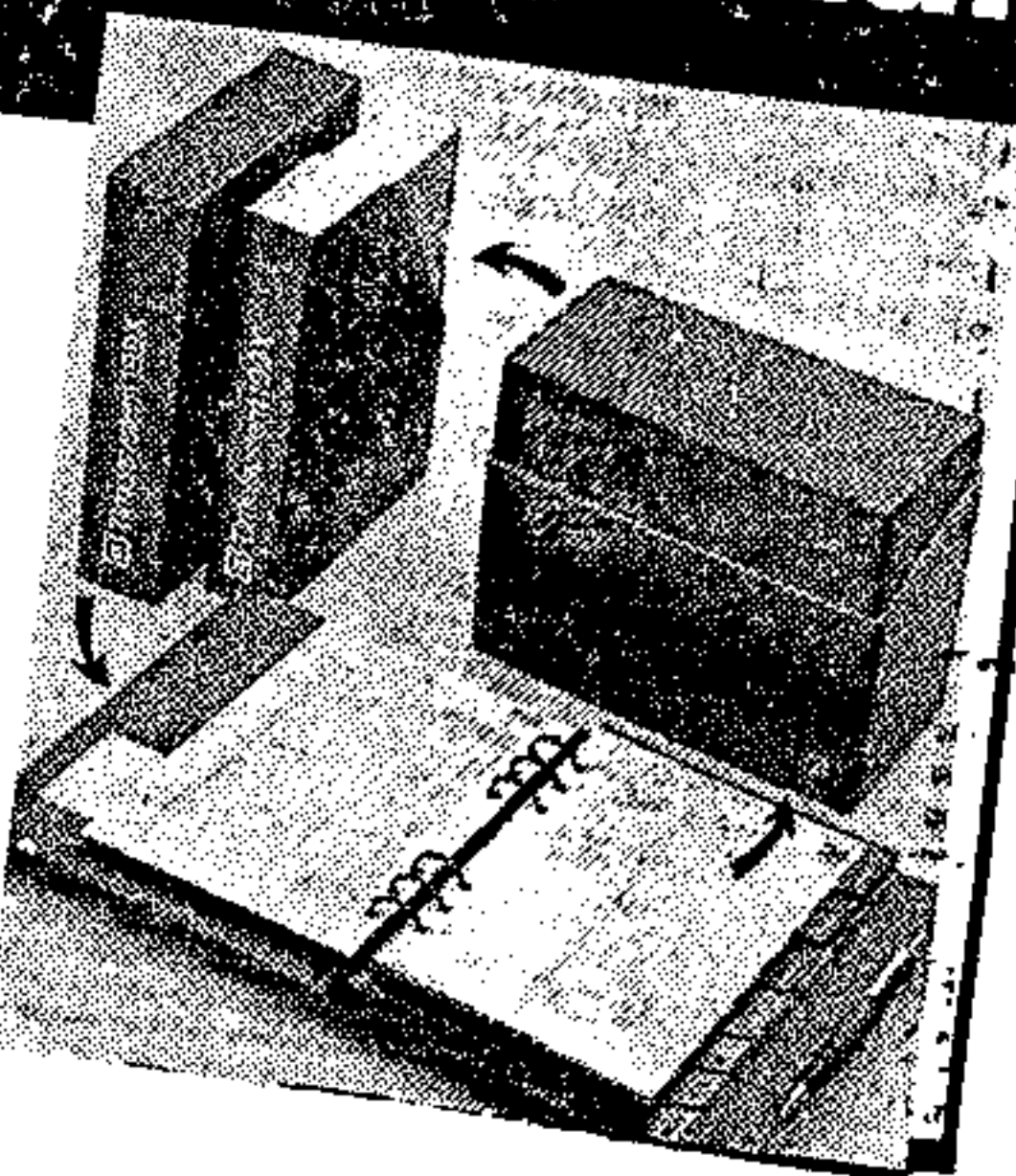
Asked how he felt about the release of Barend Strydom, McBride said Strydom had been a free man from a privileged group and could have turned to Parliament or his political representatives.

McBride said reconciliation was essential to secure the future of generations to come, but would be difficult to achieve in the current climate of violence.

McBride was released from death row in terms of a political settlement between the ANC and government.

International

D
R



THE African National Congress responded strongly to *The Weekly Mail's* revelation last week of individuals implicated in abuses in the organisation's camps in exile.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus issued the following response last Friday: "The ANC, with regards to the publishing of a list of names, submitted by the commission, wants to reiterate a basic principle of justice: that those people who stand accused must have the opportunity to be heard. It is incorrect to simply release a list of names, so inaccurate that it even includes the names of people who in no way could be connected to any of the allegations made."

"The names listed, some of whom are completely unknown to us, are clearly drawn from a magazine article published in *Searchlight South Africa* vol 2 no 1 1990, and is therefore available for all people to read."

"We find it regrettable that a newspaper such as *The Weekly Mail* with its own outstanding record of exposing abuse and corruption should not have seen it fit to pay attention to accuracy and detail."

"Among some of the things it states are that Maurice Seabelo died mysteriously in Lesotho. Now again the *WM* lifts this terminology from the magazine article, whereas even a superficial investigation or an inquiry to the ANC would have readily revealed what is a matter of public record. Morris Seabelo was among those killed in SADF raids on Maseru in December 1985."

"Another statement the *WM* makes is that the NEC of the ANC has decided to withhold the report into the death of Thami Zulu, which is cited by the *WM* as an appendix to the main report. Again, the only appendix to the main

Camps torture debate rages on

The Weekly Mail's front page story giving the names of those involved in torture in the African National Congress' camps sparked outrage from the organisation.

The ANC gives its views and the newspaper replies.
By Weekly Mail Reporters

report is the list of names and the question of publication is among the recommendations by the commission, all of which are being considered by the ANC and upon which there has not yet been a final decision."

The Weekly Mail responds: The *WM* report was based on a variety of sources, and no names were included unless they were corroborated by more than one source. In fact, several names were excluded from the list,

rity police detention and chose not to intervene, do we not accuse them of the same crime?

It is incorrect to imply that the names listed were drawn solely from *Searchlight South Africa*. This article, which was offered to the ANC for comment, simply provided corroboration and additional detail for names already drawn from a variety of other sources. These included:

● Interviews with, and affidavits from, 15 former ANC detainees. Some of those interviewed (like former MK commander Bandile Ketelo) have retained close links with the ANC.

● *WM* also interviewed seven current ANC members and leaders, who are all former exiles with direct experience of some of the individuals accused.

● There were also several other published sources, including the book *Comrades Against Apartheid* by Stephen Ellis and Secaba. Separate investigations conducted by the *Saturday Star* and the *Sunday Times* confirmed many of the names included in the *WM* list.

The only concrete example of "inaccuracy" is that of the circumstances surrounding the death of Morris Seabelo, listed by the *WM* as one of those directly responsible for torture in the camps. We said he "died mysteriously in Lesotho in 1985". Niehaus said he was killed in the SADF raid on Maseru in 1985. According to Ketelo and others, "Seabelo" (Lulamile Dantile) was killed in an underground ANC house in Lesotho, "where none of those he was with was spared to relate the story".

Our point about the report on Thami Zulu's death was that it was considered by the commission and has been withheld by the ANC.

ON SALE: AK-47s AT R40 EACH

SITimes 1/11/92

(8/11) ~~8/11~~
By CHARLENE SMITH

WEAPONS are pouring into SA across the Mozambican border and into the eager hands of ANC and Inkatha "self-defence units" who are arming themselves for open civil war.

Spokesmen for both Inkatha and the ANC confirmed this week that thousands of weapons were stashed around the country. Both parties said they would defend themselves from attack and would, if necessary, launch preemptive strikes against political foes.

The deluge of weapons, many of them sophisticated semi-automatic rifles, has contributed to the country's 300-a-month death toll from political violence.

Despite allegations from many quarters, including powerful Transvaal Inkatha organiser Themba Khoza, that "there are thousands of AK-47s stashed all over the place", police have confiscated only 7 237 firearms this year compared with 6 006 last year.

Direction

Most arms and ammunition come from Mozambique despite a two-year-old agreement under the Joint Security Commission — established as part of the 1984 Nkomati Accord between SA and Mozambique — to investigate illegal arms traffic between the two countries.

These investigations are under the direction of General Krappies Engelbrecht.

Sunday Times inquiries show that AK-47s sell for as little as R40 to R150 on the Reef and in Natal.

Prosecution and conviction figures are low. The most recent figures show that from July 1990 to June 1991 there were only 4 409 prosecutions (and 3 433 convictions) for the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, and 59 prosecutions and 42 convictions for the illegal sale of arms and ammunition.

Purpose

Both the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of military-style, hit-squad operations and justify their own attacks as self-defence.

In a speech at the University of Zululand last week Mr Khoza said: "Hostel-dwellers are involved in violence (because) they were first attacked. The government and ANC now seek to make self-defence a criminal act by fencing the attacked from the attackers."

Claiming that 260 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated, he said: "The war has been stepped up with one purpose in mind — the future election."

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda admitted in an interview that returned MK cadres may be involved in "defending communities".

"If there is violence on the ground and if they feel they face impending attack, people should defend themselves. We cannot prescribe that if people know they will be attacked, they should launch a preemptive attack. It's up to them to decide."

He said he did not believe this fuelled violence: "Apartheid breeds violence, transition breeds violence; it will lessen if there is a political solution. Political contest increases the danger of violence. People such as warlords develop a stake in violence; ordinary people are drawn in when family members are slain."

Mr Nyanda said MK cadres had returned from exile to live in violence-torn areas — "they are highly trained and have come back into an economic depression".

Help

"Communities are fed up that MK is not helping them. It is our responsibility to help our people if they are attacked."

The South African Institute of Race Relations, which says that more than 14 000 people have died in political violence since September 1984, notes that firearms were used in 36 percent of deaths last year.

For the first time AK-47s are being used in moving trains despite police and railway claims of increased security measures.

UP IN A

MORE than
Durban y
standing
Membe
Fountain
Women
al weapon
work," le
shields, kn

SPECIAL ADVERTISING

Venue razed hours before DP rally

By ROSEMARY BROWN

A PIETERSBURG hall was destroyed in a blaze possibly caused by a bomb blast yesterday just hours before DP leader Zach de Beer was due to address a meeting there.

The ANC had also booked the hall in Seshego, near Pietersburg, for yesterday afternoon.

Members of the DP's northern Transvaal branch arrived at the Seshego Community Hall at 7.30am to make preparations for a rally, to find the hall extensively damaged.

Police have not yet begun their investigations, but Mr de Beer said that the damage — windows blown out, and the steel roof bent and buckled — appeared consistent with either a bomb blast or a fire. There was evidence that a door had been forced with an implement like a chisel, he said.

Chased

Local residents told DP officials they had seen several white men in the area at midnight on Friday, and claimed that the visitors had chased away the security guard from the hall. They alleged that an explosion had occurred soon after the men had left.

No-one has claimed responsibility for the damage.

The DP meeting went ahead yesterday in a side hall which had survived intact. Mr de Beer said he thought attendance — around 30 people — had been adversely affected by the blaze but he stressed that the incident would not upset the rest of his campaign

to establish DP branches in the northern Transvaal.

DP vice-chairman for the northern Transvaal, Mr Philip Gohl, said the DP had 400 registered members in the Pietersburg area, 70-80 percent of whom were black.

The Dutch version of Operation Vula

Wimond 6/11 - 12/11/92

84A

A new book by a Dutch anti-apartheid leader reveals details for the first time of Operation Vula, the ANC's bid to establish an underground insurrectionary network during the 1980s, reports **GAVIN EVANS**

When Nelson Mandela was in Victor Verster prison, he was kept informed of the African National Congress' top-secret Operation Vula — and he used its covert networks for regular communications with then-ANC president Oliver Tambo.

This is one of the many surprises contained in a new book by Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Connie Braam about Vula. The book gives the first detailed account of the ANC's bid to create an integrated political and military command network within the country, under the noses of the enemy.

Operation Vula — South Africans and Dutch in the Struggle against Apartheid, is an insider's view: Braam co-ordinated much of Vula's very substantial international component. Her book goes some way towards unveiling the Vula conspiracy.

The idea behind the ANC/South African Communist Party plan was to set up a command network within the country. But just when most of the pieces were in place, ready to be moved, February 2 1990 arrived and insurrectionary dreams were washed away forever. Six months later the security police detained some of the key leaders, and the already downscaled Vula quickly ground to a permanent halt.

From the ANC-SACP point of view, Vula was a good idea, but one that came too late. In the end it probably made very little difference to the country's political equation.

The story is nevertheless a fascinating one, which aside from the largely distorted picture given at the time of the 1990 detentions, has been hidden from the general public.

Braam's book, launched in Amsterdam this week, is anything but a critical account of what occurred. Little is said on the politics behind the plan, and at times it is almost gushing about some of the key individuals involved — Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils, Gebuza (Siphiwe Nyanda), Ivan Pillay, Tim Jenkins, Janet Love and others.

Because the book is written in the first person, its focus is mainly on the relation between the Dutch supporters and the exiled leaders, with few



Dutch courage ... Anti Apartheid Movement leader Connie Braam Photo: KEVIN CARTER

glimpses being provided of the hundreds of internationally-based ANC/SACP activists who contributed to setting up the Vula network.

What it does succeed in providing is a very colourful account of the methods used by the Vula commanders in smuggling into the country its leaders (Maharaj, Gebuza and later Ronnie Kasrils), members, overseas supporters, weapons and computer systems — the problems they faced and how these were overcome.

Along the way it offers fascinating vignettes on some of the key Vula cadres. Among them, "Sipho" who participated in the groundbreaking late 1970s and early 1980s attacks on the Orlando, Moroka and Booyens police stations and narrowly escaped the arrest that led to the 1981 hanging of Motaung, Morgeane and Mosololi; "Christopher", the white Cape Town activist with the "ballet dancer" look, who skipped the country with a broken leg and returned home to the underground, disguised variously as a macho Rhodesian, a yuppie businessman and a coloured man; and most of all "Chota" (Ebrahim Ismael

set up safe houses in South Africa and other southern African states. They were also extensively involved in setting up the highly effective computer-coded communications system, and in a range of other tasks such as building compartments for vehicles to enable weapons to be smuggled into the country.

Though narrative tends to gloss over the problem areas, it does offer hints of difficulties encountered. Braam describes how she and Klaas de Jonge were poisoned by South African agents. She mentions the psychological problems the years of tension caused for some of the volunteers. There's a vignette on Vula member and former Cape Town activist "Rita" whose boyfriend confessed to working for Pretoria while in ANC detention, and then "committed suicide" — leading in turn to Rita's detention. There's another on the confusion and disbelief felt by exiles when they first encountered the collapse of socialism.

The aim of Operation Vula was to introduce a qualitative change in the way the ANC-SACP alliance conducted its struggle. No more would things be commanded from outside South Africa's borders, with all the problems that produced — long and dangerous supply lines, poor intelligence, inappropriate military targets, a complete separation of the internal and external, military and political components and massive infiltration by the "enemy".

Instead a sophisticated cell structure would be established, with the key command centres increasingly being based within the country. From Braam's book it appears that much of this was already in place, but still extremely vulnerable, when the ANC and SACP were unbanned.

The book provides an outside command room perspective on the August 1990 Operation Vula detentions, and suggests these occurred partly as a result of a post-unbanning laxness. What is clear, however, is that only a handful of the Vula commanders and operatives were arrested, and that structures and individuals in the Transvaal and Cape escaped largely undetected.

Today most of the key strategists and commanders mentioned in the book — Tambo, Slovo, Maharaj, Kasrils, Nyanda, Ebrahim, Billy Nair, Janet Love — remain prominent within the ANC National Executive Committee. It certainly appears, however, that they shed the ties that bound them. Some have emerged as hard-line militants, others as soft-line negotiators.

Without the conspiracy to bind them, they've been free to go their own ways.

Army chief Meiring hits out at 'ANC operations teams'

PIETERSBURG — Army chief Lt-Gen George Meiring lashed out on Friday at what he called ANC-sponsored "special operations teams" which, disguised as security force members, wreaked mayhem before putting the blame on security forces.

Addressing a medal parade at Far Northern Transvaal Command, Meiring said "special operations teams" were attempting to discredit the security forces and, specifically, the army.

He said according to an instruction issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe acting chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda and SACP politburo member Ronnie Kasrils, it had been decided to make available arms and arms caches to MK self defence units and the special operations teams.

"Although some commanders have maps indicating some of the arms caches, detection is difficult because of criminal control over those caches," Meiring said.

He said while there were good indications of the extent of the arms caches, it could be expected, if the "underground" instructions were carried out, that incidents of violence involving MK and the special operations teams would increase.

Meanwhile, government rejected at the weekend a call by the ANC for the inclusion of MK in a joint security

venture to quell rising violence in Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said: "We firmly believe MK is part of the problem of violence in Natal."

The call by the ANC follows the deployment of 2 000 SADF soldiers to assist the SAP and KwaZulu Police in a massive joint operation aimed at preventing civil war in Natal.

ANC Natal Midlands executive member Blade Nzimande said last week: "Our demand is for a speedy move towards an interim government and joint control over the security forces."

"You have to have a neutral force which is accepted by all sectors of the community before there can be peace."

Kotze said: "We don't believe in any private army, including MK, usurping the functions of the police force or the military, and in fact it is illegal to do so."

But support for the concept of a joint peacekeeping force has come from national peace committee vice-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

He recommended that a joint peacekeeping force comprising the existing security forces and MK and other military wings of political organisations should be set up under international command. — Sapa-AFP.

Buthelezi 'will never give in'

GINGINDHLOVU — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed on Saturday to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and Inkatha were the country's final guarantee of a democracy.

Addressing about 15 000 people at Nsingweni near Gingindlovu in Zululand, Buthelezi condemned what he called ANC president Nelson Mandela's failure to respond to repeated invitations to participate in a peaceful SA.

He said: "We will resist and we will go on resisting the ANC/SACP alliance until one day there is a democracy in SA."

"We in KwaZulu and in the IFP are the final guarantee there will be democracy."

□ In Johannesburg at the weekend, Inkatha Youth Brigade officials alleged that Sphiwe Nyanda, Joe Modise, Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa were responsible for the violence in the country.

The officials said they were going to "target the four and others whom we believe are masterminding the killing of our leadership and membership".

Holomisa denied on Saturday the Transkei Defence Force was training or assisting Umkhonto we Sizwe members. — Sapa.



Chris Hani speaks frankly on the bubbling discontent in the ANC's armed wing ...

MK rebellion on simmer

21/11/92 13/11-19/11/92

RUMBLINGS of discontent in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe have "the potential to explode", admits the armed wing's former chief of staff Chris Hani in an interview this week. (849)

And current MK chief Siphiwe Nyanda echoes this, saying that he is surprised more of his disgruntled men have not turned to lawlessness.

Cash-strapped MK members who expected to return to South Africa as conquering heroes and instead found only poverty and loneliness, have turned to crime and drink, hijacked grassroots organisations for their own gain and joined forces with Inkatha and the police — for money.

The danger to peace is that MK consists of highly trained, armed units ... increasingly answerable to no-one.

PAGES 4 and 5

The volatile cocktail of Umkhonto's

They expected to come home in a blaze of glory, but instead the soldiers of Umkhonto weSizwe found only poverty. Many have turned to crime or joined 'the other side'.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**

W/mailed 13/11 - 19/11/92

THE rumblings of discontent in the ranks of Umkhonto weSizwe are turning into an all-out crisis for the African National Congress. (844) (17/11)

Former MK chief of staff Chris Hani admitted this week that the problems arising from the growing disenchantment of returned MK soldiers had the "potential to explode" in the absence of a speedy political solution.

And current MK chief Siphwe-Nyanda said he was surprised more MK returnees had not turned to crime.

The problem was confirmed this week in interviews with MK cadres who now live in the Vaal. Instead of returning to the country in a glorious blaze of victory, the cadres have trickled back to an ignoble fate of poverty and obscurity: in the eyes of many in the movement they are no more than an embarrassing refugee problem.

They have emerged from the bush in neighbouring countries to face a barrage of hardships: economic recession, unemployment, hostile security forces, the cold shoulder from many ANC internal leaders guarding their posts in regional and branch structures and little recognition for their efforts in exile.

Little wonder that some alienated, cash-strapped MK cadres are turning to crime, drink and hijacking self-defence units for gangster purposes, while others are finding the outstretched hands of the police and Inkatha — with offers of houses and money in return for Askari-



This photo from the album of a returned soldier shows cadres receiving training in the former Soviet Union. Now they have returned to an ignoble future in South Africa.

type activities — very attractive.

Commented Hani: "It would be dishonest on my part to say there is no problem. It's important for all of us, particularly in the leadership, to recognise the enormity of the problem." Nyanda said he was surprised that many more cadres had not reverted to complete lawlessness, given the mountain of problems facing them.

According to research conducted by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, at least 34 MK cadres have been gunned down over

the past two years and scores of others have been harassed and assaulted. As a result, many cadres live an aimless life, moving from one place to another to avoid being targeted.

A commission, headed by ANC deputy general-secretary Jacob Zuma and including MK cadres, is looking into the crisis and the future role of MK. Training in conventional warfare is taking place in Tanzania and Uganda in preparation for the integration of MK into a new army. However, strict educational requirements rule out the participation of many MK soldiers. Those leaving for military training tend to be new recruits rather than MK returnees who either don't qualify or do not relish going back to the camps where they spent many frustrating years impatiently waiting for missions.

"Life in exile was not a bed of roses. MK soldiers in the camps and in the bushes had the toughest time," said Hani.

He stressed that the crisis could not be adequately addressed until an interim government of national unity was in place. However, steps could be taken: "We have to improve the lines of communication, identify these people, find out where they are and foster a sense of belonging. We must take political steps to save these comrades from further demoralisation and alienation ... this way we will arrest the tendency to move towards gangsterism and crime ... after all, they gave the people hope to fight in the country — knowing they had an army in exile."

Hani urged MK members to get involved in self-defence units and by imparting knowledge and skills, so earn the respect of their communities. "MK is not a recipe for leadership. Leadership is achieved in the course of struggle. It is not thrust upon you."

A group of unemployed MK returnees in the Vaal voiced their grievances this week.

"We have been left in the lurch," said "Vusi". "The ANC can no longer support us."

"When we were told of the suspension of the armed struggle, the general feeling was one of disenchantment," said "Dume".

Most, if not all, MK combatants were still ready to engage the enemy militarily ... but now they will tell you a different story. That militancy has dwindled.

Pouring over recent press reports of corruption in the National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation, the soldiers expressed outrage at the fact that their stipends have all but dried up or disappeared into the hands of "greedy administrators". Most MK cadres have not received the full compliment of their R800 a month stipend, to be handed out over a six-month period.

"The ANC is strapped for cash," said Nyanda. "Now cadres feel that the ANC has neglected them. They don't have money to feed themselves."

After an MK conference in Venda last year, cadres asked to help run the self-defence units. They were also instructed to help build the political strength of the ANC.

But Nyanda described a growing frustration over the lack of ammunition for SDUs. "They may help in building barracks but they feel vulnerable without the means to protect themselves."

The Vaal group said that they and other cadres in their area were reluctant to get involved in SDUs beyond the level of consultation. Attacks

orchestrated by undisciplined youths, they said, were often badly planned and arbitrary, exposing them to the perils of police crackdowns in a messy war with many enemies and few rules.

At a press conference this week, Vaal representatives of the ANC alliance acknowledged that SDU's in the area were running amok: "We are alarmed that certain individuals, who claim allegiance to the ANC and its allies, are acting completely outside the mandate and policies of these organisations."

The communities in Vaal townships were disappointed with MK's hesitancy to get involved in SDUs. "We were highly revered when we returned," said "Dume". "We were looked upon as their saviours, particularly in the light of Inkatha and security force attacks. But we couldn't just act impulsively.

We are being hunted every day.

"They now see us as cowardly, but we are political soldiers. We follow orders. And the order of the day is loud and clear — ceasefire."

They spend their time hankering after their days abroad and waiting for the moment when a political settlement will lead to their integration into a new army. "We are convinced that negotiations are not yielding any positive results. They are just dragging on and on. Whatever happens in those talks — let there be results. Particularly in MK there must be changes. We have highly trained MK cadres who are just roaming the streets. We are not that concerned about whose going to be the next president. We just want our future participation in the army ensured — that is where we belong."

While many MK cadres have been absorbed into regional structures, others complain that leaders who rose to prominence in the United Democratic Front era are clutching on to their positions, leaving no space for the returnees. They say they have been marginalised by "civilians waiting in the wings for power" who are trying to defuse the militancy of the ANC as they move closer to a negotiated settlement with the National Party.

The recent attempted assassination of Vaal activist Bavumile Vilikazi was perhaps testimony to such frustration. Many MK soldiers have accused Vilikazi of "blocking positions for them". Though the ANC

announced last week that an SDU member had confessed to attacking Vilikazi (who he claimed to have mistaken for a policeman), other sources gave a different story, reporting that the culprit was an MK member who acted out of revenge rather than ignorance.

Hani attributes the confusion and alienation expressed by many MK cadres to the failure of the ANC to reorientate the cadres to the "new reality" of struggle — from the goal of military solution to negotiated settlement.

"Unlike the classical colonial situation, the ANC came back into the country not as a movement about to take

CENTRE FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

ADULT LITERACY AND BASIC EDUCATION

1) Extension Specialist

The successful candidate will play a leading role in a team developing and sharing expertise among people and organizations which promote adult literacy and basic education in South Africa. Special responsibilities will include:

- creating and implementing programmes, presentations and packages to enhance the quality and professionalism of training in the field;
- sharing in the dissemination of good practices and innovations through various media;
- guiding the librarian (below) in developing an existing resource and data base;
- undertaking some specialised but relevant research of her/his own and doing limited teaching and research supervision in the academic Division of Adult Education.

Appropriate experience, at least an Honours degree in a relevant field and availability as soon as possible in 1993 are essential. A Masters degree and African languages would be additional recommendations.

2) Resource Base Manager

The successful candidate will work in a team and support the Extension Specialist in the work outlined above. S/he will be especially responsible for the technical and professional development of the resource and data base into a facility which will both inform local and national policy development and be relevant and accessible to people working at grassroots level. The task will include managing existing stock, refining the data base and creating user-friendly access to the resources.

An efficient professional is sought with graduate qualifications, preferably in librarianship and information science. Experience in or aptitude for computerised data management and availability as soon as possible in 1993 are essential. Knowledge of an African language would be an additional recommendation.

The post could be full-time or part-time depending on circumstances.

Salary and post level negotiable.

Submit applications, including a C.V. with names and addresses of two referees to: The Personnel Office, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, Wits 2050 or fax (011) 339-2223.

Closing date: 4 December 1992. Quote ref WM 1383.



WITS UNIVERSITY

Facing the challenges of the future today.

... the warriors without a cause

disillusioned soldiers

W/Mail 13/11-19/11/92

over government but one which was to continue the struggle under new conditions — from a movement which fought the struggle in underground, illegal conditions to a movement which had to wage the struggle openly and legally.

“What became key was building mass-based organisations again, to empower the ANC and its allies in the process of negotiation ... in my own view we must accept that we did not embark on political orientation.”

Those leaders who rose to prominence in the UDF and mass democratic movement of the 1980s were well-versed in the skills of mass mobilisation. They were also educated, particularly those who spent years in prison.

Many exiles, including some in MK, completed courses in host countries like the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba. But most MK soldiers returned with only the most basic skills in guerrilla warfare.

“We never fathomed the potency of the internal struggle here,” said Hani. “The MDM produced outstanding comrades who, graduating under conditions of illegality, now occupy that legal space. There has been a feeling that those of us outside were the people who really did it, instead of accepting that we did it inside too.”

“The struggle inside produced its own leaders ... right down to regional and branch structures (which meant) we had to compete for leadership at a number of levels with other cadres.



Chris Hani ... The MK situation has the 'potential to explode'

Some of us thought we could get positions ready-made for ourselves. This was a mistake. We should have prepared our people for this sort of thing.”

Many MK soldiers use weapons from arms caches to rob. Some are no strangers to gangsterism and theft, having thrown themselves into such activities in exile. Others are looking elsewhere for financial reward and recognition. Nyanda pointed to the string of MK members who have been gunned down and the murder of key Hammer Unit informant Andre de Villiers by MK members as proof that police are recruiting cadres as Askaris.

“As long as these people are dangling money they will be seduced by this. There is a desperate situation with food and shelter and people are exploiting this,” said Hani.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Albert Mncwango claimed that MK cadres, disgruntled with the ANC, had joined his organisation and were training their protection units. “Why shouldn't we use their skills?” he said. Neither Hani nor Nyanda ruled out this possibility. It is well-known that Pat Hlongwane and other “turned” MK soldiers from the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee are with Durban-based Inkatha “warlord” Thomas Shabalala.

Hani denied South African Defence Force allegations that MK was running training camps in Transkei to train people to fight against Inkatha in Natal. The ANC has approached the Goldstone Commission to call on the SADF to produce evidence or retract its allegations.

Nyanda also intends to sue SADF chief General Meiring unless he retracts and apologises for alleging last week that Nyanda had issued orders for SDUs to be equipped with arms and that special MK operations teams would be set in motion.

“The suggestion that MK is training people in Transkei is ludicrous,” said Hani. MK, he said, was all over the country, training SDUs. Hani admitted that relations between the Transkei Defence Force and MK were “good”. “Holomisa's position is MK is legal. He receives MK and Apla officers.” Hani said war-ravaged youths seeking refuge in Transkei may be approaching the TDF for military training.

By PHILIPPA GARSON
AS the sun sets on Natal's lush hills, a tall, well-built man emerges cautiously from the bushes in a location somewhere in the war-ravaged province.

After much persuasion, the Umkhonto weSizwe cadre proffers some scanty detail about his queried history and his daily experiences of training the local self-defence unit to repulse attacks from Inkatha imps living over the hill.

After leaving the country in the early 1970s for military training, and then fighting alongside the MPLA and Swapo, he infiltrated back into the country a decade later, and has since borne the brunt of repeated torture at the hands of the police.

“I have been shot many times by the police but they never get me. My *mufi* protects me,” he says simply. “If I was weak I would have died long ago.”

“We defend ourselves with *mufi* which we wash all over our hands and body. It's something that helps us.”

Now he has moved his home away from the road to a more secret place concealed behind dense shrubbery.

Expressing none of the aimless dissatisfaction common to many MK cadres, he has a clear mission “I train the people how to defend themselves. I train the young ones in karate and how to defend themselves without weapons.” He is also lucky enough to have a job.

He tells how the self-defence unit, made up of men of all ages in the community who are not members of public African National Congress or civic structures, is mobilised in the event of

an attack. “If I whistle, then the next person whistles, and the next, until we all know there is to be an attack. It's hard for them if they attack this area — it's a stronghold for comrades and it's easy for us to plan strategies.”

Reluctantly he concedes that some youths may be heading to Transkei for military training. “It's the only option open for them to defend themselves.”

How does this man, who claims to shy away from accumulating any knowledge the police may want to extract from him, know this?

“They don't talk about their experiences but we see through their actions that they have had military training. It's not wise for me to advise them where to get training. There are many people the police befriend and then give money for information.”

“There are many MKs from here,” he offers. “But they have moved away because of the police crackdown.”

They are afraid to live at home but usually base themselves fairly nearby. “The problem with many of them is that they want to be treated great by their communities. They feel they are superior.”

This self-possessed warrior needs no symbols of power. His *mufi* and military training suffice.

“I don't have a gun. But I will still lead the others in battle. Then I will take away a gun from someone on the other side. Most of the weapons we get are from the attackers.”

An MK cadre with a mission

W/Mail 13/11-19/11/92

Hang Derek Bauer now!

Subscribe to The Weekly Mail and get a free 1993 Derek Bauer calendar to hang on your wall

For a limited period only, we're giving away our 1993 Weekly Mail calendar illustrated by Derek Bauer.

The annual Bauer calendar, illustrated with some of the best examples of his barbed wit, has become a favourite over recent years. It is available at leading bookstores for R19,99.

But if you take out a one-year subscription to The Weekly Mail (or renew your existing subscription), we'll deliver a calendar free ... and of course, twelve months of the best in local and international news.

PS: Don't forget, a subscription to The Weekly Mail can make a great Christmas gift.

Bauer calendars also available from Exclusive Books, The BookWorm and Pilgrims Booksellers for R19,99. On sale from November 20

* NB: Processing of new subscriptions may take up to three weeks. Foreign subscribers should note that The Guardian Weekly is included only in Southern African editions. Calendars requested from abroad will be sent surface mail.



1993

JANUARY							FEBRUARY						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28						

THE WEEKLY MAIL The Guardian Weekly

Annual Subscription Rates

South Africa, Zimbabwe & Namibia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, MalawiR140
Rest of worldUS\$250 or UK£135
Rest of AfricaR340.00
(For a six month subscription, halve the rate above. Calendars only with 12 month subscriptions)

Student discounts

Students at South African universities and technikons get a 25% discount on a year's subscription. Please enclose a photostat of your '92 student card. Price: R105 (inc Vat) for 12 months.

Please enrol me as a subscriber to The Weekly Mail and The Guardian Weekly
I enclose a cheque/bank draft for
or debit my VISA Mastercard (tick one)
(Note: Payment must accompany subscription order)

No stamp needed in South Africa

Card number:
Expiry date:
Signature:
Name:
Address:

OFFICE USE ONLY
Pub Code
SDI Code
Price Code
Sort Code10.....

Code: Tel no:
Enquiries: Selpali Monisho or Carol Bensusan at (011) 334-2400. Fax 334-0746.
Post to: Weekly Mail Subscriptions, Freepost JH 2146 Excom 2023, SA

Now ANC says renegade unit slaughtered family

ST Times 15/11/92

#184A
276

THE ANC has blamed renegade members of one of its own self-defence units for the slaying of a family of six in Sebokeng this month.

When the family of Mr Ephrain Zwane, believed to be ANC supporters, were shot dead this month, the ANC claimed that an assailant wearing an SADF T-shirt had been seen running away from the scene.

ANC members called on the authorities to find quickly the perpetrators of the "heinous crime".

But now, after investigation by a committee co-ordinated by Mr Obed Bapela, deputy general secretary of the ANC's PWV region, the organisation believes members of one of its own self-

defence units were responsible for the killings.

Members of the investigating team say that there appears to be a power struggle in the Vaal between returned exiles and internal members.

They add that they also suspect the involvement of criminals and "third force elements" from the state security services who have infiltrated the self-defence units.

SA Communist Party head Chris Hani, who has been involved in peace efforts in the area, said the renegade SDU members were involved in vehicle hijackings, forcing traders to pay "protection

money", setting up roadblocks and barricades, and robbing people.

"Rape has become prevalent, with schoolgirls being raped and killed. We feel some SDUs have been infiltrated by the system, and criminals have taken over due to the volatile situation in the Vaal."

Mr Hani added: "The situation is very dangerous for the ANC alliance. People are beginning to say these people call themselves Comrades and they are killing us. It is a situation the government, military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service would enjoy. I suspect they are fishing in troubled waters."

"But it is not enough for us to make pious statements opposed to the violence; we have to take affirmative steps to end the violence."

Mr Hani said an urgent summit would be convened in the Vaal before the end of this month to try to find ways to end the violence.

He said a contributing factor to renegade forces within MK was that large numbers of former soldiers had returned with no jobs or prospects into violence-ravaged communities which expected assistance from MK cadres.

A R330 000 fraud recently uncovered at the National Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles had also meant that large numbers of returning exiles had received little or no money to assist them to re-integrate into society.

Two ANC commissions are investigating increased lawlessness among its alleged supporters in the Vaal. The first, headed by Mr Bapela, is concentrating specifically on violence in the area.

The other, headed by the organisation's deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma, is investigating problems being experienced by Umkhonto we Sizwe, including the involvement of some of its members in the Vaal violence as well as elsewhere.

The Vaal commission has paid particular attention to conflict between the National Union of Metalworkers of SA

and self-defence units under former MK cadre Ernest Sotsu.

Mr Sotsu's wife and two children were killed by unknown assailants while he was attending the ANC national consultative conference in Durban last year.

After that Mr Sotsu went to live in the Sebokeng hostel. This coincided with the outbreak of hostilities between Numsa unionists and a rival committee called Top 20, with which Mr Sotsu is involved.

These units have been blamed for the killing of eight Numsa members, including five shop stewards, since May this year.

Similar

ANC leaders also admit that similar hit-squad activity is taking place among SDUs in other parts of the Vaal, the Natal Midlands and southern Natal.

Other incidents in which the involvement of rogue self-defence units is suspected are:

- The gunning down of Mr Prince Mhlambi, a community worker in Phola Park, who became the third member of that community's civic association to be assassinated after MK members had seized control;

- The death of an elderly woman in the Witbank area;

- The attempted assassination a fortnight ago of Mr Bavumile Vilikazi, a senior ANC Vaal activist;

- The shooting of two teenage girls, Jacobeth Rantiso, 18, and Rose Mohalane, 19, in Evaton after an ANC SDU claimed they fraternised with Inkatha residents in the Kwamadala hostel.

- **MPHO GIFT SOLOMON MOSEBI**, 14, the youngest victim of the Sebokeng massacre, was buried at Evaton cemetery yesterday to the rattle of AK-47's fired in salute by youngsters.

At the funeral, a child — no older than 13 — was seen to borrow an AK-47 from a youth, cock it, fire rapidly into the air and then return the weapon to its owner.

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC has called a summit of all ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations in the Vaal area to discuss ways of controlling renegade "self-defence unit" members. *B/DAY*

The announcement of the summit, scheduled for Friday and Saturday, came after a weekend report said ANC officials believed renegades had killed six members of an ANC-supporting Sebokeng family this month. The report said an ANC investigation had found that defence units had been involved in several similar incidents in the Vaal and Natal. *16/11/92*

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the report was not accurate as the

ANC calls summit on defence units

ANC had not yet established the truth of rumours that the family had been gunned down by defence unit members.

Defence unit members found to have committed criminal offences would be handed to police for prosecution, while those who had committed "political offences" would be disciplined by the organisation, he said. *(25) (4) (84)*

Mamoepa said elements of defence units had been involved in forced recruitment to the ANC, extortion, killing and rape, "causing chaos, confusion, dissension and disunity in our ranks".

ANC drafts code to curb its renegade members

THE ANC is planning a code of conduct to bind its errant self-defence units to party policy and make them more accountable.

The PWV region is to consider a draft code today.

Last week the ANC said renegade members of self-defence units in the Vaal Triangle and Natal had become involved in activities ranging from extortion and killing to rape and forced recruitment.

An ANC investigation into the recent slaying of the six-member Zwane family of Sebokeng had also found that self-defence unit members may have been involved.

ANC spokesmen said the details emerging from the investigation, which was headed by ANC PWV region deputy secretary Obed Bapela, had not been confirmed.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the allegations had come

BIDM 17/11/92
ADRIAN HADLAND

from communities as well as witnesses.

"We have not verified the allegations. We are investigating sources of violence in the Vaal Triangle, and in Natal we have found that the bulk of the violence has been visited by the state on the people."

The draft code of conduct, which will be tabled at a summit of ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations at the weekend, would include clauses on "behaviour, conduct, discipline, accountability and a commitment not to become involved" in unsanctioned acts, Mamoepa said yesterday.

The self-defence units had been "operating loosely, taking far-reaching decisions with national implications", Mamoepa added.

"We have to bring the self-defence

units under control as the ANC must take final responsibility for their actions."

He said the final version of the code of conduct would be negotiated at the summit before it was implemented.

While individual members of self-defence units would not be represented at the summit, an "umbrella body" acting on their behalf would contribute to the debate, Mamoepa said.

He said the ANC was not prepared to divulge the number of self-defence units operating in the Vaal Triangle and Natal, because of "security considerations".

He said this weekend's summit was aimed at facilitating the building and strengthening of the self-defence unit structures, improving accountability, the adoption of a binding code of conduct and measures aimed at bringing the self-defence units firmly under ANC control.

Doors closed on inquest

BIDM 17/11/92
FORMER CCB information officer Derrick Louw was granted an application to testify in camera yesterday at the resumption of the inquest into the murder of Wits University academic David Webster.

Minutes after the hearing resumed, Louw's counsel Jurie Wessels applied for his client's evidence to be heard behind closed doors in order to protect his identity.

Wessels' application for an in camera hearing was also heard behind closed doors. Judge M Stegmann granted the application.

State counsel J van Vuuren later told the media a transcript of Louw's evidence and cross-examination would be made available within a day or two.

However, members of the media were given a copy of Louw's statement to the Harms commission in 1990, which was submitted at the inquest yesterday.

The former CCB information officer said his task had been to collate

SUSAN RUSSELL

information and make it available to the various CCB regions as needed.

During the Harms commission Louw was shown a list of names which commission officials had found among CCB documents. The list included Webster's name, next to which Louw had drawn an arrow.

Louw said Webster had been unknown to him until after the academic's death, and to the best of his knowledge had not been monitored by any CCB member.

After Webster's death, CCB MD Joe Verster had asked him if there was any information on Webster.

Louw said since the academic was unknown to him he had done a search of the CCB's information documents and, finding the list which had been drawn up by another CCB member, had put an arrow next to Webster's name to show Verster later.

Cross-examination of Louw will continue behind closed doors today.

Children slain in Natal attack

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Two young children and two adults were killed in the latest wave of violence in Natal when several kraals near Umgababa, south of Durban, were attacked early yesterday by unknown men armed with AK-47s.

SAP spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said Ambrose Khomo, Catherine Gumbi and her two children were killed. BIDM

At least 21 people have died in Natal/KwaZulu since Friday, including six people who were shot dead at Nxamalala near Maritzburg on Saturday. 17/11/92

KwaZulu Police reported at least nine other deaths in their area at the weekend.

Meanwhile, Umlazi mayor Maria Xulu yesterday survived a second assassination attempt in weeks while travelling through "H" section.

on
ent".
odike
ative

from
g an
odike
even
vern-
nt of
take
the
nded
rther
gard
sapa.

st

rdises
sion of
good

ANC
e en-
rison-
ptem-
an Lt

rban's
unger
mand-
t they

rvice
l two
n No-

ANC supports probe into all armed forces

ANC official Mac Maharaj said on the SABC's Agenda programme last night that the ANC supported the investigation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and all other "armed formations" as recommended by the UN.

He said government had not shown a similar commitment to an impartial investigation of the SADF, SAP and KwaZulu Police.

The ANC would decide whether government was negotiating in good faith based on the response to the Goldstone commission's revelations of a covert campaign to undermine the ANC undertaken by Military Intelligence (MI), Maharaj said.

He said the question of whether or not government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was aware of this campaign would not dictate the ANC's attitude to talks with government.

President F W de Klerk's response to the Goldstone report was "unfortunate" and he should have accepted its recommendation immediately that its powers be extended, said Maharaj.

Meyer said on the same programme that government supported in principle the Goldstone commission's recommendation that its powers be extended, but would need more details on the issue before a decision was reached.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday Inkatha would support investigations to expose MI efforts to undermine the ANC.

But Mdlalose defended the KwaZulu Police, saying while the force would not object to specific allegations being investi-

~~RAY HARTLEY~~ RAY HARTLEY (84P)

gated, it would oppose "a fishing expedition launched in respect of an entire police force consisting of thousands of members".

Sapa reports that the SACP called for the sacking of the former and present Defence Ministers, Meyer and Gene Louw, as well as top leaders in the military and police.

Those to be dismissed should include SA Defence Force Head Gen "Kat" Liebenberg, Chief of the Army Lt-Gen Georg Meiring and Police Commissioner, Maj-Gen Johann van der Merwe — all of whom the SACP alleged were the "masterminds of a government low-intensity war against the mass democratic movement".

Azapo said government had to resign immediately because of Goldstone's disclosures.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said: "De Klerk cannot hide any longer behind the tired cliché, 'We did not know'."

The CP said De Klerk, as SADF commander-in-chief, should assume responsibility for any irregular SADF acts.

The CP lamented the fact that the Goldstone commission had brought the integrity of SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg and Army chief Gen Georg Meiring into question by insinuating that Meiring's statements on MK were questionable.

The SA Council of Churches (SACC) said it was appalled at government's "blustering responses" to the "many recent revelations of corruption and falsehood".

Police chief takes issue with Goldstone

PRETORIA — Judge Richard Goldstone has come under fire from SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe, who said yesterday the police had been prejudiced by his commission.

Goldstone had indicated that a witness brought before the commission by the SAP was the initial link in providing clues to an MI role in covert operations.

Van der Merwe said the witness had been presented

to disprove allegations made by a Mozambican army deserter that he was paid by the SAP to commit acts of violence.

He said claims that former MI agent Ferdi Barnard had gained access to the SAP Criminal Bureau's computer system had as yet not been established. Police had not been given an opportunity to do so, or to respond.

He took issue with Goldstone's comment that police had been "singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders..."

When untested allegations were presented so that they were perceived as facts, it contributed to a false perception that the SAP was unwilling or unable to perform its task, he said. — Sapa.

BIPAP 18/11/92

BIDAY 19/11/92
**Camp abuses
probe on ice**

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE ANC was unable to indicate this week when a follow-up investigation into ANC detention camp abuses would begin. (84A)
A commission of inquiry appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela in March this year detailed an "extraordinary abuse of power" including "violence for the sake of violence" by ANC security department officials during the 1980s.
ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said discussions were under way concerning who would be appointed as commissioners in the follow-up investigation.

IRA connection used to embarrass ANC

SITimes 22/11/92
Sunday Times Reporters

SOUTH AFRICAN Military Intelligence agents actively promoted a book by a British Conservative MP detailing links between the ANC and Irish Republican Army in a bid to embarrass the ANC.

Among those approached to publish extracts of the book was the Sunday Times.

The details of the Military Intelligence operation, undertaken by staff at the top secret Directorate of Covert Collection, has emerged in the wake of the Goldstone raid on the unit this week.

Arrested

The raid uncovered evidence that Military Intelligence was involved in a campaign to embarrass the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

This week, Mr Andrew Hunter, the author of the book, confirmed he had been approached by SA Military Intelligence agents about the book, but had been unaware they were agents.

One of those who approached him was Pamela du Randt. Du Randt and a fellow agent, Leon Flores, were arrested in Britain recently on suspicion of plotting the death of Captain Dirk Coetzee, a former police hitman.

At least three Sunday Times members

of staff were also approached by various people about the book — the latest approach being from Randburg entrepreneur Ron Major.

Mr Major, arts director for Digital Computers, said last week he had the manuscript in his possession and asked whether the newspaper would be interested in publishing extracts.

But when the Sunday Times went back to him this week he said he had decided against releasing the manuscript after discussions with his partner, George Joubert.

He claimed he did not want to endanger his life, nor did he want to burn his bridges with any future ANC government.

He said his interest in the manuscript had been of a purely commercial nature and he had no political affiliations. His company has, however, never embarked on a book publishing venture before.

In an interview in Basingstoke, Britain, this week, Mr Hunter emphatically denied he had written the book for South African Military Intelligence or had any connection with the organisation.

He said he had been studying the IRA's links with different organisations, including the ANC. His book, he admitted, was not complimentary to the ANC.

ANC alliance adopts new strategy to control self-defence units

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance yesterday adopted a new strategy aimed at tightening control over the self-defence units operating in the Vaal Triangle's townships. The strategy was adopted after a two-day summit on violence in Vereeniging, at ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday the summit had resolved that a code of conduct for the self-defence units be established and that the units be subjected to tighter control "by not only the alliance... but also by all community organisations". The strategy was aimed at

instilling discipline in the self-defence units, Mamoepa said. The summit came amid criticism that the self-defence units had been hijacked by hooligans who perpetrated atrocities in the township, including extortion, murder and rape. The ANC has defended the structures repeatedly, saying they were basically sound but had been infiltrated by "state agents" who caused "chaos, confusion and dissent". There have been a number of incidents of violence in which renegade self-defence units have been implicated.

WILSON ZWANE

Senior ANC official Bavumile Vilakazi narrowly missed death recently after he had been shot by a member of Sebokeng's self-defence unit, who mistook him for an ANC policeman. The act was condemned by appropriate disciplinary action against the culprit.

In a more recent incident, six people — all members of an ANC-supporting Sebokeng family — were allegedly killed by renegade members of a self-defence unit. Meanwhile, police were tightlipped yesterday about a Goldstone commission report which claimed that the killings of 19 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza last year were masterminded by a police informer who posed as an ANC self-defence unit leader.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that the results of an eight-month inquiry into violence in Thokoza and in the nearby Phola Park squatter camp found that Mcungi Ceba headed a self-defence unit which ambushed a march by hostel dwellers in September last year. The commission found that "the ac-

knowledge use of informers in positions such as that held by Ceba is not conducive to improving the already tense relations and suspicions between the security forces and the communities".

Police spokesman Col Ray Harray said yesterday a statement would be issued only after the commission's report had been studied.

Mamoepa said the commission's report vindicated his organisation's conviction that "state agents" had hijacked the self-defence units.

● Comment: Page 8

FOCUS MK soldiers struggling to find employment in South Africa's sophisticated marketplace

Few jobs for cadres

By Abbey Makoe

Sowetan 23/11/92

Hope fading away: ~~333~~ 84A

MANY returned Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers might be finding it hard to find work in the country's sophisticated marketplace because the main skill most acquired abroad was in military warfare.

That is one of the main reasons advanced by MK chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda in an exclusive interview with *Sowetan*.

Nyanda reasons that many of the cadres left the country in 1976 and the turbulent 1980s without completing their studies.

On arrival in exile, the young men of the highly politicised generation of 1976 engaged in training for the overthrow of the SA Government.

As Nyanda puts it: "They trained, came back and fought. Some were detained and others went underground while some remained in exile until today, where training in conventional warfare is in progress."

Meanwhile, after the sudden unbanning of the ANC and the sudden return to the country for MK soldiers, hopes for Uhuru were sky-high.

But more than two years later, hope in many soldiers is gradually fading away. Nyanda refutes this. He acknowledges that although there could be major reasons for disillusionment within the MK, "it is remarkable that most cadres have not turned to violence due to discipline".

Nyanda says this is despite the fact that there is "a sense of impatience" among some cadres, who are finding that the Government is dragging its feet on total power-sharing.

Freedom is around the corner

As Nyanda understandably says, it is their will to serve in the defence force of their country, where they will be doing something they have trained for.

But some of the MK cadres spoken to claim that their woes are aggravated by the ANC leadership's steadfast belief that freedom is around the corner, despite the Government's current scandals to discredit the ANC.



focus on MK

MANY MK SOLDIERS were full of pride when they arrived back from the bush. But now some, or many, are said to be turning to crime in order to survive. What went wrong?

I don't think many were beaming with pride as you say. It is possible that a few are turning to crime because of the desperation of our situation.

What is remarkable, though, is that despite the hardships they are suffering they are not turning to crime in general.

Does the leadership of MK have plans to avert a wholesale explosion of the problems?

I don't think that an explosion is about to take place. We are in a position to address the problems facing our cadreship in the short term.

In the long term what has to be addressed is the whole political situation. The sooner the political problems of the country are resolved, the whole matter of MK and its problems will end because MK should form part of the future defence force.

At the moment, we intend keeping MK intact and will train its members in preparation for that.

Are you finding it easy to train MK members despite the current recession and unemployment?

It's always not been easy to train a force, whether a guerilla force or any other. We've got to have the necessary organisation.

And in the face of decreased international support, especially with the demise of the Socialist world, we find it more difficult.

But, of course, there are forces in Africa who are willing to help us realise this programme because it is not designed to destabilise.

It is a programme we want to pursue in order to contribute to peace and stability in future. We want to have a well-trained MK cadreship that would defend the constitution of a free South Africa.

Some of your disillusioned soldiers are said, among other things, to be frustrated by the ANC leadership's apparent lack of appreciation for their soldiering while still abroad. Is this true?

That is an impression some people get because of the problems the ANC encounters to provide for the general cadreship. A perception develops that the cadres are neglected.

But it is not the intention of the ANC to do that. The ANC itself has got to struggle for funds. In the past we received support from many sources but many of those sources have now shrunk.

Since we came back to the country there has been an increasing perception that the kind of assistance we used to get should be reduced. We

Although the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe's returned soldiers are experiencing difficulty in finding jobs, it is not as serious as it is being made out to be, says MK chief-of-staff Sipiwe

Nyanda. He spoke to **Abbey Makoe**

Sowetan 23/11/92
can, therefore, not be expected to have more resources than we had in the past. Our cadreship generally understands that.

At the moment are the majority of your soldiers working or unemployed?

Most are not working. You know when many of the cadreship left in 1976 and the turbulent 1980s, most were of schoolgoing age and had not completed their education.

They went to camps, trained and came back to fight and got arrested and others were underground when we were unbanned. Some are still abroad.

There are some skills some of them acquired after training. Some went to Tanzania where they ran vocational camps. But the majority did not do anything apart from the gaining of skills in the art of guerilla warfare.

‘The general ANC membership wants to see a negotiated settlement reached at the earliest possible opportunity’

How difficult is it for cadres to find jobs here?

It is difficult. But, of course, their interest really is not so much to get jobs. When they came back here they came to build up the ANC and they were told that we are negotiating for a future constitution. Their interest is to serve the future defence force.

Are there, perhaps, some, no matter how few they are, who have run out of patience with the ANC's negotiations with the Government?

Of course, there is a sense of impatience. But this is not unique to MK. The general ANC membership wants to see a negotiated settlement reached at the earliest possible opportunity.

Are the majority of MK soldiers outside or inside the country?



84A
I cannot quantify in terms of numbers. A sizeable number of people are still outside. But most of the cadres who were training in the 1970s and 1980s are back.

Suffice it to say outside we are involved in programmes of reorientation along more conventional lines of warfare. We have the figures necessary for these programmes.

What is the total number of MK soldiers?
I am not at liberty to discuss the numbers of MK cadreship.

When you came back to the country did the leadership of the ANC say to the soldiers that the war was over? Or what did you say to them?

We couldn't have told the cadres that the war was over because it was not. And the war is certainly not over.

We told the cadres that armed actions against the regime had been suspended. Many of the cadres were inside the country - hitting at targets we had identified as legitimate.

When the opportunity came for us to give a gesture to peace, we suspended armed actions. Nowhere did we say the war was over. It was our fervent hope that hostilities would never be resumed. It is still our position.

Do you monitor the movement or activities of your returned soldiers?

We certainly do. We have structures all over the country. Those MK structures are responsible for MK cadreship in those regions.

I can say with some fair amount of certainty that we know who is where and what is happening.

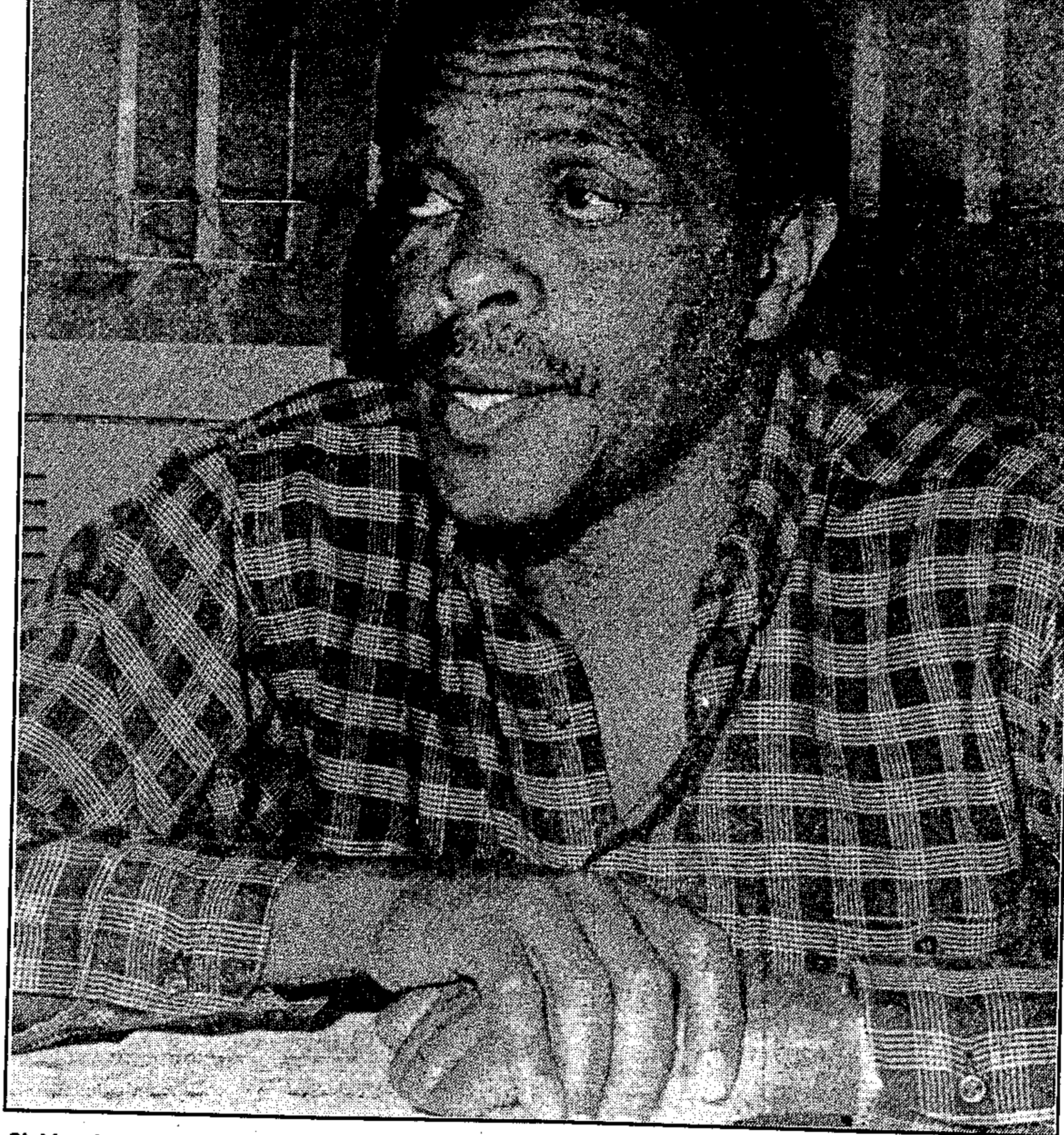
What steps do you take against MK or self-defence unit members found to have contravened the MK code of conduct?

Well, in the case of an MK member, action will be taken. But we have no jurisdiction or power over the SDUs. The SDUs are defence structures of the communities.

We, therefore, take action against any of our members reported for misbehaviour. But as I say SDUs are not the creation of MK.

Are you aware that an impression has been created that the SDUs are under the control of MK?

(continued on next page)



Sphiwe Nyanda ... MK members' problems are not so serious.

(continued from previous page)
 If that is so, it is a very erroneous impression. We have always insisted, from the time when talks started about the SDUs, they are units of the communities and that they should not be confused with MK.

Do you know of any SDUs being led by an MK soldier?

We expect that in many places, because the MK cadreship is active politically, members will serve their communities.

Insofar as you are aware, to whom are the SDUs answerable?

The community structures.

Can you elaborate?

One of the reasons why we said MK cannot conceivably be seen to be in charge of the SDUs is because in many areas, particularly here on the Reef, there is no organisation that enjoys political monopoly.

No organisation can claim to have membership to the exclusion of other organisations. How can MK, therefore, be solely in charge of the SDUs whereas there are other political organisations like the PAC and Azapo who also have their armies?

The SDUs are a product of the community. But, of course, because

MK is in the majority, it will play a key role in the defence of communities.

When people are attacked they are not written ANC, PAC or Azapo. They are attacked indiscriminately. Members of all these three organisations feel a need for self-defence.

In Natal it is said that the fighting is between MK and Inkatha. Do you know of any MK role in that area?

The fighting there is between people defending themselves against Inkatha warlords, who are forcing them to join Inkatha or to leave their homes.

Any involvement of MK will be on the basis of MK cadres being members of those communities under siege.

Is there any other thing that you would like to point out?

I want to say that it is true we came back to a depressed economy - contrary to our dreams that we would be welcomed by ululating women. There are certain frustrations that we endure.

But then we are a well-trained army that is able to bear difficulties. Instead, we have no doubts about our role during transition and in future.

Another point is that we can no



Chris Hani

longer stand this Government, not for an extra day. We want it to go, now! The sooner this corrupt Government that runs corrupt armies and police forces goes, the better it will be, not only for the ANC and MK, but for everybody.

And when this Government drags its feet, it ought to be reminded to hurry.

22/11/92
 50 system

(S30) (S4A) (S4B)
 (S4C)

...the company, and
was expecting a return of almost
R400 000. Although projections had

...was left of it, would be paid to him
once the sale and outstanding obliga-
tions had been finalised.

ANC is mum on MK bribery claim

B/DAW 25/11/92
ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus would not be drawn for comment yesterday on a weekend report that MK cadres were open to bribery as they were not looked after properly by the ANC, saying the sources of the report were not "legitimate".

Former Military Intelligence agent Ferdi Barnard was quoted by a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper as

WILSON ZWANE

saying he had recruited five MK commanders, paying them between R300 and R500 a month. *(S) (S) (S) (S) (S)*

The report said Barnard claimed he had found it easy to do this because "the ANC is not looking after them, and they cannot feed their families".

ste
uni
the
ye
Di
am
at
wa
an
fro
fie



Fresh ANC probe into camps

at/Manif 27/11 - 3/12/92

By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE African National Congress made the timely announcement this week that an independent commission has been set up to inquire into atrocities committed in its detention camps.

Next week a damning report by Amnesty International on the abuse, torture and execution of ANC prisoners is due to be released.

Amnesty had an observer at the ANC's preliminary inquiry into the camps which concluded there had been gross abuses but which

stopped short of naming those responsible for the torture and unjust detention of many cadres suspected of being state agents.

However, the human rights body initiated its own probe to explore issues beyond the ambit of the ANC inquiry.

Among other shortcomings, the ANC inquiry did not delve into the more damning evidence concerning disappearances and executions of detainees.

After releasing the findings of its internal commission last month, the

ANC undertook to establish an independent body to take the matter further.

The three-member commission will comprise prominent businessman Sam Motsuenyane, David Zamchiya, a former Zimbabwean government official and Margaret Burnham from the United States.

The Douglas commission of inquiry into the camps has yet to release its findings.

Appointed by the right-wing International Freedom Foundation, the hearing began in July.

Shock Amnesty report urges prosecutions

ANC's 12 years of torture exposed

~~814~~ 814
JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE African National Congress executed, tortured and ill-treated prisoners in its camps in various African countries over a period of at least 12 years — and government agencies of the host countries actively collaborated in some of these abuses. *STAN*

This is the conclusion of an investigation of abuses in ANC camps, based on firsthand accounts by surviving victims, by Amnesty International, the influential London-based human rights group.

28/11/92
It reinforces the recently published findings of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry which found "extraordinary abuse of power" by ANC security officials and "gratuitous and random violence" by guards at the camps.

Security Apparatus

The Amnesty investigation emphasises the need for the ANC and relevant authorities to take action against the perpetrators.

"Individual torturers should be identified in order to ensure that they hold no future position in the ANC or government security apparatus.

"Details of their cases should be forwarded to the appropriate authorities in the countries where the abuses took place in order that they might be the subject of criminal investigation, and, if appropriate, prosecution, Amnesty argues.

"However, these steps should be taken only after a thorough investigation which will allow the opportunity for human rights violators the opportunity to respond to the allegations against them."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus pointed out yesterday that the ANC had been gearing up to act on the findings of the inquiry it had set up a second, a first step independent, commission comprising two foreign members and one South African.

"Our National Working Committee is still determining the terms of reference of this commission. In doing so, the issues raised by Amnesty International will also be taken into account," he said.

Amnesty insists that in August 1991 the ANC still held prisoners in Tanzania although it publicly denied this. Amnesty says it has tried in vain to trace five of these prisoners who were held at Dakawa camp. Justice Gumbi, Albert Bhengu, Terror Wonder, Schaft Lwane, Khoza and George Kit-seng.

Niehaus reiterated yesterday that none of these was in ANC custody. They were either in Tanzanian jails or else unable to obtain amnesty to return to South Africa.

Noting that ANC president Nelson Mandela said that the leadership of the ANC accepted full responsibility for the

● TO PAGE 2.

ANC torture

● FROM PAGE 1.

abuses documented by the commission it had appointed, Amnesty insists the process must be taken further.

"A weakness of the commission of inquiry is that it did not sufficiently examine where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps. An important question is why the leadership failed to table the report of the (internal) James Stuart commission of inquiry into the mutiny at the ANC's consultative conference in Kabwe."

While it concedes that infiltration has been a real threat to the liberation movement, Amnesty argues that many of those imprisoned and tortured were not agents of the apartheid state. The failure of the ANC to bring its security department to book, combined with blanket denunciations of former prisoners as spies, laid prisoners who returned home open to further danger.

A large number of abuses documented in both the Amnesty report and the recent ANC-initiated inquiry occurred after the mutinies by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Viana and Pango camps in Angola in 1984. Amnesty states that:

● When the mutiny began in Viana, mutineers found the body of a man called Solly in a "metal container" used by the security department for detaining people. Solly had been mentally ill and had criticised ANC leadership. "He was known to have been detained in the container and had apparently been shot by members of the security department," the report says.

● After the Viana mutiny, 32 participants were taken to the Luanda State Security Prison. There they were severely beaten by ANC personnel and detained in appalling conditions, virtually without medical care. Selby Msimang and Ben Thibane died there within five months of detention.

● After the second uprising, at Pango, seven mutineers were condemned to death by a summary tribunal and, without any right of appeal, put before a firing squad, Amnesty says. They were James Nkabinde, Ronald Msomi, Mbumbulu, Thembi Hobo, Maheru, Wandile Ondala and Stopper Nyembizi.

● The remaining mutineers were kept naked and bound with ropes at Pango camp for three weeks before being transferred to Quatro (another ANC camp). It appears to have been the intervention of a senior ANC official, Gertrude Shope, which ended the ill-treatment of the prisoners at Pango as well as preventing any further execu-

tions, the report states.

● At Quatro — where most mutineers remained until 1988 — conditions were grim, and hard labour and physical abuse routine. "Many former prisoners describe being beaten on arrival at the camp, particularly on the buttocks and the soles of the feet. Prisoners also suffered random ill-treatment throughout their time there," the report says.

"In one incident described by two former inmates, guards poured boiling water on the head of a prisoner. The wound blistered and became purulent. A sympathetic guard shaved the prisoner's head to help the wound heal, but the guards repeatedly banged his head against a tree to re-open the wound."

Prisoners had code names for various forms of torture — "pompa" was having puffed-out cheeks brutally slapped in; "napalm" was a stinging leaf they were forced to crawl through; "slaughter" was being forced to dig holes and climb in them, often while being pelted with stones.

"What is apparent from the abundant testimony about life in Quatro is that poor living conditions, the hard labour and the ritualised abuse had no aim but the humiliation and degradation of the prisoners," Amnesty concludes.

The Amnesty report covers a longer time-span and wider area than the ANC-initiated commission. Of the period before the mutiny, it observes that in the late 1970s and early 1980s the ANC's security department conducted severe crackdowns against alleged indiscipline.

"Former MK members have described alleged dagga smokers being hung in trees for several days at a time as punishment. A number of MK members are believed to have died as a result of such ill-treatment, including Oupa Moloji, a political officer at Camalundi camp, eastern Angola, who died in 1981."

In relation to Lusaka, Amnesty has accounts of torture taking place at the ANC's Revolutionary Council building in Villa Park, at the "Green House" which was the security department's headquarters and at a farm on the Lusaka-Livingstone road.

Mostly, "the purpose of this torture was to force the prisoner to sign a confession which had already been prepared by security officials... In some cases it appears to have been carried out with the knowledge of senior members of the ANC security department".

The ANC refugee settlements at Dakawa and Mazimbu in Tanzania did not function as long-term detention centres, Amnesty says, but "there are credible reports that prisoners in the early stages of their detention at Dakawa or Mazimbu were severely beaten or tortured in other ways".

Revellers killed in MK guerrilla suicide attack

By MOSES MAMAILA

Cipnes
29/11/92

847

SIX people were killed in the early hours of yesterday when a foreign-trained MK soldier detonated a grenade in a Sebokeng house during a stokvel party.

According to Pony Mofokeng, 19, who narrowly escaped death, the tragic killing of the five fun-lovers and the MK guerrilla was not an accident as claimed by the police, but a well-calculated military offensive by the MK operative.

"Mputhi came to my home, where the party was in progress, at about midnight holding two grenades and armed with a pistol. I tried to persuade him not to play with the lethal weapons. He threatened that he had the capacity to kill everyone in the house if he wished."

Mputhi, who witnesses said was sober, then went into the kitchen where he removed the safety-catch from one of the grenades and threw it at wheelchair-bound Daniel Mokoena.

Police spokesman Lt Wikus Weber's earlier statement that the dead were ANC Youth League members was dismissed outright by the witnesses.

■ Sapa reports four members of a Vereeniging family were gunned down by unknown attackers on a smallholding outside the town during the early hours of yesterday.

The attackers entered the house at Mooilande, Vereeniging, and shot and killed a 37-year-old man, his 35-year-old wife, their 74-year-old grandmother and a 13-year-old girl.

The killers ransacked the house before fleeing in the family's Toyota Corolla, registration LFX 407T.

RING
onsu
F
By S
KW
man
cour
inclu
rack
M
were
year
type
poss
will
Coun
TI
whoi
to se
and
year



Cops think Apla hit white farm (84A)

CADRES of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army may have taken part in the bombing of a Komga farm store in the early hours of Friday, the SAP said. *C. Men 29/11/92*

The store was extensively damaged. Police investigators found evidence suggesting four petrol bombs and a Chinese-made stick grenade had exploded in the shop.

Six petrol bombs and an M69 grenade were also lobbed into the shop but failed to detonate.

Amnesty report slams ANC

CIPRES 29/11/92
THE ghost of past misdeeds by ANC security officials in camps outside SA returned to haunt them on Friday when Amnesty International released a report corroborating widespread physical abuse of ANC prisoners.

Amnesty's report documents widespread abuses which took place over a decade in ANC camps in several countries, most notably Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda.

"Although the victims were often labelled as South African government spies, most appear to have been genuine ANC members. They were imprisoned because they raised grievances in the ANC camps or because of differences over policy.

Amnesty believed the torture or executions were

unjustifiable under any circumstances.

Based on first-hand research among survivors of ANC prison camps, the report documents a long-standing pattern of violence against inmates. Amnesty officials also conducted fact finding visits to SA to gather testimony.

"It shows too that this pattern of gross abuse was allowed to go unchecked for many years, not only by the ANC's leadership in exile, but also by the governments of the African Frontline states, who allowed the ANC to set up bases and prisons on their territory," said AI.

At houses run by ANC security officials in Zambia, the report says, prisoners were beaten with bicycle chains and rubber hoses. Prisoners taken to an ANC farm on the Lusaka-Livingstone road de-

(84A)
scribed how they were made to dig their own graves and climb into them. One alleged that the hole was filled up to his neck and a plastic bag placed over his head until he lost consciousness.

Prisoners in the Quatro camp in northern Angola were routinely beaten, humiliated and forced to perform hard labour, according to the report. In May 1984, at Pango camp in Angola, Umkhonto weSizwe members, who had taken part in a mutiny, were tied to trees, beaten, whipped and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies.

Seven prisoners were summarily executed.

The report also documented abuses in Tanzanian and Ugandan prison camps run by the ANC.

AI is also critical of the ANC's commission of in-

quiry, which corroborated allegations of severe torture and physical abuse by the ANC's security department.

ANC president Nelson Mandela made his organisation's findings public in October this year, adding that the leadership accepted full responsibility.

Amnesty said a weakness of the ANC commission was that two of its three members were ANC members and the body was not neutral.

There were also serious gaps in the ANC commission's terms of reference in that it could not enquire into executions and "disappearances" of prisoners, nor was it asked to establish which ANC officials were responsible.

It urged African authorities to bring to book ANC security officials accused of the abuses. -- Sapa

We'll act on torture camps say Zambians

SITimes 29/11/92.

(84A)

By PETER MALHERBE: London

THE ZAMBIAN High Commission in London said yesterday that "appropriate action" would be taken following Amnesty International's report on ANC torture camps in Zambia.

The high commissioner, Mr Love Mtesa, was reacting to the organisation's call to African countries to investigate reports of ANC abuse in their countries "with the aim of bringing those responsible to justice".

Mr Mtesa said a copy of the report would be submitted to the Zambian government tomorrow "and the appropriate action taken".

He said his government respected Amnesty International and would take note of its recommendations.

The 26-page report, released in London last week, documented cases of abuse which took place over a decade in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

It claims some abuses took place with the collaboration of agents of those governments.

Beaten up

Among the findings about ANC activities in Zambia were:

● Prisoners at houses run by security officials in Zambia were beaten with bicycle chains and hosepipes, while those taken to a farm outside Lusaka were made to dig their own graves.

● Two ANC dissidents, who sought the protection of the UN High Commission for Refugees, were handed to the ANC by Zambian officials.

● No independent investigation was held into the death of MK commander, Thami Zulu, who died in 1989 shortly after being released from the custody of the ANC security department.

● A key figure in the Winnie Mandela trial, Katiza Cebekhulu, is still being held in a Zambian prison.

NE

Th

an

lo

MA

DII

SHE w
world's
and m
movie
Dietric

A new
daught
astonis
reveals
genuine
woman
promis
manipu

It is a
of a
with t
but en
squalor

Don't
instalm
the SU

More than 1 000 new recruits fly out for

ANC'S SECRET UGANDA

Secret

Army

S/Times 29/11/92

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE ANC has sent more than 1 000 raw recruits to Uganda in the past two months for training as MK soldiers.

The operation has cost the organisation more than R1-million in charter flights and hotel accommodation.

The ANC justifies it on the ground that it needs to increase the numbers of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres before it is integrated with the SADF — otherwise it will be swamped.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the Sunday Times that the issue of continued recruitment would have to be resolved before there was a political settlement.

"This can't continue once you have a transitional government. One party can't go on with its own separate so-called army. That is totally unacceptable."

Disclosure of the operation comes at a time when the UN has spent more than R100-million getting 14 000 exiles back to the country. Many of the exiles are MK soldiers unable to find jobs or accommodation and have resorted to crime.

Sinister

The raw recruits left for Uganda from Jan Smuts airport, having gone through customs and immigration using legal travel documents.

The ANC, which has 10 000 MK soldiers, has been using Tanzania and Uganda for training since it was forced out of Angola in 1989.

The recruits will receive basic training for six months — similar to that given to SADF conscripts. They will then be sent out of Africa for specialised training.

The logistics for the latest batch of recruits was handled by Broederstroom trialist and MK special projects administrative secretary Ian Robertson and Ugandan chief representative Andrew Masondo. Mr Robertson yesterday declined to comment on the operation.

ANC's secret army

S/Times 29/11/92

From Page 1

in Johannesburg in the first week of September.

After spending a night at the Johannesburg Hotel in Hillbrow, at a cost of R30 000, they were flown to Uganda on two Air Zimbabwe charters

for training at ANC camps. The cost of the flights was more than R200 000.

In the last week of October more than 640 recruits arrived from across the country. After undergoing a briefing at a Kwande-

bele holiday resort, they left on four chartered flights for Entebbe, Uganda.

President FW de Klerk said in Pretoria on Thursday that all the peace signatories had agreed that no political party should have a private army.

Only recognised political parties should participate in the political process to ensure a climate conducive to free and fair political participation, he said.

In order for there to be a government of national unity, the armed forces had to be placed under neutral, non-partisan control to ensure that they could not be used for party political ends, he added.

Yesterday ANC national executive committee member and former MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils said it was not secret and there was "nothing sinister" in the operation.

AST

MK commander Joe Modise and other MK officials had often stated that the ANC was training people outside the country for a future integrated army.

The government and the ANC were talking about an integrated defence force under an elected interim government and the ANC had to prepare for this eventuality.

Former chief of staff Chris Hani, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa and former special projects head Tokyo Sexwale travelled to India last year to make arrangements for officer corp training in the Indian defence force.

Paranoid

Mr Kasrils said there was a need to prepare young people with an interest in a career in the armed forces for a future integrated army. There was a huge imbalance in numbers between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe and this had to be addressed, he said.

"Those who are paranoid about this should see it in terms of addressing gross imbalances," he said.

According to information given to the Sunday Times, 320 young ANC members recruited from across the country arrived

To Page 2

NEWS Report highlights large scale attacks at camps

ANC under fire for human rights abuse

Sowetan 30/11/92

84A
[Handwritten initials]

THE ANC has come under fire from the Government and the Democratic Party following a report by Amnesty International detailing large scale abuses in its camps.

The Government said the criminal activities exposed by Amnesty International cannot be censured in strong enough terms.

Had any such activities taken place in South Africa, prosecution or inquests would undoubtedly have been instituted, a Justice Department spokesman said.

The report was still being studied.

The DP's spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, called for an immediate and proper response from the organisation.

■ Government says criminal activities detailed by Amnesty can't be censured in strong enough terms:

Reacting to Amnesty's report which alleged widespread abuse and torture of ANC dissidents in camps run by the organisation prior to its unbanning in 1990, Leon said it was "a massive indictment of the ANC".

The report chronicled a "grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties without any regard for minimum norms of due process and fair procedure", Leon said in a statement. - Sapa.

Amnesty names ANC torture camps

Sowetan 30/1/92

(84A) (M) (S)

AMNESTY International on Friday named two African National Congress-controlled refugee camps in Tanzania where prisoners were allegedly severely beaten or tortured in the early stages of their detention.

Mazimbu and Dakawa - the two camps - were named in a report by the international human rights organisation which conducted an independent assessment of allegations that dissidents were beaten, tortured and executed by the ANC's security department during the 1980s.

"Later accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, allege that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet," Amnesty International's report said.

It cited the case of Umkhonto we Sizwe member Sam Mngqibisa who was first detained by the ANC's security department in 1979.

"In 1984 he left MK but remained an ANC member. In January 1991 while living in Tanzania and working as a plumber, he was again detained by the security department."

Handed over

He was handed over to the security department by the Tanzanian settlement commander at Dakawa whom he had approached for protection.

"The security officials detained him at the Ruth First Centre, Plot 18, Dakawa Camp, and questioned him about his friendship with some of those who had taken part in the 1984 mutiny. Previously, he had been threatened because of his involvement in publicising allegations that ANC officials had sexually abused young women refugees," said the report.

Mngqibisa was held incommunicado in a two-and-a-half by two metre cell with a plastic bucket for a lavatory and filthy blankets. But he managed to escape two weeks later and

SECURITY MEN Dissidents allegedly

beaten, tortured and executed in camps:

resigned from the ANC. He placed himself under the protection of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Tanzania, the report said.

And more recently, a Tanzanian Field Force unit in Dakawa arrested 10 ANC members on June 10 1991 and handed them over to the ANC security department, according to the report.

They were allegedly beaten with steel rods by ANC and Tanzanian officials. Five were then released on August 1 1991 through the office of the Tanzanian Prime Minister but the other five are still missing.

Forced to vacate

They are Justice Gumbi, Albert Bhengu, Terror Wonder, Schaft Lwane Khoza and George Kitseng.

"Despite the direct involvement of the Tanzanian authorities, they have not responded to Amnesty International's request for information about the case," the report said.

The report also states that when the ANC was forced to vacate Angola, some prisoners at Quatro Camp were transferred to Bukoloto camp, Mukono district, north-east of the Ugandan capital of Kampala.

Former prisoners told Amnesty International that about 60 inmates were kept at the Ugandan camp and they were sometimes beaten by the guards.

But the organisation did note that some allegations of abuse in the Ugandan camp were hard to substantiate.

Amnesty International urged the Angolan, Tanzanian, Ugandan and Zambian authorities to bring to book ANC security officials accused of torturing and abusing prisoners in the organisation's camps in Africa in the

1980s.

The organisation made the call in the conclusion to its report dealing with reported crimes perpetrated against ANC dissidents in the Frontline states.

Saying it opposed the South African Government's Further Immunity Act which guarantees members of the security forces immunity from future prosecution for human rights violations, Amnesty said it believed an essential part of preventing further violations was for all abuses to be thoroughly investigated and for those responsible to be brought to justice.

"Amnesty International considers that the same principles apply to abuses committed by the ANC."

However, the organisation added that unlike the SA Government, the ANC was not in a position to initiate criminal prosecutions against its members responsible for the torture and killing of dissidents.

Conduct of ANC

"However, Amnesty International urges the authorities in the countries where these abuses took place - notably Angola, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia - to investigate the conduct of ANC security officials with a view to bringing them to justice."

On the ANC's part, the organisation said it would ensure that those responsible for physical abuse of prisoners are never allowed to hold positions of authority within the ANC or under any future South African administration.

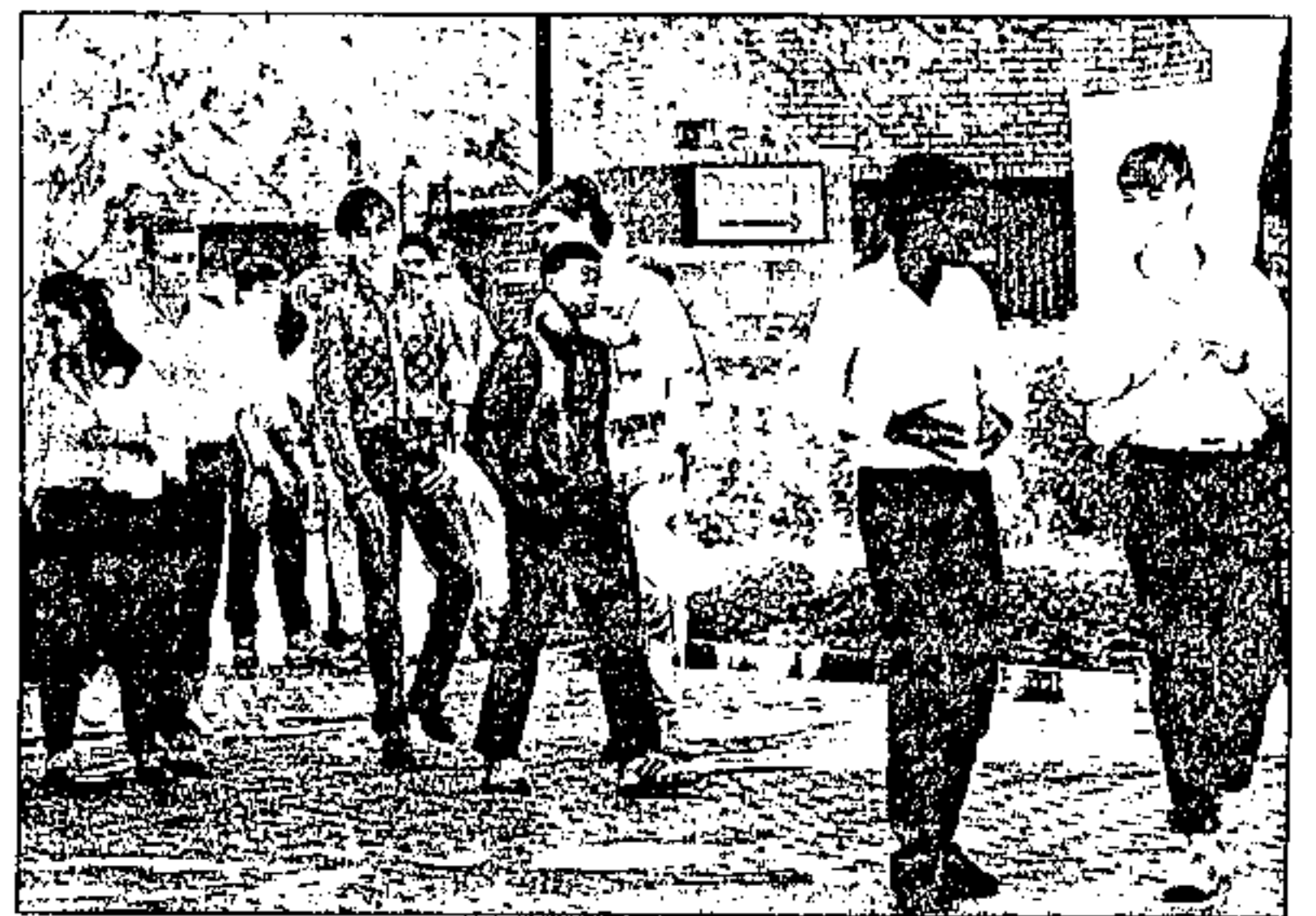
"In particular, they should never be in a position where they have responsibility for law enforcement or custody of prisoners," said the human rights group. - Sapa.

● See reactions on page 14.



African National Congress President Mr Nelson Mandela.

GET READY FOR A CAREER IN BUSINESS



Join the people on the high road to success

HALF-YEAR FULL-TIME COURSE

The Damelin Certificate in

PRACTICAL BUSINESS STUDIES

- In one semester of concentrated full-time study this course will prepare you for your first office job.
- It does not matter if you have not studied commercial subjects before: the course starts with the basics.
- You will enjoy the benefits of being a full-time Damelin student.
- In addition to your valuable Damelin certificate you may also qualify for the prestigious Certificate of the Institute of Business Studies.
- This course is intended for students who have passed at least Standard 8, or have passed Standard 10 without commercial subjects.

CLASSES START ON 1 FEBRUARY 1993

Damelin

CENTRE FOR BUSINESS STUDIES

Braamfontein Campus:

Cnr Harrison & De Korte Streets, Braamfontein, Johannesburg. Tel: 403-7112. (After hours 6.00 - 9.00 pm 795-3929)

P/J/PBS/93

Points from the report

Accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, allege that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet

Previously, he (Umkhonto we Sizwe member Sam Mngqibisa) had been threatened because of his involvement in publicising allegations that ANC officials had sexually abused young women refugees

Former prisoners told Amnesty International that about 60 inmates were kept at the Ugandan camp and they were sometimes beaten by the guards

5 piece coloured luxury bathroom suite
R695

- Semi-classed couple toilet
- Basin and pedestal
- 1700 mm bath with handles

Corrugated Iron (full hard) Suppliers of Spa and Jetted baths
R794 per metre

GEYSERS HIGH PRESSURE

100 Litre R699	150 Litre R759	200 Litre R869
-------------------	-------------------	-------------------

SUPER HOT SPECIALS!

- Bath mixer with hand shower.
- A pair of basin tops. All with luxury handles!

ALL THIS FOR JUST R269

GUTTERS 100 m x 75
R539 per metre

CULTURED MARBLE BATHROOM SUITE

WHILE STOCKS LAST R899

1700 mm bath with handles. Basin and pedestal or vanity slab. Closed couple toilet. In exotic colours.

PARKING AVAILABLE

mr. Bathroom

197 Market Street, Jeppestown, Johannesburg.
Tel: 402-3444/7 or 402-5908/9
Fax: 402-7906 N 820

DP demands

action over

ANC torture

STAR 20/11/92
Heavy criticism has been levelled at the ANC in the wake of Amnesty International's report on torture and abuse of prisoners in ANC camps outside South Africa.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon described the Amnesty document as a grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties. He demanded immediate action.

Justice Department spokesman Pieter du Randt said if the abuses had taken place in South Africa, prosecution or inquests would undoubtedly have been instituted.

Last week the ANC announced the appointment of an independent commission to carry forward the action recommended by an earlier commission into allegations of abuse in the camps. — Political Staff.

ANC ponders reply to Amnesty report

^{84A} ~~THE~~ Business Day Reporter ~~REPORT~~
THE Amnesty International report on abuses in ANC camps in Africa called for an immediate and proper response from the organisation, DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said at the weekend.

Reacting to the human rights organisation's report detailing widespread abuse and torture of ANC dissidents in camps run by the organisation in Africa prior to its unbanning in 1990, Leon said it was "a massive indictment of the ANC".

The report chronicled a "grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties without any regard for minimum norms of due process and fair procedure", he said. ^{B10AM}

The ANC has yet to issue a full response but has said it will set up a second, more independent, internal commission of inquiry consisting of two foreign members and one South African. Its national working committee is still setting up the commission's terms of reference. ^{30/11/92}

RAY HARTLEY reports that the Amnesty report calls for the Frontline states to institute criminal investigations into camp atrocities.

The Zambian High Commission in London has said "appropriate action" would be taken in relation to camps in Zambia.

The Amnesty report criticises the recent ANC internal inquiry for not investigating "where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps".

"An important question is why the lead-

□ To Page 2

Amnesty report ^{B10AM} ^{30/11/92} ^(84A) ~~REPORT~~ □ From Page 1

ership failed to table the report of the James Stuart commission of inquiry into the 1984 mutiny at the ANC's 1995 consultative conference in Kabwe.

"By suppressing this report, the leadership, or elements within it, ensured that the security department would be able to continue unchecked," the Amnesty report said.

It went on to criticise the ANC's internal probe for not addressing the issue of killings in camps and the disappearances of prisoners. "It does not assign individual responsibility for abuses, nor does it analyse the chains of command within the

security department and MK, and between these bodies and the ANC leadership, in order to establish political responsibility for what went on in the camps."

The human rights organisation claimed a 1991 public statement by the ANC that it no longer held prisoners had been false.

It endorsed the ANC internal probe's recommendation that individuals found to be responsible for human rights abuses should not be allowed to hold any position of responsibility for law enforcement or custody of prisoners.

Militant action plan for Azapo

STAR 30/11/92

PORT ELIZABETH — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will not take part in negotiations but will start a militant programme of action to ensure "the liberation of our people".

This was the pledge of newly elected Azapo president, Professor Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, in his address yesterday during the final session of Azapo's four-day conference.

Mosala spoke of the need for the "reconquest of Azania" and the need to rescue the "Azanian struggle".

"The liberation of our people will be the guiding principles," he said.

Azapo would rather "go it alone" than be co-opted into negotiations which came about as a result of talks between the Government and the ANC.

Conditions essential for the initiation of negotiations are that the Government resigns, that it accepts the principle of a constituent assembly and that the security forces be placed in

"quarantine" under an international peacekeeping force.

Azapo will start a campaign against the visiting Indian cricket team that will include "storming pitches and grounds and picketing visiting players".

It will consult the SA Council on Sport and international anti-apartheid organisations about a course of action.

Other visiting teams will be targeted, while overseas anti-apartheid movements will be asked to take action.

The congress also adopted a resolution to place the homeless on unoccupied urban, rural and industrial land.

Other executive members elected at the conference are deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, general secretary Don Nkadimeng, deputy general secretary Lybon Mabasa, publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae, national organiser Fundile Mafongozi, treasurer Lucky Monnakgotla and national political commissar Mzukise Madlavu. — Sapa, Pen.

External training

STAR 30/11/92

of MK 'no secret'

Political Staff

Nelson Mandela said yesterday he had told the Government last year that the ANC would continue to train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe outside the country.

"We want to have an army of our own to protect the gains we have made," the ANC leader said during his address to a rally in Mamelodi.

His comments were in reaction to a report in a Sunday newspaper which said the ANC had secretly sent more than 1,000 recruits to Uganda for military training.

Last night, on SATV's Agenda news programme, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the training of soldiers by the ANC outside South African borders was no secret and

was "strictly" in accordance with the ANC's decision that the armed struggle has been suspended.

Ramaphosa reiterated — more than once during the programme — that the ANC was committed to negotiations and decisions which could lead from it.

● The Inkatha Youth Brigade and Conservative Party have, as a result of the training drive publicity, again called for MK's banning or disbandment.

A spokesman for the Youth Brigade said: "Clearly MK must disband. We shall not rest until its disbandment."

CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said: "We demand the immediate banning of MK and the detention of its members in South Africa."

Gunmen smiled as they killed

8411 ● From Page 1

The Government expressed shock yesterday at the cold-blooded attack, and other multiple attacks countrywide at the weekend in which 22 more people were killed. *STAR*

"These incidents represent a harsh and discordant note after the hope that has recently arisen in the wake of progress with negotiations," a Government spokesman said. *30/11/92.*

He said it appeared that the violence was linked to the whole spectrum of violence plaguing society.

Saturday night's attack was the worst in a weekend of bloodshed.

Other incidents included:

- Seven people were killed and six injured at Tembisa on the East Rand when unknown gunmen opened fire on taxis parked outside Oakmore railway station.
- A family was gunned down at Umlazi, near Durban, on Saturday night.
- In KwaMashu on Saturday night, three men were killed in the township's E-section.
- In Sebokeng, six members of the ANC Youth League were killed and five injured in a hand grenade explosion at a stokvel party on Friday night.
- A police constable was murdered while on duty in the charge office of the Olifantsfontein police station yesterday.
- Constable G J Mofokeng was shot in the chest and lower body when unknown gunmen opened fire on an Evaton house on Friday night.
- An off-duty police constable was shot dead at Marjannahill near Pinetown yesterday.
- Near Folweni, south of Durban, a hand grenade was thrown at a police/SADF patrol. A 17-year-old was arrested. — Staff Reporter and Ecna

'Hullabaloo' only because whites died, says PAC

Outrage over killings

STAN 1/12/92,
By Kaiser Nyatsumba
Political Reporter



The cold-blooded murder of four people at a function at King William's Town Golf Club was yesterday condemned by political parties and organisations, with the ANC slamming the killings as an outrageous act of naked terrorism.

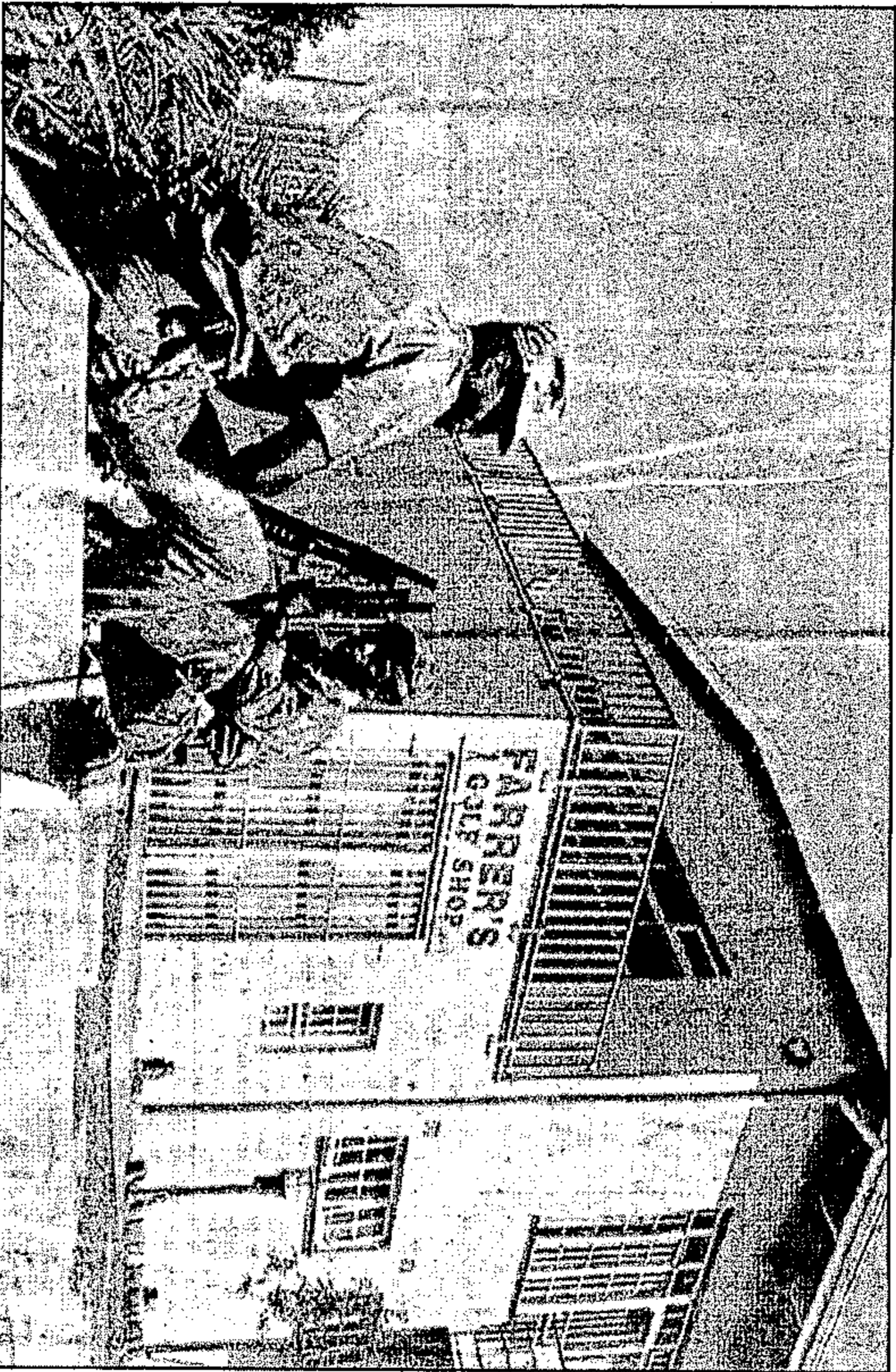
The attack, in which at least 17 people were also injured, occurred on Saturday evening as 57 guests attended a Christmas dinner.

Border police spokesman Colonel Christo Louw later said a man claiming to be a member of the Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) had phoned the East London police control room to say Apla had carried out the "mission".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday the PAC could neither confirm nor deny Apla's involvement in the attack. He said he doubted Louw's claim because only Apla commanders and not ordinary cadres spoke on behalf of the guerilla army, they normally phoned newspapers and not the police, and they usually gave their names.

Neither PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama nor Apla commissar Romero Daniels could be reached for comment in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, yesterday. It was possible the attackers thought they were booby-trapping an NP function, according to National Party MP Ray Radue, who survived the attack.

"I arranged the golf day in my personal capacity as a fundraiser and was assisted by friends and regional NP



On guard . . . armed police keep guard outside the King William's Town golf club yesterday after a gunfire and grenade attack killed four people at a Christmas party on Saturday night.

organiser Andre Smit. "There were no political speeches and no NP colours were exhibited. The golf club does not normally entertain any party-political functions and I was not trying to embarrass anyone in any way," Radue said.

Condemning the attack yesterday, Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh said police were doing everything possible to arrest the attackers. The ANC said yesterday

the attack was committed against unarmed and defenceless people and therefore had to be unequivocally condemned.

Such attacks only served the interests of those trying to derail negotiations through violence.

"We urge that, as with all other instances of violence, there be immediate and thorough investigation, and every effort be made to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to book," the

ANC said.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the attack was barbaric, and expressed the hope that the perpetrators would be tracked down and brought to justice.

DP Law and Order spokesman Peter Gastrow said he hoped "the despicable act" is not an indication that our constantly changing patterns of violence are now going to return to plain bloody terrorism which was experienced in the '80s".

"We now live in a different era and acts of terrorism of this nature ought to be condemned and tackled jointly by all those who are trying to negotiate our future," Gastrow said.

He also criticised the continued training of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres "beside the country", and said private armies had to be disbanded and incorporated into a re-structured defence force. Alexander said the "hullabaloo" about the attack was

purely because white people had died.

Black victims of various kinds of violence, he said, did not receive similar attention and news coverage, and police offered no rewards for information leading to the arrest of the perpetrators — as they had done in the case of the recent attack.

Police spokesman tenant Colonel Hermann Gelsenberg said it was thought the attackers could have fled to Ciskei.

ANC abuse probe delayed

ADRIAN HADLAND

DESPITE mounting local and international pressure, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate abuses in its detention camps would begin its deliberations only next year, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

The ANC's national working committee had been too busy preparing for this week's bosberaad with government to consider the commission's terms of reference.

The commission was set up after an internal ANC investigation into alleged brutality at ANC camps in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda during the 1980s.

The publication last week by Amnesty International of a report detailing widespread abuses increased pressure on the ANC to uncover full details of activities in its camps.

In a letter to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday, DP justice spokesman Tony Leon called for improved witness protection facilities for former ANC detainees willing to testify.

He also called on Kriel to negotiate the

release of Katiza Cebekhulu, a key witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial, from protective custody in Zambia.

The Amnesty report said the findings of the James Stuart commission of inquiry into the 1984 ANC mutiny had been suppressed, ensuring that the security department "would be able to continue unchecked".

Angolan embassy representative Jorge Morais said Angola's government, unlike Zambia's, would not be conducting a separate investigation. "This is a matter that people from the ANC should answer as the camps were controlled by them. We didn't know anything."

Sapa reports the Returned Exiles' Committee yesterday welcomed the disclosure of ANC atrocities committed in exile — and demanded an end to atrocities in SA.

Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane said people's courts, self-defence units and civic organisations were guilty of atrocities at home.

Deserter: ANC member told me to lie

PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna said yesterday an Indian member of the ANC had promised to pay him for telling the Vrye Weekblad newspaper lies implicating the SA Police in political violence, after Cuna was taken to the Indian man by two Military Intelligence (MI) agents. Cuna, who said he now feared for his life, testified

before a Goldstone commission committee that he was taken by MI agents "Frank" and "Riley" to a house in Muller Street, Yeoville, whose owner — "his name sounds like Rule" — was a member of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Cuna said he met the Indian, who he described as tall and having a beard and whitish hair, "many times" and he suggested Cuna tell the story which appeared in Vrye Weekblad.

The October 30 issue of the publication carried a report quoting Cuna as saying he was given AK-47 rifles and paid R4 000 by security forces to kill ANC activists outside Durban. Yesterday Cuna insisted the story published in the newspaper was false. — Sapa.

Plea for public to foster AIDS orphans

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE National Council for Child and Family Welfare today put out an urgent appeal to the public to "open your homes" and adopt or foster one of the hundreds of orphans who have been left behind by AIDS-infected parents.

SA could not even deal with the 80 000 street children, and called on the community urgently to find ways to care for the AIDS orphans.

The council has chosen World AIDS Day today to highlight the plight of those who are mostly forgotten about in the AIDS epidemic — the orphans.

Society for AIDS Families and Orphans organiser Claire Fleming said her organisation cared for more than 500 AIDS orphans in Soweto alone, but the organisation had been refused government assistance.

In a statement the council said the construction of extra children's homes would not be possible in the present economic climate as institutional care was extremely expensive. "Foster parents, adoptive parents and day care centres will be the only answer," the council said.

Department of Health figures indicate that as many as half a million children in SA could be orphaned through AIDS within seven years.

The council has also appealed to communities to take care of the growing number of babies who are born HIV positive — and it plans to lobby government for higher grants for those who care for HIV positive children.

The Department of Health has referred the problem of AIDS orphans to the council on the grounds that to distinguish them from other orphans would lead to them being stigmatised.

Council spokesman Keith Heimann said

But Fleming disputed this argument, and claimed that as the already overburdened welfare sector does not have the resources to cope.

News

Sowetan 1/12/92 **in brief**

Apla behind club killings (84A)

A MAN claiming to be an Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre telephoned the SAP radio control room in East London yesterday to claim responsibility for the machinegun and handgrenade attack on a Border golf club at the weekend.

Police spokesman Colonel Christo Louw said the man phoned at 8.21 am to say Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, had launched the attack in which four people died and 17 were wounded.

Sowetan 1/12/92 **Workers picket AECI** ~~4-11-93~~

MEMBERS of the SA Chemical Workers Union employed by AECI held a lunch hour picket at the company's premises in Modderfontein yesterday to press for demands in wage negotiations.

The union is demanding a R250 - or 14 percent, whichever is the greater - across-the-board increase. Workers are also seeking assurances on job security as well as a reduction in working hours from 45 hours a week to 40 without loss of pay.

DP presses for elections ~~1-12-92~~

A CONSTITUTION making body should be elected as soon as possible and the present Parliament be allowed temporarily to discharge the legislative function, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday. *Sowetan* 1/12/92

He said the DP further strongly supported the idea, recently revived, of a multiparty government of national unity to run South Africa for some years.

Apla's claim ^{STAR} 2/12/92 could be a hoax ⁸⁴⁷ ~~847~~

Political Staff

A claim by an alleged senior Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commander — that more King William's Town-style attacks are imminent — could be a hoax, it emerged yesterday.

Sapa reported that "a top Apla commander", Johnny Majozi, said in a telephone interview from Harare that the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress was responsible for the weekend attack in which four people were killed and 17 injured.

He told Sapa: "There will be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas."

He said he found it surprising that "so much noise and police activity" could come as a result of the death of "only" four white people.

PAC deputy chief representative in Harare, Clayton Sibiyi, could not confirm the reports. Majozi was not in Harare yesterday and it was impossible for an Apla commander "to move through Harare without this office knowing about it".

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said yesterday until such time as there was clarity on the PAC's stand on acts of terror by Apla, there could be no further dialogue with the Government.

At the recent meeting between the Government and the PAC in Gaborone, the PAC had committed itself to peaceful negotiation with further talks planned for next week.

Ecna reports that one of the survivors of the attack was Mr Justice Michael Claassens, presiding officer in the controversial Sebe-Guzana inquest in Ciskei.

The judge said he was aware of speculation that he had been targeted but doubted this was the case. It was unlikely the killers would have known he would be there.

We will hit again, PAC armed unit tells whites

^{BIDAM 2/12/92}
AN APLA commander confirmed yesterday that a unit of the PAC's armed wing was responsible for the weekend attack on a King William's Town golf club — and warned whites to expect more attacks of this kind.

Four people died and 17 were injured on Saturday night when five men stormed the Border club and opened fire with automatic rifles and lobbed hand grenades at unsuspecting Christmas dinner patrons.

Speaking from Harare, Apla chief spokesman Johnny Majozi said he found it surprising that "so much noise and police activity" could come as a result of the death of only four white people.

"Thousands of our African people are killed almost daily with no rewards being made or police reinforcements (being sent to the areas) in seconds," Majozi said.

"We would like to remind white South Africans that there is a war going on inside the country.

"There will be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas."

The NP yesterday called on the PAC to abandon its armed campaign.

NP chief spokesman Piet Coetzer said: "The National Party calls on the leaders of the PAC urgently to give up the armed struggle and bring Apla under control."

The NP said PAC general secretary Benny Alexander's remark, that the "hullabaloo" over the incident was because the

victims were white, was racist and his attitude had raised questions over the PAC's commitment to a negotiated settlement.

"He displays naked racism when he claims the hullabaloo is only because the victims were white. The attitude of Mr Alexander puts a question mark over how genuine the PAC is about participating (in negotiations)," Coetzer said.

He called on the PAC to take an "unequivocal stand" on the attack at King William's Town.

Seventeen people were wounded in the shooting.

"The shifty attitude of Alexander when questioned about the King William's Town killings is a disgrace to that organisation (the PAC)," Coetzer added.

The SA Council of Churches yesterday condemned the King William's Town attack, saying it was "a sad reflection on the present state of our nation".

"We express our revulsion at the continuing slaughter of innocents in our society, especially at a time when we need to build a new nation of peace, trust and democracy," the SACC said.

Violent acts, such as the King William's Town attack which claimed four lives, could only delay the transition to democracy and aggravate the present political climate.

The SACC said it was dismayed by the PAC's reaction to the killings. — Sapa.

ts
ol
12
and
cal
ing,
urg
me
uis
y.
ar-
ter
er-
de-
ng
ose
the
the
of
m-
will
ent
the
ent
SA
ral
ing
l to
ent
on-
the
m-
up-
will
ac-
m-
ing

TE
ga
lis
de
ha
re
He
ye
sin
re
wh
gi
cl
co
ha
re
Oc
re
the
the
K
th
fo
ha
K
as
bo
ot
ad
de
ne
pe
de

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday called on the United Nations and the international community to help him launch an urgent inquiry into the Azanian People's Liberation Army, saying it had a "policy of terrorism based on racist criteria, and an intention to extend the unacceptable violence".

In a statement Mr Justice Goldstone said: "The policy of Apla demonstrates the necessity of a full investigation into that organisation by the commission.

"To that end the commission calls upon the international community, and in particular the UN, to take the necessary steps to enable the commission to hold a full inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla outside SA and to report fully thereon in relation to political violence and intimidation in SA."

The PAC yesterday repeated its view that it would not allow Apla, its military wing, to be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Justice Goldstone's statement came in the aftermath of the weekend golf club killings in King William's Town, for which some Apla spokesmen have claimed responsibility.

In a separate move, the Government yesterday warned that its talks with the PAC, scheduled for next

week, were in jeopardy because of the alleged involvement of Apla in the killings.

There is still confusion about Apla's involvement, with contradictory statements being made by "spokesmen" in telephone interviews.

The PAC has announced an emergency meeting of its executive for tomorrow.

The Government and PAC have met twice recently to finalise a meeting between President F W de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Government sources yesterday confirmed that the planned meeting with the PAC on December 9 would not go ahead unless the organisation gave a satisfactory clarification of its relationship with Apla.

But PAC director of information and publicity Waters Toboti said yesterday it was the "regime's own indaba if they withdraw from talks".

He noted that in two previous meetings with the Government, "nothing was discussed about Apla and no undertakings were made regarding the issue".

The Government sources said they were shocked by PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander's statement that the Government was upset only by the death of whites.

They denied this and said that in an earlier statement condemning the King William's Town killings, the Government had also expressed its shock at several weekend deaths in townships.

● To Page 3

Goldstone takes aim at Apla

■ From Page 1

Mr Justice Goldstone said the ANC had agreed to an investigation into its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The commission had not yet received a response from the KwaZulu government on an investigation into the KwaZulu Police.

ANC executive member and former intelligence chief Patrick Lekota said the suggestion that the King William's Town attack was staged by the PAC was ridiculous.

Lekota said that for anyone to carry out the attack, they would have needed "abundance of intelligence on the planning and programme of the occasion, both before and during the occasion", and that the R-1 and R-4 weapons used were "standard SADF and police issue".

● Eastern Cape police said yesterday they suspected that those responsible for the attack had once worked as caddies at the golf club.

Govt may refuse to meet PAC following massacre

Judge takes aim at Apla

STAR 2/12/92

84A

84A

Apla

Four whites die and the word terrorist surfaces, observes Mathata Tshedu

Our prejudices come shining through

STAR 3/12/92.

847

~~223~~

~~327~~

~~111~~

THE racism of the South African police, Government and the media is sickening. In a country where the deaths of 10 people does not warrant a page one story in any newspaper any more, it is surprising how the death of four whites in King Williams Town has stirred the emotions of the media.

As if by a turn of a switch, we have now seen the return of the word terrorist. Terrorist because the victims of this particular attack were white.

Whatever happened to the usual "unknown gunmen" who have been blamed for spraying equally innocent black people at night vigils, birthday parties and other

innocuous gatherings with bullets?

Let us look at what happens when four whites at a golf club are shot as they eat dessert after a wine tasting ceremony.

The police launch a huge man-hunt, which never happens when the killings are at Folweni.

We are told of how the unexploded petrol bombs resemble those found at previous Apla attacks. We are told of strong leads. Of imminent arrests. Of rewards of R50 000.

Does anyone remember how the killings in Sebokeng, Boipatong or Folweni resemble any other attack and thus maybe Inkatha or the ANC or whoever else is the prime suspect?

It is this sort of racism of the media, police and regime, the PAC's Benny Alexandra said, that led many people to believe that the violence would stop soon enough if it spread to white areas and left some whites dead.

The manner in which the deaths of black people are treated by the police and the media is really appalling. No details, no names, just the bare allegations that are recorded for historical purposes.

The racism embedded in the psyche of South Africans over centuries will be hard to eradicate. One would understand perhaps the reaction of individuals touched by the incident.

But for organised institutions

such as television, newspaper and the police force to allow the prejudices to shine through like at a time when they are telling of a new South Africa is total unacceptable. In fact, the who selective uproar over the killing is enough to drive one into sympathising with the killers, and not the victims of the King carnage.

And unless we stand up and decry the selective and racial reactions of both the Government and the media, it will continue. We need to cultivate a philosophy that looks at life as life, and not white life and therefore deserving more attention than black life. □
Mathata Tshedu is Investigations Editor of The Sowetan.

Union urges strong action on terror

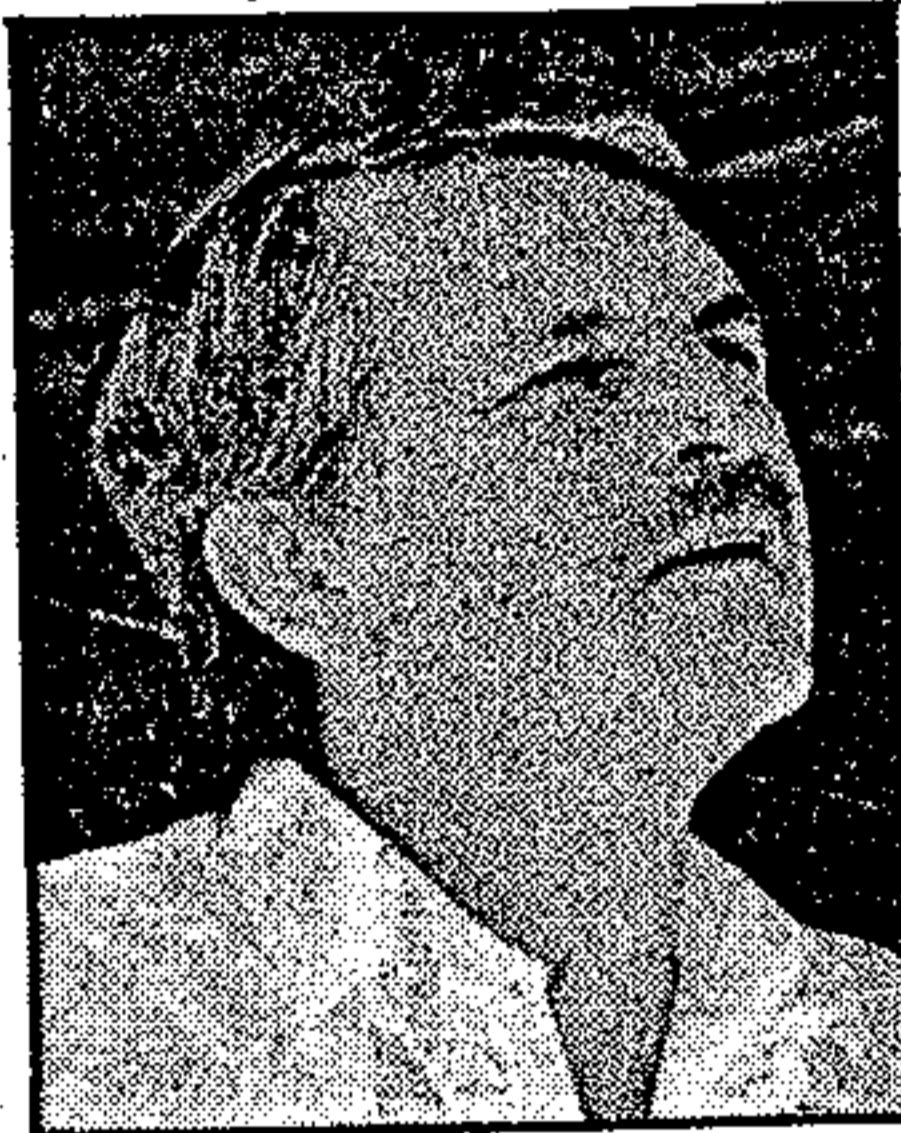
STAR 3/12/92

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government could no longer ignore its responsibility to act firmly against those responsible for the "terrorist" murders of innocent citizens, Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Pieter Gous said yesterday.

Compulsory death sentences were the only acceptable punishment for these "barbaric and abhorrent terrorist attacks", he added.

Gous said it was with shock and alarm that the Free State farming community had noted the attacks on innocent party-goers in the eastern Cape and on another Free State farm family at Marquard.

He said it was to be hoped that "these blatant and cold-blooded murders and assaults" had finally killed the doubts of many organisations



Dr Pieter Gous . . . Government must act firmly against "terrorists".

and individuals that these were really politically inspired attacks on whites.

For more than a year, while attacks and murders of farmers had become common, the union had warned that these assaults would escalate if the

State did not act firmly and with determination.

Throughout, the targets were innocent and defenceless and often elderly civilians. With almost every attack, the barbaric nature and level of cruelty had increased.

The attackers were clearly trained and armed terrorists who were conducting a reign of terror to drive whites from their land. However, the union had been publicly rapped over the knuckles on several occasions by spokesmen who contended it was the criminal element and the unemployed who were responsible.

Gous said that, in the light of the latest attacks, the farming community called urgently on the Government to act firmly before more families died or people started to take the law into their own hands.

— Sapa.

Gen
84A

NEWS 14 security force members are killed • MK protest at ANC headquarters

FW angry over Buthelezi move

■ IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk:

It was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night. *Sowetan 3/12/92*

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi's announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region. He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"In respect of constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP.

"It is a matter of concern that Mr Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach," De Klerk said. In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk's request for an urgent meeting.

Shell House sit-in

■ Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures:

By Abbey Makoe

LACK of accommodation for returned Vaal MK soldiers took a new turn on Tuesday when a delegation of 27 soldiers staged a sit-in at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

The soldiers were yesterday roaming the foyer of Shell House and some called members of the Press to talk about their anger.

Those interviewed did not want their identities revealed. They said they had submitted a memorandum to the ANC leadership about four weeks ago, detailing their grievances, but had received no response.

The grievances include lack of rations despite "the ANC having received some money from Italy, aimed at alleviating the returned soldiers' problems".

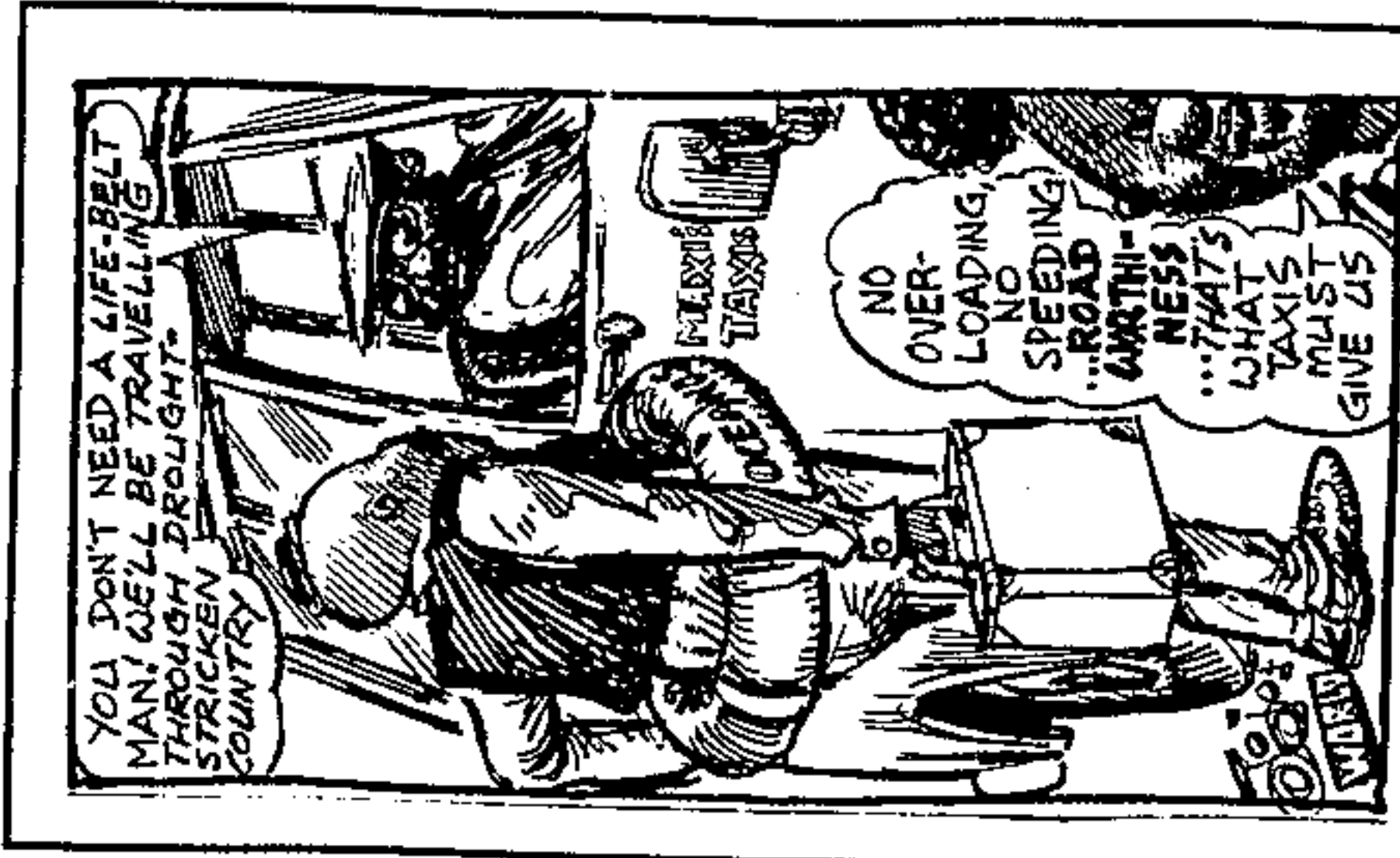
Another soldier said they were concerned about continued claims in the Vaal's ANC structures that the MK was answerable to the Youth League".

They said they slept on the third floor of the 22-storey building on Tuesday and were not provided with food.

By late yesterday the group was insisting that they would not leave until their demands were met. MK Chief-of-Staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda denied any knowledge of the sit-in.

The ANC's media liaison officer, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, confirmed the sit-in. He lashed out at the soldiers, saying they knew the correct procedures to follow when unhappy.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe said he had received the MK memorandum and added that it was being given attention "at the highest level".



Judge wants Apla probed

Sowetan 3/12/92

■ PAC refuses to allow its military wing
to be investigated by commission:

Sowetan Correspondent ~~84A~~ (84A)

MR Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday called on the United Nations and the international community to help him launch an urgent inquiry into the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

He said Apla had a "policy of terrorism based on racist criteria and an intention to extend the unacceptable violence".

"The policy of Apla demonstrates the necessity of a full investigation into that organisation by the commission.

"To that end, the commission calls upon the international community and, in particular, the UN to take the necessary steps to enable the commission to hold a full inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla outside South Africa and to report fully thereon in relation to political violence and intimidation in South Africa," Goldstone said

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reiterated its view that it would not allow Apla - its military wing - to be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Goldstone's appeal came in the aftermath of the weekend golf club killings in King William's Town, for which some Apla spokesmen have claimed responsibility.

NEWS 14 security force members are killed • MK protest at ANC headquarters

Shell House sit-in

Sowetan 3/12/92

■ Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures:

By Abbey Makoe



LACK of accommodation for returned Vaal MK soldiers took a new turn on Tuesday when a delegation of 27 soldiers staged a sit-in at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

The soldiers were yesterday roaming the foyer of Shell House and some called members of the Press to talk about their anger.

Those interviewed did not want their identities revealed. They said they had submitted a memorandum to the ANC leadership about four weeks ago, detailing their grievances, but had received no response.

The grievances include lack of rations despite "the ANC having received some money from Italy, aimed at alleviating the returned soldiers' problems".

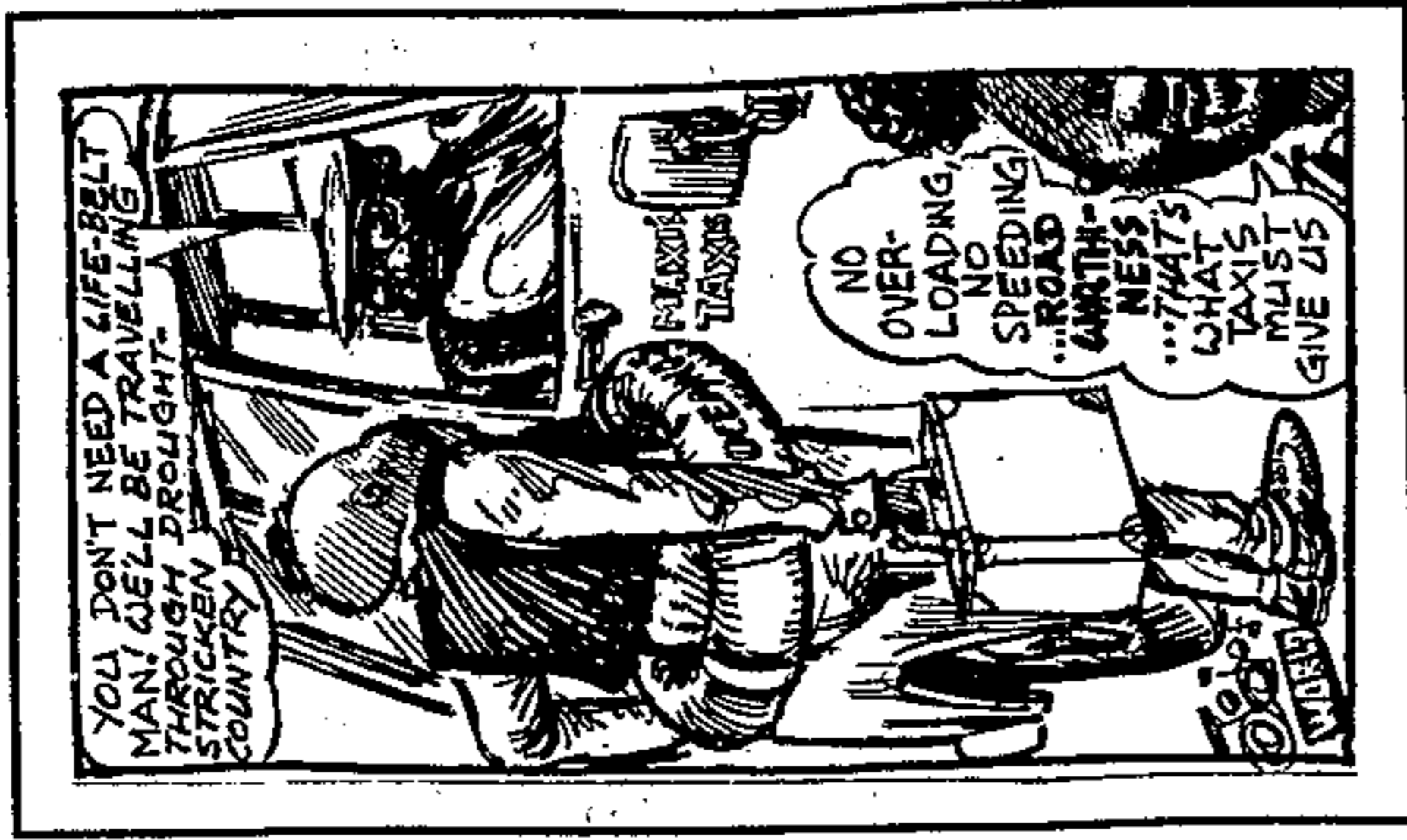
Another soldier said they were concerned about "continued claims in the Vaal's ANC structures that the MK was answerable to the Youth League".

They said they slept on the third floor of the 22-storey building on Tuesday and were not provided with food.

By late yesterday the group was insisting that they would not leave until their demands were met. MK Chief-of-Staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda denied any knowledge of the sit-in.

The ANC's media liaison officer, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, confirmed the sit-in. He lashed out at the soldiers, saying they knew the correct procedures to follow when unhappy.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said he had received the MK memorandum and added that it was being given attention "at the highest level".



Mixed messages ^(HHS) _{34A}

Johnny Majozi does exist — but he didn't quite say what he was reported as saying about more Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) attacks on whites being imminent. ^{SAPA 3/12/92.}

This is the confusing outcome of The Star's attempts to verify Majozi's much-publicised warning that more white South Africans were to be targeted in the wake of the King William's Town Golf Club killings.

On Tuesday, Majozi was quoted as saying in Harare that Apla, the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, was responsible for the weekend bloodbath at the golf club — and that "there would be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas".

Yesterday, however, tracked down by telephone in Dar es Salaam, Majozi said Apla could not take responsibility for the King William's Town killings "at this stage".

Describing himself as Apla's information officer, Majozi said he was still awaiting a report from a "field officer" in South Africa.

Asked specifically whether he had said more whites would be killed by Apla, Majozi said: "I expect more attacks on whites, but I cannot say that Apla would specifically go into white areas." He also denied having been in Zimbabwe, although he admitted he had spoken to a journalist about the issue.

Asked about his personal background, Majozi would only say he was "a journalist who had grown up in the ranks of the PAC".

● In a further twist to the unresolved saga of Apla's involvement in the golf club carnage, a man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command told Sapa yesterday that the attack was a "true operation of Apla".

PAC repudiates Goldstone

THE PAC reacted angrily yesterday to Judge Richard Goldstone's call on the UN and the international community to help him persuade the organisation to allow him to investigate its military wing Apla.

Publicity and information director Waters Thaboti said the PAC would refuse to co-operate with the Goldstone commission. He rejected an inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla because "Goldstone is not neutral".

Goldstone made the call yesterday following a phone call allegedly from Apla commander Johnny Majozi in which he accepted responsibility for the King William's Town attack.

Thaboti refused to comment on whether Apla was responsible for the attack, but said of Goldstone: "We have always said he

~~84A~~ ~~84A~~ (84A)
BILLY PADDOCK

is not neutral because he is an appointee of (President F W) de Klerk's regime. He just wants to ensure that whites remain in their privileged positions and is not interested in the black person's liberation."

He said Goldstone had made a mistake by issuing the call, because "at last he has shown his true colours".

Thaboti refused to discuss the UN Security Council recommendation that Goldstone investigate security forces and private armies.

The Goldstone commission said it had asked the international community to take steps to enable it to hold an inquiry into the structures of Apla outside SA and to report

To Page 2

PAC *BIDAM 3/12/92*

fully in relation to political violence and intimidation.

The commission welcomed government's agreement for it to investigate the intelligence operations of the security forces, and the ANC's positive response to the request to inquire into the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A similar request had been made to investigate the KwaZulu Police, but no response had yet been forthcoming.

Thaboti also insisted that the PAC's bilateral meeting with government would

~~84A~~ (84A) ~~84A~~ From Page 1

go ahead next week, in spite of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's statement that government had suspended talks until there was clarity on the PAC's stand on acts of terror by Apla.

Sapa reports Apla vowed yesterday to attack white suburbs in retaliation for every vigilante attack in black townships.

A man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command said the only way to solve "African violence" in the townships was to take that violence to white areas.

Transkei Defence Force is helping to arm MK, probe told

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The South African Police yesterday named the chief of logistics in the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) as a supplier of weapons and ammunition smuggled into South Africa for the use of the ANC.

This was evidence by Chris Marnewick, SC, who is appearing before the Goldstone Commission for the SAP.

Marnewick said the SAP was concerned about evidence "that the ANC receives weapons from other countries through Transkei".

The weapons were then transported into SA through Lesotho.

Weapons from Transkei were supplied to Umkhonto we Sizwe in South Africa.

"The information in the possession of the SAP

is to the effect that MK commanders actually submit requisitions to the TDF for weapons and ammunition needed. Weapons are also purchased from an arms dealer in Transkei and channelled into South Africa," he said.

Marnewick did not give the name of the TDF chief of logistics.

Allegations that G3 firearms had been unlawfully used in conflict situations, and had been routinely issued to tribal authorities for protection, were correct, the commission heard.

A legal adviser to the KwaZulu Police, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reed, said he was still a member of the SA Police when he had taken up the illegal use of these firearms in conflict situations with Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After these talks, an order had been issued that all G3 firearms should be withdrawn,

and be replaced by shotguns or .38 revolvers, said Reed. This process would be complete when an expected consignment of shotguns and revolvers was received.

His statement comes after several submissions to the commission this week on the issuing of G3 rifles to tribal authorities.

Sapa reports that eight steps to end political violence in Natal and KwaZulu were set out yesterday by Dr Ben Ngubane, Minister of Health in KwaZulu.

He said political violence would cease if:

- MK were disbanded.
- There were immediate and full disclosure by all political players on the whereabouts of arms and arms caches.
- A joint public statement were made by all political players calling for the immediate cessation of attacks on the KwaZulu government.
- The ANC publicly re-

nounced its stated policy of destabilising KwaZulu.

● The ANC stopped training its cadres at home and abroad.

● The ANC publicly recognised the legitimacy of the KwaZulu government.

● All political players signed a joint public statement committing themselves to political tolerance and peaceful political activity.

● There were a strengthening of mediation through the National Peace Accord structures.

He said boycotts, unrest and linked armed robberies had so far cost the KwaZulu government some R23 million.

Ngubane said political violence in Natal and KwaZulu stemmed directly from the policies adopted by the ANC and the SA Communist Party in 1985 to make South African homelands and local authorities ungovernable.

BEDROOM

FABRIC
3-piece quality

Fine planning went into the King William's Town golf club attack

Apla's capability underestimated?

SAC 4/12/92
SUA

A PLA, once dismissed by the SA intelligence community as "two men with a fax number in Dar es Salaam", is now being officially credited for Saturday's assault on the King William's Town golf club.

Police were quick to identify the Pan Africanist Congress's armed wing, Apla, as the most likely culprit for the attack, in which four people died and 20 were injured.

There was some confusion from Apla itself on the issue, but it seems now to have formally accepted responsibility for the attack — possibly causing the PAC some discomfort as a result.

The Government has suspended talks with the PAC as a result of the attack.

However, the question remains whether Apla has the capacity to carry out what was by all accounts a sophisticated, well-planned raid. Some experts doubt this, while others acknowledge

that if it was Apla, it showed better organisation than any previous operation.

Reliable sources suggest that between eight and 12 people may have been part of the two-pronged assault on the clubhouse dining room, where 55 guests were attending a Christmas dinner, and on the adjoining bar. About four people probably entered the clubhouse with grenades and firearms — police said there was evidence that R-4 assault rifles and 9 mm pistols were used — and split up to attack the two venues.

Louise Flanagan, a journalist who has been researching violence in the Border region, described the attack as "clearly quite sophisticated" — and said she believed it was beyond Apla's capabilities.

Said Flanagan: "An indication of the planning that went into the attack is that they must have known what was going on inside — they must have been there be-

fore to check it out."

She said police had linked Apla to several recent attacks in the region — on farms around Matieland, on commuters near Lady Grey, and on a farm store in Komga, among others.

While Apla may have had the ability to launch some of these one-off attacks, it was likely that many were actually the work of criminal thugs, Flanagan said.

Dr Jakkie Cilliers, co-director of the Institute for Defence Politics, an independent think-tank based in Midrand, stressed that he was not aware of anyone "outside of the intelligence community or Apla itself" who could be sure about the movement's strength.

Nevertheless, Cilliers said he too had his doubts on hearing that Apla had been linked to the attack, adding that throwing a grenade at a police vehicle, and the golf club attack, were poles apart.

Border's acting police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Herman

Koegelenberg said evidence was emerging that Apla operatives were "highly trained", and many were back in SA as a result of the unbanning of the PAC.

An analyst who believes that Apla was capable of carrying out the attack is Helmoed-Römer Heitman, SA correspondent with Jane's Defence Weekly.

Heitman said he had been sceptical of most of Apla's claims involving the assassination of policemen, but had since changed his mind about its military capacity.

Heitman says he was told this week by one reliable source that Apla operatives had been deployed in large numbers to "hit" policemen. Another source said Apla operatives had been instructed to attack "soft targets" over the Christmas period.

"This came as a big surprise to me. Apparently they have a capability far greater than I thought they did," said Heitman. — Ecna □

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN MASSACRE

FM 4/12/92 (S) (S) (S)

A perverse mentality

One had hitherto thought of Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), as politically outrageous. In the light of his comments on the King William's Town golf club dinner massacre he is clearly also malignant.

If one fundamental problem of our new society is that it has bred a cold disrespect for human life — an attitude seen on all sides — then Alexander has carved out a special niche in the annals of political callousness.

His remark that “there is a lot of international hullabaloo around the attack purely because white people have died” is so shocking that it raises the question of whether anyone whatsoever should be talking to the PAC. For, indeed, it may well have placed itself now beyond the bounds of morality and reasonable negotiation.

Alexander has come perilously close to a call for race war — the horrible spectre which the whole process of reform and reconciliation is designed to avert.

How else can reasonable people interpret his macabre remark that these killings reflect a “racial attitude by the regime, the security forces and the media which leads many ordinary Africans to the conclusion that the violence will be treated more seriously and indeed ended if it is not confined only in the townships but spills over to white areas”?

The suggestion that white people are unconcerned by violence is racist and comes from the same perverted mentality that boasts the slogan: “One settler, one bullet.” It cannot be defended even in terms of liberation rhetoric.

Someone purporting to be from Apla — the PAC's externally based and controlled armed wing — has claimed responsibility for the massacre, as well as attacks on policemen and farmers. Alexander says he knows nothing about this one way or the other, since the PAC has no control over its army. That raises the question of what exactly are the PAC's political objectives — if they are at all coherent — and to what lengths it will go to achieve them.

To whom Apla reports is a telling question. For when the visible leadership of an organisation defends “One settler, one bullet” it must be expected that, down the line at least, some cadres will take it seriously and act on it as an instruction. It is an act of monumental irresponsibility, of the kind that should be foreign to any organisation that aspires to national leadership.

The ANC — which has condemned the King William's Town killings — has been sufficiently responsible to suspend its armed struggle, at least while it is involved in negotiations.

No such concession has been forthcoming from the PAC, though these days it will talk to almost anyone with the time. It should be recalled that one of the reasons for the split between the ANC and PAC in 1959 was because Africanists considered the Congress too conciliatory towards whites — and that racial attacks on whites, particularly in Transkei,

emanating from PAC sources, date back to the Sixties.

By continuing — and defending — such a policy, the PAC, as it stands, has removed itself from the mainstream of political debate and will have to be dealt with as a terrorist organisation. No indemnity covers its current deeds — and it would be highly inappropriate were this ever to be the case.

Unfortunately, of course, we have no guarantee that any future government will not indemnify the Apla killers. This is what the *FM* warned when Barend Strydom was swapped for Robert McBride earlier this year. The deep cynicism behind that move has stained the credibility of all future deals struck in the name of reconciliation and goodwill.

Peace will not be won by a balance of psychopaths.

Reports that the AWB intends to step up patrols in the eastern Cape — racial tinderbox of the New SA — raise the prospect of reprisals. Who knows how matters could degenerate after that? This is what Alexander's gloatings could help bring about.

The sensible course for government and ANC at present is to sterilise the PAC — to cease all negotiation with it until it has repudiated its slogans and reined in its killers pending their trial for murder. It would help if it was made plain that there can be no indemnity for them, though a government which has not yet adequately probed its own death squads may have neither the inclination nor the moral authority to issue such a statement. But it would be a step towards decency.

There is much about the PAC that smacks of the Irish Republican Army — both are fanatical, indiscriminately cruel, vengeful and without any sense of ordinary human decency. If they cannot see how heinous are acts of mindless brutality such as the King William's Town killings, how can they be considered capable of reasonable negotiation and dignified participation in a just and honourable democracy?

No amount of dissembling can justify this attack on grounds of provocation. It was a deliberate act of supreme cruelty, clearly intended to frustrate the fragile moves towards peaceful negotiation and incite further violence. It places the PAC beyond the pale.

But it emphasises also that if there is to be peaceful progress in our country, deep-seated prejudices have to be overcome and motives questioned, even among those who hold themselves out to be men of peace.

The IRA is able to count too often on at least tacit support from the clergy in Ireland and elsewhere. The SA Council of Churches, which should be at the forefront of peace initiatives, cannot even today bring itself to eschew trade sanctions, which are inherently violent in that they force the poor into degrading poverty; and the SACC still participates in public demonstrations clearly calculated to heighten the levels of violent reaction and dissension within the country.

Has the SACC become to the PAC what the church in Ireland is to the IRA? ■

Apla blamed as restaurant attack fuels race tension

ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

RACIAL tensions are running high in Queenstown today with angry residents blaming the PAC army, Apla, for last night's blast.

The mayor, Mr Johnny Johnson, said: "These bloody animals must be caged," adding that he was convinced the same movement which bombed King William's Town golf club last weekend, killing four people, was responsible.

Queenstown MP Mr Manie Schoeman said the bombing was a cowardly act which would lead to further polarisation in the Border region.

The father of three young people who were injured said he felt "stabbed in the heart" today when he overheard a man surveying the damage remark in Xhosa: "They did a good job."

Mr Benjamin Brody had returned to the restaurant to look for the keys of the car used by his children, who are in Frontier Hospital with burns and shrapnel wounds.

They were in a party of five at the table next to where the bomb went off.

Mr Brody said he thought it was a phosphorous bomb because his children were badly burned.

His elder daughter, Michelle, 25, had her hair burned off and her dress burned to her skin. His son, Shane, had burns and shrapnel wounds. His younger daughter, Abigail, 19, who was facing the table where the bomb was placed, had the worst shrapnel wounds.

Mark Muller, son of police Warrant Officer Rodney Muller, escaped the blast by minutes.

He said: "We had just finished writing matric and a group of us Queens College guys celebrated at the Spur. I arrived home about 10 minutes after my mum and dad had been told of the blast. I think it's the first time in my life that my dad has kissed me."

Police chief's warning to Apla

84A
PRE 4/12/72

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe vowed today to meet fire with fire in the battle against Azanian People's Liberation Army terrorists.

Any Apla member who committed an act of aggression against the people of South Africa would be severely dealt with, he told a police passing out parade in Pretoria.

"Our track record shows the South African Police can hunt these terrorists, irrespective of where they may be hiding, and we will do so again," he said. "The police will not treat them with kid gloves."

Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, said after a handgrenade attack on King William's Town golf club last Saturday that whites should expect more acts of terror.

The PAC executive committee is meeting today to discuss Apla activities in the light of the worldwide denunciation of the King William's Town attack.

Chief police spokesman Major-General Leon Mellet said Apla was also suspected of planting the bomb that exploded last night in a Queenstown restaurant. No one has yet claimed responsibility for the attack.

19 whites injured in east Cape attack

Restaurant blast horror

By Philip Zoio

STAR 4/12/92

Nineteen people, all of them white, were injured when a bomb exploded in a restaurant at Queenstown in the eastern Cape late last night.

The explosion, the second violent attack on a "white establishment" in the Border region in the last week, follows a machinegun and hand grenade attack in King William's Town in which four people were killed and 17 injured last Sunday.

Brigadier Poola van der Merwe, divisional commissioner, said it was a miracle that nobody was killed by the blast, which he said could have been caused by a large limpet mine.

Van der Merwe said it could not be established at this stage whether the motive for the attack was political. Nobody had claimed responsibility.

The restaurant owner, Andrew van Wyk, said today: "It's disgusting to put a bomb in such a soft target. One of my waitresses, a student, Heidi Cunningham, walked right past her table when it went off.

"She was horribly injured — it was a mess. A man sitting at a table nearby was blown right through the roof. Then the airconditioners came crashing down on patrons and finally the whole roof collapsed on to us.

"There were between 15-20 staff on duty at the time and 25 patrons."

Pieces of debris lined the pavement and tarmac of Cathcart Street, which was cordoned off.

Police are following up an eyewitness account that the bomb may have been concealed in a leather case and brought into the restaurant by two men and a woman, Van der Merwe said.

Eena reports that there are rumours circulating in the town that three black people, two men and one woman, had entered the Spur at about 10.45 pm and ordered a burger and a beer. After eating they left the restaurant and minutes later the bomb exploded.

All 19 injured were initially taken to Queenstown Frontier Hospital, said superintendent Dr Johan Fryer.

Three of the most seriously injured were transferred to an East London private hospital, where their conditions were described by the matron as stable. The trio, who were expected to undergo surgery later today, did not want their names released until their next-of-kin had been informed.

Ten of the injured at Frontier Hospital were treated for shock and minor injuries and discharged this morning. Six of the other injured are still at the hospital. They are Cheryl Edwards, Michelle Brody, Abigail Brody, Shane Brody, Garth Ford and Shane Keays.

Fryer described them as residents of Queenstown, all aged about 20.

Apla violence condemned

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The international community, led by African countries, is ready to take strong and concerted action to put a stop to acts of violence by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), according to diplomats in Washington and at the UN today.

They were commenting on an appeal from Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for help in conducting an urgent investigation of Apla.

African diplomats particularly are critical of statements attributed to Apla and to the organisation's political

counterpart, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), following the King William's Town golf club killings.

At the UN, diplomats revealed that the Africa Group — in effect the UN caucus of the OAU — had already warned the PAC against any attempt to resolve South Africa's problems outside the framework of peaceful multiparty negotiations.

They insist it was their pressure on the PAC delegation, led by Clarence Makwetu, at this year's UN Security Council debate on the Boipatong massacre, which led to the PAC's belated and grudging decision to join negotiations.

And they said today they were ready to exert whatever pressure they could on the PAC and Apla to abandon violence as a means of achieving political ends.

Western diplomats said there could be no doubt about their stand against violence.

"It surely goes without saying. It is an unnecessary question," said a European diplomat.

A senior African official in Washington said: "Africa has been exhausted and devastated by violence, and as a continent we are solidly behind peaceful negotiations to resolve South Africa's problems."

STAR 4/12/92

84A

84A

84A



(111) (84A)

Self-defence

committees for Azapo

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

STAN
4/14/92

The Azanian People's Organisation will form defence committees throughout the country to defend black communities and enable the organisation to operate and project its views within the black communities, Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

He said members of his organisation's self-defence units would be drawn exclusively from Azapo, to avoid having in their ranks people who were "not disciplined".

At its four-day congress in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Azapo resolved to mediate in taxi disputes, and educate both taxi drivers and owners "on the sanctity of black life".

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said his organisation remained committed to the maintenance of sanctions and the cultural boycott, and would stage pickets against the current Indian cricket tour.

Mokae said Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, at present lecturing at Cambridge University in England, was winding down his business in that country to return home.

Mosala would visit Zambia, where he would hold talks with the Zambian government in an effort to get South African Kati-za Cebekhulu released from prison. Mokae said Azapo was continuing with its investigations into the death of Dr Abubaker Asvat, and that Cebekhulu's evidence would be crucial.

Cebekhulu was allegedly abducted and taken to Zambia.

STAR 4/12/92
3 policemen
hurt in blast

Three policemen were injured when a grenade was thrown at their armoured car in Ratanda township, near Heidelberg, last night.

An SAP spokesman said a police patrol was attacked while attempting to disperse a crowd of about 200 people at 10.45 pm. The three policemen were slightly injured.

Police and Defence Force troops conducted a search in the township between 3 am and 4 am today, but no arrests were made. — Sapa.

ANC leaders 'covered up' torture in detention camps

Guardian W in W/Mail 4/12-10/12/92 (844)

THE reputation of the African National Congress as an idealistic liberation movement has taken another battering with the release of a damning report by Amnesty International on torture and killings in its detention camps during the years of exile.

The conclusions of this inquiry are even more damaging than the report produced recently by an internal ANC inquiry — not only confirming and enlarging on torture allegations, but detailing summary executions and other killings.

The Amnesty report also discloses that detainees may still be held in ANC camps. It notes that, despite undertakings by the ANC in September last year to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross access "more than a year after the initial agreement, no visits have yet taken place."

The ANC anticipated publication of the Amnesty report by appointing a new tribunal to investigate allegations produced by its original inquiry against named officials. It had been recommended that officials involved in the atrocities be barred from holding senior posts in the ANC.

But the Amnesty report produces evidence, among other things, of an apparent cover-up of the atrocities by the ANC leadership itself in the mid-1980s, when a report from yet another internal inquiry was suppressed. Amnesty notes that, by covering it up at the time, the leadership

ensured that atrocities continued.

Amnesty also strongly criticises African governments which hosted the ANC camps and failed to take action, in some instances collaborating in the atrocities. Countries named include Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, and Uganda. It details cases where victims turned to the UN High Commission for Refugees but failed to get protection.

The story of maltreatment is similar to that reported by the so-called Skweyiya Commission, with acts of "ritualised" brutality, including systematic beatings, food and water deprivation, and bizarre tortures.

To that chronicle Amnesty adds other brutalities, such as a detainee buried up to his neck before being

mutineers were tied to trees, beaten, whipped, and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies".

The report says seven prisoners, whom it names, were sentenced to death by a summary tribunal. "The tribunal was chaired by an ANC security officer and the accused had no opportunities for legal representation or appeal."

Killings also resulted from torture, such as that of (MK) members caught smoking cannabis.

In addition to the camps, torture took place at other ANC department headquarters in Lusaka, known as the Green House. Amnesty says it has evidence that prisoners were beaten with implements including barbed wire, bicycle chains and iron bars and kept in water-logged cells. One prisoner described having his lips burned by cigarettes and his testicles squeezed with pliers.

Amnesty notes that ANC attempts to mitigate the scandal — by alleging that the victims were South African agents — had resulted in some cases in which former detainees had been murdered after returning from exile.

Calling for further steps to be taken to deal with those responsible, Amnesty says a particularly important question is why the report of an inquiry into the 1984 mutinies by MK members, conducted by a senior ANC official, James Stuart, had not been tabled at the ANC's 1985 consultative conference in Zambia.

By David Beresford

suffocated with a plastic bag — one of a number of tortures used to induce victims to sign "confessions" already prepared by interrogators. There was particularly abusive treatment of women prisoners.

The Amnesty report also investigates killings in the camps which the Skweyiya Commission was prevented from looking into by the terms of reference set by the ANC.

It discloses at least one instance of summary executions after a mutiny by members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in the Pango camp in the north of Luanda which was suppressed by loyalist guerrillas. The captured

South Africa knew of plans to train MK in Uganda

W/Mant 4/12-10/12/92

The South African authorities have known for months of the ANC's military training in Uganda — and have implicitly agreed, reports

ARTHUR GAVSHON in London

SOMETHING of a fake furor has blown up in South Africa over African National Congress arrangements for the training of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres in foreign lands in friendly Commonwealth lands.

These arrangements were under way more than a year ago, with the full knowledge of the South African government, in order to integrate MK personnel into a new, unified and non-racial South African Defence Force — but only after the emergence of a democratically-elected parliament under a renegotiated constitution.

In early September 1991 this correspondent was told by Foreign Officials here that their diplomats in Pretoria at the time were informally discussing the moves with ANC leaders as part of a general aid programme for post-apartheid South Africa. The informants, at the time, were at pains to emphasise South African state authorities had been made fully aware of the British initiative. The initiative, they said then, included other forms of help for political groupings other than those linked with the ANC. Inkatha was one of those groupings but because Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi was claiming Inkatha had no military wing it was assumed they would not qualify for military training facilities.

British authorities have reported that discussions still are proceeding on a programme for the retraining in this country of South Africa police, both black and white, and representative of all South African groupings.

British officials made clear that their embassy in Pretoria had kept South Africa state authorities informed of their informal exchanges with the ANC leadership. The possibility was mentioned by one official that the South African government may well have raised some objections to the idea of Britain providing military facilities and training for MK personnel and, he added, this could have led to a change in the British proposal — providing police rather than military training.

Around the time this development was reported more than 13 months ago, Chris Hani, the MK chief of staff, said in a published interview the ANC also was seeking professional military training facilities from India, Pakistan, Canada, Australia and Uganda among other countries. The idea was to develop MK personnel to officer level. If any objections were raised by South African state authorities they certainly were not publicised at that time. In fact defence minister Roelf Meyer told an interviewer on Britain's Independent Television network in early September 1991, that the process of intergrating blacks into the SADF already was taking place.

The British have, for years, focused on helping their ertswile colonies to build up their security forces along the lines of Britain's own national system. In recent times they have extended this policy to non-Commonwealth countries like Mozambique which sends its promising military personnel here for education in modern military technology, organisation, weaponry, discipline. Namibia and Zimbabwe also make use of these facilities. Indeed up until the Gulf war Iraqi soldiers, sailors and airmen were benefitting from Britain's experience.

One byproduct of this British system has been, through example, to spread the most acceptable elements of Britain's values.

In the aftermath of the King William's Town affair, a phoney furor built up when some political groups, not excluding state spokesmen, called attention to ANC military training arrangements for its MK cadres in foreign lands.

These were portrayed as sinister developments with implicit suggestions that, that somehow, they could be linked with the eastern Cape killings.

Police believed to know the names of the terror bombers

CS 12/19/72
84A

Apla Crackdown

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday announced a crackdown on an alleged Apla urban terror campaign against soft targets and urged the public exercise special vigilance to help foil a planned new wave of black-on-white violence.

And top security sources told the Cape Times that police already know the names of some of those responsible for the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel said police are about to question the Pan-Africanist Congress leadership on information they may have on the atrocities.

He also announced that a R100 000 award will be paid by the SAP for information leading to the capture of the alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army terrorists.

Barraage of criticism

The PAC yesterday faced a barrage of condemnation after fingers were pointed at its military wing following Thursday night's Queenstown restaurant bomb attack which left 19 people injured, five of them seriously.

Apla warned after an earlier attack on the King William's Town golf club which claimed four lives that whites should expect more of the same.

President F. W. de Klerk warned he would "not stand terrorism".

State President's spokesman Mr Dave Steward said the government is deeply concerned about the "potentially explosive effect" of the emerging pattern of black-on-white violence.

Last night Mr Kriel warned that Apla's alleged terror campaign will be countered by the "full weight of the security forces".

Earlier, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said police will "fight fire with fire".

By late last night no one had claimed responsibility for the Queenstown attack, but Mr Kriel said police had "detailed information" that Apla was responsible and is planning more attacks.

There was no response from the PAC, which met yesterday on the growing wave of condemnation.

Mr Kriel's statement was discussed for hours yesterday by security chiefs and cleared by Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr P. K. Botha.

Mr Kriel said police also possess information that Apla is planning attacks from Zimbabwe and Transkei and that Apla stores arms in both territories.

"We urge these governments not to allow their territory to be used for terror attacks," he said.

Mr De Klerk said that attacks by Apla would have a profound effect on discussions with the PAC.

From page 1

Crackdown

One source described the police's intelligence as "brilliant" and added that the information already gleaned from police informers would make it possible to foil a number of planned attacks in future.

Mr Kriel last night appealed to the public to exercise special vigilance.

Mr Kriel announced a number of measures aimed at preventing further attacks. These include:

- Investigation teams are being expanded and additional manpower employed.
- Several police bases are being established in strategic locations in the Eastern Cape.
- Cordon and search operations — including road blocks and physical searches of individuals and vehicles — will be conducted in the area.

Steps will be taken to upgrade security measures in public places and restaurants in co-operation with local communities and business leaders. Political parties reacted with outrage to the latest attack and called for strong action.

The National Party urged drastic steps to track down the attackers, saying: "It is clear that a small group of terrorists is trying to create propaganda to build their status through the most heinous deeds."

The NP MP for Queenstown, Dr Manie Schoeman, condemned the explosion as "a cowardly and despicable deed".

The ANC said "the attack on innocent diners at the Spur in Queenstown, following shortly on the King William's Town Golf Club killings, must be condemned by all at this juncture of South Africa's political life".

The ANC urged all parties to react with restraint and not play into the hands of those bent on fanning the flames of violence.

The Democratic MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said that any party resorting to the senseless bombing of innocent civilians was guilty of "political bankruptcy and moral depravity".

The Conservative Party condemned the attack, calling on the government to ban the responsible organisations.

To page 2

MK sit-in proves hard to report on

CHARLES WEBSTER *STAR* 84A

SIT-INS we've grown used to, but this one was certainly unexpected: 27 people, said to be returned Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers, holding a sit-in in the foyer of the ANC's headquarters at Shell House in protest at lack of rations and accommodation. That, at least, was what one Johannesburg newspaper reported this week. The Saturday Star decided to investigate, and ended up going in ever-increasing circles.

MK chief-of-staff Sphiwe Nyanda had said in an interview on Wednesday afternoon that he did not know of the sit-in. But ANC liaison officer Sakie Macozoma confirmed it had happened.

Saturday Star attempted to contact Nyanda on Thursday morning, but was told by one person that he had left the country, by another that he was outside Johannesburg, and by a third person that the sit-in issue "has been resolved".

We tried once more and were again told that Nyanda had left the country. We insisted that this was impossible as Nyanda had spoken to reporters only the previous afternoon.

Memorandum from exiles

We were promptly asked to hold the line, and were put through to a man who said Nyanda would be contactable early yesterday morning. He said he would ask Nyanda to return Saturday Star's call.

In another attempt at obtaining the real story, Ronnie Mamoepa, the ANC's PWV regional spokesman, was contacted. Mamoepa had told reporters earlier that a memorandum had been received from a group of returned exiles, and he told us he felt that the exiles' needs should be provided for by the people of South Africa.

Apparently Mamoepa had been misquoted earlier as saying he had received a memorandum from the MK soldiers who had taken part in the sit-in. Mamoepa said he had not been assigned to deal with the demands of the sitters.

Nyanda finally called the Saturday Star yesterday and explained he had been in the western Transvaal on Thursday. He denied there had been any "sit-in as such", but said several returned Vaal Triangle MK cadres had arrived at Shell House on Tuesday, saying they had run out of money and asking for the ANC's support. He had asked them to leave, saying the matter would be dealt with.

He told Saturday Star that returnees — both exiles and returned MK cadres — were, for a certain period of time, provided with food and accommodation by the National Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees (NCCR). He added that while the ANC was negotiating with the Government about integrating MK and the SADF, many of the organisation's soldiers were unemployed. The NCCR, according to Nyanda, could provide refugees' needs only for a limited time because their funds were limited.

Fears attacks could ignite

C/Pren 6/12/92.
a race war

By SEKOLA SELLO (20) (84A)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN ... Queenstown. Does this mark the widening of the frontiers of the wave of violence sweeping throughout the country?

The two incidents pose many questions. Is the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the military wing of the PAC, behind the killings?

Two anonymous callers phoned the media and claimed responsibility for the attacks. Whether the two are from Apla has not yet been established beyond doubt.

Police and government spokesmen have been quick to apportion blame on Apla, largely on the basis of unverified claims that some callers from Apla admitted responsibility.

A man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command phoned Sapa and said the weekend attack on a King William's Town golf club was a "true operation of Apla".

Apla's aim was "for every attack in African townships, there will be a retaliation in white suburbs".

Another man claiming to be commander of intelligence operations for Apla in the eastern Cape and Transvaal on Friday night said Apla had been responsible for Thursday night's bomb attack on a Queenstown restaurant in which 17 people were injured.

The attacks formed part of an Apla operation in the eastern Cape dubbed "Shock and Show", he said.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has also gone on record saying that the police were in possession of a detailed Apla plan to launch a "terror campaign against soft targets and defenceless communities" - meaning whites.

Following the latest attacks in the two towns, race relations in the eastern Cape are reported to have deteriorated further.

Various rightwing groupings have seized on the occasion to attack State President FW de Klerk on being soft against terrorists. This has placed the government against the wall.

Given the pressures he is under, De Klerk has in fact reacted with extreme caution. He has predictably condemned the killings, saying after talks in Pretoria with former French finance minister Edouard Balladur, that "we will not stand terrorism".

But, the government has not called off talks with the PAC scheduled for next Wednesday. Instead, Pretoria has called on the PAC to clarify its stance on the attacks.

Military experts were this week divided on whether the King William's Town operation was carried out by Apla. Some said it lacked such military sophistication, while others said its capacity must not be doubted.

The PAC has not shed light on whether the attacks were carried out by their men. PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said the organisation was not in a position to confirm or deny this because the structures of the two (Apla and PAC) were independent.

The latest attacks and threats of more to follow also place the entire negotiations under threat, possibly bringing the country closer to a serious race war.

The PAC must also know that they cannot talk peace and continue war. The two positions are irreconcilable.

A TRAIL OF HATE

MK smoothes over rift

By STAN MHLONGO

A GROUP of Vaal Umkhonto weSizwe cadres this week staged a sit-in protest outside the ANC's Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg, claiming the ANC had embezzled R18-million intended for former exiles. *C10men*

MK officials, however, said the R18-million claim was "nonsense", and said money was not part of the misunderstanding. *6/12/92*

In a strongly-worded attack on the organisation, the former exiles claimed that the money had come from Italy with the aim of alleviating the

plight of returnees. *(84A)*

The 27-man delegation of protestors told the press of their hardships since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and others on February 11.

Top of their list of grievances was a lack of accommodation, lack of finances and the way MK structures were operating in the Vaal.

The cadres strongly objected to being made answerable to the ANC Youth League.

They also claimed a memorandum indicating their grievances had been submitted to the MK leadership.

The protestors said in

order to attract the attention of MK leaders they had slept outside the ANC building this week.

PWV MK chief Viva Mkhonto said the matter was resolved amicably and denied that money was involved in the list of demands.

Mkhonto declined to say more, saying the issue had been resolved.

Italian embassy secretary Alessandra Cortese said his government was planning to fund non-government organisations though had never intended to fund MK. However, plans were underway to build a settlement centre for returnees costing R10-million.

How we escaped bomb

Apr 6/12/92

8411

Victims tell of Spur blast horror

STAFF of the Queens-town Spur restaurant on Friday sat among the rubble and cracked grim jokes about Thursday night's attack which left 19 people injured.

"Does anybody know who this belongs to?" said one holding up a scrap of material. There was nervous laughter, tinged with relief.

Electrical wires dangled from the shredded ceiling, and there was glass and rubble everywhere.

Several policemen stood guard a few metres away.

"It's a miracle not more people were hurt," said Heila van Wyk, the restaurant's cashier, adding there were about 25 people in the restaurant when the blast occurred.

Waiter Tjaart Steenkamp said: "I heard a massive explosion. We all fell to the ground."

"Someone shouted 'hou op', and I thought people were shooting like in King William's Town. I was surprised how calm people were, maybe they were prepared for a thing like that after the King William's Town attack."

"There was blood all over and pieces of shrapnel in people's legs. People were burnt 'pitch black' from the blast."

Staff members clearly remember the three people who are suspected of having planted the bomb.

They said earlier they had seen a man who behaved suspiciously and seemed to be casing the joint.

Annerie Fisher, a student working as a waitress, said a neatly dressed man carrying a parcel had entered the restaur-

chelle Brody also remembered the three suspects who sat at a table next to the one she shared with her sister and brother.

Brody suffered extensive injuries. In addition to a torn eardrum, she suffered burns, has 300 pieces of shrapnel in her legs, and has blisters all over.

When journalists visited her, she was talkative, bubbling almost, but clearly still in shock.

There was reddish hair all over her ward - hair she had been growing for seven years until it reached her bottom.

"About 10 minutes after the three had left, we heard an explosion like a vacuum that pulled us in, and there was a bright flash of light, unbelievable heat, and the lights went out," said Brody.

"Our feet collapsed under us, the table fell down and the ceiling and the air conditioning came on top of it."

"My brother grabbed my sister and I and said, 'Let's get out before there's another explosion.' My hair was on fire. I didn't want to look down because I thought I'd lost a foot."

"My feet felt like they had acid on them. There was blood on my legs, my petticoat melted on to my skin, and my skirt was torn."

She said she was deafened by the blast. "When I sat outside, I was bleeding all over, my foot stuck to the pavement from the congealed blood."

Of the three suspects, she said angrily: "The audacity of them sitting staring at us, knowing they were going to kill us." - Elnews

BUNGLER

● Terror plan known for two months

BUNGLER

● General's alert did not reach public

BUNGLER

● Tell Apla to take holiday, said Kriel

S/Times 6/12/92

(84A)

(SA) *(SA)*

Angry Sun City golfers accept blame

By DAN RETIEF

TOP golf stars Nicky Price and Nick Faldo last night accepted the blame for breaking the rules and being disqualified from the Million Dollar tournament in a day of high drama.

But Price, the US PGA champion, delivered a stinging attack on the farcical situation which put him out of the tournament after he moved an advertising board, which was replaced.

A grim-faced Nick Faldo, the British Open champion, flew out last night after being disqualified for signing a wrongly marked scorecard.

At Jan Smuts airport, while he waited to board a plane to London with his

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and senior policemen knew more than two months ago that Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, planned to launch a terror campaign against white civilians.

But instructions from police headquarters that target communities in the Border area be warned of the threat never reached the people on the ground.

They were thus unprepared for the murderous grenade and limpet mine attacks this week on a King William's Town golf club and a Queenstown steakhouse which left four people dead and scores injured.

This week outraged mayors of small towns throughout the Border region demanded to know why they had not been warned of Apla's murderous plans.

The Sunday Times has established that the SA Police were aware in early October that Apla was preparing to attack soft civilian targets in South Africa.

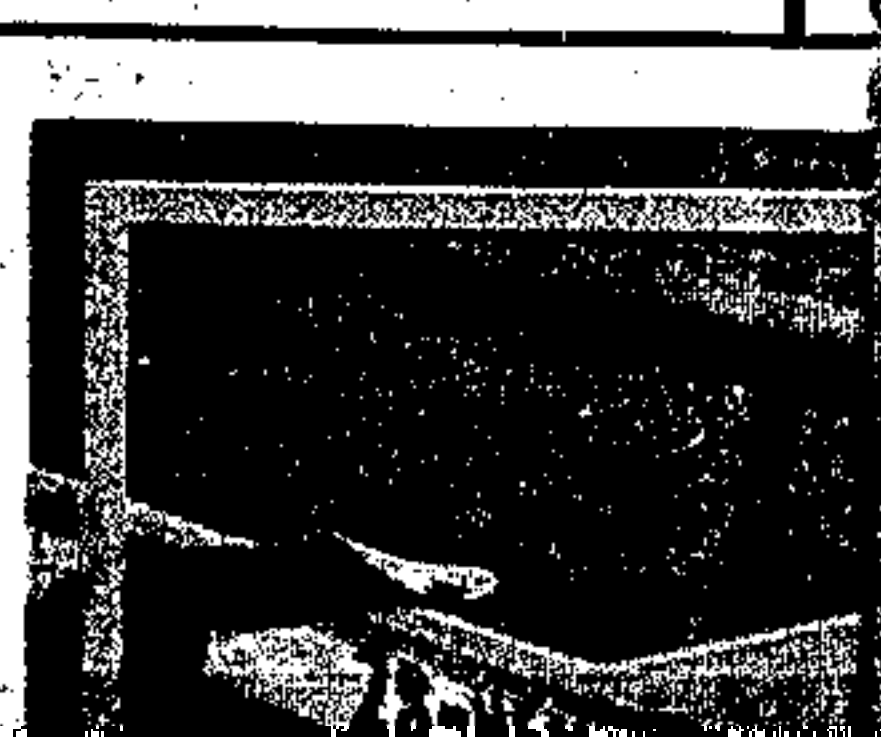
Appeals

PAC minutes of a meeting on November 11 between Mr Hernus Kriel and the organisation also indicate that the minister had told the organisation that he knew Apla had a training base in the Transkei and was carrying out attacks from that territory.

Hernus Kriel expressed grave concern about APLA Attacks and other activities. He pointed out that they are aware that APLA has training programmes in Transkei and that a number of attacks are carried out from there. He indicated that he might... further indicated that he is under tremendous... to... against APLA. The PAC should make a gesture goodwill, and request APLA to suspend their attacks on security forces. He said APLA cadres should go on holiday for some few months. Kriel also indicated

Extracts from PAC report of November 11 meeting with government attended by Hernus Kriel

Report by DAWN BARKHUIZEN, DE WET POTGIETER, NORMAN WEST, JOCELYN MAKER, CHARMAIN NAIDOO and PETA KROST



why they had not been warned of Apla's murderous plans.

The Sunday Times has established that the SA Police were aware in early October that Apla was preparing to attack soft civilian targets in South Africa.

Appeals

PAC minutes of a meeting on November 11 between Mr Henus Kriel and the organisation also indicate that the minister had told the organisation that he knew Apla had a training base in the Transkei and was carrying out attacks from that territory.

The minutes, in the hands of the Sunday Times, indicate he had merely appealed to the PAC, as a gesture of goodwill, to send the Apla cadres "on a holiday for some months".

Yesterday, an SAP spokesman in Pretoria told the Sunday Times that early in October, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe had indeed issued a directive to all regional commissioners instructing them to inform the public about the threat.

He also ordered local police stations to liaise with community leaders and businessmen and warn them to be on the alert for suspicious looking people and objects.

Schools

But Border SAP spokesman Lt-Col Christo Louw said yesterday that no specific instructions or warnings were received from headquarters regarding an Apla terror campaign.

"After the spate of attacks on police on the Reef and in other parts of the country a couple of months ago, we were told to warn our men to be on guard against attacks on policemen — but there was no mention of Apla or soft targets.

"We were not guarding schools or shops or anything like that. In fact, the first time we realised soft targets were being attacked was this week," said Lt-Col Louw.

Yesterday, Law and Order spokesman Captain-

Further indicated that he is under the impression that he might be forced to call on Apla. The PAC should have a posture of goodwill, and request Apla to suspend their attacks on security forces. He said Apla cadres should go on holiday for some few months. Kriel also indicated

Extracts from PAC report of November 11 mee with government attended by Henus Kriel

Report by DAWN BARKHUIZEN, DE WET POTGIETER, NORMAN WEST, JOCELYN MAKER, CHARMAIN NAIDOO and PETA KROST

Craig Kotze confirmed that Mr Kriel had attended the meeting with the PAC on November 11, but said the minister "cannot comment on the contents of bilateral discussions".

He said it was "completely absurd to suggest the government and the SAP have been doing nothing, while in fact they have been doing their best to achieve a political solution, not only to the violence in general, but to the armed struggle of the PAC and Apla.

"We have been concentrating on expanding our intelligence, a largely invisible activity, rather than on building fortifications," said Capt Kotze.

The Apla terror plan was uncovered during interrogation of 20 youths belonging to the Pan Africanist Students Organisation who were arrested in connection with an early morning petrol-bomb attack on a house in Ficksburg on September 29.

Police said the youths were acting under orders from a senior Apla commander based in the Bloemfontein area but that the campaign was being masterminded from the Transkei by a man known as Sizwe.

Soft targets — including cinemas, sporting events, buses, schools and churches — in the Eastern Cape, Free State and Natal would be attacked over the festive season, said the police, who said construction of the petrol bombs used in

□ To Page 2



Bunglers

S/Times 6/12/92
□ From Page 1

attacks at Ficksburg and Fouriesburg showed that Apla was responsible.

But apart from deploying an additional 260 policemen along the Transkei border in the Eastern Cape and southern Natal and introducing roadblocks on some roads in the areas, the police appear to have taken few steps to warn the local community about Apla's plans.

Yesterday, a Sunday Times poll of towns identified as likely Apla targets, showed widespread ignorance of the Apla plan.

• QUEENSTOWN: Mayor Johnny Johnson said: "We were given no warning. We were not told of any dangers by the police."

• DORDRECHT: Mayor Clive Howell said: "They didn't say a word, but frankly, even if they had, we wouldn't rely on them to protect us — they are even too scared to go into the township."

• INDWE: Mayor Louis Pretorius said police had not told him about Apla's plans.

• UGIE: Town councillor Leonard Love said: "If the police had this kind of information they should have come into every town and discussed it with the authorities and special secur-

ity plans should have been made. They didn't."

• MACLEAR: Mayoress Marti Scheppel said she was horrified. "It seems the police issued a warning through a newspaper. We don't get that newspaper here."

• CATHCART: Mayor Arthur Brandtok said the town had not been informed of Apla's campaign.

• KOMGA: Mayor Basil Day said he had heard "absolutely nothing".

• KEI ROAD: Mayor Peter Wewege was angry that he was not told and would do "everything in my power" to find out why.

• KING WILLIAM'S TOWN: Town clerk Hubert van der Spuy said: "Neither I nor any member of the council was warned about possible attacks."

This week, Mr Kriel announced plans to move SAP reinforcements from Pretoria to the Border, step up roadblocks, deploy policemen in civilian clothes at restaurants and other areas that could be "soft targets" and pay a R100 000 reward for information leading to the capture of Apla terrorists.

White residents have threatened to take up arms and "fight fire with fire" unless the government acts.

Two kinds of smugglers

SMUGGLE just two mandrax tablets from the Transkei into South Africa and you would face certain imprisonment. But cross the border in a stolen car containing machine-guns, grenades, automatic pistols and several hundred rounds of ammunition, and you get off with a fine and a suspended jail sentence. SEE PAGE 25

I'm NOT missing, says MK man

AN Umkhonto weSizwe cadre has challenged the Amnesty International report on torture which said he was tortured by the ANC and went missing in Tanzania.

Wandile Bhengu, known in ANC camps as "Terror Phakathi", saw his name with those of four others in the report.

CIPRES 6/12/92
Justice Gumbi, Schaft Lwane Khoza, Albert Bhengu and George Kiteseng are also back in the country.

Wandile Bhengu said he was shocked at reports that he was missing.

The report said 10 young people were arrested by a Tanzanian field force unit in Dakawa on

June 10 1991 and handed to ANC security officials.

But Wandile said the 10 were students at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafo) in Tanzania.

"During the 'home fever' period when we were all excited about going home, we took six typewriters and a computer

from our school and sold them. (SUA)

"AI is right about the dates on which we were caught

"We were kept at the Ruth First Centre for two months. Our girlfriends were allowed to visit, and we were allowed alcohol.

"I was not tortured by anyone." - Sapa

FOCUS ON A FRONTIER AT WAR

Rush for guns as white fears surge

S Times 6/12/92

BY DAWN BARKHUIZEN

WHEN Stormberg farmer Robert Cotton married Angela Cotton this weekend, his chief concern was for family and friends.

So he had police spend 30 minutes searching the Grahamstown church and reception hall where the wedding was taking place.

After six months of attacks on farmers, businessmen and motorists, that's the mood in the Eastern Cape following last Saturday's handgrenade blast at the King William's Town Golf Club and Thursday's limpet mine explosion at a Queenstown steakhouse.

In towns and on farms throughout the Border corridor — the strip of "white" South Africa that separates

the Transkei from the Cis-kei — people are angry, frustrated and scared.

On the same night that 19 people were injured at the Buffalo Springs Spur in Queenstown, armed men attacked a Dordrecht farm house 5km from the Transkei border.

Residents expect more attacks, but have no idea when or where they will come.

People have stopped going out at night — a spate of Christmas parties was cancelled this week — and rumour is rife.

One King William's Town resident claimed he had overheard two black women discussing "the tsotsis who say they will attack churches".

Spiked

Farmer Andre Myburgh — who has been attacked four times previously — was sleeping elsewhere that night, when handgrenades were lobbed into his farmhouse.

Strips of piping spiked with 21cm nails painted black were laid across all roads leading to the farm.

Amid threats of retaliation by right-wingers, National Party MP Ray Radue said there was "a smouldering anger" among his constituents. Many of them had told him they were ready to take up arms and join the AWB.

Border gunshop owners have seen an unprecedented demand for arms and ammunition this week.

Queenstown arms dealer Don Baillie said sales had trebled since Monday, "with people buying heavy calibre handguns and shotguns like never before".

Warning

An East London security company has been unable to supply the number of armed guards sought by restaurant owners, while resort managers in Port Elizabeth have had a rash of bookings from holiday-makers who cancelled plans to spend Christmas near East London and in the Transkei.

The SADF has warned motorists using the coastal road between PE and East London not to slow down or stop en route, and police warned that the road was "highly dangerous" between East London and the Fish River Sun.

Inter-city bus service Translux has rerouted

buses to Durban through the Free State and is no longer travelling through the Transkei.

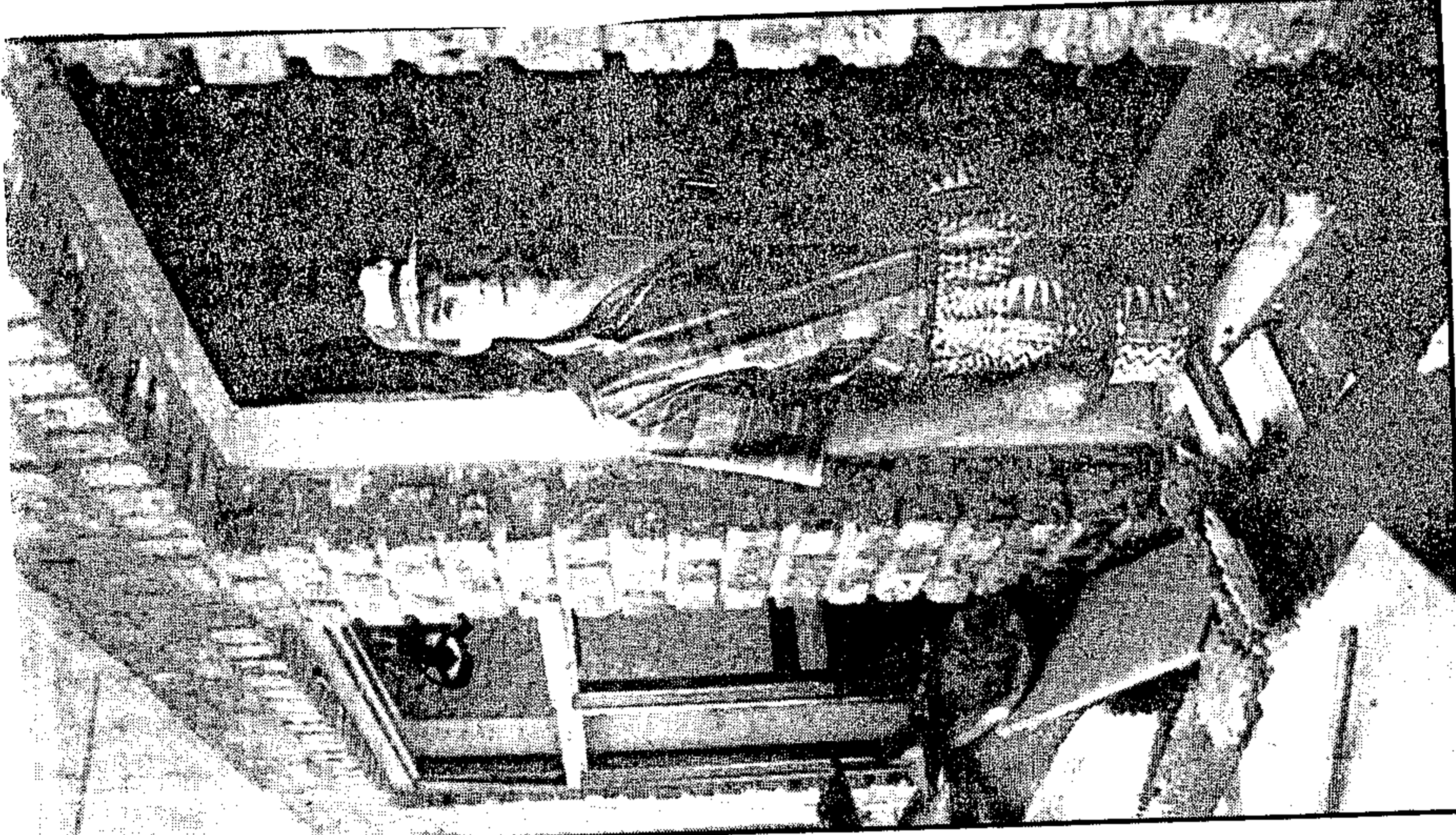
Fear has permeated every facet of daily life, even in Port Elizabeth, which — so far — has escaped direct attack.

Said mother-of-three Phillipa Beer: "I don't want my children going to the beachfront or anywhere they could be targeted. We are going to a party this weekend and everyone I know is taking a gun."

King William's Town businessman Brian Nel said: "I want peace, but another incident could spark a massive backlash. Because of the amnesty these terrorists are no longer scared of the security forces — but they are scared of the AWB. Things have gone far enough and if the government doesn't put a stop to it, we will."

His firearm snugly on his hip, Aliwal North farmer Fred Myburgh said: "I'm furious and fed up. The government has lost control. All the farmers are armed and we are hooked up to one another by radio. My wife, my son and I carry our guns all the time, even to church."

"It's not that we want to shoot anyone, but we need to protect ourselves. This is getting like Rhodesia."



DEVASTATED . . . Spur owner Andrew van Wyk, who helped carry out the victims

The killer couldn't keep his eyes off us

By BILL KRIGE *S/Times*

A YOUNG girl riddled with shrapnel is haunted by the cold stare of a dreadlocked bomber who sat two metres away in a Queenstown steakhouse. 6/12/92

"I am so angry, how can anyone be that callous?" asked 17-year-old Abigail Brody from her bed alongside that of her injured sister, Michelle, in Queenstown's Frontier hospital.

"He wouldn't take his eyes off us. How could he sit and stare into the eyes of people he knew could be dead in minutes?"

The young Apla killer and his two companions left the restaurant in ruins and the town in uproar.

Abigail, her brother, Shane, and his friend, Garth Ford, faced the killers seated at the next table at the Buffalo Springs Spur. All of them were bothered by the way the dreadlocked youth stared at them.

The bombers — two men and a woman — had tried to order a single hamburger to share, but house rules at the Spur obliged them to buy three.

They ate leisurely, stared at their victims, drank a bottle of cider, paid with a R50 note and apparently drove off in a Mercedes-Benz. It was about 10.45pm on Thursday.

Minutes later the Russian-made limpet mine the woman had carried into the restaurant in a plastic packet exploded with what Shane Brody described as "an amazing flash of light".

Critical

The blast wrecked the premises, flinging patrons round like table mats, collapsing the ceiling on them as they lay in darkness amid debris and clouds of dust.

Ambulances took 18 people to hospital, and yesterday three were still on the critical list in East London.

Michelle Brody, 25, who had been sitting with her back to the terrorists and barely a metre from the bomb, took the force of the blast in her lower legs.



ABIGAIL BRODY
'I am so angry'

Her calves are riddled with shrapnel and doctors don't believe they will ever get it all out.

"We lay there all heaped up for a moment and then Shane grabbed me and Abigail by the hands and dragged us into the street," said Michelle, holding up shredded and bloodstained clothing.

"It burnt like acid — that's what I remember most. My hair was on fire and my petticoat melted."

The evening out was to celebrate Shane's arrival home from Grahamstown, where he is a third-year

social science student at Rhodes University. He was accompanied by friends Shane Keays, a singer, and Garth Ford, on his first visit to Queenstown.

Cheryl Edwards made up their party at the table next to the Apla bombers, and all six were wounded in the blast.

Worst hit were Port Elizabeth bank officials Les Barnes and Jerome Guse, who had moved to the table vacated minutes earlier by the Apla cadres. One of the men was flung into the ceiling.

Said Spur owner Andrew Van Wyk: "I helped carry one of them to the ambulance and it was terrible. His legs were just bone; all the flesh was torn off. I had to pick him up by the buckle of his trousers."

Upright

After the blast there was pandemonium, with injured people screaming in the dark and no one sure if they would be shot as they left the building.

"My first thought was that a gas bottle had exploded," said the owner's wife, Mrs Heila Van Wyk. "I thought: 'My God, Andrew will kill me.' There was a guy sitting at a stool in the bar and he was still upright after the explosion but his shirt was torn right off."

Outside in the street people helped the injured and the shocked.

"They were wonderful," said Michelle Brody.

Wrong place, wrong time

S Times 6/12/92
By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

VETERINARIANS David and Gillian Davis died last Saturday night because they were in the wrong seats. Minutes before a grinning young man tossed a grenade into the King William's Town golf club, the couple left their own table and went to sit with good friends Ian and Rhoda Macdonald.

All four died when the explosion ended the Wine Circle's annual Christmas party shortly before 10pm.

For both families, the terrorist attack was the second tragedy to strike in recent years.



RHODA MACDONALD
Leaves three sons



IAN MACDONALD
Married for 30 years

The Macdonalds — Ian, 62, and Rhoda, 56 — survived the Rhodesian bush war, but in 1987 Ian's brother, former Springbok rugby player Andy, and his wife were murdered on their farm at Figtree, south of Bulawayo.

British immigrants David Davis, 60, and his wife, Gillian, 53, were still recovering from the suicide of their eldest son earlier this year.

Vital

The deaths of the two couples stunned family and friends in the close-knit community, where they were known as "lovely, vital, middle-class people who were not involved in politics and were simply living their lives".

Less than 12 hours before the attack the two couples were helping each other sell ornamental birds at the flea market.

"Gillian had made the birds and Rhoda, a great sport, stood there while Gill tied them to her arms



CARING COUPLE . . . veterinarians Gillian and David Davis moved to King William's Town in the mid-80s

for her to wave at the people," said a friend.

Less than a month earlier the Davises attended a surprise party to celebrate the Macdonalds' 30th wedding anniversary. The two women were part of a close circle of friends who jokingly referred to themselves as the "Fried Green Tomatoes".

Mr and Mrs Macdonald had been voted presidents of their local Rotary societies for 1993 and Mrs Davis had recently become a naturalised citizen.

Although shocked by their parents' violent deaths, the Macdonalds' three sons told the Sunday Times they bore no bitterness.

Said industrial engineer Craig, 27: "I do feel resentment, but not so much that I want to go and get a gun. If it had been one us three boys, my dad wouldn't have got a gun and gone after them. I think the law should take its course."

"The last thing my folks would have wanted was to be martyrs or for someone to try and get political mileage out of their deaths. If anything, they would want people to sit down and talk and sort things out."

Honest

Said eldest son Alastair, 29: "We moved to South Africa from Zimbabwe in 1981 because my dad thought we would have a better future here. I still feel that way. We're Africans. We've got families to raise and 40 years to go in this country. It's up to us to make it work."

Said accountant Stuart, 23: "My folks were ordinary people who gave their children love and support. My dad was a gentleman who took people at face value. He was fair to a fault and taught us that honesty was the best policy. They both gave us standards and values that I'd be proud to live up to."

"They did everything together. I suppose it's fitting that they died together."

The family moved to King William's Town when

Mr Macdonald, a former head boy of Milton College, Zimbabwe, was employed as an agricultural economist by the Ciskei Small Business Development Corporation in 1981.

Scottish-born Mrs Macdonald, a trained nursing sister and a member of the Border Occupational Nurses' Association, caught the bus to Da Gama Textiles in the neighbouring Ciskei town of Zwelitsha every morning, where she treated 4 000 patients a month.

Wonderful

The Davis family lived in Maritzburg after leaving Britain 17 years ago, and moved to King William's Town in the mid-80s. Mr Davis worked as a state veterinarian for the Ciskei Agricultural Department and his wife had a practice in town.

"They were a wonderful couple, liberal-minded and intellectually inclined," said a friend. "Gillian was very organised and practical. She would even fix her own food-mixer. She also painted T-shirts and ornaments."

Apla killers make it difficult for PAC

S. Times 6/12/92.

THE Pan Africanist Congress, on the eve of negotiations with the government, finds itself on the horns of a dilemma after an admission by its military wing, Apla, to being a bunch of murderers.

The PAC leadership has been itching to get back into the formal negotiations so as not to be left out in the cold when a new constitution is fashioned. However, it now finds itself back at square one.

This follows a decision by the government to suspend talks with the PAC until the organisation unequivocally condemns and distances itself from the Dar es Salaam-based Apla, which has claimed responsibility for the killing this week of innocent people at a King William's Town golf club and for the bomb blast in Queens-town.

At talks between the government and the PAC in Pretoria on November 11, agreement was reached for final preparatory talks between them this coming Wednesday, to be followed by a "summit" by January 20 between President de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Overtaken

According to minutes kept by the PAC of the November meeting, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel "expressed grave concern about Apla attacks and other activities".

He said he was "under tremendous pressure" to act against Apla, and asked the PAC to prevail on Apla to suspend its attacks.

The PAC undertook "to present the question of armed struggle" to its next annual conference — in April.

But events of the past week have overtaken this vague undertaking.

The PAC claims to have membership of more than 800 000. Members say funding for the organisation comes from the Front-line states as well as Islamic governments, particularly Iran.

Apla guerrillas attended the PAC conference in Umtata in April, where they were seen brandishing Scorpion machine-

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

pistols, the PAC's answer to the ANC's AK-47s.

Apla literature boasting about the killing of policemen was also disseminated.

There appear to be three distinct "cultures" within the PAC.

The first is represented by the dignified president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, his deputy, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, and the secretary for publicity and information, Mr Barney Desai.

It is this Makwetu-Moseneke-Desai faction that was preparing to sit down with Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and his government delegation on Wednesday to discuss the PAC's return to a multi-party negotiation forum.

The second faction is represented by the more militant "township young lions", who are often seen at congresses shouting chilling slogans like "one settler, one bullet", and "death to the enemy, peace among Africans".

They believe it is "treacherous" to sit down with the "illegitimate, racist minority regime", and are known to have support within the top structure of the PAC.

Then there is the third militant faction, Apla, representing a culture of violent confrontation. The King William's Town killers succeeded in dramatically disrupting the countdown to Wednesday's talks.

Apla's propaganda sheet, Azania Commando, which is a supplement to Azania Combat, the official organ of Apla, is full of boastful headlines crowing about Apla's success with the killings of "cops".

Apla boasts that 150 policemen killed last year were "mostly the result of guerrilla attacks mounted by Apla".

These utterances and other actions of Apla clearly put the PAC leadership in an invidious position. It can no longer respond — as secretary-general Benny Alexander did this week — by saying that the PAC neither condemns nor condones Apla's actions.

Terror: ^(84A) Minister ^{CT 7/12/92} denies he knew

JOHANNESBURG. — The Ministry of Law and Order has rejected as a possible PAC "disinformation campaign" weekend reports that Minister Mr Hernus Kriel knew two months ago that the PAC's armed wing planned a terror campaign against civilians.

The denial came hours after one of the 19 people injured in the bomb blast at a Spur restaurant in Queenstown died early yesterday. He was Mr Jerome Guse, 43, a Standard Bank employee from East London who had 43% burns and shrapnel wounds.

Reports yesterday said people in the Border area had not been warned of planned attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Latest confirmation of Apla's role came yesterday when a man, giving his name as Sabelo Phama and describing himself as Apla's military commander, said his troops were responsible for the King William's Town killings. He did not claim responsibility for the Queenstown attack, saying he could not do so until he had studied reports from his men.

He confirmed that Apla's attacks were to be intensified. PAC officials have refused to comment on his statements.

'PAC minutes'

Sunday newspapers reported that the police knew early in October that Apla was preparing to attack soft targets.

Mr Kriel is reported to have appealed to the PAC at a November 11 meeting to send the Apla soldiers "on a holiday for some months". However, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, condemned the report as false.

He said the report was based on PAC minutes of what happened and expressed fear that this could be a disinformation campaign.

In a statement, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe rejected "with contempt" the allegations made in the Sunday reports.

● The Conservative Party has warned it would protect South Africans if the government did not.

● The Eastern Cape region of the Wit Wolwe warned yesterday it would hit back with "greater force" if there was another Apla attack.

● The Azanian Youth Organisation said in a statement it supported Apla's "liberation" activities. — UPI, Sapa

SAP 'knew base for attacks was Transkei'

STAR 7/12/92

84A

By Patrick Laurence

As early as April, police were convinced that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) was using Transkei as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa, according to a secret memorandum in possession of The Star.

A copy of the confidential police memorandum was sent to Major-General Bantu Holomisa, chairman of the Transkei Military Council, by President de Klerk. It came after Holomisa pressed for action against SA security force officers allegedly involved in the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three of his comrades in

June 1985.

De Klerk attached the memorandum to his reply to an earlier letter from Transkei's military ruler. De Klerk said of the memorandum: "(It) contains allegations of a very serious nature involving criminal activities planned and implemented from Transkeian territory."

The memorandum, sent to Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe by Major-General JF Koen of the Crime Intelligence Service, stated flatly: "Apla are orchestrating their military activities against the RSA from Transkei."

The report added that military training in Transkei was given to individual re-

cruits or to small groups of 10 by foreign-trained Apla officers.

It then listed a series of venues where the training purportedly took place, including the house, in the border town of Cala, of Transkei lawyer Dumisa Ntsebesa and a bookshop run by the Ntsebesa family in the same town. Ntsebesa denied he was involved, directly or indirectly, in the training of Apla men.

In August, when Apla cadres were blamed for a series of arson attacks on white-owned farms in the Elliot-Ugie-Maclear border area, Holomisa denied that Apla forces were operating from Transkei.

SA
S
A
O
N
Sajo
ex
ra
m
u
g
a
a
th
re
S
off
so
be
th
m
tio

Military intelligence 'vital'

DURBAN — Every military organisation in the world had an information gathering capability, Chief of the Army Lt-Gen Georg Meiring said at a medal parade at the weekend.

Meiring said it was "an unfortunate reality" that the communication climate in SA was such that anything that smacked of intelligence-gathering was automatically viewed as "dirty tricks" or worse. He said what many observers "seem to forget is that every military organisation in the world has a covert information collec-

tion capability which is neither sinister nor unusual".

Meiring said agents or spies were not normally recruited for their moral rectitude. "They are recruited for the information they can supply and are paid for the risks they take."

He said what was being applied now was a case of double standards.

"If any country in the world needs to collect information about the movement of weapons, who is smuggling the weapons, where they come from and

where they go to, then it is SA.

"Every right-thinking South African condemns violence and wants it to stop. One way of stopping it is to gather sufficient accurate information and then to act on that information," Meiring said.

The SADF was left virtually defenceless because much of the information which had been made public arose directly from judicial hearings.

"These hearings are intended to establish the truth which in the end I am confident they will do. In the interim, however, information is made available in cycles because this is the way open courts work and should work."

● Comment: Page 6



"It is, however, a pity that the SADF abides by the prohibitions required by law, while other individuals and organisations do not appear to be concerned about this legal and moral obligation."

Meiring said he and the army fully supported the rule of law. — Sapa.

Police campaign against Appla terror 'extensive'

BID 7112/92

PRETORIA — Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze has denied a Sunday newspaper's claim that government and the SAP had done nothing about Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Appla) plans to attack soft targets, reports Sapa.

The Sunday Times reported government knew two months ago about Appla's plans and that Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel had appealed to the PAC, as a gesture of goodwill, to send its armed wing's cadres "on a holiday for some months."

Kotze said yesterday: "The perception that nothing was or is being done could not be further from the truth. I can now deny categorically that Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel suggested or said that Appla should go on holiday," he said in reaction to the report on the minutes of a meeting between the PAC and Kriel.

"This discussion (between Kriel and the PAC) was in fact a most serious discussion about serious issues." He said the Sunday Times report was based on PAC minutes of the

meeting "... and quite frankly the Minister said no such thing".

"We sincerely hope we are not dealing with a PAC disinformation exercise."

He said the fact that government had attempted to find a political solution to stopping Appla's activities did not mean it stood idly by.

"Extensive practical measures were taken from the outset and are still being taken by the SAP against Appla. These include a dramatic expansion of our intelligence capability in this regard and this is continuing. Appla members have been arrested and continue to be arrested; talks have been held about Appla activities between the Commissioner of the SAP, (Transkei leader) Gen Bantu Holomisa and the Transkei police commissioner; and a special combined task force comprising the SAP and Transkei Police has already been set up in this regard."

WILSON ZWANE reports that Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe has warned Appla that police will "fight fire with fire" against

members of the organisation. Speaking at a police passing out parade on Friday, Van der Merwe said Appla would not be treated with kid gloves.

"With regard to the recent atrocities allegedly committed by Appla, the SAP would like to warn Appla that we will meet fire with fire and any member of Appla who commits acts of aggression against the people of SA will be severely dealt with."

"Our track record shows that the SA Police can hunt these terrorists down, irrespective of where they may be hiding."

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander denied the organisation had called an emergency meeting to discuss the breakdown in talks between itself and government.

Kriel said last week government had suspended bilateral talks until there was clarity on the PAC's stand on Appla's acts of terror.

"As far as we are concerned, our meeting (with government) on December 9 has not been officially cancelled," Alexander said.



Racy Group Holdings Limited

(Registration number 87/00974/08) ("Racy" or "the company")

DISPOSAL OF OPERATING SUBSIDIARIES

Introduction

PROPERTY & ...

Apla admits to killings

Soweto 7/12/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE AZANIAN People's Liberation Army (Apla), the PAC's military wing, yesterday confirmed that its cadres had carried out the King William's Town attack in which four whites were killed.

Mr Sabelo Phama, an Apla commander, said in a telephonic interview with Radio 702 that operatives on the ground had reported to him that they had carried out the King William's Town attack.

Phama warned that Apla's activities would be intensified, adding that they were "not aimed at whites perse" but at any individual or group that supported the Government politically, economically and militarily.

He said that there were no established lines of communications with the PAC's political

leadership and that Apla operated under its own high command. The net around Apla is expected to close as the South African and Transkei Police are joining forces to clamp down on the paramilitary force.

Joint group

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said the joint group was investigating ways of minimising Apla activities which, it has been said, emanated from the Transkei.

Meanwhile, The Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo), aligned to Azapo (Azanian People's Organisation) and the PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity

will intensify as police close in: (84A) (84A)

(Azanyu), have both voiced support for Apla's actions. Azanyu said yesterday that it was amazed by the ANC's condemnation of the King William's Town attack.

In reaction to the ANC remarks following the attacks, Azanyu said:

"The statement by the ANC is a poor attempt to use a current media matter to divert mass attention from its promise to come from the talks (with the government) with a firm election date or to break off all talks with the regime should they fail to get that date.

"They promised not to compromise on this.

"We will not allow them to get off so easily and response."

Amnesty for prisoners

Sowetan 7/12/92

■ Bop government celebrates 15 years by setting prisoners free:

HUNDREDS of prisoners in Bophuthatswana prisons would be freed from tomorrow after the homeland's leader Chief Lucas Mangope announced an amnesty at the weekend.

However, the amnesty would mostly benefit prisoners serving sentences of between six months and 18 months. Those serving more than six months would have their sentences reduced by six months.

Speaking at the anniversary of the 15th year of the homeland's independence, Mangope said: "I have a pleasing task of announcing a general amnesty for prisoners held in

Bophuthatswana prisons."

Bophuthatswana's Commissioner of Prisons, Major-General Cas Delpoort, told *Sowetan* that about 1 300 prisoners would benefit from the amnesty.

He said the first batch of 100 would walk to freedom tomorrow, followed by other groups of 20 to be released in stages.

Mangope took a swipe at the African National Congress by likening it to "a small, naughty child putting a finger in the fire and regretting after suffering serious burns".

Michelle is voted prettiest of them all

■ Over 2 000 attend pageant:

EVEN though she is not part of the 84 beauties in the Miss World pageant, 19-year-old Michelle Molatou is the most beautiful black girl in South Africa today.

Twenty-six "township" girls, most of them with a string of previous other titles, lined up for Miss Black South Africa. In the end 12 made it.

Then there were six and finally three - the queen, Michelle Molatou; first princess and reigning Miss Soweto Thembi Mhlavivana; and second princess Thulile Makondo of Venda.



SAP 'knew base for attacks was Transkei'

STAR 7/12/92

(84A)

By Patrick Laurence

As early as April, police were convinced that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) was using Transkei as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa, according to a secret memorandum in possession of The Star.

A copy of the confidential police memorandum was sent to Major-General Bantu Holomisa, chairman of the Transkei Military Council, by President de Klerk. It came after Holomisa pressed for action against SA security force officers allegedly involved in the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three of his comrades in

June 1985.

De Klerk attached the memorandum to his reply to an earlier letter from Transkei's military ruler. De Klerk said of the memorandum: "(It) contains allegations of a very serious nature involving criminal activities planned and implemented from Transkeian territory."

The memorandum, sent to Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe by Major-General JF Koen of the Crime Intelligence Service, stated flatly: "Apla are orchestrating their military activities against the RSA from Transkei."

The report added that military training in Transkei was given to individual re-

cruits or to small groups of 10 by foreign-trained Apla officers.

It then listed a series of venues where the training purportedly took place, including the house, in the border town of Cala, of Transkei lawyer Dumisa Ntsebesa and a bookshop run by the Ntsebesa family in the same town. Ntsebesa denied he was involved, directly or indirectly, in the training of Apla men.

In August, when Apla cadres were blamed for a series of arson attacks on white-owned farms in the Elliot-Ugie-Maclear border area, Holomisa denied that Apla forces were operating from Transkei.

Apla steps out of big brother MK's shadow

849

8/12/92

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, said to be responsible for a resurgence of terror attacks in the eastern Cape, has stepped out of shadows cast by its big brother, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Both were born when the government of the day ignored demands for peaceful change.

MK, with Nelson Mandela as its first commander-in-chief, was the ANC's armed wing and has since its inception been an army shrouded in mystery, romanticism, myth and stories of torture and deception.

Apla was not the original name of the PAC's armed insurgents. The first batch of PAC guerrillas were known as Poqo, a unit that, in the heady waves of liberation or uhuru sweeping through Africa in the '60s, struck fear in the hearts of many with its ruthlessness.

MK was the more visible and spectacular of the two guerrilla armies fighting for liberation.

When President de Klerk made his watershed speech on February 1 1990, he changed the

The Christmas party attack means the "two men with a fax number" jibe is untrue. And if Apla has turned to civilian targets, the season of terror is far from over, writes DENNIS CRUYWAGEN.

ground rules and threw down the gauntlet to the ANC and PAC when he legalised them and several other previously banned organisations.

The ANC responded by entering into the negotiations and suspending its armed struggle.

Not the PAC, which has been trying to play the game with two shots: one aimed at negotiations for a constituent assembly; the other armed struggle.

Often written off as comprising "two men with a fax number in Dar es Salaam", Apla has grown in status and is now being officially blamed for the professional military-type assault on the King William's Town Golf Club and the Spur steakhouse in Queenstown.

Apla was not inactive before the attacks.

In February, Apla information secretary Johnny Majozi

said from Dar es Salaam: "For a long time the press has been ignoring the activities of the PAC and Apla. So people have the impression that we only started in earnest this year, whereas the PAC army has been consistent in its operations since 1986."

He said Apla's targets had always been the security forces.

"Our activities are definitely going to intensify. We remain firm that civilians are not among our targets."

Apla would cease its attacks only when the goals set by the PAC — the establishment of a constituent assembly — had been met, he said.

But the two eastern Cape attacks, if Apla is responsible, mark a significant change in the organisation's strategy of avoiding soft targets and concentrating on black policemen.

In January last year, Apla defence secretary Victor Sabelo Phama claimed that the guerilla army had killed at least 25 soldiers the previous year in "well-conceived, well-planned and well-executed attacks".

But police slated his claims as part of an inflated propaganda campaign and largely devoid of truth.

In January this year, Phama said the PAC's external leadership had not suspended or abandoned armed struggle.

But he said Apla had never attacked civilians.

His remarks were made soon after an alleged Apla member, Carlson Zimbiri, telephoned Sapa to claim responsibility for killing two policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto. The Dobsonville attack came only hours after police had announced a R25 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone who murdered a policeman.

The same month it appeared that Apla had switched its attention to the eastern Cape, attacking police in Lady Grey with a rifle and handgrenades.

An 18-year-old student was injured in the incident.

In February, Majozi said from Dar es Salaam that Apla operatives had ambushed a police bakkie in Kathlehong, killing three municipal policemen.

He said field operative Zimbiri had been authorised to accept responsibility for the attack on behalf of Apla.

In March, Tarara Rafara, allegedly an Apla field commissar, informed news agencies that two Apla members had died in separate shootouts with security forces in the Free State and Natal.

Attacks on police continued as the year progressed, and in July police said Apla's slogan was "Kill a cop a day".

In August, police said Apla had been implicated in attacks on two eastern Cape farms, which had been shot at, petrol-bombed and a barn burnt down.

Majozi responded from Dar es Salaam: "We shall continue to launch the armed struggle against the minority white regime as long as a negotiated settlement has not been

reached. I would not be surprised if the attacks were carried out by Apla."

Then came the November carnage. Four people died and 20 others were injured in a handgrenade attack on a Christmas party in King William's Town.

Last Monday, police said unexploded petrol bombs found on the premises were similarly constructed to those used by Apla.

Later police said a man purporting to be Apla's Border commander had telephoned the police emergency number in East London, claiming responsibility for the King William's Town "mission".

But the PAC leadership cast doubts on the claim, suggesting that the call to the police and the attack were not consistent with Apla's style.

A day later, a man who said he was Johnny Majozi claimed in a telephone interview with Sapa from Harare that Apla had carried out the attack, and was gearing up for more of the same, "especially in white

areas".

But a top PAC official in Harare questioned the report, implying the claim may have been a hoax.

Bombers struck again last Thursday night, injuring 19 steakhouse customers, one of whom has since died.

The same night gunmen attacked a farmhouse in the Dordrecht district.

The Christmas party attack was a sophisticated operation which, if it was conducted by Apla, means the "two men with a fax number" jibe is far from the truth.

And if Apla has turned to civilian targets, the season of terror is far from over.

The authorities seem to believe this and have offered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the capture of the Apla "terrorists".

Meanwhile, Apla's activities have caught up with the PAC. The Government had suspended talks with the movement until it has clarified its stand on acts of terror. □

Apla prompts new security measures in Cape

Staff Reporters

STAR
8/12/92

Amid strong criticism that the public was not warned about imminent attacks on white civilians by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), eastern Cape police have set up a special unit to brief restaurant and entertainment venue managers on effective security measures.

Police spokesman Colonel Chris Louw said the unit began operations yesterday.

After attacks on the King William's Town golf club (four dead) and on a Queenstown restaurant (one dead so far), Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel was accused of failing to inform Border police that Apla would be targeting white civilians in attacks from Transkei.

However, Kriel and SAP Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, have vehemently denied they knew anything about the impending attacks.

Louw said the unit would pa-

trol public places regularly throughout the festive season to ensure the safety of the public.

He said the police presence in the area had also been boosted by special road patrols planned to safeguard travellers.

Although Louw said holiday-makers in the eastern Cape would be safe, he cautioned people to avoid travelling at night and warned that they should not stop their vehicles unless it was "absolutely necessary".

Police patrols will be stepped

up immediately and "mobile" road blocks erected throughout the Cape Peninsula.

Police liaison officer Major Attie Laubscher said policemen who normally worked in offices would patrol streets.

Policemen would not be allowed to take leave "en masse".

● SA Restaurant Guild regional chairman Chris de Jager said that so far none of the 160 guild members in the Transvaal had reported cancellations after the Queenstown attack.

Chorus of censure from OAU, ANC and SACP

Apla stands condemned

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) yesterday stood alone as the Organisation of African Unity and left-wing groups in South Africa joined in the chorus of condemnation of its terror campaign.

Strong statements were issued yesterday by the OAU, the United Nations, the ANC, the SA Communist Party, and the breakaway Marxist Workers' Tendency of the

ANC. They followed angry condemnation of Apla, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, by the Government and right-wing groups.

Foreign diplomats yesterday added their weight, promising "diplomatic activity" aimed at ensuring the PAC was fully committed to a negotiated settlement.

And, in a new statement on the Apla campaign, President de Klerk warned that "further measures" were being considered to meet the Apla threat.

The OAU reacted strongly to allegations that it was financing Apla acts of terror.

The OAU special representative in South Africa, Legwaila J Legwaila, said his organisation's support of liberation movements "had never implied supporting attacks on innocent people and soft civilian targets, as occurred last week".

In a joint statement, the UN, OAU, European Community and Commonwealth described statements reportedly made by Apla cadres inside the country as "effectively declaring war on whites - as 'provocative'".

The ANC said the targeting of civilians was "reprehensible and must be opposed".

New security measures in Cape - Page 3

Apla steps out of MK's shadow - Page 15

The organisation challenged the PAC leadership to clarify the status of anonymous claims made on behalf of Apla, and the PAC's attitude towards its armed wing's actions.

PAC spokesmen have steadfastly refused to distance themselves from Apla's alleged activities, insisting that Apla had "operational independence".

SACP general-secretary

STAR 8/12/92

84A

228

Chris Hani yesterday expressed "unambiguous condemnation" of the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks. The struggle for national liberation had never been directed against whites, but against oppression.

"Acts of anti-white terror can only serve to provide pretexts to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule," he said.

De Klerk said yesterday the Government was urgently considering what further measures to take to prevent Apla carrying out its threats.

"I want to give the assurance that when apprehended,

those responsible for the recent violent deaths of South Africans - not only of whites in King William's Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country as well - will be punished according to the full rigour of law," De Klerk said.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the PAC must either repudiate Apla in clear terms or take responsibility for all that Apla did or said.

Afrikaner Volksunie chairman Moolman-Mentz demanded that the Internal Security Act be implemented fully.

● The fate of tomorrow's

Government-PAC talks is uncertain, since Pretoria said it would boycott them unless the PAC leadership provided a satisfactory response to the Apla issue.

● A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the Government was contacting the Transkei and Zimbabwean governments about reports that their territories were being used for Apla operations.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said the PAC would under no circumstances be allowed to use his country as a springboard for hostilities in South Africa.

ANC will not smash Apla - Macozoma

■ ANC will be guided by human rights provisions and the law: Sowetan 8/12/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AN ANC government will not hunt down Apla and crush it, the movement said yesterday, responding to comments reportedly made by one of its senior officials in Namibia yesterday.

The ANC's Mr Sakkie Macozoma said yesterday that it was not his movement's official policy "at this stage" and that it was premature to speculate now.

"We have said that we condemn what Apla is doing, because we don't think it is necessary to attack people on the basis of their colour.

"As to what measures we will take, we cannot say now.

"An ANC government will obviously be guided by provisions for

human rights and due process," Macozoma said.

He was reacting to a comment reportedly made by an ANC official who accompanied Mr Nelson Mandela in Namibia yesterday.

The official was reported by the French news agency, *Agence France Presse*, to have said that an ANC government would not tolerate terrorism.

"We will lock them up. We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them," the source reportedly said.

Widespread condemnation of Apla's alleged attacks in the Eastern Cape last week continued yesterday.

The Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth and political parties in South Africa all condemned Apla's actions and the PAC's "failure to rebuke its armed wing".



5 years for _____ Women will pray

Deported BCMA 5 have 'vanished'

By Mathatha Tsedu

MYSTERY surrounds the deportation from Botswana yesterday of five cadres of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) who were acquitted last week on charges of possession of arms of war.

While the Botswana chief immigration officer, Mr Maithloko Mooka, said his department had transported the five to the border at their own request, South African Home Affairs Department spokesman Mr Charles Theron said there

■ Freed by Botswana court on charges of possession of arms:

Sowetan 8/12/92
was no record of the men's entry.

Fears are that the five, Mr Vusumuzi Thabatha, Mr Welcome Rapodile, Mr Robert Ndebele, Mr Vuyo Matsinya and Mr Plaatjie Mashego, may have been detained by the South African Police as they came through.

But a police spokesman in Zeerust yesterday said he could find no trace of any deportees arrested by the SAP.

Responding to questions of why the men were

~~12~~ ~~84A~~ ~~84A~~ ~~84A~~
deported to South Africa, Mooka said the men had requested to be allowed to return home.

The five were part of a group of 11 BCMA and Azanian National Liberation Army cadres who were arrested in Lobatse in 1990 while running an alleged training camp.

They were sentenced to five years imprisonment but were acquitted last Tuesday on appeal.

Only three of the original group remain in prison.

PAC must bear full responsibility for Apla's deeds, says

THE OAU yesterday rejected the PAC's contention that it was not responsible for its military wing Apla's activities.

The OAU reaction came after Apla allegedly claimed responsibility for the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, and the claim that it had "declared war" on white South Africans.

After the attacks, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander claimed his national executive council had no control of — and therefore no responsibility for — Apla's operations. Yesterday the PAC flatly refused to discuss Apla further.

The OAU also rejected any impression that by funding liberation movements, the OAU financed acts of terrorism. Liberation movements alone bore the ultimate responsibility for their day-to-day activities and those of their structures.

"The OAU unconditionally and categorically condemns all violence against civilians, be they black or white, and will never condone or endorse such attacks," OAU special representative Legwaila J Legwaila said in a statement in Johannesburg.

Legwaila said the OAU supported unreservedly the quest for a peaceful negotiat-

BILLY PADDOCK

ed settlement, which was why it sought international intervention in the form of observers to end the violence.

President F W de Klerk welcomed the OAU statement, and called on all members of the international community to condemn the "blatantly racist actions and violent threats of Apla and to deny the organisation refuge or any form of assistance".

De Klerk labelled the threat to target whites or any other race as "absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible".

FACUUM 8/12/72

The UN mission said in a statement that the UN, OAU, the Commonwealth and the EC wanted to emphasise that statements by the Apla spokesman were provocative. They urged the PAC's leadership to cooperate with Goldstone.

The UN mission also condemned retaliatory threats by right-wing organisations.

The ANC — the PAC's erstwhile patriotic front partner — also condemned the acts of terror and the threat to target white civilians.

Sapa reports that a senior ANC member travelling with president Nelson Mandela in Namibia said that once the ANC was in power, it would "smash" Apla. "We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them," he was reported as saying.

However, in its official response the ANC immediately "repudiated the statement and the unnamed source". Spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was no proof that Apla had committed the acts, but that those who had should be brought to book. "We are not in favour of the destruction of Apla. We want them, the PAC and other parties included in the peaceful negotiations process," he said.

Niehaus said the kind of violence at King William's Town was not a sudden development, as it had been happening in the black community for some time. "It is very sad that it has taken these attacks to make whites realise the gravity of the violence in SA. It is exactly this outraged response from the white community following an at-

84A/20

tack on whites that fuels huge resentment in the black community."

SACP general secretary Chris Hani also expressed his "unambiguous condemnation of the attacks". He said the struggle for liberation was never a struggle directed at whites but at dismantling apartheid.

"Acts of anti-white terrorism can only serve to provide pretexts to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule."

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gas-trow said the simple test for the PAC's stand on the acts of terrorism by "its own creation, Apla, is whether the PAC is prepared to distance itself from Apla's acts". The CP called for Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to be sacked for failing to protect whites, and demanded that the PAC and Apla be banned immediately.

CP law and order spokesman D S Pienaar said Kriel had failed in his political responsibility by not informing people in the region of potential attacks by Apla. He called on whites to mobilise and form home guards to protect themselves.

The SA Agricultural Union urged government action to defuse the threat of terrorism spreading to farming areas.

Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday suggested that recent attacks in the Border area could be the work of disgruntled members of Military Intelligence. He said he had no knowledge of Apla's activities in his territory.

● Comment: Page 8

Yesterday the UN observer mission in SA and other international observer teams also deplored the escalation of violence and particularly "the irresponsibility shown by a spokesperson of Apla... that certain sectors of the community are legitimate targets for their military operations".

Last week Judge Richard Goldstone appealed to the UN and the international community to put pressure on the PAC to submit Apla to investigation by his commission.

□ To Page 2

the OAU

Government would do everything in its power to bring the perpetrators of recent crimes to justice and to prevent Apla from carrying out its threats, and was "urgently considering what further measures should be applied to deal with this situation effectively", he said.

He gave his assurance that, when apprehended, those responsible for the recent violent deaths "not only of whites in King William's Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country, will be punished according to the full rigour of law".

8/12/72

CP issues 'home guard call-up'

Political Staff 84A

The Conservative Party yesterday "called up" its supporters for duty in its home guard system to help counter the reported terrorism campaign against white civilian targets by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

This followed warnings by political commentators that the PAC's campaign could provoke a white backlash.

On Monday the right-wing Orde Boerevolk warned of "bloody vengeance" and bomb attacks at black taxi ranks if the PAC continued its campaign.

Yesterday the Government cancelled today's scheduled talks with the PAC because of the campaign.

The PAC announced yesterday it would not take part in a revived Codesa negotiating forum. Persuading the PAC to join mainstream negotiations was to have been one of the main aims of today's Government-PAC meeting.

Apla's terror campaign is likely to be on the agenda of a

meeting of the Frontline states with the PAC and ANC in Harare on Friday.

Commonwealth secretary general Chief Emeka Anyaoku has reacted with alarm at the upsurge in violence in South Africa, warning that a negotiated settlement could now hang in the balance.

He feared that, after the earlier horrific massacres at Bishop and Boipatong, the killings in King William's Town and elsewhere would further jeopardise moves towards agreement.

Zimbabwe has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory.

The CP's head office said: "We call on students on holiday to make themselves available for security duties within the CP's home guard system." The CP would also coordinate a security action with all communities where necessary. It asked communities urgently to introduce an employee identification system, "which will make it extremely difficult for Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) and Apla... to

infiltrate white farming and residential areas".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the PAC meeting was off because the organisation's leadership would not distance itself from acts of terror by Apla.

He said the PAC, after talks with the Government in Botswana in October, had "categorically declared itself bound to peace" and given the assurance that its members were not involved in violence.

"The PAC owes South Africa an explanation."

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said Apla was fulfilling a decision in April by the PAC's national conference to continue the armed struggle. He said the PAC was looking for a serious commitment from the Government.

Secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke said the PAC had made clear in meetings with the Government that the armed struggle would continue along with negotiations.

● PAC sinks Sobukwe's abuntu — Page 20

Guilty plea expected in jailbreak case

By Rochelle Gosling-Hughes

Former Blue Light Gang member Gavin Schultz will plead guilty tomorrow to escaping from Johannesburg Prison on January 30 this year, a Johannesburg Regional Court heard yesterday.

A prison warden will plead guilty to assisting in the escape. Schultz appeared in court yesterday, along with two warders, two policemen and a man who is awaiting trial and is charged with alleged fraud of nearly R4 billion.

The trial of warden Anton Nel (21) and Schultz, both of whom will plead guilty, was split from that of the four other accused and will start tomorrow.

Nel's brother Marius (23), Constable Lucas Strydom (25), Constable Pieter Greybe (20) and Godwin Webb (44), who is out on bail pending a fraud trial, will appear in court again on February 22.

Schultz and Webb are charged with escaping from Johannesburg Prison on January 30 while Strydom, Greybe and the Nel brothers are charged with assisting in the escape.

The six are further charged with forging documents which facilitated the temporary transfer of Schultz and Webb as "awaiting-trial or sentenced prisoners".

They also face two charges of using the forged documents and with obstructing justice by being involved in the signing of the release forms for Webb and Schultz.

Schultz is currently serving a 10-year sentence for his conviction in the Rand Supreme Court for attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and the unlawful possession of a firearm.

Webb, who was refused bail twice before being released on bail, allegedly falsified promissory notes worth close to R3,71 billion.

Siamese twin dies during

Beware the monster that is breeding in our midsts

STAR 9/12/72

WE are witnessing the making of a monster.

Apla launches a series of racist attacks on white soft targets, and the PAC leadership claims it has no direct control over the activities of its armed wing. In the Vaal Triangle, disgruntled members of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe have run out of control and are forming armed gangs of trained men answerable to no one. And, as recent evidence to the Goldstone Commission and the Webster inquest has shown, a large part of the State's own military-security apparatus is acting on its own, beyond the control of the civil Government.

We may even be involved in a clandestine war in Angola, once again, as our neighbours protest that we are overflying their territory ferrying arms to Jonas Savimbi. The military denies it, but the military lied to us last time. The Government protests its innocence, but does the Government even know what the military is doing?

The country is chock-a-block with weapons. There are thousands of people who know how to use them, controls are breaking down

It has its roots in our violent history: in slavery and the frontier wars; in the extermination of the San people and the conquest of the land; in Shaka and the Mfecane; in the struggle for survival of a pioneer people and in the white-on-white violence of the Boer War.

But the modern cycle began with apartheid; with the poisoning of men's minds with racism and the clinical cruelty of a system that placed ideology above humanity, that so blunted human sensitivity it could destroy people's lives without guilt or remorse. Even today President de Klerk feels no need to say sorry.

Such institutionalised violence inevitably provokes a reaction. And when that reaction is blocked from expressing itself through normal political channels, it equally inevitably goes underground and resorts to violence. Thus were born the liberation movements and their armed struggles.

So the cycle began, with the armed struggle producing a counter-revolutionary response and the youth of our nation becoming caught in a spiral of vio-

lence and militaristic indoctrination.

The result is that we have created a culture of violence. We have glorified armed struggle. Cries of *Aluta Continua!* fill the air, may the struggle continue. There are the glorious guerillas and, on the other side, the glorious "boys on the border" who fought for *volk en nasie* against the forces of the supposed Evil Empire.

Young men, children, go to political rallies carrying wooden AK-47s. They sing songs of praise to the guerillas. Political demonstrators parade through public streets brandishing arsenals of lethal weapons and their political leaders claim this is part of their cultural heritage.

Young whites strut about in their army uniforms, proud of being Recces, Parabats, members of Special Force units. We have old Selous Scouts and Grey Scouts from Rhodesia, 32 Battalion, Koevoet, the Civil Co-operation Bureau and now the Director of Covert Collections.

We have generals so contemptuous of the civil process, who are so far above the law, that they order

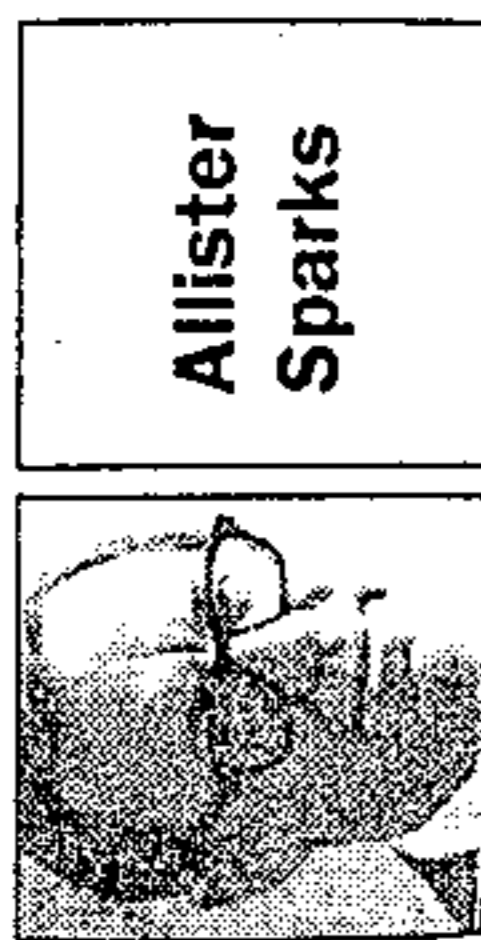
their subordinates to conceal evidence and they lie under oath in court and nothing happens to them.

The Defence Force still celebrates the Cassinga Massacre, our Mai Lai when South African paratroopers slaughtered a thousand people, including women and children, in a refugee camp in southern Angola on May 4 1978. "This day reminds us that paratroopers are a special breed of men," declares the current issue of the SADF magazine, *Paratus*.

On the flip side, Azanyu, the youth wing of the PAC, expressed its "amazement" last Saturday that the ANC should have seen anything wrong with three people walking into a crowded restaurant, planting a bomb under a table and leaving it there to explode and mangle 19 ordinary everyday civilians.

Surely it is time to start demilitarising this country, and by that I don't mean just slashing the Defence Budget and ending conscription but demilitarising our minds as well. We must stop glorifying violence. We have to start inculcating a culture of tolerance, and we can't do that as we chant

(847)



Allister Sparks

and a Rambo spirit fills the air. It is a recipe for an unguided civil war, which is now the greatest of all the threats facing this tortured land.

We have only ourselves to blame. We have created this monster with our glorification of militarism on all sides of the racial conflict. Like Cadmus of Greek mythology, we have sown the dragon's teeth and now we have a harvest of armed warriors ready to slay one another in an orgy of mindless violence.

Violence begets violence, and in this blood-soaked land we have become drunk with aggression. We kill for a farthing, or just for the heck of it. Robbers shoot without need and householders fire at shadows. Fathers blow away their families, a wife kills her husband with a crossbow and we slaughter one another on the roads with un-
equalled abandon.

Aluta Continua! shout "one settler one bullet" and fire AKs into the air at funerals.

In the army, I'm told, training methods are still geared to the philosophy of the Total Strategy. Nothing has changed. The com-mies are still coming and the ANC is still the devil incarnate. And I wonder whether it is any different with Umkhonto's new recruits doing their covert training in Uganda.

That is where the change must begin — in the training camps. I would like to see a new kind of national service replace the old: a conscription to perform not military service but service to the nation, with all our young people, white and black, required to work together for a year on public works projects to help build this nation and remould their minds into attitudes of mutual tolerance and service to others.

Perhaps there is a lesson for us in the tale of how Cadmus's dragoons, when they had slain one another down to the last five survivors, threw down their arms and crying: "Brothers let us live in peace!" joined with him in building the city of Thebes. □

National agreements 'have not helped quell violence'

B/DOM 9/12/92

274

RAY HARTLEY

THE national peace accord, the Codesa declaration of intent and five bilateral accords between the ANC and government had failed to reverse the growth of violence, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

The country was going through its second worst year of political violence to date, with 2 924 people having died in political killings by the end of November, the institute said.

This represented an 18% increase on the 1991 number, institute figures showed.

The Human Rights Commission earlier this week said political deaths had dropped to a nine-month "low" of 263 for November — well above the 1991 monthly average of 215 deaths a month.

Institute spokesman Paul Pereira said SA's worst year of violence remained 1990, when 3 699 people were killed.

The institute said fatalities in political violence since September 1984, when political killings started on a large scale, would probably reach more than 15 000 by the end of 1992.

"Nearly two-thirds of all deaths in political violence occurred in 1990, 1991 and 1992," the institute said.

Pereira said the institute believed vio-

lence would be combated more effectively if the national peace accord was amended to prohibit "peoples' war" and the struggle to make the country ungovernable.

He said other steps that could be taken included:

- The renunciation by churches of the Lusaka Declaration in which SA churches said liberation movements had been compelled to use force to fight apartheid;
- Enforcing ruthlessly the ban on weapons including those displayed in public;
- A decision by the state to respect the rights of both boycotters and non-boycotters during stayaway actions;
- Public commitment from political leaders supporting the right of people to participate in or abstain from political actions;
- The replacement of the R1 rifle used by the SAP's Internal Stability Unit (ISU) with a less lethal weapon;
- Increasing the minimum age of ISU members from 21 to 25.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that a man was shot dead by unknown assailants at the Kwamashu hostel on Monday evening.

our friends in the S.T.V.

▲ MPA 993

Hearings on arms smuggling

LLOYD COUTTS

84A

THE Goldstone commission would hold public hearings tomorrow and on Friday on ways to curb the illegal importation of automatic weapons into SA, the commission said yesterday.

The hearings will be held at the Breakwater campus of the University of Cape Town.

A police spokesman said most AK-47s were brought into SA from Mozambique and Swaziland. Most of the weapons, often sold by former Frelimo soldiers, ended up in Natal, the eastern Transvaal and the PWV fetching between R500 and R1 500.

A liaison forum for the SAP and Mozambican government officials had been established for high-level contact on the issue of arms smuggling.

Police had confiscated 7 238 illegal firearms up to October 10, including 2 854 rifles (with AK-47s), 2 227 pistols and 2 157 revolvers. The confiscated weapons were destroyed, the police spokesman added.

B/DOM 9/12/92

ER

YEAR
RANTY
LAN

FREE



Micor Holdir

(Registration number 69/0956
("Micor"))

Offer to Micor

Micor shareholders wer

— Micor would dispose
share capital of Mic
management ("the C

Sowetan 9/12/92

PAC won't condemn Apla's attacks

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback

By Sonti Maseko

FIRE-spitting PAC national organiser, Maxwell Nmadzvhani yesterday said his organisation would never condemn its military wing, Apla, over the alleged attacks against whites in the Eastern Cape.

"We'll never condemn Apla," he said last night on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

Nmadzvhani said Apla was a formation of the Pan Africanist Congress, prosecuting a peoples war against the apartheid government and all those who supported its structures.

Answering questions whether the PAC condoned the killings, he said Apla looked at the role played by the "enemy in the settler community".

He further accused the government

of introducing negotiations as a strategy to undermine the struggle.

The government demanded that liberation movements dismantle their armed forces while it did not dismantle structures like Askaris, the Koevoet and Battalion 32, he said.

While some callers said they did not support the killing of people, they accused the government and the international community of showing more concern when white people died.

"For us to abandon the armed struggle would be a disservice to the people", James.

"I want to know from Maxwell how he feels

about the killing of the policemen. Why does the PAC not accept the government's invitation to negotiate?"

Wellington, Germiston

"I am totally against the killings but I think it is about time the white man is shaken up. I'm not convinced the PAC or Apla did it".

John

"Who are the settlers and where is Azania. I think it (the attacks) is cowardice".

Gowan, Cape Town.

"What do you say about a government that is supposed to be negotiating when people are dying. Why does the government feel that they are justified to hold Apla responsible when they are not responsible for Inkathagate."

Lebu, Munsterville, Krugersdorp

"Ask the Sambos in the Eastern Transvaal, whose husband was killed because he accidentally drove over the farmer's dog, if he was killed by civilians."

Vusi, Katlehong

next *Talkback* topic

THE assault on black family life by apartheid, violence and other factors has led to community disintegration. How can the situation be reversed? Eminent psychologist Dr Saths Cooper is our special studio guest to discuss the issue. You can join us by phoning 11m Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight. Tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 and 92.4 in the Pretoria region.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063



with Pat Bogatsu

under considerable pressure, which put margins

Bombing: police free trio after questioning

BIDAM 10/12/92
POLICE yesterday arrested three ANC/SACP members for questioning in connection with the Apla bombing in Queenstown last week, a police spokesman confirmed.

An identification parade was held, but as none of them was positively identified, the three suspects were released.

The SAP did not believe they had made a breakthrough in tracking down the attackers and said the men were arrested purely by "police following all leads and suspicions".

Both the ANC and the SACP have strongly condemned the bombings and attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, urging restraint and reconciliation.

The police became suspicious of a car travelling with the three occupants in East London on Tuesday night. After follow-up operations, three men were arrested early yesterday.

A gas grenade, an R1 magazine and two cartridges were apparently found in a subsequent search of the ANC Border region's offices.

The arrests have outraged the SACP, which accused the SAP of "playing politics instead of doing its work".

SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin said the detentions of the three

(84A)
BILLY PADDOCK

men, including SACP member Vumile Ngcula, in connection with the Apla bombings "would be utterly laughable if the circumstances under which they were detained were not so sinister".

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said yesterday possible strikes against PAC armed wing Apla military bases depended on political considerations.

"If we knew where these Apla bases were situated, it would be a government decision if we attacked them or not. Any actions (taken by the SADF) will have a definite effect on the current negotiation process," Liebenberg said.

The SADF did not know of any "clean" Apla bases in neighbouring countries. All known Apla bases were a mixture of several groups.

Meanwhile, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze warned the CP and other right-wing groups not to "play into Apla's hands" by threatening to form vigilante squads. "The police will not tolerate this in the slightest. It would just spark off further violence and even a race war that no-one wants, except Apla," Kotze said.

SA 'has top new mortar system'

LONDON — SA's state-owned Denel armaments group was about to start testing a computer-controlled 120mm mortar system that could be a world beater, the leading military journal Jane's Defence Weekly said yesterday.

Quoting senior industry officials in Pretoria, Jane's said the new mortar, with an expected range in excess of 6 000m, and its computerised fire control system, were suitable for fitting into a Ratel mortar carrier armoured vehicle.

The new mortar, far more potent than the largest 81mm carried by Ratels, is to be tested by LIW, part of the Denel group, with the ammunition being developed by

IAN HOBBS

Somchem.

Jane's, frequently used to announce SA defence industry developments, said the new mortar system could be in production as early as November next year.

In a separate report on self-propelled artillery, Jane's said SA's famed G6 155mm howitzer, also part of Denel's production, still beat anything the West could produce.

BIDAM 10/12/92
Denel group executive Paul Holtzhausen said in terms of the Armaments Act he could not comment on the Jane's report.

SADF closes door on Apla

STAR 10/12/92

84A

Pretoria Correspondent

The SADF is open to all South Africans irrespective of sex, race or political belief — except members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

In a strong-worded warning to Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, General Kat Liebenberg, Chief of the Defence Force, said no Apla member would be welcome in the SADF.

"Apla is waging war against the country at this stage and will not be allowed to join the SADF," he said in Pretoria yesterday.

Liebenberg said the SADF was taking the threat of terrorist action by Apla very seriously.

"While Apla has not got a very great capacity and is a lot smaller than MK, even 10 terrorists in a big city can cause problems," the general said.

He said the Apla threat was particularly dangerous because its members were spread throughout the country and the attacks were aimed at soft targets.

Liebenberg said any attacks on suspected Apla bases in Transkei or South Africa would have to be approved by the Cabinet.

... maga-
s canister.
der region
ound by the
ce had been
mbers of the
homes had
y Ciskei se-

raid police

d had gath-
a potential-
ation had de-
he search.
d in a tele-
ent to Sapa
t the events
vernment se-
vere demora-
confused.
countrywide
n full alert.
ional Restau-
irman Robert
he had high-
h the SAP to
ety of patrons
lay season.

UN to back Goldstone

STAR 10/12/92

The UN would give Mr Justice Goldstone every assistance in investigating activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), Tom Vraalsen, special envoy to the UN secretary-general, said in Johannesburg yesterday. (236) (252)

Mr Justice Goldstone called on the international community last week to help him launch an inquiry into Apla activities. (84A)

Vraalsen said such an investigation would be broadened to include Umkhonto we Sizwe, the security forces and homelands police - Staff Reporter. (232)

● Interview - Page 23

— press

form from among 22 400 entries are: Moffat Mangole, Naphtal Nxumalo, Steve Makgalemele, Sello Rabothata and Ephraim Lukoto.

meeting is open to the public - all who have a drinking problem and those who want to help loved ones to stop drinking.

Businessman injured in handgrenade blast

Sowetan 10/12/92

(84A)

~~84B~~

By Josias Charle and
Own Correspondent

■ **NO MOTIVE** Attack not related to politics:

A SOSHANGUVE BUSINESSMAN was seriously injured early yesterday when a handgrenade was hurled through his bedroom window and gouged holes in the concrete floor and walls when it exploded.

A friend said doctors would probably have to amputate Mr Paulus Skhosana's left hand and foot as a result of his injuries.

"I can't see any other choice," Mr Simon Mashika said of his friend's injuries.

Skhosana was admitted to the Garankuwa hospital after his left side was injured during the

2am blast at his house in Block AA, Soshanguve.

Mashika said he could think of no motive for the attack as Skhosana was not involved in politics. He also denied the attack could be related to a "taxi war".

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch yesterday confirmed the incident and said Skhosana was injured in the left leg, face and right shoulder. His wife was not hurt.

Lesch said this was not a political attack.

"He is a businessman and is not involved in politics", Lesch said. No arrests had yet been made. Police are investigating.

A spokesman for the Garankuwa Hospital said Skhosana underwent surgery and his condition was "serious but stable".

Mashika said he was woken by the sound of the explosion and found his friend lying on the ground when he went to investigate.

"It was a very loud bang and when I went to investigate I saw Paulus and his wife lying on the floor of their bedroom," he said.

"He was bleeding a lot from a wound in his cheek and from his left hand and foot.

"His foot looked like a spread out hand. I think they will have to cut it off."

SABAEINA

STA

Businessman injured in handgrenade blast

Sowetan 10/12/92

(84A)

By Josias Charle and
Own Correspondent

A SOSHANGUVE BUSINESSMAN was seriously injured early yesterday when a handgrenade was hurled through his bedroom window and gouged holes in the concrete floor and walls when it exploded.

A friend said doctors would probably have to amputate Mr Paulus Skhosana's left hand and foot as a result of his injuries.

"I can't see any other choice," Mr Simon Mashika said of his friend's injuries.

Skhosana was admitted to the Garankuwa hospital after his left side was injured during the

2am blast at his house in Block AA, Soshanguve. Mashika said he could think of no motive for the attack as Skhosana was not involved in politics. He also denied the attack could be related to a "taxi war".

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch yesterday confirmed the incident and said Skhosana was injured in the left leg, face and right shoulder. His wife was not hurt.

Lesch said this was not a political attack.

"He is a businessman and is not involved in politics", Lesch said. No arrests had yet been made. Police are investigating.

A spokesman for the Garankuwa Hospital said Skhosana underwent surgery and his condition was "serious but stable".

"Mashika said he was woken by the sound of the explosion and found his friend lying on the ground when he went to investigate.

"It was a very loud bang and when I went to investigate I saw Paulus and his wife lying on the floor of their bedroom," he said.

"He was bleeding a lot from a wound in his cheek and from his left hand and foot.

"His foot looked like a spread out hand. I think they will have to cut it off."

■ **NO MOTIVE** Attack not related to politics:

ng in lition

the ac-
se had
"good
to cor-
dures.
ement
d last
er's of
ebank
subsid-
be re-
why it
office
nistra-
h, it
ware",
or a
been
xplain
le the
rking
ing at
so re-
o ex-
t dis-
that

they intended to rely upon the aforementioned scheme to spread rights onto Stand 50 Rosebank when, in fact, it was previously claimed that Stand 50 had no other potential than parking", the investigation report said.

The management committee agreed to request the Administrator to rectify a 1980 Provincial Gazette notice stating that the intent of the developer's application was only to approve an additional 5 000m² of retail space and not an additional 31 181m² of office space.

Veale confirmed the possibility that, under certain circumstances, and after a court order had been obtained, the building might have to be demolished.

JH Isaacs could not be reached for comment last night.



Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel responds to a question at a news conference held in Pretoria yesterday.

Picture: SUE KRAMER

Govt does not discount cross-border raids on Apla

BIDAY 11/12/92

PRETORIA — Government would not rule out cross-border pre-emptive raids to combat Apla actions against SA civilians, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told a media conference yesterday.

He estimated the size of Apla to be about 120 people and said it had bases in Transkei and Zimbabwe.

He said government was not "looking for trouble" with its neighbours, but had a responsibility to protect its citizens.

A cross-border raid would be the last resort and government would not do it unless it possessed hard facts.

He said he was pleased by the Zimbabwean government statement ordering Apla to stop making claims regarding its criminal actions from Zimbabwean soil.

Kriel noted that Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa had not made a similar statement.

The ANC, in a statement yesterday, said threats of cross border military action were "totally unacceptable".

"It is irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories.

84A
TIM COHEN

"These misgivings are reinforced by the raid conducted by the SAP on the ANC regional office in East London, ostensibly looking for Apla members, and the unwarranted arrest of three ANC members.

"An attack against Zimbabwe would destabilise the entire southern African region, including the delicate peace process in Mozambique," it said.

It said ANC president Nelson Mandela would raise the matter at the special emergency meeting of the Frontline states in Harare today.

Meanwhile, an Apla commander, Vuma Ntikinca, said in Umtata yesterday that Apla had several bases in SA, particularly in the PWV area. He said attacks launched by Apla on the Reef, including the deaths of several policemen, proved the army had bases in the PWV area.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the PAC said after a meeting with the DP in Johannesburg yesterday it recognised the destructive effect of violence and "in particular the killing of innocent civilians", but adamantly refused to distance itself from the attacks on soft targets in King William's Town and Queenstown.

Five killed in townships

BIDAY 11/12/92

DURBAN — Five people were killed in separate incidents in KwaZulu townships on Wednesday and yesterday morning.

KwaZulu police said two people died and one was seriously injured when a "powerful device" exploded at a house in Esikhawini yesterday.

The bodies of two children — who were shot dead — were found near Kwamakhutha on Wednesday.

A 14-year-old youth was also shot dead at Sawpits near Umbumbulu.

In Johannesburg, four people were injured on Wednesday and yesterday in incidents on or near railway properties in the Germiston area, police said.

And taxi driver Maria Molefe was shot dead by a passenger in Roodepoort on Wednesday — Sapa.

Goldstone told of disciplinary action | ANC official

Goldstone told of disciplinary action

CAPE TOWN — The ANC had undertaken to investigate fully and discipline officers or structures if they were proven to be involved in the illegal importation, distribution and use of weapons, the Goldstone commission heard yesterday.

Peter Harris, for the ANC, said the organisation and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe remained committed to their undertakings in the 1991 D F Malan Accord which prohibited armed attacks, infiltration of cadres and material, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action and military training outside SA.

The ANC recommended that a special unit comprising investigators from the ANC, Inkatha and security forces be established by the national peace secretariat to investigate illegal arms imports and that

the unit's progress be monitored regularly by the Police Board.

Louis Visser SC, for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, asked that the commission's terms of reference be extended to investigate all illegally possessed firearms and all forms of politically-related violence, not only political violence which was also public.

He said neighbouring countries should be obliged to curb the inflow of illegal weapons from their territories through international treaties and, failing their cooperation, appeals should be made to the UN and the OAU.

Earlier, Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into "pseudo-operations", in which attackers pretended to be security force members. — Sapa.

ANC officials stand accused

DURBAN — Seven men, including ANC officials from the upper south coast, appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court yesterday in connection with the deaths of 24 people at Mpushini in the Umbumbulu area during October.

South coast ANC organiser Sibusiso Darlington Magweyana, Folweni ANC chairman Elias Mkhize and three members of his committee were among the accused.

The case against the seven men was postponed until February 11. — Sapa.

Warder admits helping prisoners escape

THE prison warder who helped "Blue Light" gang member Gavin Schultz and Godwin Webb, who had been convicted of fraud, escape from prison earlier this year, pleaded guilty yesterday to charges of defeating the ends of justice, forging official documents and assisting in their escape.

In a confession made before a magistrate earlier this year, read out in court

GAVIN DU VENAGE

yesterday, 24-year-old Anton Nel admitted he and a policeman accomplice, former Sgt Lucas Cornelius, helped the men escape.

Schultz and Webb had promised him R100 000 for his help and, after initially refusing to take part in the scheme, Nel had agreed.

Nel said his parents had been about to divorce, leaving his mother destitute,

and he would have used the money to support her.

Schultz's girlfriend had telephoned him to say that a policeman whose name was "Shane" would collect the two men from prison. But Shane failed to get in touch with him and Nel decided to find his own policeman. He asked Cornelius, who was stationed at the Norwood police station, to join the scheme.

Nel obtained documents

authorising the temporary transfer of a prisoner to police custody for questioning, and got Cornelius to sign them.

Schultz and Webb were "transferred" on January 30. Two days later they admitted they could not pay the promised R100 000.

Webb handed himself in and Schultz was arrested in Cape Town.

The State withdrew charges against Schultz, who was to have stood trial with Nel, and the case was postponed until February next year, pending a psychiatric evaluation of Nel.

Lindum Reefs Gold Mining Company Limited

Kriel warns Apla of hot pursuit

CT 11/12/92
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa would consider raids into Zimbabwe to attack bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which has declared war on whites, Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel said yesterday.

"That would be the last resort," Mr Kriel said in answer to a question at a news conference. "Obviously we would not like to do anything like that. We are not looking for trouble with our neighbours."

The minister estimated that there were 120 Apla members trained in Zimbabwe and Transkei inside and outside South Africa.

On denials by Zimbabwean and Transkeian leaders that Apla guerrillas were trained in their countries, Mr Kriel said they did not know what was happening in their countries.

An Apla commander, Mr Vuma Ntikinca, said on Radio Transkei yesterday that Apla had several bases in South

From page 1

Border

Africa, particularly in the PWV area.

Mr Kriel said any decision to take cross-border action against Apla would have to be taken by the State President and cabinet.

"I cannot say that we will or will not consider cross-border raids, but it is also fair to say that it cannot be ruled out."

Mr Kriel would not be drawn on which countries the government believed was financing the PAC, which in turn provides funding to Apla.

He said the matter was being investigated and that it would be taken further by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Kriel said it had been made clear at meetings with the PAC that the armed struggle would either have to be suspended or terminated for the PAC to become part of the negotiation process.

"We cannot negotiate with guns on the table next to us," he said.

He said that the PAC, by supporting Apla's attacks on civilians, was effectively excluding itself from negotiations for an interim government.

CT 11/12/92
● The Conservative Party said yesterday that there was no reason why the SA Defence Force should not mount hot pursuit actions into Transkei to destroy alleged Apla training bases.

● Church leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with the PAC and Apla.

To page 2

the

Covert action best arms smuggler trap

STAR 11/12/92

CAPE TOWN — Covert police operations had proved more successful than conventional methods in uncovering arms smuggling networks and these operations could be extended in the future, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

The full commission, chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone, is hearing submissions in Cape Town on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in South Africa.

W.L. Wepener, for the South African Police, said covert intelligence and infiltration operations were "absolutely essential" to combat the import and distribution of weapons. Eleven covert anti-crime units were already operating countrywide.

He recommended the establishment of a special unit to infiltrate and expose weapon smuggling networks from the source to the destination. Arms smugglers who were linked to several transactions could be given heavier sentences.

Wepener said problems relat-

ing to the use of illegal firearms for political purposes could only be effectively addressed through a political settlement.

However, effective control over African National Congress arms caches inside the country was needed in the interim to prevent the distribution of illegal weapons. "We are not asking that the ANC's arms caches be placed immediately under police control."

Searches

"But we believe the ANC should, as a start, make available to this commission all information which it has regarding the illegal import and distribution of firearms," he said.

Improved co-operation with neighbouring states, particularly Transkei, increased penalties for offenders and legislation regulating the packing of freight to facilitate police searches at international borders were also recommended.

The commission heard that 711 people had been killed and

809 injured by AK-47 assault rifles alone during incidents of political violence from July 1 1991 to November 30 this year.

In 1991, illegal weapons confiscated included a total of 1 090 AK-47s, 2 150 pistols, 1 075 revolvers, 632 home-made rifles and 1 600 kg of explosives.

Wepener said weapons were "freely available" in Mozambique and were smuggled by organised syndicates to Natal and the Witwatersrand.

Conflict between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, taxi wars, train violence, faction fights and the increase in crime due to deteriorating economic conditions all helped to create a demand.

The commission also heard police had uncovered weapons smuggling networks in hostels on the Witwatersrand.

Police infiltrated such a hostel network and "bought" arms from smugglers.

A similar network, selling illegal Mozambican firearms to buyers in the Kruger National Park area, was also uncovered in August. — Sapa.

Bop to cut sentences of prisoners

STAR 11/12/92

More than 1 500 prisoners in Bophuthatswana will be affected by a general amnesty announced by President Lucas Mangope during the homeland's 15th anniversary independence celebrations last week, it was confirmed yesterday.

A Bophuthatswana government spokesman said the number of prisoners in the territory as of Wednesday stood at 1 561, and all, including long-term inmates, would have up to 18 months cut from their sentences. Those serving six months or less would be freed.

He said although the number of prisoners serving sentences of six months, or less was not available, hundreds would be released by the end of the week.

He could not confirm if former Bophuthatswana Defence Force member Warrant-Officer Timothy Phiri, one of the leaders of the aborted coup against Mangope's government in February 1988, was classified as a political prisoner or not.

Political organisations in the homeland, including the ANC, have been demanding the release of Phiri and Chris Makgala. — Sapa.

DP and PAC resolve to help end violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

84A

STAR 11/12/92

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party yesterday committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence,

and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned.

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced

from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown were discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.

Govt threat to Apla draws angry response

Hot-pursuit warning

Star 11/2/72

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has not ruled out the option of conducting cross-border raids into neighbouring states against military bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel revealed this yesterday at a Pretoria press conference, answering questions about Apla's alleged campaign of terror against whites.

He stressed, however, that the Government would undertake such raids only as a last resort and only if the Government were in possession of hard facts.

He said: "We are not looking for trouble with our neighbours. But we have a duty to protect our citizens."

Kriel stated categorically that Apla had training bases in Zimbabwe and Transkei. Asked whether this meant the governments of those countries were lying because they had denied hosting Apla bases, Kriel said he did not know whether they were lying, but they did have their facts wrong.

He welcomed the Zimbabwe government announce-

ment that Apla should stop making claims about its "criminal activities" from Zimbabwean soil.

But he added that he did not think the "brigadier from Transkei" (an apparent reference to Major-General Bantu Holomisa) had made a similar statement.

Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said one would not find Apla training bases if one looked for conventional military institutions with flags waving and platoons marching.

Only three or four people were being trained at each base, they said.

Kriel said the SAP estimated that Apla had 120 trained fighters inside and outside the country. He would not say which countries were funding Apla or the PAC, as the matter was still under investigation.

Those countries funding Apla and the PAC would be contacted through the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He would not comment on the arrest and later release on Wednesday of three ANC members on suspicion of involvement in the King William's Town golf club attack, for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

Kriel said if it was true that the PAC had said it would not suspend the armed struggle until an interim

government had been installed, then it had effectively excluded itself from the negotiations for an interim government.

● The ANC and the Transkei administration yesterday reacted angrily to Kriel's statements.

The ANC said the threatened military action against Transkei and Zimbabwe "is totally unacceptable... irresponsible, unstatesmanlike and provocative in the extreme. It lends credence to the argument that agents provocateurs may be responsible for the acts of terrorism in the eastern Cape region, the intention being to rationalise an attack on these territories".

The ANC added that its president, Nelson Mandela, would raise these matters at a special emergency meeting of Frontline states in Harare today.

In a separate statement, Holomisa said Apla had no bases in Transkei. He warned Pretoria not to harm innocent citizens in cross-border raids.

Church leaders are seeking an urgent meeting with the PAC and Apla.

The SA Council of Churches said yesterday the leaders were concerned about Apla's activities and the PAC's response.

84A



stirred the pot and shown that he's far from impotent.

PAC/APLA FM 11/12/92

In the firing line

(11A) (84A)

Unless it splits or reins in its universally condemned armed wing Apla, the PAC risks working itself out of the negotiations process and being sidelined altogether.

This week's scheduled meeting between it and government was, predictably, called off. Following the Apla-claimed atrocities at King William's Town and Queenstown last weekend in which five people were killed and 34 injured, government demanded a clear and satisfactory explanation of the PAC's relationship with Apla as a condition for the meeting. This had not been received by Tuesday.

On the contrary, PAC information director Walters Toboti underlined the link with Apla. He said it was an "integral" part of the organisation, which would not be abandoned even if this meant scuttling Wednesday's

CONTINUED
FINANCIAL MAIL • DECEMBER • 11 • 1992 • 35

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 11/12/92

(84A)

meeting with government.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander (see *People*) implausibly stuck to the line that the question of Apla could only be dealt with as part of an agreement to amalgamate all the armies of SA into a common force. This, he maintains, was agreed with government in Botswana last month, implying no need for even a suspension of armed action, as the ANC has done. He, therefore, saw no need to clarify anything and believed the meeting would go ahead unless government called it off.

It may be significant that none of the PAC's big guns — president Clarence Makwetu, deputies Dikgang Moseneke and Johnson Mlambo and foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim — have made any statements on the Apla attacks. Are they too embarrassed, were they taken by surprise, or are they opportunistically waiting to see where the pieces fall before entering the fray?

The hapless Alexander is not necessarily regarded as a main player. It should be remembered that the leadership had a torrid time getting its youth and militant supporters to acquiesce to negotiations, which explains the PAC's belated and circuitous moves to get on board.

Few can fathom the politics of the PAC and in particular its relationship with Apla, which is said to be operationally independent — like the IRA is to Sinn Fein. In trying to explain recent developments, some point to Alexander's refusal to condemn the soft-target attacks on whites in order to draw attention to black casualties of the violence. In terms of this "explanation", Apla (and the PAC) want the violence to spill into white areas in order to force government to take action to end it. It's a simplistic and dangerous notion.

Another view is that Apla does not see eye-to-eye with the political leadership of the PAC and wants to wreck the negotiations. Nobody is very sure of the relationship. Yet given the history of internal strife and disarray in the PAC this might be the case — unless there has simply been a communications breakdown, which would not be surprising. Apla, which is commanded by the PAC secretary for defence, Sabelo Palma, is based in Tanzania.

It is not known (or never revealed) how many "soldiers" it has. Some observers have even questioned whether, despite the claims (notably by one Congo Jibril who claimed to be an Apla deputy commander), Apla carried out the attacks at all and attribute them to renegade elements in the Ciskei/eastern Cape area.

In the wake of the killings, the OAU, which funds the PAC, has roundly condemned Apla. The OAU's man in SA, Legwaila Legwaila, has indicated that the funding is now under review.

Zimbabwe, perhaps the PAC's closest backer in black Africa, has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory. Condemnation ranged from the United Nations, EC and Commonwealth to

the ANC and SA Communist Party, whose chief, Chris Hani, said that the "struggle" had been directed at oppression, never against whites as such. Hani warned that anti-white terror would provide the pretext for those on the far Right who "want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule."

On cue, the self-styled leader of the extreme rightwing Wit Wolwe, Barend Strydom, called Sapa to warn that its actions should in future "only be seen as a reaction to deeds by Apla."

President FW de Klerk has meanwhile warned of a crackdown on Apla. He said on Monday that government was urgently considering steps against it: "Threats against any South Africans, irrespective of their race, are absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible."

"The government will continue to do everything in its power to bring the perpetrators of recent crimes to justice and prevent Apla from carrying out its threats." He called on the international community to deny Apla refuge or any form of assistance.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who called the attacks "cowardly," emphasised that the peace and negotiation process would not be impeded by threats of violence against whites.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer slammed Apla for its "bloodthirsty threats." He called on the PAC either to repudiate Apla or take responsibility for its actions.

In the Border area, meanwhile, police and businesses are reportedly stepping up security. A special police unit has been formed to visit restaurants, businesses and Christmas functions and a considerable number of additional policemen are being sent to the region to assist with patrols.

Death toll drops

By PAUL STOBER

DESPITE the Azanian People's Liberation Army's declaration of war on whites, the Human Rights Commission has reported a significant decrease in the number of incidents of political violence in South Africa.

In the past week the death toll in political violence was only 19, after an average of more than 60 deaths a week for the past nine weeks.

In Natal, the scene of some of the worst political violence, the toll dropped from 30 last week to 12 this week. *W/Mail 11/12 - 17/12/92*

No train attacks were reported for the first time in nine weeks and no security force deaths were reported, compared to 14 deaths last week. This was despite three reported grenade attacks on security force members. The commission said security force actions had resulted in 18 injuries but no deaths.

One person was reported to have died in police custody this week which brings to 117 the number of deaths in police custody this year.

The commission noted that further temporary immunity was granted to a number of African National Congress leaders, who are key to the negotiation process, for a further three months.

A Matter of fact

TENSIONS RUN DEEP INSIDE THE PAC ...

MILITANTS in the Pan Africanist Congress have got what they wanted: talks between their leadership and the government are off — at least for the time being.

The attacks on civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown happened days before the government and the PAC were set to meet, suggesting that elements within the PAC — known to be virulently opposed to negotiations — took decisive steps to ensure they would not take place.

The PAC's refusal to confirm or deny whether the attacks were the work of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has rendered it hostage to its militants, who seem to have won the day. Their short-term victory has however precipitated a crisis for the organisation.

According to several analysts, relations between Apla and the PAC leadership are tense, with the latter largely viewed as alienated from the armed struggle. Few of those in the leadership have military backgrounds. If PAC leaders are to be

PAC militants win

believed, there is virtually no relation between the two.

Expressing a personal view, Chris Hani, former chief of staff of the African National Congress' armed wing, commented: "Apla has been opposing negotiations and therefore these operations are intended to stop the negotiations process."

"The PAC has been sweeping under the carpet serious internal differences between pro and anti-negotiators."

According to Hani, relations between Apla's former commander, Johnson Mlambo, and PAC president Clarence Makwetu are strained. Mlambo, who became chairman of the PAC's central committee (now congress) in 1985 was said to bring unity to a much fragmented PAC in exile which had fallen victim to infiltration by a range of intelligence

organisations. Developing a substantial support base, Mlambo nevertheless lost the PAC leadership position in 1990 to Makwetu — a former farmer in the Transkei with a middle class background, viewed by some as more a "figurehead" than a truly revolutionary leader.

Political analyst Wim Boooyse echoes similar sentiments about a pro-negotiation and anti-negotiation faction within the PAC. In his view, the PAC's Umtata congress in April was a "victory for the negotiations guys. The Umtata congress clearly indicated a major showdown between

the military and political leadership. It became evident that Apla is dead set against negotiations. Now we are looking at a backlash from the guys who lost out at Umtata." In Boooyse's view most of the PAC leaders who endured the hardships in exile have been marginalised from the organisation's power base.

Sections of the PAC's more radical youth wing and other grassroots supporters are also strongly against negotiations with "the regime". Their resistance led to the PAC's walk-out from talks in December last year.

The organisation's foreign affairs

Elements within the PAC virulently opposed to talks with the government appear to be behind the recent spate of attacks on white 'soft targets' in the eastern Cape.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

W/Mail 11/12 - 17/12/92

84A

Apla war follows Poqo's bloody footsteps

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH and GUY JEPSON

THERE is a 30-year-old precedent for last week's "declaration of war" by the Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Apla's forerunner, Poqo, also planned a national uprising targeting whites. And although Poqo was heavily infiltrated and all but fizzled out after mass arrests in 1963, its campaign had some success in the western Cape, Border region and Transkei.

Interesting parallels exist between the Poqo and Apla operations. Both have their basis in the PAC's philosophy, spelled out in *The Africanist* decades ago: "The African people have an inalienable claim on every inch of the African soil. In the memory of humanity as a whole this continent has been the homeland of the Africans ... The non-Africans are guests of the Africans."

A Poqo slogan appearing on a pamphlet found on the Cape Flats back in 1961 read: "The white people shall suffer, the black people will rule. Freedom comes after bloodshed."

These sentiments were echoed in an East London courtroom this week where Apla guerrilla Vusumzi Dolo (25), accused and convicted of arson and attempted murder, appeared in a T-shirt bearing the slogan: "War with the enemy. Peace among Africans".

Political analyst Dr Wim Boooyse says Apla's current insurgency campaign in the eastern Cape and elsewhere is clearly imbued with strong anti-white feelings which "have been there since the 1960s".

Booyse says frequent attacks this year on outlying farms in the region also resonate powerfully with the PAC's long-held formulation on the centrality of the land issue. While he concedes that attacks on farms near the Transkei border might make strategic sense, he argues that they are under-



Grenade damage ... Manager Ken Britz inspects the damage to the golf club

Photo: AP



On guard... Police watch over the King William's Town golf club after four whites were killed

Photo: AP

pinned by the notion that "the settlers have taken our land".

Poqo (the word means "standing alone" or "pure"), an offshoot of the PAC, was a spontaneous popular movement with little contact with the PAC's leadership after its banning in 1960. Historians record that each Poqo cell, mostly 10-strong, had tenuous links with other cells or with its own and the PAC's leadership. The movement was strongest among migrants in Cape Town, and in Transkei.

In his study on black politics in the post-war period, political scientist Professor Tom Lodge argued that Poqo's impetus came from below, and that social conditions — poverty, official harassment, the migrant labour system — were important in recruitment.

Poqo's violence had a fourfold thrust: the killing of policemen and suspected informers; the indiscriminate

killing of whites; assassination attempts on co-opted, conservative Transkei chiefs; and preparations for a general uprising.

In late 1962, Poqo moved into action. In Paarl, 250 men armed with axes and old car-springs sharpened into pangas marched on the police station. The attack was repulsed and the mob turned on nearby residents: two local people and five attackers were killed.

The palace of Transkei Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima was targeted. In a skirmish at the Umtata station where police stopped a group of 20 men, a policeman was killed. Most of the Poqo fighters were arrested. In February 1963 a family of five was killed at a road-camp at Bashee Bridge, Transkei. The attackers used fire-bombs, axes and homemade weapons.

The uprising was scheduled for April 8 1963. Simultaneous attacks on

strategic targets were planned, coupled with the slaughter of whites. The killing was to go on for only four hours.

In the event, only a charge office in King William's Town and a police patrol in East London were attacked. Police arrested more than 3 000 people and intercepted couriers crossing into South Africa from Lesotho.

It was five years later that the PAC's armed wing became known as Apla. Recruits were trained by Chinese instructors in Chunya camp in Tanzania; drilling and political education were the order of the day, and morale was said to be low. In 1975, 100 men flew to Libya to train.

In the late 1970s, as Apla was drawn into the murderous power struggles and internecine strife that hounded the PAC in exile, Apla soldiers refused to follow executive committee orders. Purges followed. In 1979 PAC leader

battle a

secretary Gora Ebrahim disputes any tensions with Apla or grassroots opposition to talks with the government.

Pointing to an Apla statement published in the *Citizen* where the armed wing expresses support for negotiations, he says: "It was discussed democratically at our Congress (December 1991). There was no opposition to it. Where does this opposition come from?"

Still clouded in mystery, the recent offensives may have been the culmination of long-simmering conflict in the eastern Cape region between white farmers and blacks, with Apla having claimed responsibility for several attacks on farmers this year.

Whether Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa is actively sanctioning the training of Apla cadres in the region is open to dispute. But the armed wing undoubtedly has a presence there. While the Transkei is



Equivocating ... Bennie Alexander

David Sibeko was assassinated in Dar es Salaam by six Apla men.

Apla's strength during the exile phase was doubtful. PAC and frontline states sources said in 1987 that the "army" had fewer than 450 people under arms.

Dolo was convicted on Wednesday of an R-4 and grenade attack on a braai-stand at an SAP single-quarters in Lady Grey and for the burning down of a farmhouse. He told the court he returned from military training in Uganda to be sent by "a member of our command" in Umtata to Sterkspruit in Transkei where he gave military training to recruits.

This year has been marked by a series of attacks on policemen, farmers and other civilians in the Border region, culminating in the golf club and steakhouse attacks which claimed five lives and left 35 injured.

Doubts have been raised about

battle against negotiations

secretary Gora Ebrahim disputes any tensions with Apla or grassroots opposition to talks with the government.

Pointing to an Apla statement published in the *Citizen* where the armed wing expresses support for negotiations, he says: "It was discussed democratically at our Congress (December 1991). There was no opposition to it. Where does this opposition come from?"

Still clouded in mystery, the recent offensives may have been the culmination of long-simmering conflict in the eastern Cape region between white farmers and blacks, with Apla having claimed responsibility for several attacks on farmers this year.

Whether Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa is actively sanctioning the training of Apla cadres in the region is open to dispute. But the armed wing undoubtedly has a presence there. While the Transkei is

essentially an ANC stronghold, the northern territory around the Cala area has a significant PAC contingent. Hani has on several occasions admitted the presence of both Apla and MK cadres in the region.

Formerly consisting of a few hundred, Apla members are now said to number roughly 1 000 after a recruitment drive in the wake of the organisation's unbanning. They receive training in Libya, the Middle East and China.

It cannot be ruled out that the PAC is attempting to intensify its armed struggle in order to enter negotiations as a stronger player and the recent attacks were part of a greater plan and not the work of a few Apla cadres pursuing their own solution to the regional conflict. In this case, the PAC leaders' refusal to take responsibility for the attacks may be a shrewd tactic — to avoid any clampdown from the gov-

ernment — rather than a blunder.

But this non-committal stance has met with condemnation from all sides. Says political analyst Gary van Staden: "If Apla is not responsible for the attacks then the uncertainty and confusion caused by the 'false' claims suggests a chaotic state of communication between the PAC leadership and the Apla high command reminiscent of the organisational disaster area that was the PAC in the 1960s and 1970s. The excuse that Apla has operational independence and therefore the political leadership cannot be expected to know everything just won't wash."

Van Staden asks whether the PAC has backed down on its former belief in the primacy of the armed struggle, which it cemented by combining the posts of president and supreme commander of Apla, and "downgraded" its role, or simply lost control over its chain of command.

84A

He also points to a "policy switch" if the PAC is indeed intent on attacking "soft targets" which it has criticised the ANC for doing in the past. Given the PAC's own definition of "African", "skin colour does not enter the equation and the unconditional targeting of 'whites' is a denial of the PAC's own philosophical argument that there is only one race, the human race", argues Van Staden.

"To attempt to justify the unconditional targeting of 'whites' on the basis that they all somehow feed into the state intelligence gathering network or that they all make themselves available for military training is so absurd it doesn't even deserve comment."

Centre for African Studies director Eugene Nyati believes, however, that the PAC may have gained support from the attacks. "If they were behind the attack on King William's Town they won't lose any members. In fact

they may gain some. The incidents may have reinforced the radical bone fides of the PAC, coming at a time of deep disillusionment within the ANC among those who feel that (Nelson) Mandela is too moderate. (This) could push these undisciplined members into the PAC fold."

For the meantime, however, the PAC seems to have lost the opportunity to return to talks on at least some of its terms. When Codesa II broke down the PAC, having pulled out at the preparatory stage, was to some extent vindicated. It took the gap, making moves towards entering the negotiations fray when it seemed likely that it could do so both without appearing to capitulate, and on (some of) its own terms. The arrival of international monitors in the country during the negotiations impasse boosted its position of insisting that renewed multiparty talks be chaired by a neutral, non-South African convenor.

Now, however, the government and ANC are back on good terms and extended talks are likely to take place via the Codesa forum — albeit a revamped one.



Equivocating ... Bennie Alexander and the PAC leadership have refused to take responsibility for the attacks

Photograph: Sarah Prall

David Sibeko was assassinated in Dar es Salaam by six Apla men.

Apla's strength during the exile phase was doubtful. PAC and frontline states sources said in 1987 that the "army" had fewer than 450 people under arms.

Dolo was convicted on Wednesday of an R-4 and grenade attack on a braai-veils at an SAP single-quarters in Lady Grey and for the burning down of a farmhouse. He told the court he returned from military training in Uganda to be sent by "a member of our command" in Umtata to Sterkspruit in Transkei where he gave military training to recruits.

This year has been marked by a series of attacks on policemen, farmers and other civilians in the Border region, culminating in the golf club and steakhouse attacks which claimed five lives and left 35 injured.

Doubts have been raised about

whether Apla was behind the golf club attack; there has been speculation that a "third force" or elements within the Ciskei security forces were implicated.

But despite the possibility that criminal elements may have carried out some of the smaller attacks — on farmers, and perhaps even on policemen — there is growing consensus among observers that Apla was probably behind most of them.

According to Booyse and military analyst Helmoed-Römer Heitman, Apla may have another, modern, dimension. They say there are indications that maverick Umkhonto weSizwe operatives, disillusioned by the African National Congress's suspension of the armed struggle, may be joining Apla because of its militancy.

The police, who have linked Apla to both the golf club and steakhouse attacks, say it has highly trained opera-

tives in the country — and, significantly, that its cadres operate with relative ease from bases inside Transkei.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa was recently accused by Pretoria of allowing MK cadres to use Transkei as a launching pad for attacks in Natal. This week the general denied the allegations, saying his government was on good terms with both the ANC and PAC, but that both organisations knew he would not tolerate Transkei being used as a springboard for attacks on its neighbours.

An eastern Cape source who asked not to be named said it was unlikely that Holomisa would risk direct military reprisals by South Africa by permitting attacks launched from Transkei. It is more likely that the Transkei government lacks the police resources to investigate Apla activities in the homeland effectively — if it wants to. — Ecna

Bomb attack puts more pressure on de Klerk

Guardian/Win W/ Mail
PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk is under pressure to take action against the Pan Africanist Congress after a bomb attack on a restaurant in which 19 whites were injured, five seriously, *writes our Correspondent in Johannesburg.*

The second random attack on whites within one week turned attention from bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the government, in which progress appeared to have been made towards restarting multi-party constitutional negotiations in February.

The rightwing Conservative Party said the government's failure to take action made them responsible, and the ANC described the bombing as "the work of desperadoes who are not confident of pitting their strengths against other parties in a democratic election

~~SAFA~~ ~~ETA~~ ~~UFA~~
which they realise is imminent".

Police blamed the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. It followed its reported threat to kill more whites after the gun and grenade attack two weeks ago on a winetasting dinner in nearby King William's Town, which left four whites dead.

The government and the ANC, meanwhile, were optimistic at the end of their three-day meeting at a secret rendezvous. In a statement, they said they had agreed on "the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation".

● Two British women, one a young mother on holiday, were found murdered last week on a remote beach in northern Natal. They are thought to have been raped and their bodies thrown into the sea before waves washed them back.

17/12/1972

84A

Attack in OFS may be work of Apla

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

POLICE are investigating the possibility that Apla carried out the handgrenade attack on the Ficksburg, Free State, home of a widow.

Minutes after the attack a policeman and a woman minibus passenger were wounded nearby by gunshots. Police suspect four members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the Pan-Africanist Congress's military wing, could have launched the petrol bomb and handgrenade attack on the home of Mrs Trudy Roos late on Thursday night.

The army and police are hunting the attackers.

Mrs Roos, whose policeman husband, Warrant Officer Edward Roos, died of a heart attack last week, was asleep with her two daughters, aged 12 and six, when the house was rocked by explosions and gunfire.

She and the girls, who were all unhurt, fled to a neighbour's house.

Free State police commissioner Major-General Tertius Calitz said yesterday that a police patrol manning a road block about two kilometres from Mrs

From page 1

Roos's home, near the Lesotho border, had heard the shots and explosions and two policemen had gone to investigate. (84A) CT 12/12/92

On their way shots were fired at their vehicle and Sergeant Otto Goetze was wounded in the left knee.

At the same time shots were fired from the roadside at a passing minibus taxi and a passenger, Mrs N Lethena, 44, of Lesotho, was struck in the back and seriously wounded.

Both injured were in a stable condition in hospital in Bethlehem.

Other policemen arriving at the Roos home also came under rifle fire, which they returned and the attackers, believed to be four people, fled on foot.

To page 2

Moves to muzzle gunmen

STAR 12/12/92

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone Commission is to appoint a committee to urgently investigate methods of fighting the importation, possession, distribution and use of weapons and explosives in South Africa.

This step had the blessing of the SADF, ANC, SA Police, the KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the commission said in a statement yesterday.

Casualties

They had also "agreed to cooperate fully with the committee".

The commission appealed to all other involved parties or groups to assist the committee. Their assistance would enable the commission

to recommend steps aimed at reducing the high casualties and damage to property caused by the weapons.

The commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Justice R Goldstone, yesterday ended a preliminary hearing during which it received "helpful" submissions from the SADF, ANC, SAP, KwaZulu government and IFP.

In a related development, the IFP is reportedly not happy to hear that the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association (THRA) has, without informing it, reached an agreement with the ANC "aimed at promoting peace in the PWV region".

IFP spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu strongly rejected the agreement's proposals, which include fencing around certain "problem" hostels, 24-hour police presence around them, and surveillance of hostel members by random searches.

These are to "prevent the move-

OWN CORRESPONDENT and STAFF REPORTER

ment of arms and dangerous weapons and implements".

Ndlovu said hostel residents should not be treated like animals, with "police and other people looking in at them through fences".

He said all parties should be consulted when such agreements were reached, if the peace process was to be effective.

He complained that even though Chief Minister Buthelezi had been in the PWV area in October to support a march against the fencing of hostels, the hostel residents themselves were entering into agreements that made provision for fencing to be erected.

Wesley Dlamini, speaking on behalf of the THRA, made it clear that he thought the object of the

agreement had been confused by certain members of the media.

"The agreement is not about fences and police presence," he said, "but about speeding up the upgrading of hostels and the integration of hostel residents into surrounding communities. The fences are only proposed as a stabilising measure for hostels where a developmental approach would not be suitable."

About the THRA's relationship with the IFP he said: "The IFP have always been our friends, and we understand their position in terms of the confusion of issues."

Dlamini told the Saturday Star that the THRA wanted to depoliticise the hostels dispute, but that the agreement did make allowance for liaison with all relevant parties — including the IFP.

But he said that for progress to be made in the reconstruction process, the THRA needed to talk to those

parties with whom it had been at loggerheads.

The Government's upgrading initiative (R326 million, administered by the Transvaal Provincial Administration) has been criticised by all parties involved.

Funds

Ndlovu said the TPA was not doing enough in its efforts to upgrade the hostels, while the agreement between the ANC and the THRA stated that "both parties are generally dissatisfied with the manner in which these funds are being disbursed."

It further stated that the TPA did not devote enough effort to consulting local interests, and that "black local authorities are inappropriate structures for the ownership, upgrading, management and upgrading of hostels".

summit

STAR

silent

12/14/92 (84A)

on Apla attacks

PATRICK LAURENCE

HARARE — Seven Frontline states yesterday called for an end to violence in South Africa, warning that it would derail negotiations and delay the formation of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

But the seven states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — refrained from specifically condemning attacks on white civilians by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the refusal of the PAC to dissociate itself from the attacks.

Condemned

A communique issued after the summit — which was attended by ANC and PAC representatives — condemned violence generally and urged "all parties to go to the negotiating table".

At a press conference after the day-long summit, Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira was emphatic that the issue of Apla terror attacks had not been discussed.

Anticipating the direction of a question from Saturday Star he said: "No, that was not discussed."

Earlier, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe called on the ANC, PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party to form a united patriotic front against President F.W. de Klerk's administra-

● TO PAGE 2.

Frontline

● FROM PAGE 1.

tion. The front should draw all "bantustan" leaders into its ranks, Mugabe advised in his address.

Mugabe's counsel was endorsed by the summit, which declared: "The strength of the oppressed people lies in unity and good leadership... a common front would not permit the minority regime to pit them against one another and against the interest of the suffering majority."

Contravention

Another issue which occupied the attention of the summit was Angola, where the refusal of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to accept defeat in the UN-supervised election in September has threatened to plunge the country into renewed civil war.

Associated with the spectre of a fresh round of fighting in Angola are the alleged contraven-

tions of the airspace of four Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe — by South African aircraft. The summit expressed "disappointment and amazement" at Unita's stand, urged Savimbi to "respect the democratic process" and counselled him to join the government formed by President Jose dos Santos on December 4.

Covert (84A)

On South Africa's alleged attempts to intervene in Angola and subvert the democratic process, the communique said: "The summit views with growing suspicion the apparently renewed military activities of the SADF in southern Angola and condemns violations of the airspace of Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe by South African aircraft."

In a statement last week, the De Klerk administration denied that South African aircraft had violated the airspace of neighbouring states on covert missions into Angola.

Bullets outweigh words in propaganda battle

STAL 12/12/72

NOBODY seriously imagines the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is capable of overthrowing the Government by force of arms.

Apla, like Umkhonto we Sizwe before it, is engaged in "armed propaganda" — acts of violence designed to enhance the standing of both the PAC and Apla and to hammer home certain messages to their enemies.

In one sense, the success of this strategy can be measured in the metres of newsprint and

hours of debate that have surrounded Apla since the attack on the King William's Town golf club, and the Queenstown restaurant blast soon after — and there is still no certainty that Apla was indeed responsible.

Two issues have dominated this debate: How big is this force, and what is its relationship to the PAC, which acknowledges parent-hood but refuses to take any responsibility for discipline?

Estimates of Apla's size vary considerably.

Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN analyses the puzzling attitude of the PAC to attacks claimed to have been carried out by its armed wing, Apla, and proposes a reason for the ambiguity.

(84A) (11A)

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemaadziyhanani says Apla is "a very large army", but will not be drawn on specifics for "strategic reasons". Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel this week put Apla's strength at "about 120 in the coun-

try, and a few outside". Political risk analyst Professor Wim Boooyse says Apla has "around 800 fighters in total, although only 20 to 30 would be deployed in the country at any given time".

In February, Boooyse said Apla had between 350 and 410 well-trained cadres abroad, some of whom had just finished training in Libya. He predicted that these were "likely to start infiltrating back pretty soon".

These figures may not sound all that threatening, but as Professor Mike Hough, of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, puts it: "You can teach someone to use an AK-47 and a hand grenade in a day. And if they can lay their hands on a supply of hand grenades and AKs, they can cause a reasonable amount of havoc."

On the second issue, the PAC has insisted that "Apla makes its own decisions". This despite the fact that the organisation's constitution specifies that Apla must at all times consult the PAC leadership.

This ambiguous stance points to a dilemma within the organisation — the commitment to negotiations ranges from keen to cautious to extremely hostile. And that in turn points to the key question arising from the eastern Cape attacks: Does the PAC believe that the militant popular support that may flow from attacks on whites is worth more



BENNY ALEXANDER: Claims leap in PAC membership.



JAKI SEROKE: Not duty-bound to condemn attacks.

than the inevitable by-products of internal division and loss of international support?

The PAC and the Government were to have met this week for a fifth round of talks. After a delicate two-step through a minefield of explosive issues, PAC participation in negotiations was a distinct, if distant, possibility.

After the last meeting in Gaborone in October, agreement was reached that a new negotiating forum would be established, and that the constitution would be drawn up by a democratically elected body — recognition of the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly. More significant was agreement that the negotiating forum should be chaired "impartially" — a key PAC demand — opening the way for the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity to mediate.

Consulted

No agreement was reached on Apla, which has claimed responsibility for attacks on policemen, but the armed wing had publicly backed the PAC's decision to hold talks. Commissar Ro-

mero Daniels was in Gaborone and was consulted extensively. Late last month a date was announced for round five of the talks. Two days later, the King William's Town attack took place.

Attacking civilians was a significant departure for Apla. In February, Apla's information secretary Jonny Majozi said the security forces were the target. "We remain firm that civilians are not our targets," he said.

That seems to have changed. One view is that elements within the PAC opposed to talks believed it necessary to attack targets that would shake a political process seemingly unaffected by the killing of policemen. It has worked. Talks are off, pressure is mounting on the security forces to act against Apla, and the international community may well take steps to cut off the PAC's lifelines of support and sanctuary.

The PAC this week came out with its strongest statement yet in support of Apla, issued by political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke: "Until there is mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime, the PAC is not duty-bound to condemn

the element of armed struggle conducted by Apla against the settler enemy structures."

That kind of talk, and Apla's actions in the eastern Cape, are having a pay-off in increased support, says PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander. "In the past nine days we have experienced an unusual surge in membership," he says. He claims 7 000 new members in three Natal towns, an increase in Vosloorus, on the East Rand, from 98 to 1670, and especially rapid growth in the Vaal Triangle, with branches of 2 400 and 2 300 in Sharpeville and Boipatong respectively. "In the western Cape, the ANC branch at Uitsig has crossed the floor to the PAC," he says.

"My own view, which has not been properly verified, is that people believe that the violence (in the townships) will now be attended to with stronger measures, and the economic situation also has something to do with the response."

"The PAC sees no problem with the armed struggle and negotiations living side by side. We negotiate to end the war; we do not end the war in order to negotiate."

Bombings boosted us, say rightwing and leftwing

South 12/12 - 16/12/92, 84A

Recent Apla bombings in two Eastern Cape towns have resulted in unexpected spin-offs. **CLAIRE KEETON** reports:

BOMBINGS in King William's Town and Queenstown have resulted in frightened residents in Border towns swelling the ranks of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the organisation has claimed.

AWB officials in the region also indicated this week they would step up their controversial "patrols" on the northeast Cape border with Transkei.

However, the PAC has claimed that it had been "inundated" this past week with callers enquiring about joining the organisation.

A PAC spokesperson in the

Orange Free State said there had been unprecedented interest in the organisation since the attacks.

In a telephone interview this week, a recruiting officer for the AWB-led patrols, Mr Christo Bekker, claimed people were joining the AWB because there was "nothing else they could do".

Referring to the recent spate of attacks in the region — the rifle and grenade assault on the King William's Town golf club and the Queenstown Spur bombing — Mr Bekker said it was "not even safe to go to church any more".

AWB Eastern Cape/Border region chief Mr Frans du Toit said the movement received calls daily from the public.

"As soon as trouble strikes, people want to join," he said.

The regional liaison officer for the AWB, Mr Flip Scheppel, also claimed the movement had been inundated with requests for membership.

The AWB was growing at an "unprecedented rate" and its new members were English as well as Afrikaans-speakers, he claimed.

Asked about the size of its membership, Du Toit said the AWB "never talks about numbers".

"In every town, every inch of ground is under the command of an AWB member," he said.

Following increasing attacks on "soft targets" in the region, AWB members nationwide were gathering in Maclear — a previous flashpoint — according to Scheppel.

"We are at full strength, fully equipped and ready for any situation. (The attackers) must be prepared to take what they give," he warned.

He said "people (in Maclear) had been taking steps to secure their own positions" and most of them were armed.

Bekker said he did not expect attacks at banks or places where "lots of blacks go".



AWB: Killing of whites drives right-wingers into the laager

"It is difficult for them to hit us there. They will target us at office parties."

Conservative Party MP and leader of the right-wing Republic Unity Movement of South Africa (Rumosa), Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said the police were not providing adequate protection.

"People must stand together to form protection units and home guards," he said.

Bekker said the AWB would "probably intensify the patrols".

The patrols, which started two months ago in the outlying regions on the Transkei border to protect farmers from cattle-rustlers and arsonists, have continued despite police disapproval.

They also raised political tensions in the region: A cross-border "operation" by the AWB last month prompted a warning by Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa that he would use his counter-insurgency police to "deal" with AWB invaders.



Shadowy gang vows to hit Apla and AWB

South 12/12-16/12/92 (84A)
By Rehana Rossouw
and Quentin Wilson

A NEWLY-FORMED shadowy Cape group this week threatened a campaign of assassinations to stop the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the AWB.

An anonymous caller told SOUTH this week that unless political organisations "stopped their nonsense", their leaders, including PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, would be assassinated.

The threat follows two bombing incidents for which Apla claimed responsibility.

The attacks — one in King William's Town and one in Queenstown — left five people killed and 34 injured.

The caller said 20 people, most of them former SADF members and some of them snipers, had attended a meeting in Cape Town on Monday night where an organisation called the Civil Protection Group was formed.

'Avenge'

He declined to give his name or a telephone number where he could be contacted.

"The purpose of the Civil Protection Group is to avenge innocent people who are hurt or killed in bombings," the caller said.

"We are going to start eliminating the instigators from the top, starting with Benny Alexander and Eugene Terre'Blanche.

"It doesn't matter whether its the PAC or the AWB or the Boerevolk Party, we will take revenge."

Asked whether he thought it was correct to avenge violence by using violent means, the caller said the group was being forced into taking such action.

"The simple reason why we are doing is this that we want these people to stop their nonsense.

"Every time an innocent person is hurt the government does nothing about it."

Meanwhile two sources who are close to the PAC said Apla's terror campaign against whites was an expression of the deep conflicts within the PAC rather than an attempt to step up armed resistance.

The sources told SOUTH this week that deep divisions exist between three camps within the organisation.

The sources said all attacks claimed by their military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), should be seen in this light.

According to one source, these attacks "are primarily concerned with sending a sharp, clear message to any PAC leaders who are interested in negotiations".

"Since the ANC and the NP's secret talks where they agreed to revive Codesa, there is considerable concern among many people in the PAC that others in the organisation were preparing to join in these negotiations. To many, this is unthinkable," he said.

There are believed to be three main camps within the PAC:

- the "liberal African nationalists" who believe the PAC has to negotiate or find themselves completely in the cold politically.
- the "radical Africanists" who believe it is impossible for the PAC to successfully negotiate freedom with a "settler regime"; therefore liberation can only be attained through the barrel of a gun.
- an "in-between" group which believes that it is important to directly influence negotiations while at the same time retaining the ability to strike uncompromisingly at the government.

The "liberal African nationalists" are said to be led by deputy president Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, publicity officer Mr Barney Desai, secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and head of human resources Mr Mark Shinnars.

The PAC's student wing, Paso, is a main force driving the radical Africanists. Mr Thami Mohlomi, who wrote a series of militant articles last year for Apla's publication, "Azanian Combat", is a key theoretician for this grouping, according to the sources.

The "in-between" position is allegedly headed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, secretary for political affairs Mr Jacki Seroke and ex-Apla chief Mr Johnson Mlambo.

According to one source, the bombings tried to roll back the gains made by the liberal group.

After the PAC's exploratory talks with the government in Abuja, Nigeria, and again in Gaborone, Botswana, the organisation was set to join a revitalised Codesa beginning next year.

PAC AGAINST THE WALL

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE recent attacks carried out against white civilians in the Eastern Cape towns of King William's Town and Queenstown along with threats of more to follow, have placed the PAC against the wall.

Although it is still not yet clear whether the attacks were executed by the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), there is no doubt the fallout from these incidents have had disastrous effects on the image of the organisation.

Attacks

Prior to the attacks, the PAC's image and perception among local whites was beginning to change. They were no longer seen as a rabid, racist organisation.

The organisation's international image has also taken a hard knock. It is going to take time to repair the damage.

Such are the disastrous consequences for the organisation that even some of its staunchest supporters, like Zimbabwe, are beginning to feel the heat of harbouring the PAC.

This explains the decision this week by hardline Zimbabwean Information Minister Nathan Shanyarira who barred the organisation from making statements about attacks on civilians while on Zimbabwean soil.

Explanations by the PAC's secretary general Benny Alexander that the PAC and Apla have independent operational structures, have done little to minimise the damage.

It is generally agreed that even if liberation

movements have separate structures, at the end of the day, the military must be subject to the political leadership. This is how all guerilla movements operate the world over.

Although the government is still ambivalent about these issues there is no denying that they have moved somewhat towards meeting some of these demands during their on and off negotiations with the ANC.

The ANC abandoned the armed struggle because they acknowledged they could not defeat Pretoria. What hope is there for the PAC to succeed where the much bigger and stronger ANC has failed?

Hard knocks to political image after Apla strikes out at whites

late into support for the PAC is debatable. The organisation still lacks the capacity to seize on any initiative and turn it into a long lasting advantage.

When they refused to take part in constitutional talks claiming that such talks would not deliver - and later there was widespread belief that the ANC was being outmanoeuvred by the government - the PAC maintained the moral high ground.

They also predicted the collapse of Codesa yet failed to take advantage of this when it finally happened. Instead, it was the ANC who used mass ac-

tion to seize the political initiative again. The ANC's recent Strategic Perspectives document, which calls for power sharing with the NP, is another lost opportunity for the PAC. The ANC is still sharply divided on this issue.

Instead of the PAC running away with the ball, they are forced against the wall. They are twisting and turning as they make futile attempts to extricate themselves from the dilemma of alleged Apla attacks.

Such is their dilemma that even the ANC-led alliance, which is involved in a bloody and terrifying fight with Inkatha, can posture and accuse them of terrorist activities.

While accusing fingers point at Apla, Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa has pointed out the possibility of renegade elements of Military Intelligence being behind the campaign. The aim being to fuel black-white violence and hopefully scuttle the negotiations.

Although Holomisa has not backed this with any evidence but it is possible that MI renegades who are unhappy with the way negotiations are going might resort to this sort of dirty trick. Another possibility could be renegade Apla cadres who are opposed to the organisation's current talks with the government. A meeting between the PAC and the government which was set for this week was called off as a result of the attacks.

Military operations, so goes conventional wisdom, must advance clear and well defined political objectives. If Apla is behind the attacks, these have failed to advance the interests of the PAC.

8497
13/12/92



PAC sticks to its guns on strategy

By SEKOLA SELLO 13/12/92

IN SPITE of international condemnation and strong criticism by political rivals inside the country following the attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, the PAC is sticking to its guns.

It will not criticise or distance itself from its military wing, Apla, which has been blamed for the two attacks against white civilians in the eastern Cape.

These are excerpts from an interview with the organisation's secretary general, Benny Alexander.

CP: Could you explain the PAC's position on attacks on civilians, especially on whites?

BA: I must say that Hintsa, Shaka, Sekhukhuni, Dingane and Stuurman and all these people never made a distinction between soft and hard targets. Whenever the regime has fought us here, they have never made a distinction between soft and hard targets.

In the context of SA, what are hard and soft targets? The question of hard and soft targets is the European concept which the PAC has never used.

What was a soft and hard target when our people die in the townships? The regime has never made a distinction between hard and soft targets in its fight against the African people. Never, ever!

CP: Can you be more specific, do you or don't you make a distinction between soft and hard targets?

BA: The PAC is a political organisation. Apla people can tell you better as far as their strategies and tactics are concerned. But, as far as the question is concerned, this question is premised on whether Apla was responsible for King William's Town.

CP: Assuming Apla was responsible or even if they were not, what would be the position of the PAC on attacks like those in King William's Town and Queenstown?

BA: In the context of SA where the law says a white person can carry 27

weapons and an African cannot carry a blade longer than four inches, to talk about hard and soft targets when the law itself discriminates against civilians in terms of how they are armed is ridiculous.

What are soft and hard targets in SA where ordinary African civilians are taken by the police into custody and are killed there and nothing is done about it?

CP: Given the scenario you have just outlined and acknowledging that Apla might not be responsible for the recent attacks in the eastern Cape, would you say Apla would be justified if it had carried out these operations?

BA: When you are fighting against the State in an armed struggle, you have to identify the pillars of the State.

The fundamental question that we must ask is whether there is a war in the country.

CP: Is there a war?

BA: The guerrilla warfare has moved through certain stages and this is being informed by what is happening internationally.

The CIA learnt in Vietnam that you cannot win against a guerrilla army. So what the imperialists are doing is to put up all over the world the flags of peace, justice and democracy and then start a low intensity war against the people.

This creates confusion because your people die in large numbers and they do not know why they are dying. You ask anybody in the townships why we have 307 deaths a month and they will tell you: 'We do not know'.

That is low intensity war. The response to this is to draw the enemy out, so that people can see them as the enemy.

CP: Would you say King William's Town and Queenstown are a response to this low intensity war?

BA: I think, and this is my personal interpretation, it could well be the response by whoever has committed it - in order to turn the low intensity war into a visible war.

So what DO blacks think of Apla?

By MOSES MAMAILA

CITY blacks were this week sharply divided over the armed attacks launched by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) on white civilians.

Snap interviews conducted by City Press in Jo'burg's streets revealed opposing views with half of those interviewed calling on the PAC's military wing to kill more whites.

The other half slammed the shootings as "barbaric" and out of step with the process of a peaceful, democratic resolution to the race conflict.

However, one in two people did not know Apla at all. A considerable number of shoppers said they had heard about them for the first time when news of the King William's Town shootings and a bomb attack on a restaurant in Queenstown broke a week ago.

Teacher Bongani Makhanya, 31, pledged his unqualified support for Apla, saying the move to attack whites was "absolutely correct".

"If there is such a lot of noise about the deaths of only four whites, it means (State President FW) De Klerk will now tackle the issue of violence tearing our communities apart effectively."

Lizi Peterson, 31, of Alexandra, said she was opposed to killing irrespective of the political motive.

"Killing is wrong. Whether you kill whites



JOE MAHESU ... It solves nothing to kill because of colour.

City Press 13/12/92



PRETTY FISHER ... Whites have done a lot for the economy.



JOSEPH MOFOKENG ... Whites and government are the same.



LEVY RANKOKO ... Killing whites only speeds up the circle.

or blacks, the fact remains that taking another person's life is wrong. Who are they to decide to terminate other people's lives?"

Tshepo Mkhize, 23, of Naledi, was glad that whites were experiencing the agony of losing loved ones in racist violence.

"The military struggle by Apla will advance the cause of liberation. Attacks on whites will soften the hard hearts of whites who have oppressed us for



LIZI PETERSON ... Killing is just wrong, end of story.

years. ~~84A~~ 84A

"When we bury our people, they must bury their own too. Apla is the only structure we have to take the war declared on us by whites back to the white areas."

Obed Mazibuko condemned the slaughter of whites, saying any killing was inappropriate.

He said that while Apla might have political reasons for attacking whites, the movement should devise non-violent ways of advancing its cause.



SIPHO HLONGWANE ... Wake whites up to reality of black rule.

Susu Muifha of Diepkloof said she was proud of Apla for continuing "the revolution".

She was disappointed with PAC leaders for hesitating to support the attacks.

"What we have here is a war situation. Whites cannot be classified as civilians because they undergo military training and, should the need arise, they will crush us as they are equipped to do," she explained.

Zodwa Ndlela of Vo-

lorus said: "Things have changed. Blacks and whites are now the same. Apla's attacks on whites - just because they are white - cannot be condoned."

Joseph Mofokeng was adamant that Apla was correct to "wipe out whites".

He said there was no difference between whites and the government because the authorities cared much about whites and accorded them more privileges.

Levy Rankoko said: "Killing whites will not solve anything. On the contrary, the violence will only escalate as some whites retaliate."

Joe Mahesu said the campaign to annihilate whites should be condemned because it achieved nothing except to spiral the violence.

Pretty Fisher said: "Whites provide us with jobs, and if Apla kills whites where will we work? They have done a lot for us."

Pat Baloyi of Pimville condemned the "terror campaign" and said that a return to international economic sanctions could help bust the negotiation logjam.

Baloyi blamed the government for double dealing.

Sipho Hlongwane said attacking whites would force them to heed the demand for black majority rule.

Some people interviewed were blank about Apla. "What is it? Can you eat it?" asked one.

OOM WILLEM Myburg, 84 and a widower, lives alone on the crumbling East Cape frontier, a pit bull pup and a pistol his only protection against Apla's terror campaign.

"I may be old and my leg bothers me, but I can still shoot straight," said Oom Willem, rising with difficulty from a couch in his isolated cottage near the Transkei border.

With pride he points to a shelf in a darkened room gleaming with silver cups awarded years ago to mark his shooting prowess.

It is a skill which many of the younger generation of border farmers, rapidly arming themselves and acquiring sophisticated electronic gadgetry, might envy.

Gangsters

Scarcely a kilometre away, off the road to Dordrecht from Transkei, is his nephew Alec's farm.

The homestead was petrol bombed 10 days ago, the same night a limpet mine detonated by Apla terrorists killed one person and injured 17 others in a busy Queenstown steakhouse 60km away.

On Wednesday, within sight of Alec Myburg's home, police intercepted an armed gang returning to Transkei at speed along a dirt road after robbing the First National Bank in nearby Molteno.

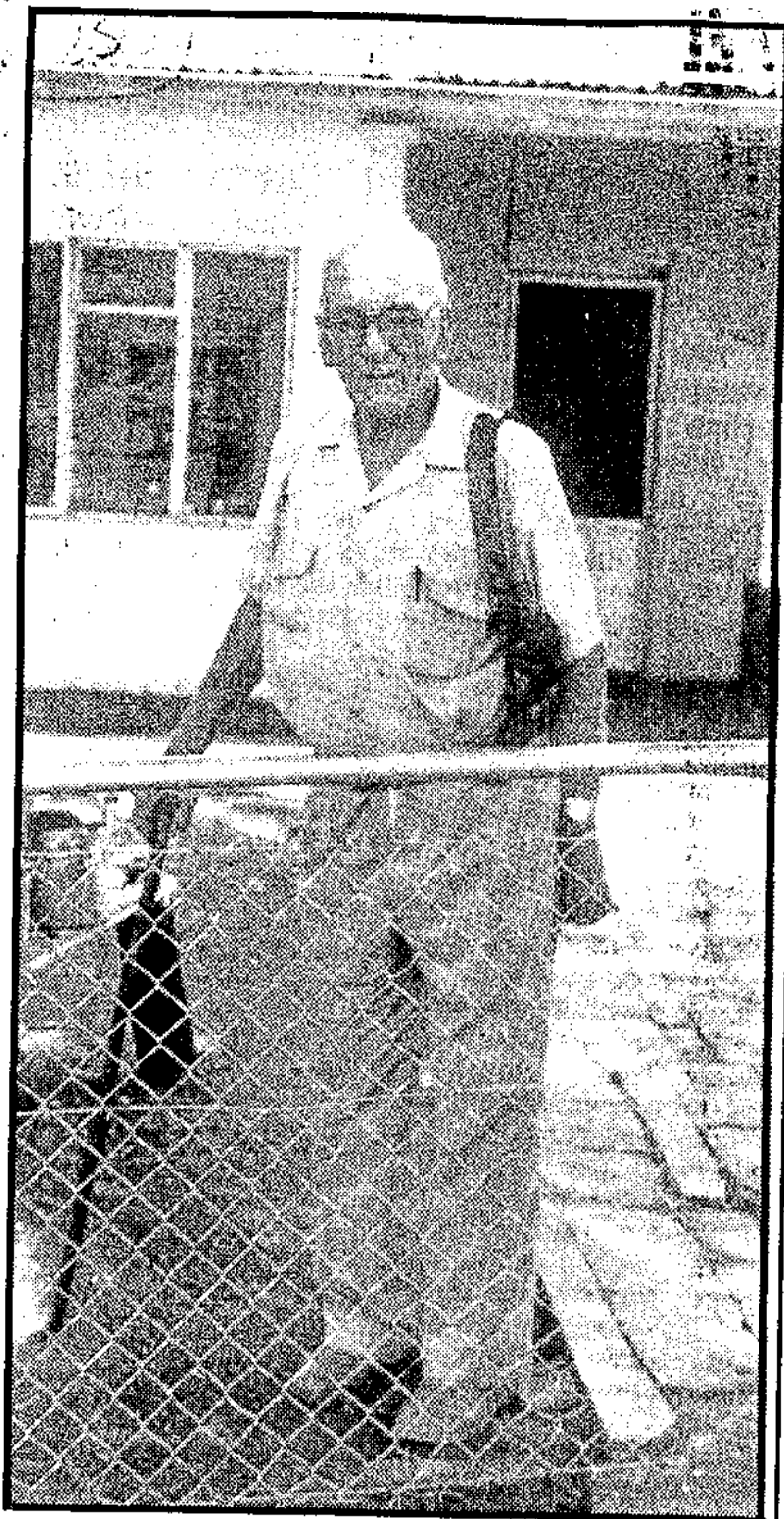
Oom Gert heard the gunfire and his neighbour and close relative across the valley, Mrs Suzie Myburg, could see some of the action as four gangsters died at a roadblock at the crest of a shallow rise.

The next day all that marked the spot were fractured sheets of glass and bloodstains on the soil and dry grass.

It takes nerves of steel to live close to this most ancient of South African frontiers, turbulent again after a century of peace.

In a hauntingly beautiful area of the Stormberg towns are dying and farms have been abandoned, largely because of the unrelenting drought but also because of crippling stock theft and crime.

Latterly crime has become tinged with political bitterness, culminating in



STRAIGHT SHOOTER ... 84-year-old widower Oom Willem Myburg is armed and ready for action

Oom Willem, his pit bull ^{84A} and his pistol await Apla

S/Times 13/12/97

By BILL KRIGE

Apla's bloody campaign against "soft targets" — the Queenstown bomb and the killing of four whites at a King William's Town Christmas party.

On Thursday, an East London regional magistrate, Mr P Pretorius, sentenced Apla terrorist Steven Dolo to an effective 18 years' jail. In January, Dolo threw a grenade and fired a rifle at the police station in Lady Grey.

In April he petrol-bombed the farm of Hans Myburg — another of Oom Gert's nephews. Dolo had been trained in Sterkspruit in the Transkei and in Uganda.

The drought, the crime and the political violence have scarred the thinly spread farming community fringing Transkei.

Pistol

Petite Mrs Suzie Myburg, widowed two years ago, has farmed on the flank of a mountain in the Dordrecht area for 44 years. Like everyone else she carries a gun.

"If God wants you to go then nothing will stop it. It's like the words of the Jim Reeves song. If you have got to go, you go," she said.

She shares the house with Mrs Marie Hans, a Xhosa employee and friend of 41 years.

Across a shallow mountain pass and back into South Africa the grass is taller. Here is the dairy farm of Klasie and Katherine Hattingh.

"We moved here seven years ago from Sterkstroom and it's becoming very difficult," he said. "I can't go anywhere, especially at night, and feel that Katherine and the children are safe."

He is placing wire mesh over all the homestead's windows. The yard is guarded by dogs. The cou-

district-wide radio network. Farmers answer roll call nightly and shoo kids off the air in between.

This is where Tony Sutton, the chairman of the Queenstown Farmers' Association, farms. His house was petrol bombed two months ago.

"Four bombs were thrown. The front door was in flames and I had to put it out. Scared? I was terrified," he said.

ple never go unarmed, Katherine with a revolver strapped round her waist and he with a pistol tucked into his shorts when he's not carrying a pump-action shotgun.

"We have two young kids, aged three and four. We can't take chances."

Closer to Queenstown in the so-called Bongolo Basin is the nerve centre of a

A FRONTIER AT WAR

APLA members are being trained at informal "camps" in at least six Transkei towns.

This week the Sunday Times found a house and two forest camps at Sterkspruit, in an area of the Transkei bordering Lesotho, where Apla cadres were seen undergoing training as recently as last Thursday.

And sources in the area confirmed that a spate of attacks on white motorists in the Lady Grey area — a few kilometres from Sterkspruit — were carried out by Apla members trained there.

The attacks were part of a plan to drive whites out of the area so their shops and businesses could be taken over by blacks.

The Sunday Times was told the terror campaign was masterminded by the owner of a Sterkspruit supermarket. Sources said rooms above the shop were used to store various weapons.

Border

We were also directed to a house at the foot of the mountains about 10km from the town, owned by headman Tsekeledi Pitso. Residents said the house was used to shelter Apla fighters who sometimes trained during the day.

They also trained in two forest camps in the mountains on the border between Lesotho and the Transkei, near Herschel. Training starts over a weekend and lasts for three weeks.

Headman Pitso is known to local residents as Ndlovu and is a self-pro-

Six Apla terror training camps

found in Transkei

SITimes 13/12/92.
By WISEMAN KHUZWAYO

claimed PAC member. The training house is one of two modern structures he owns in Jozana, his tribal seat.

When we drove into Pitso's yard, a man aged about 25 was standing outside one of the houses.

He reacted with suspicion to the arrival of a car with a Transvaal registra-

tion and went into the house, closing the door behind him.

After establishing that the first house was locked, we knocked at the door of the house the man had entered. He allowed us in, his right-hand in the pocket of his pants as though he was carrying a weapon.

The man said Pitso was in town and would not be back until late that night. He claimed Pitso did not have a phone.

The two houses stand in a strategic position for military activity — on the edge of a mountain.

Inquiries among locals about military activity in the village drew a blank.

But three young boys we spoke to broke the silence.

We asked them if they knew where soldiers were being trained in the area.

The first two named Pitso's house. The third said Ndlovu's house. When asked to point out Pitso's house he showed us the house we had visited earlier.

Cell

One of the three said he had last seen the soldiers training on Thursday, but they were not carrying weapons.

Mzwandile Mbovu, chairman of the local branch of the ANC, who lives near Herschel, was

detained for arson in December last year. He shared a cell with a PAC member known as Sithole.

Mbovu said he was told by Sithole that Apla had two training bases in Herschel. These were situated in the thick forests of Mboniseweni and Qhoboshane. The recruits were trained by a man who was based in Umtata.

The forest at Mboniseweni covers an area of about two square kilometres.

The Sunday Times established that Apla training bases had been operating in the Transkei for the past two to three years.

They were located along the north-eastern Transkei border near towns like Engcobo, Cala, Sterkspruit,

Komga, Umtata and Bolotwa, home of former Transkei head of state Kaiser Matanzima.

Sources said Apla regional and area commanders were trained in Uganda, Tanzania and Elibya. Soldiers were trained in weapons-handling and taught how to make petrol bombs.

Target

Orders for attacks were issued by an Internal High Command operating from Umtata.

Small cells carried out the attacks after choosing the specific date and target. Then they disbanded.

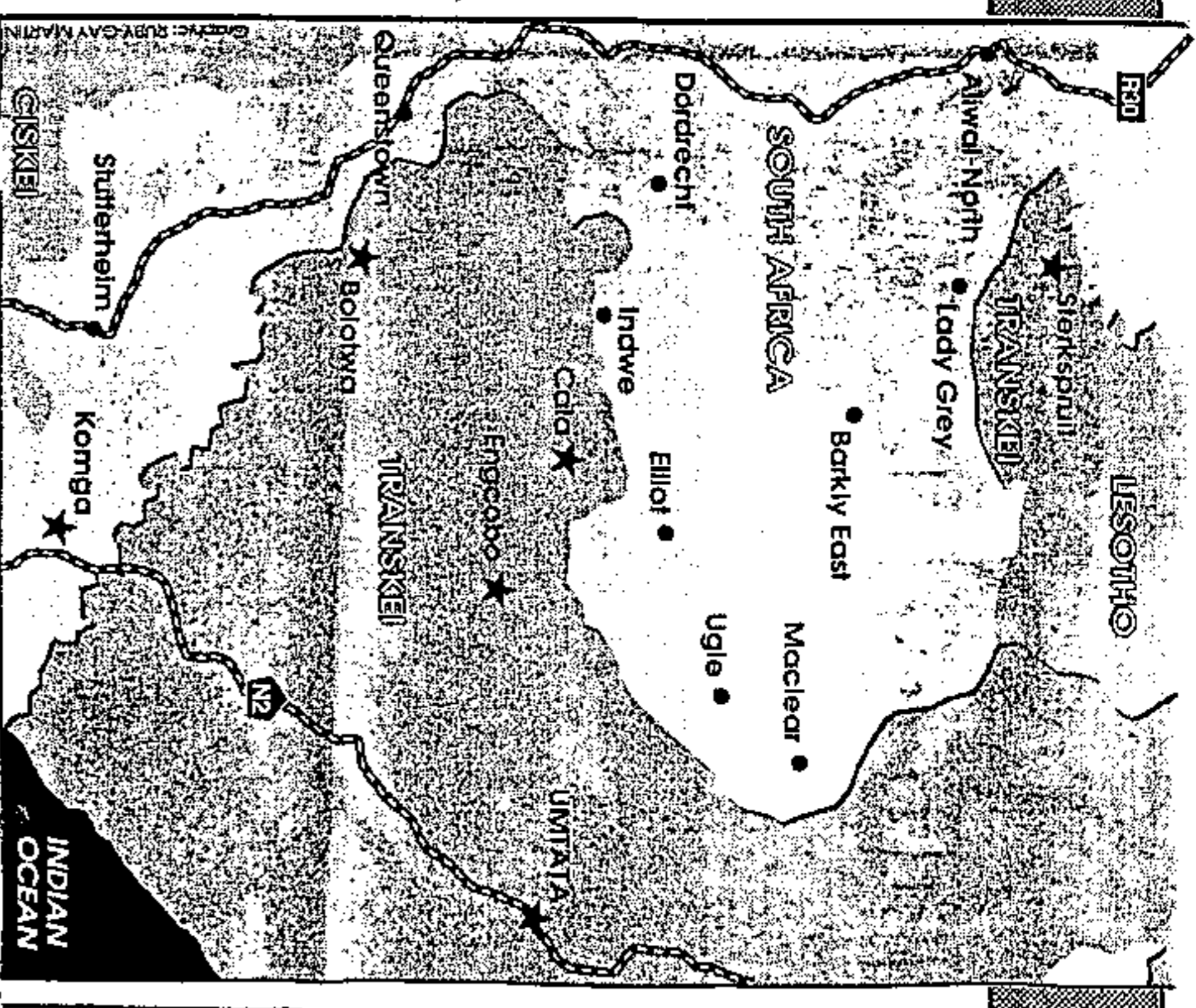
While some weapons were available in the Transkei, cash was in short

Apla is known to have informal training bases in the Transkei situated at Engcobo, Cala, Sterkspruit, Komga, Umtata and Bolotwa — marked by a star on the map above — which are within easy reach of towns and farms in South Africa that have been attacked in recent months.

In January the Apla high command in Harare ordered operatives to steal weapons, vehicles and money for their missions.

There is growing support for both the PAC and Apla in the Transkei and sources say dissident MK members have also joined Apla in recent months.

Apla's commander-in-chief is Johnson Mlambo,



the first vice-president of the PAC. The chief of staff is Muntu Mzolo and Johnny Majozi is the movement's information officer.

Apla has at least six regional commanders based inside South Africa who form part of the military high command. The PAC claims a membership of 800 000, but no reliable figures are available for Apla membership.

By Patrick Laurence

Units of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) carried out the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks in which five white civilians were killed, PAC senior deputy president Johnson Mlambo told The Star Africa Service in an exclusive interview.

Mlambo, who took over from John Pokela as the commander-in-chief of Apla in 1985, described Apla — the PAC's military wing — as a

"highly disciplined" guerilla army which has fought a "principled" war.

A former Robben Island prisoner, Mlambo argued that these attacks — which were condemned nationally and internationally — had to be seen in context.

"The operatives came from an environment where there is a lot of violence and were cut off from the influ-

ences that are operative in their own community," Mlambo said.

But, if these comments suggested that he was pleading extenuating circumstances for these attacks on civilians, they were cancelled by another statement, in which he appeared to justify them on ideological and military grounds.

"Apla, in furtherance of the political objectives of the

PAC, will attack those people that it sees as assisting, like the police and soldiers, in the maintenance of oppression."

Mlambo, a 52-year-old bespectacled man who completed a BSc in economics while in prison, dismissed criticism of the attacks by the rival ANC as predictable.

"They will be out to con-

Apla responsible PAC leader

dern any action by Apla," he said.

"We can never do anything right as far as they are concerned. A short while ago they were in the chorus which said Apla is killing black policemen, as though Apla is selectively, on a racial basis, seeking to eliminate black policemen."

Declining to be specific about the size or location of Apla units, Mlambo insisted

EXCLUSIVE

STAR 15/12/92

that Apla was a growing force which drew its support from "the people", particularly the youth. "Wherever there are oppressed people, there is our base," he declared.

● No military bases - Page 7
Apla's mission: talk and fight at once - Page 17

Police warn of blitz by robbers over holiday season

Holomisa promises bases probe

Hani slams

Apla terror

campaign

STAR 16/12/92

By Helen Grange ^{84A}
and Sapa

SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani has condemned the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) for staging attacks against whites, while Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa has promised an inquiry into Apla's activities in the homeland. 16/12/92

In an interview yesterday, Hani said: "It is regrettable that some organisations continue with military operations when they themselves are involved in negotiations with the Government.

"I respect the right of each and every organisation to adopt its own strategies. But I think the killing of civilians, black or white, should be condemned by all of us."

Hani, however, warned that any military attack by South Africa against the Transkei to root out Apla

fighters would endanger the fragile peace process.

Last week Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel warned that the Government could launch raids into Transkei and Zimbabwe in pursuit of Apla soldiers.

Holomisa, who announced yesterday in Johannesburg his intention to appoint a judge to investigate claims of Apla training locations in the Transkei, has threatened to retaliate militarily should South Africa conduct cross-border raids.

Members of the Patriotic Front endorsed his standpoint at a meeting yesterday, saying Kriel's comments regarding cross-border raids were "wholly unjustified".

Holomisa said the judge to be appointed would be briefed to investigate claims of Apla bases as well as to look into the activities of "agents of the South African government" on the border of the Transkei.

Last weekend's Sunday Times report that there

were six areas where Apla soldiers were being trained would have to be investigated by the appointed judge.

The judge would also investigate the "military training of the AWB" (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) on the Transkei borders, he said.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), of which Apla is the armed wing, said in a statement yesterday that the United Nations Observer Mission's declining of the PAC's invitation to visit areas where Apla bases are alleged to exist raised "serious questions".

"It is clear the regime is intending starting a war in the Eastern Cape and for the UN Mission to decline involvement to prevent such a war is above our understanding," the statement said.

Although the PAC did not blame the UN Observer Mission for its limited mandate, it would call on UN secretary-general Dr Boutros-Boutros Ghali to enable the team to take measures to prevent violence.

Holomisa promises bases probe

Hani slams Apla terror campaign

By Helen Grange and Sapa

84A

STAR 16/12/92

SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani has condemned the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) for staging attacks against whites, while Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa has promised an inquiry into Apla's activities in the homeland.

16/12/92

In an interview yesterday, Hani said: "It is regrettable that some organisations continue with military operations when they themselves are involved in negotiations with the Government.

"I respect the right of each and every organisation to adopt its own strategies. But I think the killing of civilians, black or white, should be condemned by all of us."

Hani, however, warned that any military attack by South Africa against the Transkei to root out Apla

fighters would endanger the fragile peace process.

Last week Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel warned that the Government could launch raids into Transkei and Zimbabwe in pursuit of Apla soldiers.

Holomisa, who announced yesterday in Johannesburg his intention to appoint a judge to investigate claims of Apla training locations in the Transkei, has threatened to retaliate militarily should South Africa conduct cross-border raids.

Members of the Patriotic Front endorsed his standpoint at a meeting yesterday, saying Kriel's comments regarding cross-border raids were "wholly unjustified".

Holomisa said the judge to be appointed would be briefed to investigate claims of Apla bases as well as to look into the activities of "agents of the South African government" on the border of the Transkei.

Last weekend's Sunday Times report that there

were six areas where Apla soldiers were being trained would have to be investigated by the appointed judge.

The judge would also investigate the "military training of the AWB" (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) on the Transkei borders, he said.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), of which Apla is the armed wing, said in a statement yesterday that the United Nations Observer Mission's declining of the PAC's invitation to visit areas where Apla bases are alleged to exist raised "serious questions".

"It is clear the regime is intending starting a war in the Eastern Cape and for the UN Mission to decline involvement to prevent such a war is above our understanding," the statement said.

Although the PAC did not blame the UN Observer Mission for its limited mandate, it would call on UN secretary-general Dr Boutros-Boutros Ghali to enable the team to take measures to prevent violence.

Hani slams Apla for raids (84A)

SA COMMUNIST Party chief Chris Hani has slammed the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) for attacks on whites. And, Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa has promised an inquiry into Apla's activities in the homeland. *Sowetan*

In an interview this week Hani said: "It is regrettable that some organisations continue with military operations when they themselves are involved in negotiations with the Government". 17/12/92

UN monitor backs Goldstone

JUDGE Richard Goldstone needed the freedom to investigate the armed wings of liberation movements inside SA and in neighbouring countries if he was to achieve his stated goal of investigating the role of security forces and armed formations in political violence in SA. (84A)

UN observer mission leader Angela King said yesterday: "What is giving us some concern, though, is whether he (Goldstone) can actually get co-operation from all the parties involved." (84A)

"We certainly encourage all the countries involved to welcome him and have full access. We would hope the parties that have armed wings would also encourage those armed wings to co-operate fully."

King's remarks came as Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa reiterated his

BIDAM 17/12/92
RAY HARTLEY

view that the UN was free to observe events in Transkei, but said Goldstone remained unwelcome because he had been appointed by government.

King said recent ANC disclosures about abuses in its camps in neighbouring countries were an example to other SA leaders of the kind of disclosure that was needed to heal the wounds of the past.

"It was not a pretty picture and I think the disclosure must have taken quite a bit of soul-searching."

The Goldstone commission was well respected and Goldstone himself was "held in very high regard" in the international community, she said.

To Page 2

Goldstone

BIDAM 17/12/92 (84A)
"We in the international community are prepared to give any assistance that is required (to Goldstone). We were assured that he's happy with what the president told him about his mandate," she said.

On the peace accord, King said it was a good document, but much work was needed to get it to achieve its aims. The national peace committee needed to make sure that all parts of the SA community felt the document belonged to them.

Efforts were needed "to make the leadership more representative of the parties and the national or ethnic entities in the country. They need to bring in women's

groups, they need to bring in community groups. There needs to be a greater awareness of what people on the ground think about certain issues, because one good thing about it is that it is a structure that's built at all levels.

"But at this point it gives the impression that it is functioning from the top level down and I think it needs to percolate, because there is a general perception that the grassroots were not involved in its creation," she said.

Leaders in peace structures realised the need for this new direction and were working on improving it, she said.

From Page 1
● Picture: Page 3

DP calls for urgent talks with ANC

13/01/94
17/12/92

RAY HARTLEY

RELATIONS between the ANC and DP have hit rock bottom following the ANC's alleged disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Tuesday.

DP regional secretary Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote a letter to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting, and called for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Ken Andrew said relations between the two parties would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to DP demands and the "undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption".

He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the townships.

Our Political Staff reports that ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak yesterday withdrew his accusation that Apla had been responsible for the disruption at the meeting, saying it was based on "a genuine misunderstanding".

However, Boesak added that the anger at the meeting seemed to have flared when DP MP for Wynberg Robin Carlisle said the DP had never been involved in violence. "Such a statement from people who are seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the tricameral parliament is outrageous in its insensitivity," Boesak said.

The PAC had earlier rejected Boesak's efforts to shift the blame for the disruption to Apla, saying it did not "have a problem with political organisations organising meetings in the townships".

Carlisle said ANC claims not to have been behind the demonstration were questionable because prominent ANC member Nomatjala Hanganana was involved "continuously and vocally" in the disruption. The ANC has claimed Hanganana was sent to the meeting to try to keep events under

control, but Carlisle said she had been involved continuously and vocally in the violent disruption of the meeting and had not exerted any authority to prevent the violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would investigate the disruption and take "the necessary action" against ANC members found to have participated in the disruption.

Andrew said the disruption resulted from ANC concern at the DP's rapidly growing coloured and black membership. "There is an awareness that down the track, the DP will be a serious contender for a significant chunk of black support. There are very many black people who do not favour a militant, hostile approach to politics," he said.

Unlike most SA political parties, the DP did not carry the baggage of apartheid, violence, intimidation and socialism, he added.

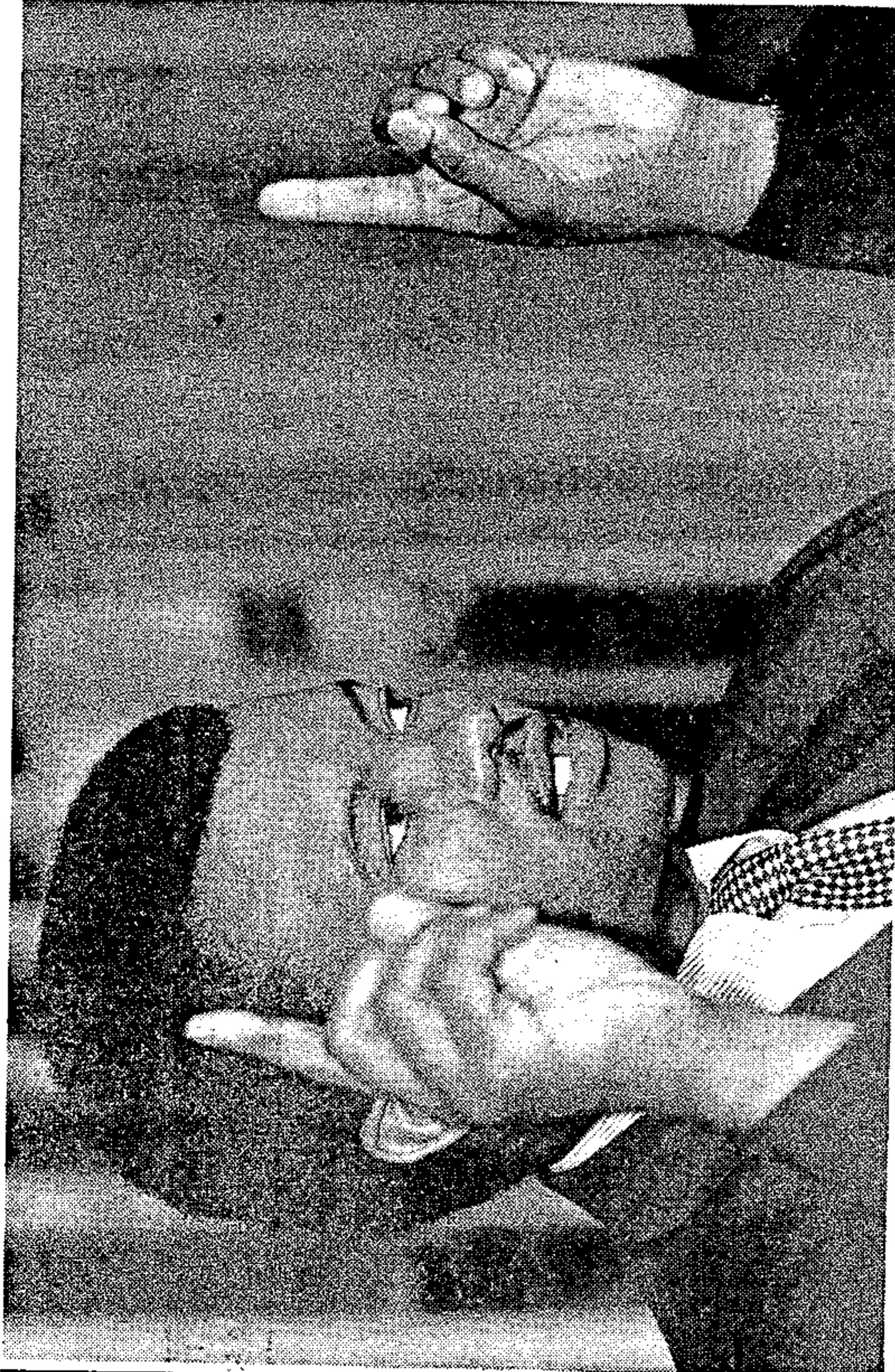
The DP was experiencing "very rapid and very significant" growth in the coloured areas of the western Cape where it now had about 40 branches.

Membership in the black areas was "trickling in" but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said. "In some townships, the DP youth has to function as an underground organisation."

DP membership in the Free State was overwhelmingly black and the party was beginning to establish itself in the northern Transvaal, he said.

A third of the delegates attending a recent DP national congress in Johannesburg were black, he added.

"The ANC will be judged, in the final analysis, not so much by its fine utterances or its lofty ideals but by the actions of its members and supporters," he said.



Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa makes a point during his news conference in Johannesburg. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

SA judge may head Transkei's Apla inquiry

RAY HARTLEY

AN SA judge would probably be appointed to head the investigation, but it was too early to speculate on who this would be, Holomisa said.

Transkeians would defend themselves against the SADF if it raided their territory on the pretext of attacking Apla bases, but this would be a last resort, he said. "It is the right of Transkeians — not just the Transkei Defence Force — to defend themselves. Our public has been conscientised, they know what to do," he said.

Contingency plans had been drawn up to cope with SADF incursions into the homeland, he said. However, Holomisa expressed the

hope that government would not contemplate going ahead with the raids, which have been condemned by the UN and the patriotic front.

He said the police commissioners of SA and Transkei were in contact and he had advised government it could reach him at his office if it wished to discuss anything with him.

The recent war of words between himself and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over Inkatha's threat to secede if a federal constitution was not adopted, had not resulted in any "bad blood", Holomisa said.

He said there was nothing to justify a meeting with Buthelezi over the issue, because it was "just politics".

Prepare for war now - TerreBlanche

STAR 17/12/72

By Monica Oosterbroek
and Political Staff

South Africa would be involved in a full-scale civil war and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was preparing to fight, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said yesterday.

Addressing about 2 000 supporters at the Barnard Stadium in Kempton Park to celebrate the Day of the Vow, TerreBlanche said South Africa would not know peace "because the ANC, the PAC and Apla are not interested in power-sharing". Instead, they wanted "our land and to get rid of the Afrikaner and our Christian beliefs".

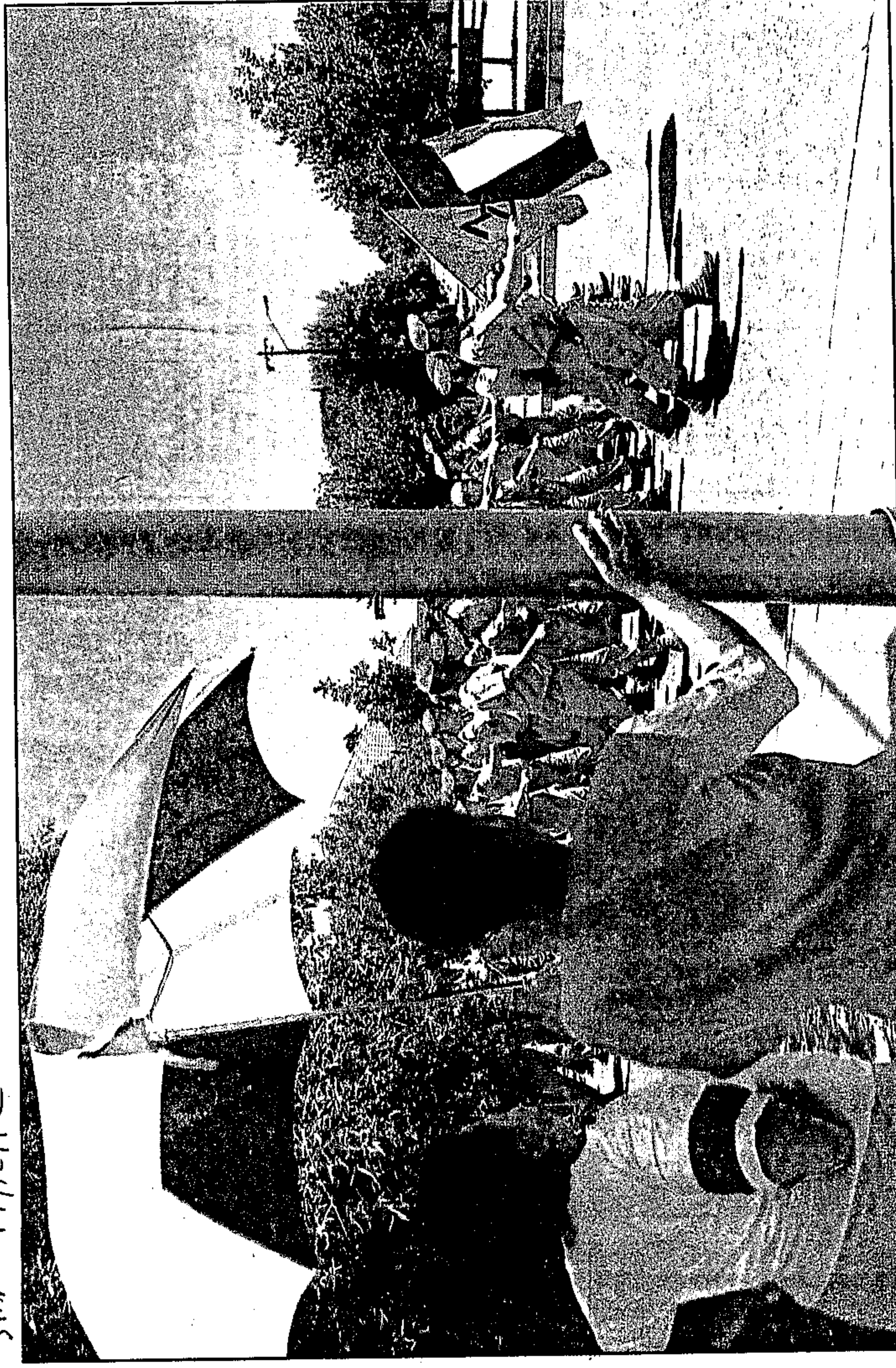
TerreBlanche, who led a parade of about 700 uniformed AWB members, reiterated his warning to PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, first made last week, that he would "get him wherever he was".

Outcry

Alexander earned the AWB leader's wrath when he went on television last week to maintain that Apla was "operationally independent" from the PAC, and that the outcry which greeted the attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown was because the victims were white.

TerreBlanche, who said the time was right to renew the Day of the Vow, called on his supporters to commit themselves to fighting to the death in "the coming war" which, he said, President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were forcing on them.

TerreBlanche led the parade with motorcyclists flying the Vierkleur and AWB flags, followed by the black-clad and masked AWB "Iron Guard" army, members of the dog unit



Discreet viewing . . . bystanders watch heavily armed AWB members parading through Kempton Park on the East Rand yesterday during their militant Day of the Vow celebrations. Later, at the Barnard Stadium, they were told to "re-commit themselves to the fight". Picture: Gary Bernard

and heavily armed soldiers.

And in Sandspuit outside Randburg, Boerestaat Party (BP) leader Robert van Tonder accused De Klerk of being a traitor, saying his reforms had given rise to a situation where the "Boer nation" and its lan-

guage would not survive.

Not only had De Klerk said there would be no more whites-only general elections, but his Government had also done away with parliamentary by-elections, Van Tonder said.

In Vereeniging yesterday,

Conservative Party (CP) leader

Dr Andries Treurnicht said any future constitutional dispensation in South Africa which ignored the rights and freedoms of the Afrikaner people was doomed to failure.

Treurnicht said he rejected

any foreign domination, and that the CP had to be prepared to guarantee its own safety and survival.

● Khaki-clad AWB members yesterday hurled insults at Star photographer Alf Kumalo, who was covering the organisation's

rally in Kempton Park.

Kumalo said that although he was eventually allowed into the stadium after some AWB members had initially refused him permission, he was threatened with violence and racial insults were hurled at him.

Goldstone begins probe into Apla

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone commission yesterday launched a probe into the PAC's military wing Apla.

Judge Richard Goldstone announced the preliminary investigation — to be conducted with a UN observer present — as pressure mounted at home and abroad on the PAC to distance itself from Apla activities.

As the PAC was licking its wounds in the wake of the shock resignation of its senior deputy president, Dikgang Moseneke, the EC issued a démarche — the strongest form of diplomatic censure — to PAC president Clarence Makwetu for the organisation's failure to condemn Apla activities.

Goldstone said a committee had been set up — in agreement with the Justice Minister — to hear evidence and receive submissions on the location of Apla camps, arms,

ammunition and personnel and on their operational activities.

The committee's proceedings would be observed by UN-appointed Prof Kwame Frimpong of Ghana University.

Goldstone added that his commission was seeking the co-operation of all other institutionalised forces so that similar investigations could be conducted.

The ANC had agreed to an investigation of Umkhonto we Sizwe by the commission in so far as its operations or affairs might relate to public violence and intimidation, including the location and control of weapons and explosives in its possession, his statement said.

The PAC has stated repeatedly that it

To Page 2

Apla *Blom 18/12/92*

will refuse to co-operate with any such probe, which comes at the urging of the UN's Security Council.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that an Apla spokesman, meanwhile, has denied that the military wing had declared war on whites.

Apla commander Victor Sabelo Phama said from Dar es Salaam that Congo Jibril, who claimed to be an Apla member and who made the declaration in a telephone call to Sapa on December 6, was an agent provocateur.

Yesterday the PAC's Johannesburg office rerouted a fax from Phama to Sapa. The fax said: "We wish to state that our investigations have revealed that there is no such person as Congo Jibril in Apla ranks or any other bona fide structures of the PAC. Therefore Apla is not responsible for the utterances of a Congo Jibril and dissociates itself with such utterances."

Jibril was a planted agent provocateur assigned the task of discrediting the struggle of the oppressed and dispossessed majority, it said, adding: "Apla strongly condemns such dirty tricks by the regime."

Earlier this week PAC senior deputy president and former Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo said the highest rank in Apla was held by Phama.

Also on the issue of Apla yesterday, three EC ambassadors to SA warned the PAC president that the organisation's failure to condemn the acts of violence claimed by Apla undermined its democratic credentials.

British ambassador Sir Anthony Reeve said he and the ambassadors from Portugal and Denmark had told Makwetu yesterday that the EC supported the view that negotiations alone could achieve peaceful transition.

"The ambassadors said they were encouraged by the declared willingness of the PAC to take part in the negotiation process and hoped the PAC would categorically condemn the use of violence so that it could continue to play a full part in multilateral negotiations to determine SA's future."

There has been speculation that more high-ranking PAC officials could quit in the wake of Moseneke's resignation.

84A From Page 1

Political analyst Gary van Staden predicted that other PAC leaders unable to reconcile themselves with overtly racist attacks on white civilians might resign.

Makwetu, who said it was a pity Moseneke's resignation had been made public before the national executive council could discuss it, nonetheless wished his erstwhile deputy well.

Only one other senior PAC member — who wanted to remain anonymous — would comment on the resignation. The source discounted any link between Moseneke's resignation and the alleged Apla attacks and said his stated reasons — the pressure of his professional workload — were genuine.

DP senior negotiator Colin Eglin said Moseneke's resignation would be a serious blow to the organisation and would shift the equilibrium of the leadership, possibly making it more radical.

Although he had been expecting the move, he did not believe the timing of the resignation was entirely coincidental. "He has a strong commitment to the rule of law, constitutionality, a bill of rights and he brought a great deal of a culture of democracy to the leadership of the PAC."

PAC education secretary Mogalet Mphahlele denied yesterday he had threatened military action against an interim government. He had been reported by Sapa as saying in Lebowa that the PAC would ensure an interim government did not succeed next year. The organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the government to agree on the installation of such a government", he was quoted as saying.

Yesterday Mphahlele said he had made no threat of military action. "I wish to state clearly that the statement 'PAC will fight the interim government' attributed to me is a deliberate misquotation with the intention of discrediting the PAC."

He said he had told the rally the "PAC is opposed to the concept of interim government. We want a transitional authority supervised by the international community to prepare for elections for the constituent assembly. An interim government will be opposed with the vehemence shown in campaigns against Codesa".

Three-member Goldstone committee to probe Apla

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 18/12/92
investigation of its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe as far as its activities might relate to public violence and intimidation.

The Goldstone Commission has established a committee to conduct a preliminary investigation into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Mr Justice Goldstone announced yesterday that the three-man committee to be chaired by Gert Steyn, a member of the Goldstone Commission, will hear evidence on the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition, personnel and on its operational activities.

The Pan Africanist Congress has said it would not allow the Goldstone Commission to investigate its military wing.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the Government had agreed to the involvement of the Commission in the investigation being conducted by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn into covert operations of the SADF.

The ANC had agreed to an in-

The other members of the committee investigating Apla are Port Elizabeth advocate Fikile Bam and Nico Coetzer, a Bothaville attorney and the immediate past president of the Law Societies of South Africa.

The United Nations has appointed Professor Kwane Frimpong of the University of Ghana to observe the proceedings of the committee.

The committee's first public sitting will take place in Port Elizabeth on January 4 at a venue to be announced.

Written information and submissions under the terms of reference of the committee should be submitted as soon as possible, and in any event not later than December 31, to The Secretary, Goldstone Commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria 0001.

APLA FM 18/12/92

Small but rabid

~~APLA~~ (84A)

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its "operationally independent" armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), have received more publicity following the attacks on white civilians in the eastern Cape recently, than at any time since the PAC was banned and forced into exile 30 years ago. Is this perhaps a measure of its effectiveness?

Until recently, the PAC was to most blacks a half-forgotten, rather colourful

Judge to probe Apla, SADF and MK

STAR 19/12/92
**KAIZER NYATSUMBA
and SAPA**

THE Goldstone Commission yesterday announced that it would begin probing the activities of Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, early next year and would also investigate certain activities of both the SADF and the armed wing of the ANC.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the Apla hearings would begin on January 4 in Port Elizabeth. He said the covert activities of the SADF would also come under scrutiny next year, as would the alleged involvement of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe in unrest.

Threats

The PAC, however, has reiterated that it will not co-operate with the commission. And the organisation's PWV leadership claimed yesterday that the "drastic decline" in political violence in the PWV over the past two weeks was because of the recent Apla attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a statement read by PWV regional chairman and national executive council member Ntsundeni Madzunya, the PAC said Apla's threats to retaliate for every black who died in violence had not only led to the decline in violence, but had also proved the Government "to instruct mercenaries to stop the killings."

● TO PAGE 2.

2
Saturday Star December 19 1992

Judge's probe

STAR 19/12/92
● FROM PAGE 1.

An SAP statement described Madzunya's claims as "ludicrous to say the least — and what makes it even more ridiculous is the attempt to link the recent attacks in the eastern Cape to the alleged decline in violence in the PWV region".

The SAP said any decline in "train and other violence can be attributed to increased police action on the one hand, and peace initiatives by the Peace Committee and other concerned organisations and individuals on the other". Almost 200 people, the police statement said, had been arrested and charged for offences committed on Transnet premises.

Madzunya said the absence of large-scale violence in the PWV following Apla's attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown proved that "agents of the regime" were primarily responsible for violence in the PWV area.

The Apla leadership, through PAC first deputy president and former Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo, this week formally claimed responsibility for the two eastern Cape attacks.

The PAC has received much domestic and international criticism for its failure to censure — or distance itself from — Apla.

PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke this week resigned

from the organisation's leadership. Although he cited family and professional pressure, observers and PAC-watchers believe the Pretoria advocate's resignation was triggered by his opposition to Apla's attacks.

Reports from Cape Town yesterday said PAC information chief Barney Desai may well follow Moseneke and quit the PAC. Though the PAC was tight-lipped about his health, the articulate, former London barrister is said to be ill.

Desai is on holiday and could not be reached for comment.

Reports from Washington indicate that international pressure on the PAC is continuing. US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen told reporters in the US capital that the US government had protested to the PAC about Apla's threats even before last month's attacks. But PAC leaders had said they had no control over Apla, Cohen said.

He was briefing reporters on events in Somalia when he was asked to comment on the Apla attacks. He described them as "blatant acts of terrorism".

"I note that over the past year Apla has threatened to take violent measures so that the negotiations could be undermined. When we first heard of these threats we protested to the PAC leadership, and throughout that period the PAC leadership said they were opposed to such measures, but told us they were not in control of the armed wing. And they are continuing to say that."

Approaches
son traffic
N-BARBER



MILITARY MEN . . . MK chief-of-operations Lehlohonolo Moloï called on youths to join the ANC army.

■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

MK recruits new blood for a future SA

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

Shen 20/12/92

84A
ditional army in a new SA.

THREE years ago South Africans would have embraced themselves for yet another series of bomb blasts to mark the anniversary of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on December 16. The police and SADF would have manned road-blocks at main entrances to townships in search of MK men.

All that caution disappeared with the unbanning of political organisations when President FW de Klerk ascended to power nearly three years ago. However, since the hasty suspension of the armed

struggle at the Groote Schuur meeting between the government and the ANC in 1990, many MK soldiers are now confined to their camps in African states where they are being prepared for a conven-

“We need more soldiers to swell our ranks in a new army in a future SA,” Lehlohonolo Moloï, MK’s chief-of-operations, told thousands of ANC supporters at a rally held at Tumahole Stadium in Parys on Wednesday.

Moloï, a veteran fighter who dared the SA security forces by arming and successfully infiltrating hundreds of MK cadres into the country through Botswana during the days of the armed struggle, recruited openly for MK at the rally.

The conventional retraining is thought to have relieved most guerrillas who were itching to be deployed in the townships at the height of violence between ANC supporters and Inkatha. With talk of a new government within the next

twelve months, Moloï’s requests for more recruits to join MK were not far off the mark.

He knows too well that if a new conventional army was to be formed tomorrow, SADF officers would dominate senior positions.

Furthermore, Moloï is aware that should political developments overtake the retraining of MK, the only alternative left for the guerrillas is the “Zimbabwe option” in which North Koreans were brought in to retrain Robert Mugabe’s cadres.

The ANC’s impatience with the slow pace of events was reflected in a speech by Gill Marcus, who shared a platform with Moloï in Tumahole.

She said: “We want one man one vote next year. The longer we delay the elections the more violence we will have.”

PAC
COMMEMORATES
HEROES

JUL 23
POOO S... BYONS



PAC regional secretary Tunediso Modise, regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya and secretary for relief and aid Bonga Majola at the PAC West Rand region media briefing at the weekend which claimed Apla was responsible for the decline in violence in the PWV area. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

PAC's claims on violence in PWV area 'ludicrous'

POLICE have described as "ludicrous" PAC claims that the activities of its armed wing Apla are behind a decrease in violence in the PWV area.

The SAP has suggested that Apla might have been responsible for train attacks on the Reef.

Any decline in train and other violence could be attributed to increased police action and national peace committee initiatives, police said.

PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya said on Friday that his organisation had noted a sharp decline in political violence since Apla attacked whites at King William's Town and Queenstown. This was in contrast to "international scarecrow" suggestions that the attacks would increase violence.

The general decrease in political violence, train attacks and attacks in which more than six people died indicated that Apla's threat of retaliation for every black killed had "borne fruit", Madzunya said.

The decline in the wake of the Apla attacks in the eastern Cape and subsequent threats proved that a "mercenary" element under the state's control was primarily responsible for

STEPHEN COPLAN

violence in the PWV area.

"It is common cause in international relations that the threat of military action by those who have a demonstrable capacity to retaliate always serves as a preventative measure in the conduct of aggression by opposing forces," Madzunya said.

The response of ordinary citizens, who were joining the PAC in large numbers, showed there was a perception "on the ground" that Apla was responsible for stemming violence.

The PAC had declared 1993 constituent assembly year but believed "the bullet cannot be abandoned until the ballot has been secured".

The PAC and Apla would refuse to co-operate with the Goldstone commission's probe of Apla's activities.

In response to growing international criticism of the PAC, Madzunya said the organisation's policy had always been "to accommodate the wishes of the oppressed" and to shape its own destiny.

The PAC still owed allegiance to the OAU, which had recently criticised the organisation for not distancing itself from Apla's attacks.

Trees go to retain view

BIDAY 21/12/92
GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Forestry Department has been forced to remove hundreds of pine trees it had planted along the scenic Long Tom pass and to halt afforestation that would have affected tourism and ecology in the Lowveld.

Seedlings planted over an area of 35ha, with a commercial potential of R500 000, were removed after local residents and the Wildlife Society lodged objections.

More than 2 000 residents of the Lydenburg/Sabi district petitioned the department to remove the trees, which they said would obscure the panoramic view for which the pass was famous.

Wildlife Society conservation ecologist Andrew Duthie said the department had undertaken to remove up to 20% of the young trees planted along the pass that links the Highveld to the Lowveld.

The trees would have obscured "the entree to the Lowveld", as well as threaten natural vegetation in the area, Duthie said.

Seasonal flowers that bloomed spectacularly would have disappeared as they could not compete with the trees.

Department spokesman Bos-

Eskom power t

BIDAY
IN A gesture of goodwill, Eskom offered to supply electricity to the Rand township of Vosloorus from until January 7.

But the local town council, which controls the power supply, is to switch on the lights. It will on residents guarantee they will pay for other services, such as refuse removal.

The council cut electricity six weeks ago because, it said, few of township residents were on accounts.

Vosloorus Civic Association leader Jabulani Dumani said at the time he had written a letter to Eskom on Thursday requesting it to resume electricity supply until January 7 on which Eskom and the council were expected to sign an agreement for the utility to take over the supply from the council.

Dumani said Eskom had agreed to charge the council for electricity resumed between December 7 and January 7 date Eskom had offered. Eskom official Jan de Beer said the utility's offer to the council was an attempt to alleviate the plight during the festive season.

Comment could not be obtained from the council.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Lesotho joins manhunt

LESOTHO's government had given SA its full co-operation in tracking down those responsible for a gun and handgrenade attack on a Free State farm on the Lesotho border on Saturday night, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He said he had been in contact with Lesotho's government and that joint SA/Lesotho police operations had been launched to hunt down the attackers.

Leonie Pretorius died in the attack, the second in the Ficksburg area.

B/DAM 21/12/92

~~200~~ (849) (161)



We'll raid Apla bases

in Lesotho, warns CP

The Conservative Party's Home Guards will launch retribution raids against Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Lesotho unless the SA Government neutralises and destroys these bases, CP MP for Ladybrand Charl Hertzog said yesterday.

Hertzog said that in the light of the latest attack on white farmers in the Ficksburg area, in which a 14-year-old girl was killed on Saturday night, the role of his party's Home Guards "is ready to be changed from a defensive one to an aggressive one".

"The CP in Ficksburg will be forced to activate retribution raids on Apla bases in Lesotho should the Government fail to act within seven days to neutralise and destroy Apla bases in this neighbouring country.

"The CP is not prepared to allow Apla or any other terrorist organisation to ruthlessly murder innocent people with impunity," Hertzog said.

Earlier yesterday, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said he had requested the assistance of the Lesotho government to track down the people responsible for Saturday's hand grenade and gun attack.

Taking aim . . . Danie Venter, one of many farmers in the Border region who is teaching his son to shoot. The area has been tense since five whites were killed in two attacks for which the Azanian People's Liberation Army has claimed responsibility.

Picture: Joao Silva



NEWS AND election project kicks off ● Indaba on homeland's pension scam

Azania's role under spotlight

■ Organisation carrying out congress decisions:

By Mkgadi Pela

THE role of the Azanian National Liberation Army will come under the spotlight during the two-day consultation between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare.

Delaying change

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday that the issue had been necessitated by "FW de Klerk's role in the violence and his tactics of delaying change in the country".
Mosala said Azapo was carrying out

its congress decision to meet the BCMA to discuss the "dangerous and treacherous road ahead".

He said they would also discuss the looming elections, power-sharing and the negotiation process.

Accompanying Mosala were deputy-president Mr Panjelani Nefolohodwe, secretary general Mr Don Nkadimeng and deputy secretary general Mr Lybon Mabasa.

Mosala will lead the Azapo delegation, while the BCMA will be led by its chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena.

Mosala said Azapo would hold a press conference on Wednesday both in Harare and in Johannesburg.



The Azapo delegation leaving for Harare: Joyce Winaar, Itumeleng Mosala, Lybon Mabasa, Dr Victor Dlamini and Don Nkadimeng.

Govt steps up pressure over border raids

GOVERNMENT handed a formal protest note to Transkei and stepped up diplomatic pressure on Lesotho yesterday as right-wingers threatened to take the law into their own hands and strike at Apla bases in the two countries.

The CP has vowed to take unilateral action against the alleged bases unless government implements strong measures against the PAC's armed wing within a week.

The weekend slaying of a 14-year-old girl in Ficksburg, near the Lesotho border, has also prompted threats of arbitrary revenge attacks on blacks by right-wing extremists in the area.

While the CP has welcomed the deployment of policemen on the 200 farms along the SA border with Lesotho, it has urged that hot pursuit operations be authorised into the country. "Mere statements of co-operation with the Lesotho police are not enough," the CP said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the "fullest co-operation" was being received from Lesotho, where the girl's killers fled.

Another source said the attack was probably launched from within SA, and not from bases in Lesotho. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has mentioned Transkei and Zimbabwe as possible sites for Apla bases.

Foreign Affairs said the diplomatic protest to Transkei demanded strong action against gunmen who attacked SA vehicles on a section of the Queenstown-Dordrecht road which passes through Transkei.

Tonight, Ficksburg farmers, police,

RAY HARTLEY
and DIRK HARTFORD

army and AWB officials plan to hold a meeting to discuss the spate of attacks against residents in the area. Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — who is also the Free State leader of the NP — are expected to attend the meeting.

At the same time, Sapa reports the Lesotho government has called a special meeting to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the border.

Two more deaths occurred on a Free State farm yesterday, but police suspected the motive for the attack was robbery. Koos Ward, 70, and his 34-year-old daughter, ~~Ami~~ were ~~dead~~ by an intruder on their ~~farm~~ theunissen yesterday.

Foreign affairs and police spokesmen have expressed fear that right-wing action might upset delicate operations, in co-operation with other governments, to stop the killings. "While channels between the governments of SA, Transkei and Lesotho remain open, we believe any unilateral action by groups will be unfortunate," the Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

Government wished to decide on a joint strategy with Transkei to counter the attacks, but would first evaluate the homeland's response to the protest note, he said.

Police spokesman Col Louis Botha said heightened security, including additional Internal Stability Unit bases, permanent and mobile roadblocks, farm patrols and spot checks on vehicles, were being implemented. He said it was clear the perpetrators of incidents in the Border region were

To Page 2

Border raids

coming from Transkei and returning there afterwards, "frustrating" police who could operate only in SA.

Individuals were being advised at border roadblocks not to travel through Transkei, and Transkei police had begun escorting vehicles in some areas.

Police would testify about the size and nature of Apla forces before a Goldstone commission hearing today and early in January, he said, adding that Apla was "not a very large grouping" which confined its attacks to within a couple of kilometres of the Transkei border.

The latest attacks showed that slow-moving vehicles on isolated roads were being targeted.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said right-wing organisations were co-ordinating efforts to defend SA's borders with Lesotho and Transkei. An undis-

closed number of right-wing commandos were moving into the border areas, he said.

Sapa reports that the Boere Weerstandsbeweging has warned its supporters to prepare for civil war. The organisation said it had deployed a platoon of its military wing on the SA border with Transkei.

Van Tonder said the time had come for people to defend themselves. Urging the police and SADF to intervene before this happened, he insisted there were Apla bases in both Lesotho and Transkei, and that plans were being orchestrated there to get farmers off their land.

Sapa reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said the union had confidential information that attacks on Free State and Cape farms could spread to the Transvaal at the weekend. He called on government to use the SADF to restore law and order.

From Page 1

B10M 22/12/92

84A

84A

84A

B10M 22/12/92

Ficksburg farmers wait for Ministers

STAR 22/12/92

A fiery meeting is expected to take place tonight in the Ficksburg Town Hall when three senior Cabinet Ministers face the wrath of local farmers.

Law and Order Minister Hérnus Kriel, Defence Minister Gene Louw and Free State National Party leader and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee are expected to attend the special meeting to discuss the security situation after the spate of terror attacks in the town and surrounding areas during the past two months.

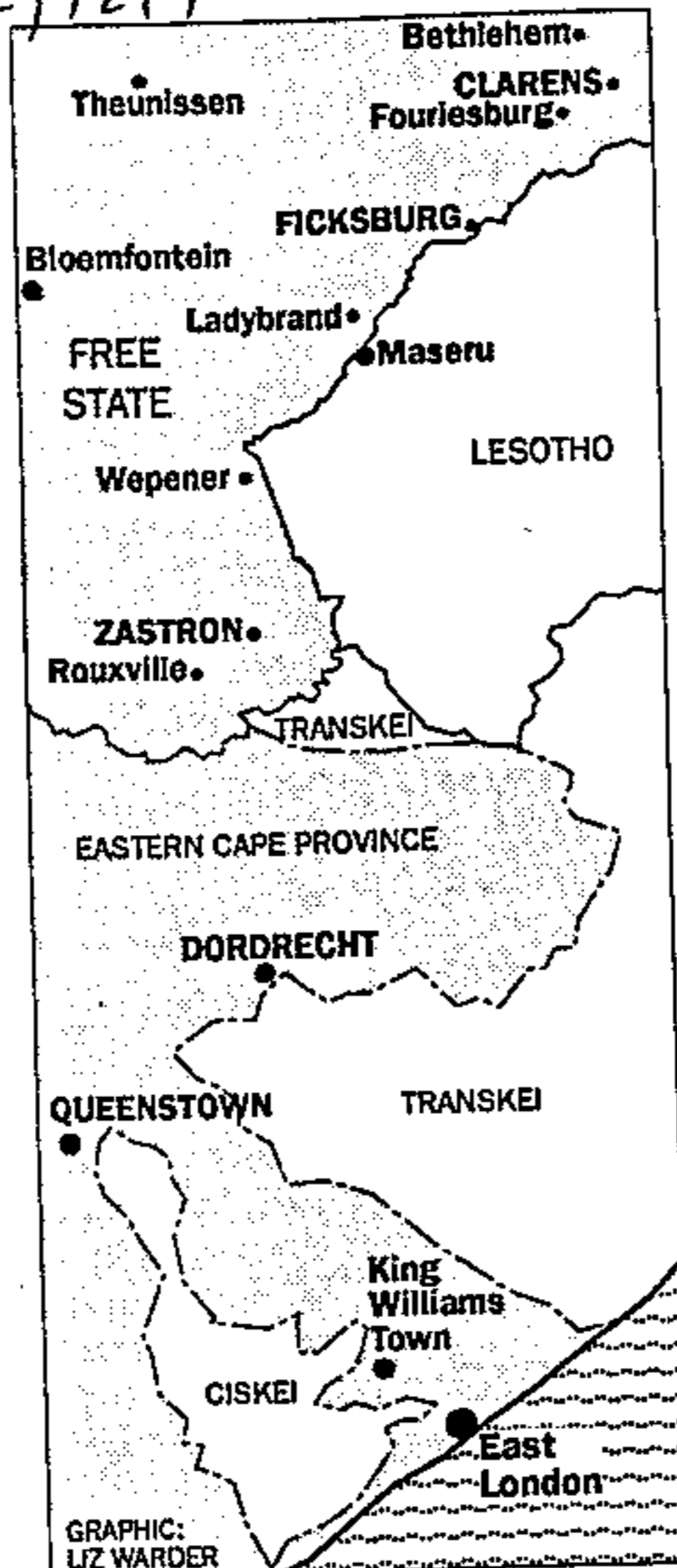
At least three attacks on whites have taken place in the Ficksburg area over the past two months, with the latest incident, on Saturday night, claiming the life of a teenage girl.

Cadres of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), are suspected of launching the attacks from Lesotho.

The militant right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which is expected to have a high-profile presence at the meeting. AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said yesterday nothing would prevent his organisation from "defending, to the death, home and hearth".

He said the AWB had accepted Apla's "challenge of war" — although the alleged Apla declaration of war against whites has been denied by the Apla commander Victor Phama.

Apla claimed responsibility



Recent attacks . . . have taken place in this area.

for an attack last month in King William's Town in which four whites died, and for a restaurant bombing in Queenstown a week later.

It has not claimed responsibility for the latest attacks, however.

The Lesotho government has

called a special meeting today to discuss the deteriorating security situation along the mountain kingdom's border with the eastern Free State.

Ficksburg residents have felt increasingly unsafe following the attacks, despite the deployment of 200 policemen in the area.

Meanwhile, in Pietersburg, Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer claimed that the union was in possession of reliable information that the wave of Free State attacks would spread to farming communities in the Transvaal.

He called on the SA Defence Force to restore law and order in the country because it could not be done any longer by the SA Police.

Road traffic from Natal and the north-eastern Cape to Transkei has slowed down drastically. This follows an attack on the Coetzer family, who were travelling on the road between Dordrecht and Queenstown at the weekend.

An official at the Komga border post said few vehicles had crossed into Transkei since Sunday.

The routes to Transkei from Dordrecht and Queenstown have been closed since the attacks, although some other routes are still open. The SAP has set up several roadblocks in the area and warned motorists not to travel through Transkei.

— Political Staff and Sapa.

● Farmers won't turn other cheek — Page 13

Free State farmer (70) and daughter murdered

STAR 22/12/92

Staff Reporters

An elderly Free State farmer and his daughter were shot dead inside their Theunissen home yesterday afternoon in the latest in a spate of brutal attacks on the Free State farming community.

Although the political Right and agricultural unions immediately linked the killings to recent attacks in the Ficksburg area near the Lesotho border, police said they believed the attack on Koos Ward (70), his wife Anna (68) and daughter Ammi (32) on the farm Emmaus was an attempted robbery.

Ward's daughter killed the

attacker before she died, Free State police spokesman Captain Johlene van der Merwe said. Her mother was wounded.

Police were looking for another man they believed had assisted the gunman, Van der Merwe said.

As plans were being finalised for a crisis meeting in Ficksburg today, Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Piet Gous warned that whites were preparing for a full-scale "black-white war".

And in Theunissen, where a resident told press the town was in a belligerent mood, a meeting to discuss the murders was set for 4 pm today in the Farmers' Hall.

● To Page 3

Free State farmer and daughter shot dead

● From Page 1

Van der Merwe said that when Ward answered a knock on the door, a man rushed in and shot him.

His wife and daughter rushed to his aid. Ward's daughter and the gunman died after a shoot-

out. STAR 22/12/92

Ward was found slumped in a chair. His wife was taken to hospital where she is "critical".

The attacker's body was found outside.

Van der Merwe said police believed that the attacker had an accomplice, but dismissed

any link between the killings and the Ficksburg attacks.

But Gous said last night it was naive and convenient for the police to say it had been a robbery attempt.

"If we should have to enter a white-black war, I have no problems with it," he said.



Ready and waiting . . . J.J. Venter (73), dog Sasha, and "The Protector" wait for Apla near the Transkei border.

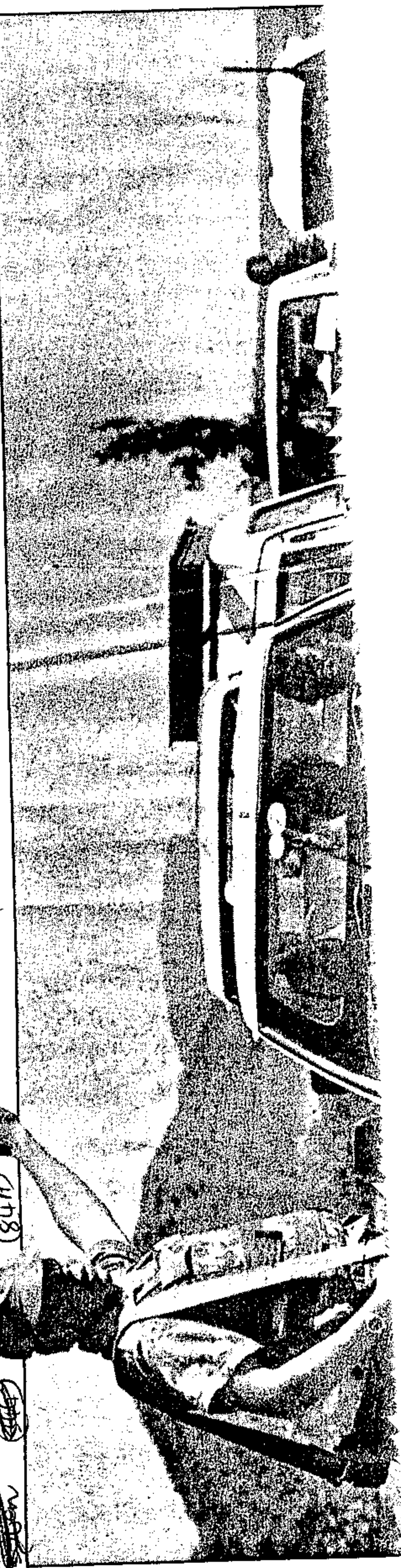


Safe and sound . . . an electrified fence at a chicken farm outside Ugle.

Farmers won't turn other cheek

STAR 22/12/92
 Despite the presence of troops, Border farmers maintain their own security measures and train for the day when they can invade Transkei to flush out their attackers. BRONWYN WILKINSON reports.

TIME was when their carefree upbringing made farm children the envy of their city-bred counterparts. But while their city cousins are watching movies or riding skateboards, six-year-old twins Danie and Jaco Venter are at target practice, rehearsing hand grenade drill or standing guard on their father's Border farm.



When attacks on Border

Farmers won't turn other cheek

STAR 22/12/92

Despite the presence of troops, Border farmers maintain their own security measures and train for the day when they can invade Transkei to flush out their attackers. BRONWYN WILKINSON reports.

TIME was when their caretree upbringing made farm children the envy of their city-bred counterparts. But while their city cousins are watching movies or riding skateboards, six-year-old twins Danie and Jaco Venter are at target practice, rehearsing hand grenade drill or standing guard on their father's Border farm.

When attacks on Border farmers started with five simultaneous unexplained fires and two gruesome murders in August, the twins' father bought his sons a 22 rifle and taught them to shoot.

As chairman of the Ugie and Maclear farmers' associations, Danie Venter (Smr) mobilised farmers into self defence units and dished out weapons.

Three-year-old children learn security awareness and hand grenade drill, and can fire rifles taller than themselves.

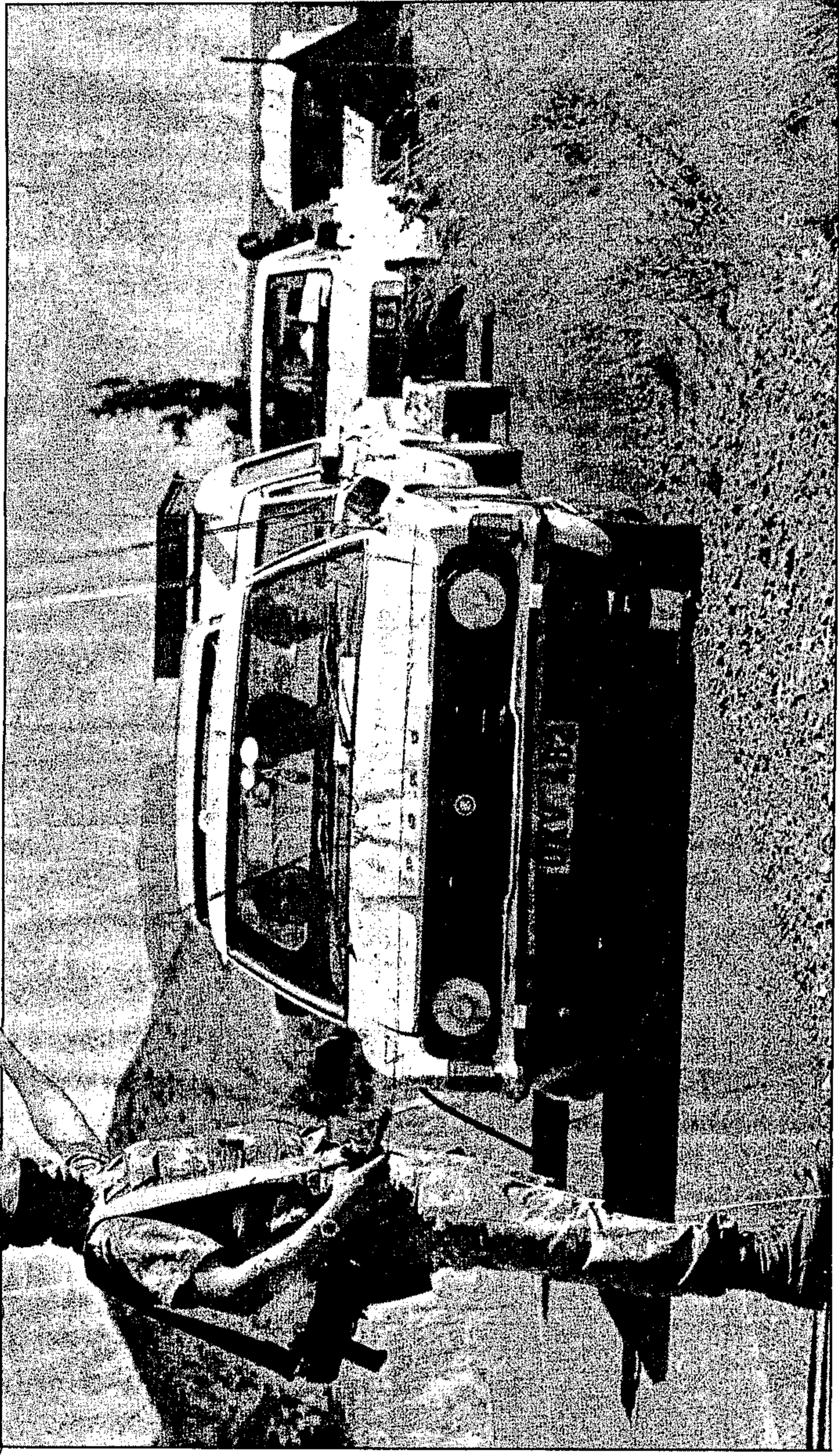
"At first people were scared, but now they are just angry," Venter says. Those who were going to leave in terror have gone. The rest are staying to fight.

Venter's father, J J Venter (73) knows what it is like to give up his land. In 1983 his farm was consolidated into Transkei.

"When the Transkei border was shifted in 1983, I thought I should give up the land that belonged to Transkei," he reflects. Venter opened a small trading store near Ugie and he is digging in his heels.

The intrepid old man believes he is on an Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) hit list. He also knows of Apla camps across the border.

(84A)



"Halt" ... South African police stop cars heading for Transkei at a roadblock outside Lady Grey.

mandant Flip Skeppel recruited 700 men from around the country for "Border duty". The men patrolled farms and occasionally went into Transkei to "sort out" troublemakers, Skeppel explains.

The move was not popular with all local farmers. Some have tried to make friends with their new neighbors across the border and wish the AWB would leave the Transkeian farmers alone.

Tertius Leask, a chicken farmer in Ugie, believes the attacks are criminal, not political,

in nature. But he still takes precautions. His three-year-old son Willem cannot tie his own shoelaces, but he can fire a pump-action shotgun and Leask has just erected a two-metre electrified fence around his homestead.

Leask is pleased to see SADF and SAP patrols, "but I don't care who protects me. The AWB can patrol my farm, the police can do it. If the PAC wants to protect me, they are welcome". Farmers in the horseshoe-shaped region - which stretches from Dordrecht in the west

to Lady Grey in the north-east - breathed a tentative sigh of relief as the first SADF and SAP troops rolled in last week and set up camps in farmhouses abandoned by families too scared to stay.

Although the attacks continue, farmers feel safer already. The AWB has withdrawn its patrols and farmers say the SAP roadblocks on main roads into Transkei have proved a morale-booster and deterrant to criminals from murderers to stock thieves.

According to local detectives, the closest Apla training camps are in Herschel, Sterkspruit, Tsolo and Umntata.

As police could not cross the border themselves, they gave the Star detailed directions to the camps, but warned they did not look anything like training camps in the normal sense of the word.

They were right. Children played in the yard outside the clusters of painted huts, old men lounged in the sun and women shooed the chickens out from underfoot as they went

about their daily chores. There was not a gun in sight and very few men around who could be described as potential soldiers.

According to SAP sources, Apla is a freelance army. This is its biggest advantage, but also its downfall, they say.

Sources say SAP intelligence is that Apla recruits a young man in the area, issues him with a weapon, trains him how to use it, how to activate a mine and how to use a grenade. The recruit is then given his

target, the day of his "hit" and the nature of the attack. His instructions are to carry out the attack, dump his weapons and never bother Apla again.

"This is why when someone is caught, they sing like a bird," a Border detective explains, but adds the army's nature makes it difficult to trace.

Although police say they know of Apla camps in Transkei, they are not allowed to cross the maze of unmanned border posts, which are little more than cattle grids on farm roads.

The police and farmers are becoming frustrated. "The more people we see killed, the more we see our children at target practice and carrying real guns instead of toys, the more likely it is that the people are going to invade Transkei themselves," one irate farmer said.

His sentiments are contagious and the tide of anger is beginning to swell through the valleys and around the farms, where more and more farmers are preparing for battle on the soil across the border. □

Pictures: Joao Silva

3 Gen 344 84A

STAR 22/12/92

ANC urges PAC to clarify Apla's status

THE PAC should urgently clarify the status of its armed wing Apla, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

In the interests of peace, he said, the organisation should put an end to the "very confusing statements" from senior officials on its activities.

PAC leaders have distanced themselves from and cautiously condemned the recent attacks claimed by Apla. PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke is also believed to have resigned because he could not support the Apla activities.

Niehaus said he found it "quite astonishing that the political leadership of the PAC has not got control over Apla" against the

background of continuing attacks on civilians. These attacks were "strongly condemned" by the ANC.

"The people of SA need to realise that we need to find ways to work against violence and for political tolerance," he said.

He said the ANC was opposed to attacks by Apla and by right-wing extremists.

It found, however, that government was allocating disproportionate energy to the alleged Apla killings while black deaths were given less priority.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holo-

misa called on the PAC yesterday to re-enter talks with the SA government to begin to defuse the tensions surrounding claimed Apla killings.

Holomisa said the PAC, although having linked itself to the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, had not claimed responsibility for killings on Transkei roads in the Queenstown area.

"I wouldn't like to join the war of words between the ANC and PAC," he said.

Niehaus said the ANC continued to believe a major security drive against Apla would not in itself solve the problem. He stressed there was no evidence Apla was responsible for the attacks.

RAY HARTLEY

B/DAM 23/12/92

SCIA

Irate farmers boo Ministers over security

BIDM 23/12/92

ANGRY Free State farmers and right-wingers booed and heckled Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday at a meeting in Ficksburg to discuss the deteriorating security situation.

Kriel said government had taken secur-

RAY HARTLEY

ity measures, including the declaration of 23 places along the Lesotho and Transkei borders as unrest areas.

He also announced that three people had been arrested for the murder of a Theunissen farmer and his daughter, Sapa reports.

Reacting to Kriel's announcement, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said President F W de Klerk would have to act with equal vigour against armed right-wing militia if he wished to be seen as sincerely trying to end violence in the area.

"De Klerk is showing us that in SA he will allow the armed wings of white political organisations, while calling for the disbanding of others like Umkhonto we Sizwe," Holomisa said.

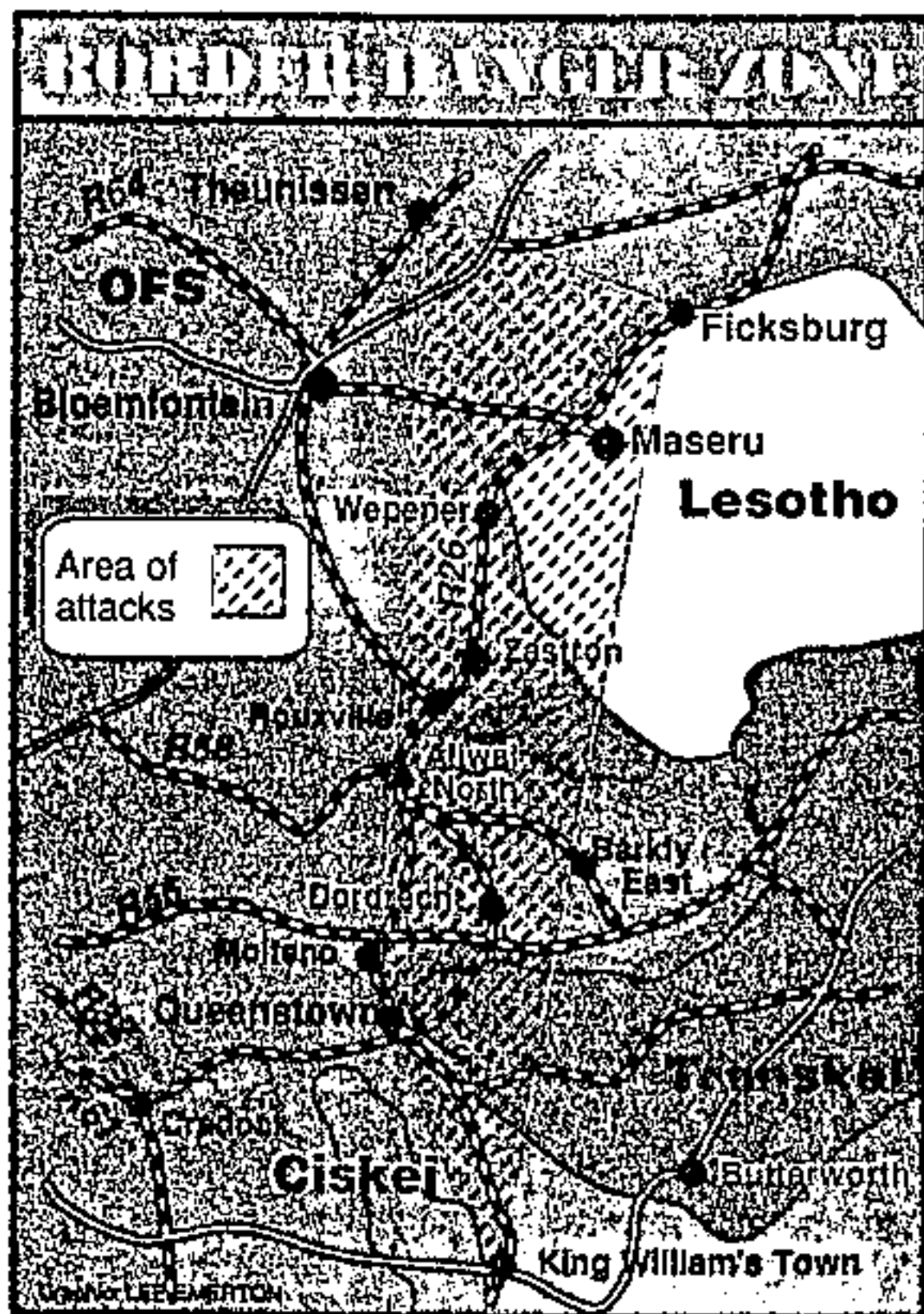
Security measures announced by Kriel included:

- The deployment of police on farms;
- Stepped up roadblocks in border areas; and
- Increased security force patrolling of affected areas.

An army spokesman said troops would be deployed alongside policemen to secure isolated farms along the borders.

Speakers from the Free State Agricultural Union security committee, which convened the meeting, called for the appli-

To Page 2



Farmers

ation of the death penalty and said security force members should conduct cross-border raids against Apla bases.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche earlier called on government to distribute automatic weapons to farmers in affected areas. He also wanted government to provide electric fencing and two-way radios. The Afrikaner Volksunie called for a state of emergency to be imposed.

Holomisa denied Apla had bases inside Transkei and said the whole matter was "becoming a laughing exercise".

A diplomatic protest note delivered by SA officials on Monday had been "mild", and was answered with assurances that Transkei police would co-operate fully with their SA counterparts, he added.

He said Transkeian and SA police were working around the clock to apprehend the perpetrators of recent attacks allegedly

From Page 1

launched from Transkei soil. No arrests had been made.

Holomisa said the lack of progress in investigations raised the possibility that the attacks were being orchestrated or exaggerated by "elements within the security forces and Cabinet Ministers playing on the fears of whites to disillusion them with the present government".

It was "common cause" that the SA Cabinet was divided between hard-liners, such as Kriel and Water Affairs Minister Magnus Malan, and negotiators such as Foreign Minister Pik Botha, he said.

The Lesotho government yesterday gave an assurance that it would not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against its neighbours, saying it reserved the right to act against lawlessness on its SA border.

Comment: Page 4

Trio in custody over killings

STAR 23/12/92

348

Staff Reporters

Three men were arrested yesterday in connection with the murder of a farmer and his daughter in their home at Theunissen in the Free State on Monday night.

Free State police spokesman Captain Johlene van der Merwe said the three men — aged 26, 30 and 31 — were arrested at Meloding in Virginia for the attack on Koos Ward (70), his wife Anna (68) and daughter Ammie (32) on their farm Emmaus.

She said police had originally believed two men were responsible for the attack. One gunman was killed by Miss

Ward, and police believed his accomplice escaped.

Although the political Right and agricultural unions immediately linked the killings to recent attacks in the Ficksburg area near the Lesotho border, Van der Merwe said investigation since the arrests confirmed the police's belief that the attack was "definitely" an attempted robbery.

The elderly farmer was shot dead after he had answered a knock on the door. His daughter killed a gunman before she died. Mrs Ward is in hospital.

The body of the intruder was found outside.

Angry farmers call for beefed-up security

By Monica Oosterbroek

Hundreds of angry Free State farmers and their frightened families yesterday flocked to the Ficksburg Town Hall to voice their concern about the spate of murders in the area.

Women, clutching their children closely to their sides, said it had become nerve-racking living on remote farms, and that they were very concerned about the safety of their children.

Agreed

Worried farmers who had gathered around bakkies lining the streets told The Star the situation had become very dangerous, and that extreme measures had to be taken.

Most agreed they had to adopt the "agric-alert" system used by Rhodesian farmers during the bush war, when farmers formed a radio network. They said this would allow them to keep in constant contact with neighbours, check up on each other regularly and communicate easily with the police.

Farmers also want

each household to be issued with an automatic weapon.

Laura Naude, who lives with her husband and five young children about 5 km from the farm on which 14-year-old Leonie Pretorius was killed a few days ago, said: "We have farmed here all our lives and we will just have to adapt to these violent times."

Naude, who supports no political organisation, said she carried her gun everywhere. But, she said, it would be useless against terrorists armed with automatic rifles.

Naude said farmers were responsible for protecting their workers, who were also terrified by the recent attacks.

She said she fretted constantly about the safety of her elderly parents-in-law, whom she did not want to name for security reasons.

They lived alone on a farm outside Clocolan, and their nearest neighbours lived more than 6 km away.

Their immediate neighbours were bludgeoned to death in August.

More than 200 policemen, who were deployed

in the Ficksburg area at the weekend, surrounded the hall during the lively meeting, and police barricaded surrounding roads.

When the farmers ended the four-hour meeting, they marched to the police station to call for better co-operation between police and farmers.

In the volatile atmosphere, heavily armed local Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members seized the opportunity to recruit new members.

Carried

They carried flags saying: "It could be your child" and "FW has blood on his hands".

While farmers returned to their farms, uniformed AWB members gathered outside the town hall, chatting and cleaning their guns before wandering across the road to a pub.

The heavy police presence prevented any violence when a rightwinger claimed that a black, standing safely behind two policemen, had threatened to kill him "very slowly".

STAR 23/12/92

84A

STAR 23/12/92

Apla 'is not hiding round (84A) every corner',

Own Correspondent

The Transkei Tourism Board moved to allay holidaymakers' fears about security in the Transkei yesterday after a wave of cancellations at holiday resorts along the Wild Coast.

"The soldiers and policemen are on the roads to make visitors feel safe — it's not because we have Apla people hiding around every corner," said tourism board spokesman Gladys Ramncwana.

"Although many people cancelled their trips, visitors are still arriving looking for accommodation — and they have all had lovely trips.

"The Wild Coast remains a very popular destination and we would not encourage people to come here if we thought their lives might be in danger.

People who wish to contact the Transkei Tourism Board for further information can telephone (0471) 25344 (business hours) or 23766 (after hours).

NGK pleads for calm as emotions run high after killings

Farmers bay for blood

Staff Reporters,
Own Correspondent
and Sapa

STAR 23/12/72

FICKSBURG — At two emergency meetings yesterday, militant Free State farmers called on the Government to conduct cross-border raids and threatened to take the law into their own hands after a spate of attacks in the region.

And local African National Congress leaders said today the black community in the province was "living in fear" of right-wing revenge attacks.

Church leaders have appealed for calm in the current volatile situation.

Dr Johan van Rensburg, secretary of the Free State NGK, warned yesterday against the launching of reprisal vendettas. "It's a recipe for civil war. If there was ever a time for people to remain calm it is now."

And today, emotions remained high in Ficksburg as white farmers gathered for the funeral of Leonie Pretorius (14) who was murdered while watching television in her parents' farmhouse at the weekend.

Leonie's death sparked off the current wave of angry, boiling emotion in the eastern Free State.

Leonie's burial service was scheduled to take place at the Ficksburg Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.

Meanwhile, the sole survivor of the latest attack at Theunissen, 68-year-old Anna Ward, is still in a critical condition in Bloemfontein's Universitas Hospital after an operation to stop internal bleeding caused by a bullet lodged in her liver.

Her husband Koos (70) and daughter Amie (32) died in the attack on their farmhouse on Monday.

A crisis meeting in Theun-



Gun-toting . . . farmers march to the Ficksburg police station after a crisis meeting to discuss recent attacks.

● Immediate reintroduction of the death penalty.
● Declaring the town an unrest area.
● Fencing a squatter camp near the town.
● SADF members to patrol farms.
● The issuing of automatic weapons to farmers.
● Ficksburg farmers delivered a similar message earlier yesterday to Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach.

At the meeting Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Pieter Gous said the Transkei and Lesotho governments should accept responsibility for the attacks

and warned of possible cross-border raids.
Gous proposed "witch-hunts" into neighbouring countries to wipe out "terrorists" and suggested raids on local squatter camps.
Gous said the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, Apla, and the ANC were indirectly or directly to blame for the "hate cam-

Picture: Ken Coesterbroek

Farmers at the Ficksburg meeting threatened to take the law into their own hands should the Government take effective measures to stop terror attacks.

Both meetings were characterised by the prominence of Dr Gouws, who is also a Conservative Party MP, and

the presence of several militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members who have threatened to take the fight to Apla.

Meanwhile, an SADF spokesman said yesterday that commandos could be deployed on short notice to assist police in any law-enforcing operation.

This followed on Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer's contention that the union had confidential information that attacks on farms in the eastern Free State and the eastern Cape could spread to the Transvaal at the Christmas weekend.

Apla, which has increasingly been held responsible for any attack on farms following its alleged "declaration of war" on all whites, have as yet not accepted responsibility for any attack save those on a Queenstown restaurant and on the King William's Town Golf Club.

Five people were killed in those two attacks, while a teenager was shot dead by attackers near Ficksburg on Saturday night.

The Theunissen meeting was hastily convened following the killing of elderly farmer Koos Ward and his daughter Amie on Monday night.

Police believe the attack was an attempted robbery with no political motive.

Attacks with no apparent motive other than robbery have claimed the lives of several white Free State farmers and their relatives over the past two years.

At the Ficksburg meeting farmers called for a re-evaluation and the imposition of the death penalty. Threatening to take the law into their own hands, the furious farmers booed and heckled the Ministers who tried to reassure them that

Attackers warned

MASERU - The Lesotho government will not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks against its neighbours. *Sowetan*

It reserved the right to act in any manner it deemed fit to end the state of lawlessness on its border with South Africa. 23/12/92 (847)

In a statement in Maseru, the Lesotho government said certain elements were bent on engaging in cross-border activities, referring to a weekend attack by gunmen on a Ficksburg farm which left a 14-year-old teenager dead and prompted the SA Government to rush police reinforcements to the area. - Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP.

Police patrol border farms

POLICE moved quickly to secure farms and towns on the Transkei and Lesotho borders yesterday, after the declaration of 23 unrest areas in the region by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Additional police had been moved in and new Internal Stability Unit bases were being established yesterday, police spokesman Capt Lisbe Vermeulen said.

Security operations would continue on Christmas day and through the rest of the festive season. Police said they had not ruled out attacks on isolated farms and towns on Christmas day.

Tensions in the area remained high yesterday after two stormy farmers' meetings on Tuesday at which Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee were heckled and booed. Farmers and right-wingers demanded greater security measures and cross-border raids against Apla gunmen, the alleged perpetrators of attacks on whites in the border areas.

The white Mineworkers' Union came out in support of the farmers' demands, with a spokesman saying violence against defenceless whites on farms and in towns

RAY HARTLEY

would not be tolerated. Pretoria police spokesman Capt Piet Brandt said police would "treat fire with fire" and act with equal vigour against armed right-wingers and Apla gangs, if they broke the law. He added, however, that the AWB and other right-wing groups had not "taken the lives of innocent people", as Apla allegedly had.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has accused the police of threatening to take drastic action against black guerrilla movements, while allowing white right-wingers to move about carrying heavy arms openly.

Holomisa yesterday called for an "indaba" early next year to address the deployment of AWB members along Transkei's borders with SA.

Ficksburg schoolgirl Leonie Pretorius, who was shot dead last week, was buried at an emotional service in the town yesterday, Sapa reports.

Free State ANC spokesman Dirk du Toit

□ To Page 2

B1000 24/12/92

Patrols

said yesterday Apla's attacks were contributing to the culture of violence that was tearing SA apart. He said the police and SADF no longer had the manpower to prevent violence and suggested that Umkhonto we Sizwe assist under the discipline of a government of national unity.

The CP said its Ladybrand MP, Charl Hertzog, would meet the Lesotho police commissioner in Maseru today to discuss the recent violence.

"We will reiterate our standpoint that any terrorist base must be neutralised

(within seven days).

The CP welcomed assurances by the Lesotho government that it would not permit Apla to operate from its soil, but it wanted details on how Lesotho would neutralise a terrorist threat.

It would also seek assurances that Umkhonto was not allowed to operate from Lesotho. "The CP is not taken in by the ANC 'threats' against Apla," the party said. It saw both organisations as responsible for the current wave of terror against white South Africans.

From Page 1



NEWS Suspects are arrested in connection with family killings

Apla didn't murder Free State family

By Mzimkulu Malunga

THE arrests of three suspects in Virginia in the Free State on Tuesday in connection with the murder of a white family has quashed reports that the Azanian People's Liberation Army was responsible.

Contrary to speculation, a representative of the Free State police, Captain Jothlene van der Merwe, said intensive investigations had established that the motive for the killings was robbery. Three men, aged 30, 31 and 26, were

ANC gives categoric denial of intention to co-operate with the AWB, the police or the army:

arrested in Meloding township near Virginia for the murder of 70-year-old Mr Koos Ward, his wife and daughter early this month.

"Theunissen is far from the border, so the killings that took place cannot be linked to any cross-border attack," Van der Merwe said.

The Theunissen killings was one of the incidents which sparked anger among white farmers and right-wing

militants in the Free State. Some have even threatened retaliatory attacks into neighbouring Lesotho.

Meanwhile, the African National Congress' office in the Free State has denied reports in two leading Afrikaners newspapers attributed to the region's chairman, Mr Sekhopi Malebo.

He had allegedly said the ANC would join hands with the police, army and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to com-

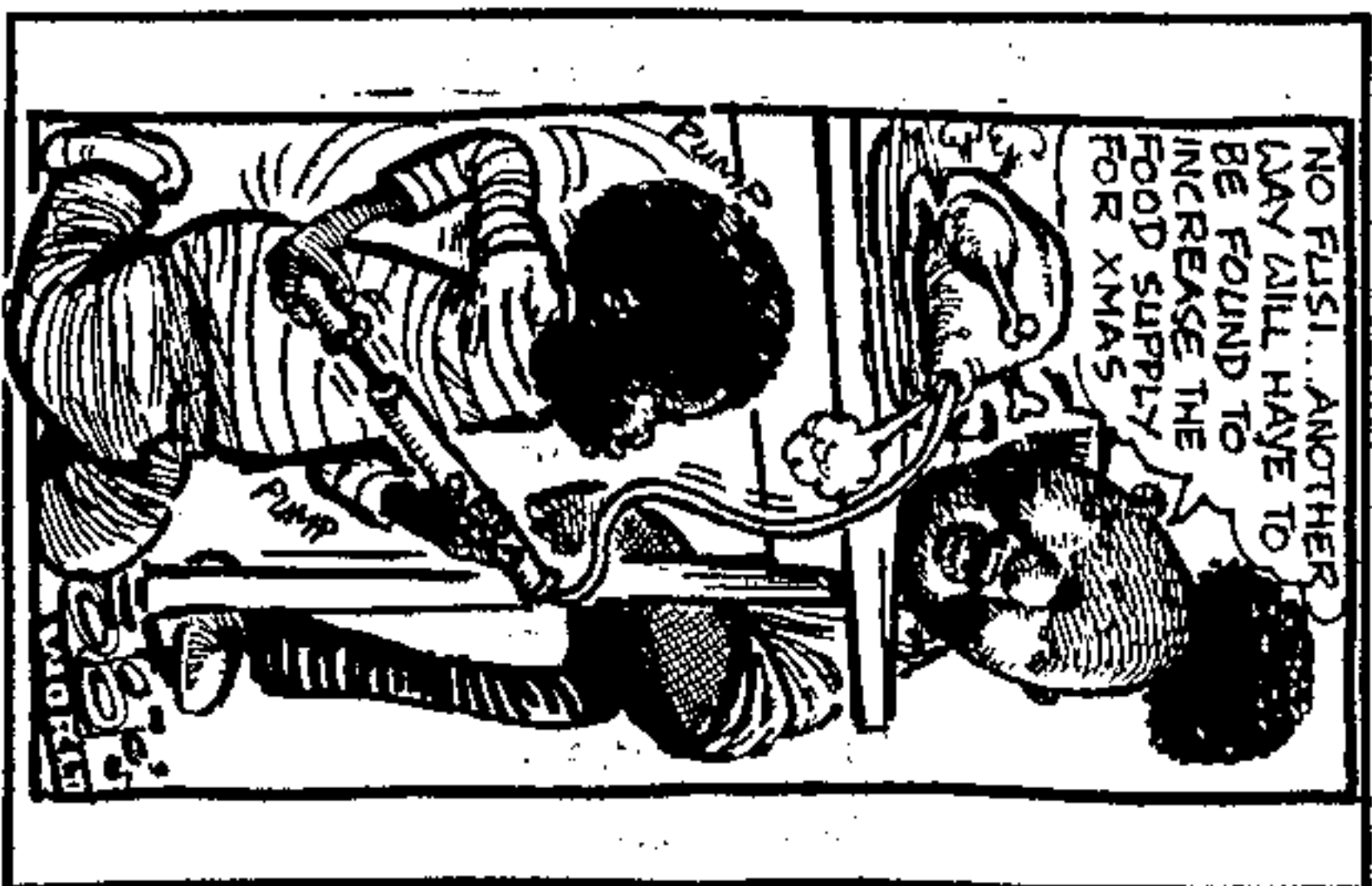
bat attacks by Apla in the Eastern Free State.

In a revised statement sent to Sowetan yesterday, Malebo categorically denied having ever made such an utterance.

"We wish to state categorically that no co-operation exists between ourselves, the AWB, the police or the army.

"Under no circumstances could the ANC or any of its structures collaborate with a disreputable organisation like AWB," he said.

He reiterated the ANC's opposition to random attacks on white farmers.



Former

'enemy'

S. Times 27/12/92

to probe

Apla

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

A FORMER Robben Island prisoner and erstwhile "enemy of the state" is a member of the three-man committee appointed this week by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to conduct preliminary investigations into Apla activities.

Transkei-born advocate Fikile Bam, 54, was jailed for 11 years in 1963 for sabotage, and was banned from South Africa after his release in 1974.

After numerous spells in detention and under house arrest, Mr Bam was allowed to leave Transkei and enter South Africa in 1985, when he established the PE Legal Resources Centre at the height of the state of emergency.

Allegations

His appointment to the committee has been welcomed in both legal and political circles, where he has a reputation for being an independent thinker who is tolerant of different political persuasions.

The committee will be chaired by Goldstone commission member Gert Steyn, who worked for more than 12 years in the Eastern Cape.

The third member is Free State attorney Nico Coetzer, who has no ties with the Eastern Cape.

Their appointment follows mounting allegations that Apla bases exist along the Transkei border.

The committee will sit on January 4 in Port Elizabeth.

Transkei 'lent arms to Apla'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Transkei regularly supplied weapons to the military wings of the PAC and ANC to protect their leaders, the homeland's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, confirmed yesterday.

Holomisa said weapons were lent to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for the protection of party leaders when they visited Transkei.

The loans would continue even if South Africa were to raid Transkei, he said.

The Sunday Star, quoting a senior SA Government source, reported yesterday that a cross-border strike into Transkei by the SADF was imminent.

Holomisa's confirmation of the supply of arms came when he was asked to comment on the facsimile of a document in The Star's possession, signed by the Apla chief of operations in Transkei, acknowledging receipt of a consignment of weapons from the Transkei Defence Force (TDF).

The document, faxed with a covering note from a man claiming to be a discharged member of the TDF, is a receipt on official TDF paper, stamped and signed by

Apla's chief of operations in Transkei, Lawrence Ntikinca (also known as Sezwe).

Ntikinca is believed to be the mastermind behind attacks on whites in the eastern Cape for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

The receipt, dated April 1 this year, is for 12 9 mm pistols, three Beretta pistols and 225 rounds of ammunition. The sender claimed to have been present when the arms were handed over.

Holomisa said all weapons lent to the two military wings were returned and were used strictly for protection.

Holomisa reiterated his denial of news reports that the TDF had given Apla permission to use the homeland as a launching pad for attacks on whites in South Africa, and emphasised he would begin investigations in the new year into allegations of Apla training camps.

Reacting to the Sunday Star report of an imminent SADF raid, Holomisa said: "Let them come."

He said the Transkei government could not be held responsible for the reaction of its people or for any retaliatory attacks.

He said President de Klerk should confirm or deny the raid report.

STAR 28/12/92

847

SAP to probe Apla link to attack

29/12/92

SMC

Own Correspondent (84A)

CAPE TOWN — Police are investigating a claim that the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress, was responsible for the machine-gun attack on a Claremont restaurant at the weekend.

Regional commissioner of police for the western Cape, Major-General Nick Aker, said yesterday that a claim that Apla was responsible was one of the angles being followed up by the special investigations unit handling the case.

The claim was made in a telephone call to the Daily Dispatch by a man claiming to be the Apla commander in the Cape Peninsula.

"We are also looking at the possibility that it was a robbery that went wrong or that it was some kind of revenge attack."

Aker said a R10 000 reward was being offered for information leading to the arrest of the attackers.

Balaclavas

He appealed to people not to panic and said letters had been sent out to businesses asking them to be on the alert.

Two gunmen attacked Stakes Restaurant in Belvedere Road at about 10.30 pm on Saturday, wounding the owner Malcolm Visser (34) and his chef Jason Collie (23).

Visser had emergency surgery and is in a stable condition in Groote Schuur Hospital.

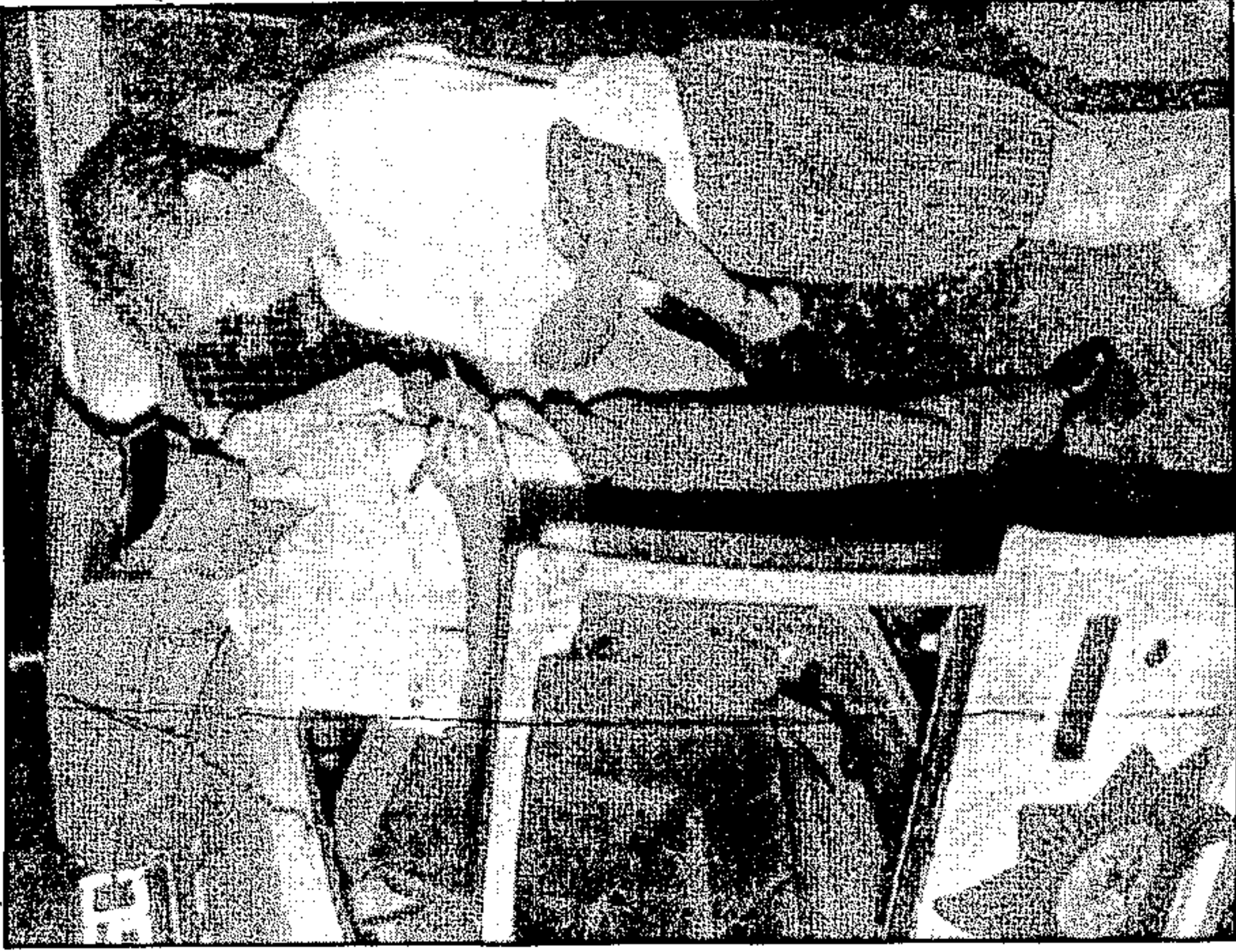
A police spokesman said the two attackers, who were wearing balaclavas, walked in and fired indiscriminately at diners and staff.

Waitress Lisette Theunissen, who had a narrow escape when a bullet shattered a mirror metres above her head, said the steakhouse was fortunately nearly empty, staff were "wind-ing down" and only a few patrons were still there when suddenly there was chaos.

"I was sitting at the back with some colleagues having a



Wounded . . . Cape Town ambulancemen take Claremont restaurant owner Malcolm Visser to hospital.



Narrow escape . . . police question chef Jason Collie, whose arm was injured in the attack. Pictures: Johan Schronen

drink when there was an ear-shattering sound of shots. The room filled with smoke almost immediately," she said.

"We all hit the deck at once. At first we thought it was an explosion because we did not even notice the men entering the premises. Then I heard Malcolm scream: 'I've been shot, stop the bleeding.'"

"When the shooting stopped and the smoke disappeared we

outside, saw the gunmen fleeing on foot, trying to hide "long rifles" under their clothing.

They followed the men, who were heading for a car parked about 200 m away around a corner where two more masked men were waiting.

"When we got around the corner the men stood like toy soldiers waiting for us and aiming straight at us," said Smith.

"That was when we ducked

behind the dashboard and sped away to the police station."

At the restaurant, police found a wall mirror shattered, wood panelling riddled with bullet holes and at least 15 spent R-4 cartridges near the doorway.

Detectives who inspected the scene where the getaway car was seen found a spot where one of the gunmen had apparently urinated against a

fence. Forensic experts were called to the scene to investigate.

A police spokesman said all avenues for possible motives were being investigated but the attack could not be pinned to a specific group.

No arrests were made and police asked anyone with information to contact the nearest charge office or radio control at 10111.

Head of MI accused of destabilising eastern Cape

Political Staff

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he had proof that the head of South African Military Intelligence (MI), General Joffel van der Westhuizen, was involved in the destabilisation of the eastern Cape. *STAR*

Speaking at the Labour Party conference in Port Elizabeth, Holomisa said he would present his evidence to a judicial commission of inquiry into the activities of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), in the new year. Van der Westhuizen would be "witness number one" at the inquiry, Holomisa said. *29/12/92*

On Sunday, the Transkei ruler confirmed he was lending weapons to Apla and the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe for the protection of their leaders in Transkei.

Responding to claims that there were Apla training camps in his homeland, Holomisa said yesterday: "If Apla's and Umkhonto we Sizwe's presence in Transkei is classified as 'bases', then I argue that the same is happening in South Africa."

He called on President de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to "show us the bases from which our people are being killed in the townships" and to disclose the source of illegal weapons circulating in the country. He urged the South African Government to present evidence of Apla training camps in Transkei to his commission of inquiry.

He said the South African Government should resume talks with the PAC and draw up a code of conduct for its armed forces during the transition.

The Government should also formalise the operation of military bases of the various military wings, including the SADF, where conventional training could be conducted.

SA 'will follow hot pursuit doctrine'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
SAPM 29/12/92

South African security forces would raid Transkei if intelligence proved the existence of Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in the homeland, Government spokesman Dave Steward confirmed yesterday.

In the first official confirmation of rumours that the SADF would raid the homeland to destroy Apla bases, he said: "Should intelligence confirm the existence of terrorist bases in Transkei, the Government will take whatever diplomatic and other action may be necessary for the elimination of such bases."

He confirmed to The Star that "other action" included military raids.

He stressed, however, that this would not necessarily be the first option. But he said the security forces would apply the doctrine of "hot pursuit" to cross borders in order to follow the perpetrators of terrorist acts.

The Government was urgently and systematically investigating the reliability and authenticity of all reports relating to Apla, particularly those relating to the possible assistance the Transkei government may have given it.

"It is nationally and internationally unacceptable for a state to make its territory available for attacks against citizens of other states or to provide material or moral assistance to terrorists."

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed at the weekend that his government had been supplying weapons to Apla and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "for the protection of their leaders" in Transkei. He said these "loans" would continue, even in the face of a raid on his territory.

In a statement to Sapa yesterday, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander emphatically denied Apla was militarily active in Transkei.

But, he warned, the PAC would not tolerate a South African strike on the territory.

● More reports — Page 6

Deaf-mute woman gang-raped

Crime Reporter

A man forced a 28-year-old deaf-mute woman to drink a bottle of liquor, and then he and three friends raped her, the police said yesterday.

Police spokesman War-rant Officer Andy Pieke said the man met the woman at the Summit Club in Hillbrow on Sunday, before luring her away on the pretext of taking her to another club.

In the car he made her drink the alcohol and drove her to a house where the four raped her.

Paramedics found the woman wandering in a Hillbrow street early yesterday morning, said Pieke.

A sign language expert was called in to help her tell police what had happened.

● An 18-year-old woman was raped by a Johannesburg Hospital security guard on Sunday afternoon.

Police said the man had raped the woman on hospital premises.

He has been arrested and is due to appear in court soon.

Strydom unlikely to get gun licence

SAPM 29/12/92

By Charmeela Bhagowat

Wit Wolf Barend Strydom's chances of being granted a firearm licence are slim, police said today.

Strydom applied for a licence after a display of posters in Brits showing a masked man carrying a picture of his head and sporting the slogan "Fascists beware — crush the AWB".

Lieutenant Brahm du Preez said: "The most important criterion for getting a firearm licence is a person's past criminal record and this could rule Strydom out as a future holder of a firearm."

The Department of Correctional Services said Strydom's release conditions did not stipulate that he could not apply for a firearm for a licence, only that he should not get involved in criminal activities or leave the Brits area.

Lieutenant-Colonel Barry Eksteen said the police would have to decide whether Strydom gets the licence, but the chances were slim.

Strydom said he had earlier applied for a firearm licence for self-defence purposes, but the application was turned down.

He apparently re-applied for the licence in fear for his life after seeing the posters pinned up on a number of Brits shop windows and in the light of recent Apla attacks.

The posters were reportedly displayed in the ANC's Brits office and Strydom has asked the organisation to remove them or face the consequences.

Strydom has made a written appeal to Kriel, saying he needed the licence to protect himself as he had received a number of death threats.

Strydom's father Nic told The Star there was no reason for the authorities to deny his son a firearm licence.

"He should be able to carry a firearm. The fact that he has no licence does not mean that he cannot repeat his actions in Strijdom Square where he killed those people. It is just a matter of self-defence. He needs the gun," his father said.

er et of ile use lld ve si- is ho fy ng gn ld in it- us ld ig n- k, ig f- ct p- je s, lo b h r o f d r y r s e

SADF alleges Apla terror plot

B/DAM

30/12/92

84A

BLOEMFONTEIN — As tensions remained high in the Free State and soldiers continued to hold positions along the eastern border, the SADF claimed yesterday Apla was planning to use army uniforms and weapons to attack soft targets.

The officer commanding Free State Command, Brig Andre Bestbier, said Apla wanted to discredit the SADF and link it to so-called third force activities, and called on residents to report any suspicious actions to the SADF or police.

The SADF was preparing to counter any further Apla actions, Brig Bestbier said. Parabats were deployed by air to secure the eastern border area on Christmas Eve and would remain there as long as necessary, a Free State Command statement said. Soldiers from the crack 44 Parachute Brigade in Bloemfontein might be deployed along the Lesotho border, the statement also said.

Meanwhile, Free State Agricultural Union security committee vice-chairman Danie Claassen yesterday denied allegations that a meeting in Ficksburg, at which Cabinet Ministers were booed, was political.

Claassen said the meeting on December 22 had been organised by the union to discuss the security situation with government and interested parties. It was not, as alleged by Law and Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL, a political meeting.

Ministers were heckled by the audience — many of whom wore AWB uniforms — who packed the hall to discuss an attack in which a white teenage girl was killed.

The union and the Ficksburg community were waiting for Kriel to tell them what government intended doing about the situation, Claassen said. In another development, Claassen said it had been noted with shock that apparently a schoolboy had been run

down deliberately by a taxi in Ficksburg on Sunday.

Danie Keis, 15, was struck while jogging with his sister, and was discharged from hospital after being treated for concussion and bruises.

In Johannesburg, CP defence spokesman Willie Snyman said Transkei's supplying of arms to Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe must be seen as an act of aggression by a neighbouring state.

The CP urgently requested the government to carry out its threat of hot pursuit operations across the Transkei border.

The Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB), meanwhile, said yesterday its members had been put on standby after an attack on a BWB member in Kimberley a week ago.

BWB leader Andrew Ford said the BWB would not hesitate to take the law into its own hands to restore a Boer state. — Sapa.

Recession buffets sports clubs

THE recession has left sports clubs in SA struggling to sustain memberships and revenues.

The Wanderers Club, one of the oldest and best known in the country, stated in its latest magazine that 1992 had been a difficult year for it and for most other clubs in SA, Sapa reports.

Members were not using the club's revenue-producing facilities, on which it is largely dependent — including what is reputed to be the longest bar counter in the world — anywhere near as much as in more normal times, the magazine's editorial stated.

"It is, of course, like that in clubs throughout the country, and the whole hospitality industry is in dire straits," it said.

"We have only to take note of what has been happening lately in some of the country's leading hotels to realise

ADRIAN HADLAND

how serious the situation has become."

Wanderers chairman Trevor Stubbs said the club had embarked on a new drive to halt the steady decline in membership over the past five years.

The club had also recently undertaken a survey to determine how members felt about the club's present and future offerings and facilities, Stubbs said.

Inanda Club committee member Conor Doak said he was optimistic the club's fortunes would improve next year.

Additional facilities had been provided to encourage members to make more use of the club and younger members were being taken in, he said. "The waiting lists, though, are nothing like they used to be."

Order on Beuthin

SUSAN RUSSELL

A RAND Supreme Court judge yesterday ordered that three psychiatrists assess bodybuilder Gary Beuthin to determine if he was capable of conducting a proper defence against charges of kidnapping and attempted murder.

Judge MJ Strydom said there were indications that Beuthin might not be able to follow proceedings due to some mental defect or illness.

Beuthin, 28, is accused of kidnapping Jill Reeves of Melrose on May 12 this year and of attempting to murder her by jumping on her head. He also faces nine other related charges, including attempted extortion, robbery, theft and bilking.

Beuthin has pleaded not guilty to all but the five counts of theft and bilking.

The trial was postponed until January 29.

Tempers flare in OFS after taxi hits boy

STAR 30/12/92

84A ~~84A~~

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Tempers are again nearing boiling point in the Free State border region after a 15-year-old white schoolboy was run down by a black taxi near Ficksburg on Sunday evening.

Police are investigating the possibility that Danie Keis, who suffered head injuries and concussion, was deliberately knocked down while jogging with his sister on the shoulder of the Ficksburg-Fouriesburg road, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The taxi did not stop.

Police are investigating charges of attempted murder, reckless or negligent driving and failure to stop at the scene of an accident.

The Ministry of Law and Order has appealed to residents of the area to stay calm and not to seek retribution.

Danie Claassen, vice-chairman of the Free State Agricultural Union's security committee, told Sapa that the community was shocked and angry after Sunday's incident.

He called on the SAP to offer a reward for information that could lead to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for it and other attacks.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday appealed to the community to co-operate with existing security structures.

"It is vital that people do not

allow emotions to swell as this would be playing into the hands of the Azanian People's Liberation Army," Kotze said.

He said South African security intelligence was working overtime to track down the perpetrators of all recent attacks in the region.

Last Sunday, 15-year-old Leonie Pretorius was killed in a grenade attack on her parents' Ficksburg farmhouse and on Thursday, a group of whites attacked two black taxis, killing a driver and injuring three other people.

Farmers believe they are being terrorised by Apla insurgents from Lesotho.

● The SADF has information that Apla intends using SADF weapons and uniforms in attacks on "soft" targets in the eastern Free State, according to the officer commanding the Free State Command, Brigadier Andre Bestbier.

Bestbier claimed yesterday the action was being planned in an effort to discredit the SADF and to link the SADF to so-called third-force activities.

● Sapa reports that three men from Meloding at Virginia appeared in the Theunissen Magistrate's Court on Monday in connection with the murders of an elderly Theunissen farmer and his daughter on December 21.

The three men, Johannes Leabi (31), Stephen Masala (30) and Sankie Solomon Dassie (26), were not asked to plead and were remanded in custody to January 25.

Goldstone to head Transkei Apla probe

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Mr Justice Goldstone has agreed to head a judicial inquiry into the alleged activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in Transkei, the homeland's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said last night.

Holomisa said the inquiry would not form part of the present Goldstone Commission. It would also investigate "the destabilisation of Transkei by South Africa".

Mr Justice Goldstone would appoint the commissioners to the inquiry, with strict instructions from the Transkei government that they not include Transkei civil servants.

"That is the difference between this commission and the present Goldstone Commission, which is not independent because it contains South African civil servants," said Holomisa.

A Goldstone Commission spokesman said the judge had not mentioned his taking part in the Transkei commission before leaving for Israel at the weekend.

According to Holomisa, he and Mr Justice Goldstone are due to meet after the judge returns on Friday. They would set a date for the beginning of the inquiry and decide terms of reference.

● The Goldstone Commission has established a committee to conduct a preliminary investigation into Apla, Mr Justice Goldstone has confirmed.

He said the committee would investigate the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition and personnel, and its operational activities.

The first public sitting will be in Port Elizabeth on January 4.

8100m 31/12/92
**First hearing
in Apla probe
on Monday**

(84A)

BILLY PADDOCK

JUDGE Richard Goldstone would head a two-pronged investigation in the new year into Apla and the Transkei connection, which could resolve the dissent between government and the homeland, Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

Goldstone had agreed to head Transkei's commission of inquiry into accusations of Apla bases in the territory, he said. In a separate statement released yesterday, the Goldstone commission reiterated that a committee conducting a preliminary investigation into Apla would hold its first hearing in Port Elizabeth on Monday.

Holomisa said: "The two inquiries, while totally different and separate, will be mutually informative and assist the judge in getting to the truth of exactly what the position is. This will clear up all the bad atmosphere over the Apla attacks."

Holomisa said he had spoken to Goldstone before Christmas and the judge had agreed to head the inquiry. There would be a meeting, probably on Saturday, after Goldstone returned from Israel.

However, a Goldstone commission spokesman could not confirm the judge was going to head the inquiry. He added, though, that if it was not part of the commission's activities, he would not necessarily have been informed. A Justice Department official also could not confirm or deny Holomisa's announcement.

Holomisa said Goldstone had been approached in his capacity as a judge, not as chairman of the Goldstone commission. He would head up the inquiry in terms of Transkei's constitution with members of Transkei's Bar Council. No SA or Transkei government officials would be involved.

The inquiry would also investigate allegations that Transkei Defence Force officers were assisting Apla in training and with weapons, and Holomisa's allegations of SA destabilising his territory.

Free State right wing to mobilise

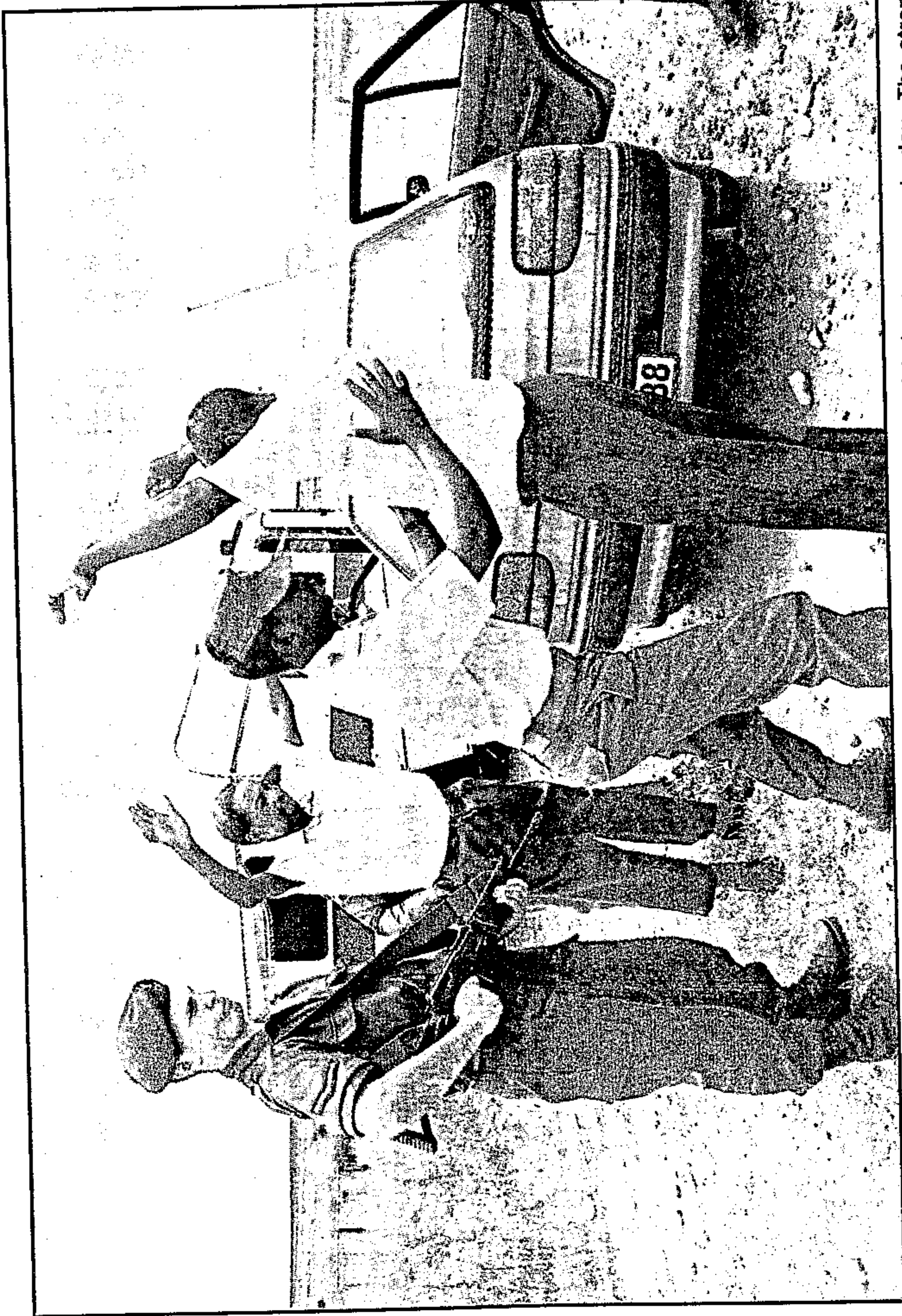
FICKSBURG Members of the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging say they will mobilise their followers to combat terror attacks in the eastern Free State.

At a meeting in Marquard yesterday, attended by 14 community leaders in the Ladybrand constituency, Conservative Party MP Charl Hertzog said the decision to mobilise along the Lesotho border was in line with CP policy.

He said training camps would be established for right-wing-supporting Christians.

The SAP's Internal Stability Unit chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Ray Harrald, said more than 200 policemen had been deployed in the area, with each farmer receiving a 24-hour police guard.

● The SAP has assured Ficksburg taxi operators that it will give them maximum protection. This follows two attacks by whites on taxis on Christmas Eve, in which a driver was shot dead and three people were injured. — Staff Reporter, Sapa.



Security check . . . police and troops search a motorist at a roadblock in the Ficksburg area yesterday. The strong police presence is in response to recent attacks, allegedly by Apia, from across the Lesotho border. Picture: Joao Silva