

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES — 1993

JANUARY — FEBRUARY

Apla 'Great Storm' message jars with PAC

Star 2/11/93.

BRONWYN WILKINSON

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, has declared 1993 the "Year of the Great Storm" and claimed that more than 500 security force members were killed last year — the largest security force death toll since modern guerilla warfare began in South Africa in 1961.

In a New Year's message from Dar-es-Salaam, Apla chairman Sabelo Victor Phama declared that last year had seen perhaps the largest number of guerilla actions yet launched in South Africa.

However, the New Year's message from the PAC itself contrasted sharply in its conciliatory tone with that of the military wing. PAC president Clarence

Makwetu said his organisation remained ready to discuss with other parties ways to set up a constituent assembly this year.

"To this end we believe that the new negotiations forum could be established by February 1993, that voter registration be started by March 1 1993, and that elections for a constituent assembly unfettered by prior deals be held by October 1993."

But in his war-talk New Year's message, Phama said "the enemy could not hide the fact that it was feeling the heat", adding that Apla's "theatre of war" was expanding daily and covering urban and rural areas throughout South Africa.

The masses had taken up the challenge and were now facing reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, Phama said, claiming that grassroots distrust for negotiations was proved by the fact that Apla's ranks had swelled to over 10 000 members.

"Let us gear ourselves up for 1993, which we hereby declare the Year of the Great Storm," he said.

Both the ANC and SACP declared themselves committed to the resumption of all-party negotiations this year.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the core challenge set by events was the election of a constituent assembly this year.

"Such an election would mark the end of decades during which

our country was ravaged in an undeclared war. South Africa urgently needs a 'Marshall Aid' plan to address the consequences of such devastation," Mandela said.

South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani said last year's mass action had laid the basis for a breakthrough in negotiations this year.

He said 1993 had to be a year of continuing mass involvement in the transition process.

"We must move into 1993 with the determination to bring peace to the squatter camps, peace to the hostels and townships. 1993 must be a year in which we carry forward the struggle for a more just, peaceful and equitable world order," Hani said.



CLARENCE MAKWETU: His message was in contrast to the sabre-rattling.

Killing 'MK' three was a matter of survival, says teacher

DOWN GUNNED

CP Reso 3/11/93

By MOSES MAMALLA

A SEBOKENG teacher this week gave a chilling account of how he shot dead three alleged MK soldiers shortly after narrowly escaping death at the hands of dozens of combatants.

Armstrong Motale, who refused to die when his assailants pumped four bullets into his body, lived to tell how he and his family narrowly escaped being victims of the now notorious Sebokeng Zone 12 gunmen.

"I am coming out to speak about this not because I am proud. On the contrary, I am shattered. The horrific incident has put me under so much strain I can never forget it. But it was a matter of survival. My assailants were threatening to kill me and I just had to defend myself," Motale said this week.

"I am myself an ANC member. I started serving the organisation long before it was unbanned and senior members of the movement in the area know that very well," he said.

Relating the dramatic November 12 incident, Motale, a popular tavern owner in the area, said he had gone to the funeral of the Zwane family who had been wiped out by mystery gunmen in Zone 12.

On returning from the graveyard, a group of more than 50 youths approached him and accused him of disarming MK guerrillas in the area. He tried to persuade them that was not possible since he lacked the might and the will to embark on such an operation



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On returning from the graveyard, a group of more than 50 youths approached him and accused him of disarming MK guerrillas in the area. He tried to persuade them that was not possible since he lacked the might and the will to embark on such an operation which "even the SADF failed to carry out".

But the youths, who were armed with shotguns, demanded that he should drive with them to his home to reveal "the guns".

He said the local ANC leadership intervened and tried to convince the "young lions" that the matter could be dealt with in a non-violent manner.

But the youths refused to listen and maintained that they were MK members and that civilians could not command them. They said they were accountable to the military command of MK and not to the political leadership of the ANC, he said.

At gunpoint, Motale was ordered to drive his BMW to his home in the neighbourhood.

He said: "They made it quite clear I was going to die, whatever happened. They started inquiring about my young son, making it clear that my family too was being targeted."

Five cadres rode with him in his car, and other gunmen raced behind in other vehicles.

He stopped his car near his home and made a dash for the yard. Two shots were fired at him but they missed.

"I drew my gun in the yard and fired two warning shots and I saw some of the youths dashing for cover. I went back towards the car and one of the gunmen fired at me. Three bullets cut through the left part of my stomach and one struck me in the rib.

"I staggered and fell next to the car, still holding my gun. One of the youths moved towards me carrying a big stone. I fired at him.

"Miraculously I reached my house. I was bleeding profusely. My wife, who was hysterical after hearing the shots, run outside.

"A few moments later I heard four shots being fired and I thought that my wife had been killed. I went mad and vowed that they would have to kill me too.

"After reloading, I went outside and fired indiscriminately at my attackers. They fired at me

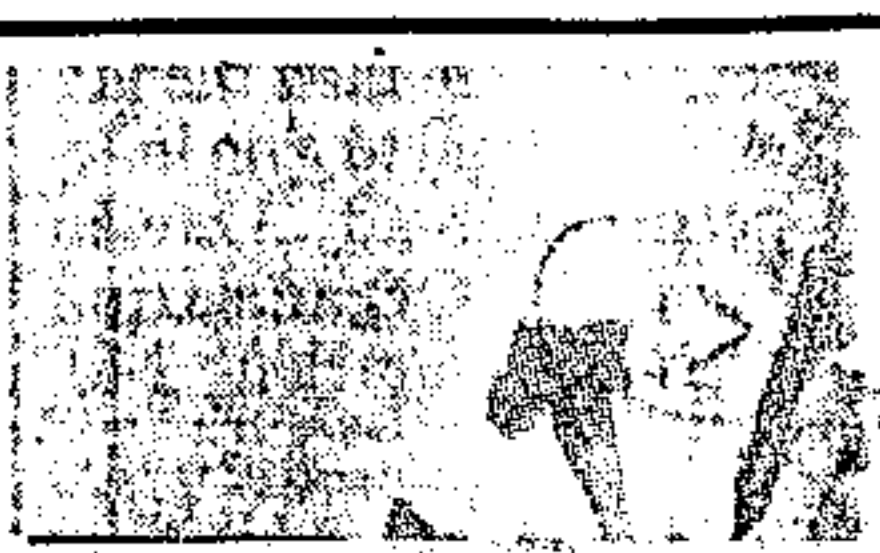
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'I killed thugs'

CP/pen 3/1/93
From Page 1. 84A

too but fortunately they missed," he said.

Still bleeding profusely, Motale then drove to the Evaton police station and was taken to hospital.

Later he was told that during the intense shooting three gunmen were killed, but his wife escaped unhurt.

He spent about a month at a private clinic in Vereeniging.

Motale, who has not fully recovered, said he was still amazed at how he survived when about 50 combatants with apparent military skills tried to eliminate him.

"I do not believe it was luck but that God did not want to take my life at the time," he said.

As a measure of goodwill, Motale, who has vacated his double-story tavern-cum-home, has offered to loan it free to returned exiles.

"My whole life has been disrupted, but I bear no grudges. What happened was unfortunate,

but unavoidable. I hope the guys on the other side feel the same. I pray that we will shake hands and let this unfortunate incident be a closed chapter."

However, the house offer was politely turned down by ANC PWV publicity secretary Ronnie Mamoepa.

"We are grateful that he could make the offer, but we can't accept it. It is his house and he must live in it. If we allowed situations where the organisation took over houses from people who were victims of political thugs, we would be setting a bad precedent," Mamoepa said.

"We are also concerned about the situation in the area and hope we can make suitable arrangements for Motale and his family to get back to their home and live in peace," he said.

He invited Motale to a meeting with senior ANC officials to resolve the matter.



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Holomisa tells

ST Times 3/1/93

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SA to 'go to hell'

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

TRANSKEI leader Bantu Holomisa says he will continue to provide weapons to the PAC and Apla and guarantee their safety in his country.

Speaking to the Sunday Times at his Umtata home this week, the relaxed yet defiant military ruler said the SA government could "go to hell".

He scoffed at military action or potential financial sanctions against the homeland. To take any of these moves against the Transkei held the possibility of disrupting the negotiations process, he said.

General Holomisa said his government had several times provided weapons to the ANC, PAC and Apla to protect their

General wants Goldstone

GENERAL Holomisa said he had asked Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to conduct an independent commission of inquiry into allegations of the existence of Apla bases in the Transkei.

He was convinced that the commission would find that the allegations were a mere propaganda exercise by the South African government. He said he would present evidence to the commission of SA security-force involvement in attempts to destabilise the region, he said.

Judge Goldstone said in a statement yesterday that, while he welcomed the request by General Holomisa, the commission had no powers in the Transkei.

"That and the constitutional relationship between SA and the Transkei make it necessary that appropriate arrangements be made through normal government channels," he said.

General Holomisa said he would apply to the SA government tomorrow to appoint Judge Goldstone.

leadership on visits to the Transkei. He would not apologise for it and would do so again "tomorrow".

During these visits, Transkei security forces had collaborated with the security personnel of the visiting dignitaries in providing weapons and assistance. He was confident that all weapons had been returned and the ammuni-

tion accounted for on their departure.

He added that anyone resident in the Transkei could apply for a licence to buy a firearm for protection. Regardless of the person's political affiliation, this practice would continue, he said.

Members of the liberation movements resident in the Transkei knew that, should they feel threatened by SA authorities, they could ask for the protection of Transkei security forces.

Kerzner

Spelling out his policy towards alleged Apla terrorists in the Transkei, General Holomisa said that, if the SAP had any information that any Transkeian had perpetrated a crime, they could apply for extradition in terms of the agreement between the two countries.

"I expect I will be as accommodating as the SA government has been in assisting me with my extradition request against Sol Kerzner," he said.

Outlining the relationship between the Transkei and the PAC, General Holomisa said that Apla chief of staff Barney Hlatswayo and an Apla delegation had visited the Transkei in October 1991, when they had held a meeting with him and members of his military council.

At this meeting he had asked Mr Hlatswayo to "open the doors" for the Transkei in obtaining

training for his civil service and army officer corps.

The Transkei Defence Force is unable to train above the rank of brigadier, and General Holomisa had said this could pose a problem for his defence force when all the armies were integrated under a new dispensation.

General Holomisa rejected reports that he had offered Apla basic training by the Transkei Defence Force and permission for Apla to use the Transkei to train its members.

"Giving Apla training under the TDF would have put Transkei at risk. And I would never allow any liberation movement to conduct informal training in the Transkei. They could be training my enemy," he said.

Zones

He denied he had asked Mr Hlatswayo to assist the Transkei with heavy weaponry or that he had allowed Apla to use his military bases to store its weapons.

He said that, while there had been allegations that Apla had been training its members in the Transkei, there was no proof that this was true. If it had taken place, he would condemn it and take action immediately.

Information obtained by the Sunday Times indicates that the Transkei has been divided by Apla into four zones. The Central

zone, consisting of the districts of Umtata, Butterworth, Libode, Centane, Idutywa, Ngqamakwe and Ngqeleni is under the command of Vumankosi Lawrence Ntikinca.

The Eastern zone, including the districts of Ntabankulu, Mt Frere, Mt Ayliff, Bizana, Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Port St Johns, is under the command of Bulelani Xuma.

The Southern zone, consisting of the districts of Engcobo, Cala, Herschel and Cofimvaba, is under the command of Temba Kenene.

And the Northern zone, consisting of the districts of Mt Fletcher, Maluti and Matatiele, is under the command of Madodana Fihla.

Training

General Holomisa rejected a Newsweek magazine report which claimed he had sent a delegation to sign an agreement with Apla regarding training its members in the Transkei in return for officer-corps and civil-servant training.

He said a meeting between a delegation of the Transkei Defence Force led by Brigadier TT Matanzima and an Apla delegation led by Apla secretary of defence Victor Gqweta was held in Kampala, Uganda, on December 2. They had met to discuss the training of Transkei Defence Force personnel abroad.

Flowing from the official meeting, a liaison committee was established between the TDF and Apla to keep the lines of communication between the two groups open, he said.

General Holomisa denied that flowing from this liaison committee cooperation on the recruitment and training of Apla members had resulted. Nor had there been any agreement that Apla could use the Transkei as a springboard to launch attacks on SA security forces, he said.

No 'Kei meeting with SA over Appla

CIPPER 3/1/73

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A MEETING between the Transkei and South African governments before the homeland's Commission of Inquiry into the existence of Appla training bases in Transkei would be unwelcome, the homeland's military ruler said on Friday.

Responding to media reports that SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha was arranging a

meeting between the governments, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said he had not been approached by South African officials. "I don't have any objection in principle to such a meeting, but I think such a meeting should take place after the Commission of Inquiry has published its findings as it (the meeting) could have an undue influence on the commission."

In addition to the alleged existence of Appla bases in Transkei, the matter of South African attempts to destabilise the homeland would also be raised at a meeting with commission chairman Justice Richard Goldstone to discuss the commission's terms of reference.

The Transkei Commission of Inquiry will be run independently of the SA Goldstone Commission of Inquiry which was established under the National Peace Accord, to which Transkei is not a signatory.

South African ambassador to Transkei Horace van Rensburg said reports that a meeting between the two governments may assume the status of a leadership summit were a misinterpretation of a television interview with Botha.

A Goldstone Commission committee, to be chaired by Gert Steyn, will hold a preliminary hearing on the location of Appla army camps, arms, ammunition and personnel in Port Elizabeth on Monday. - Sapa

E Cape blasts damage farm shop

STAR 4/1/93.
PORT ELIZABETH — Two explosions in the early hours today severely damaged a shop on the farm Uitsig, 4 km from Patensie in the eastern Cape.

Rose Hepburn, who is a partner in her father's citrus farm, said that both the back and front doors of the shop had been blown out by the force of the explosions.

844
Miss Hepburn said the explosions had also made two craters in the cement floor.

A bomb disposal unit had already arrived at the farm and was waiting for reinforcements from Port Elizabeth to assist in combing the area for further explosives.

No one was hurt in the blasts.
— Sapa.

Call for SA neighbours to co-operate in Apla probe

JUDGE Richard Goldstone has called on neighbouring countries to co-operate with his commission's inquiry into the activities of the PAC's military wing Apla. The commission begins hearing evidence in Port Elizabeth today.

The appeal, which echoes an earlier call by UN mission to SA chief Angela King, came as Transkei suggested Goldstone head a separate, Transkei government-appointed inquiry into Apla activities in the homeland.

Transkei has previously refused Goldstone access to the homeland, claiming that he is an appointee of President F W de Klerk and only accountable to the SA government.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said the homeland would today hand a formal diplomatic note to government requesting Goldstone's services "as a judge, not as part of the Goldstone commission".

B/Dmy 4/1/93.
RAY HARTLEY

Goldstone would be expected to appoint commissioners from the Transkei Bar Council, Holomisa said.

Goldstone said: "The commission would welcome and invite the co-operation of neighbouring states whose territories are alleged to be used by persons launching such attacks. Such co-operation could be by way of submissions, evidence or direct participation in the investigations and inquiries themselves."

He said government would be approached to assist in securing the co-operation of neighbouring countries in the investigation. Transkei's willingness to involve him in investigations into Apla activities in the homeland was "welcome".

"The manner in which the commission or I might be involved by the inquiries referred to by Maj-Gen

Holomisa and other matters referred to by statements made by him to the Press still require to be canvassed," he said.

"In this regard I would point out that the commission has no jurisdiction or powers in Transkei."

A police spokesman said yesterday no incidents involving Apla had been reported along SA's borders with Lesotho and Transkei over the festive season.

The spokesman said there were no plans to reduce the security force levels in the area despite the relative quiet there over the last 10 days.

Meanwhile, a weekend report said a consortium of Transkei businessmen and farmers were secretly negotiating to buy 22 farms along the homeland's border with SA.

The deal, said to involve about R47m had been under discussion since July 1992, the report said.

Sowetan
4/1/93

'Apla not criminal'

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THE PAN Africanist Congress has objected to a description of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, as a criminal hit squad.

Following a spate of attacks on whites in South Africa recently - for which Apla has either been blamed or has claimed responsibility - Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha described Apla as a criminal hit squad.

PAC information and publicity chief Mr Waters Bishop Toboti said the organisation objected "strongly because Apla is an army of national liberation whose principal mission is to defend the oppressed millions of Africans against the brutalities and venalities of ... " the South African Defence Force".

Subpoenas for leaders if they refuse to testify on Apla

Ultimatum to PAC

had no knowledge of PAC or Apla dissidents being flown in to testify.

The committee heard yesterday that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) carried out at least 41 terror attacks in South Africa in 1991 and 1992 and used Transkei as the base for its campaign.

Counsel for the South African Police, Francois van Zyl, told the committee investigating the activities of the PAC's military wing that various attacks had been carried out on the instruction of the Apla high command in Transkei.

The police had information from arrested Apla members and other sources that Apla members had undergone military training in Tanzania, Libya, Uganda, China, Zimbabwe, Egypt and Nigeria.

Apla had about 120 trained members inside Transkei, although the number of members who had received "crash training" courses in the territory was not known.

Van Zyl said 10 bases in Transkei, including Sterkspruit, Umtata and Butterworth, where Apla recruits had undergone "crash" training in the use of AK-47 and R-4 rifles, landmines,

● To Page 3

The Goldstone Commission may subpoena Pan Africanist Congress leaders to testify in its special inquiry into the activities of the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

This step would be taken if the PAC ignored requests to testify voluntarily, a spokesman for the commission said yesterday.

This development came as the PAC claimed the Government had flown in Apla dissidents from abroad to testify before a committee of the commission sitting in Port Elizabeth.

The PAC said its intelligence sources had information that one of the two dissidents was Justice Nkonyana, a former Apla commander who was allegedly involved in the assassination of former PAC leader David Sibeko in Tanzania in 1979.

The organisation said this was part of a campaign to discredit Apla and the PAC.

The spokesman for the commission said both committee chairman Gert Steyn and the chairman of the Goldstone Commission Mr Justice Richard Goldstone

STAR S/1193. **Ultimatum to PAC leaders.**

● From Page 1... their leaders, Van Zyl said Transkei should submit those weapons for ballistic testing to see if they had been used in terror attacks.

Apla members were ordered to commit robberies and to steal vehicles for sale in neighbouring countries to raise funds, he added.

He told the committee, that the SAP had information indicating that evidence of Apla camps in the homeland was being destroyed.

Referring to an admission by military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa that the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) had lent 9 mm pistols and ammunition to Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in April to protect

and Apla, and the alleged supply of arms and ammunition to Apla by the Transkei authorities.

● Subpoena all persons within its jurisdiction who may have information that could help the committee.

● Request the Organisation of African Unity to prevent its members from assisting Apla and to pressure the PAC to end its policy of violence.

● Request that Transkei stop supporting Apla at once.

The Transkei government has turned down an invitation by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for Transkei to give evidence to the committee.

Own Correspondent

STAR S/1193

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Vumankosi Laurence Ntinkca (alias Sizwe).



Letlapa Mphahlele (alias Happy).

Rewards offered for attack suspects

STAFF REPORTER S11193

The South African Police yesterday offered substantial rewards for information leading to the arrest of three cadres of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla), saying warrants for their arrests had been issued.

A fourth Apla member, purportedly a former chief of operations in Transkei, Vumankosi Laurence Ntinkca, alias Sizwe, is also being

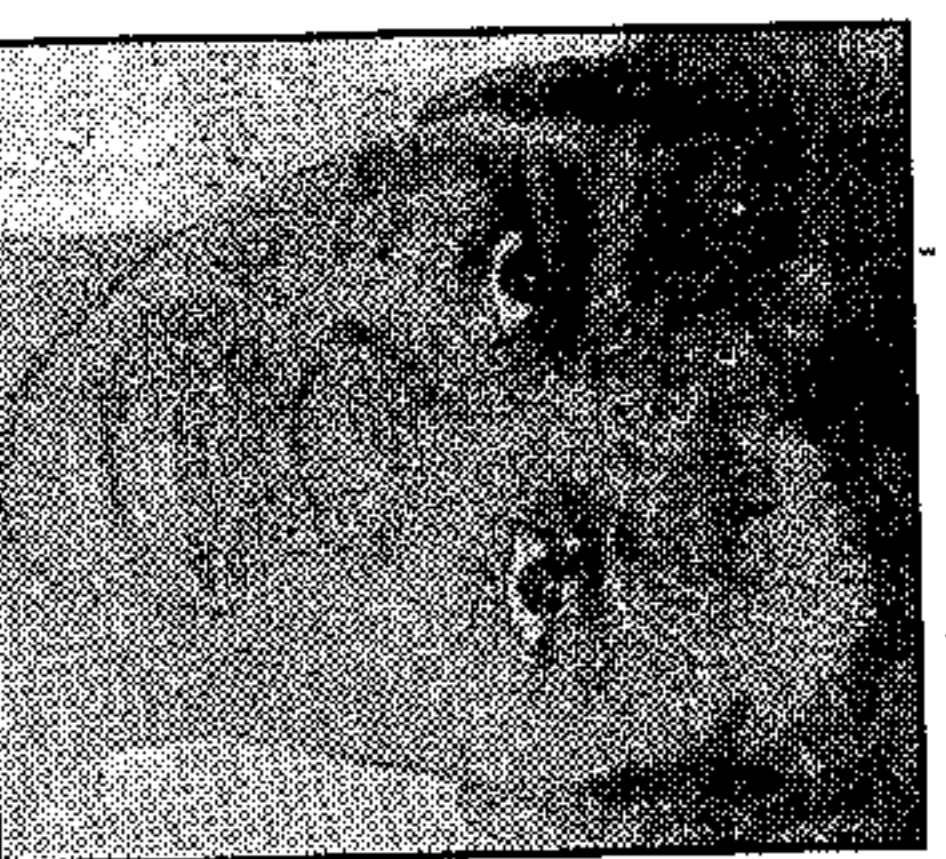
sought by the SAP.

The total reward for the arrest and conviction of the Apla members is believed to be in the region of R100 000 — one of the biggest rewards yet offered by the SAP.

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said the Apla members were wanted on various charges including murder, attempted murder and malicious dam-

age to property.

He named the three as Letlapa Mphahlele (alias Happy), Luyanda Humphry Gqomfa (alias Thami) and Welle Gideon Matilika (alias Vuyo). Mphahlele, according to Van der Merwe, took over from Ntinkca as chief of operations in Transkei last year and is also a member of Apla's executive committee. — Sapa.



Luyanda Humphry Gqomfa (alias Thami).



Welle Gideon Matilika (alias Vuyo).

'Show and

shock'

STAR 5/11/93

strategy

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The recent spate of attacks by the Azanian People's Organisation was part of its "show and shock" tactics, the Goldstone Commission has been told.

Danie Pretorius was making a submission on behalf of the South African Defence Force to the Goldstone committee — chaired by Gert Steyn — which is investigating Apla.

Pretorius said this type of warfare was waged against farmers and residential areas so that there would be reprisal by the authorities. Apla could then retaliate.

He said Apla had committed itself to the continuation of the armed struggle against the white community, police and security forces.

The Apla strategy was guerrilla war which entailed armed propaganda, attacks on military institutions and planning for the creation of liberated zones.

Their strategy, he said, showed a clear Maoist approach as more emphasis was placed on the struggle in the rural areas.

It was part of Apla's strategy that the political and military wings should work together with the strategy for the takeover of government based upon a two-pronged revolutionary model.

Weapons were being brought into the country by Apla members from abroad in an attempt to bolster the internal military structure.

Libya remained the main source of finance and training for the PAC.

Bombs linked to my ANC ties - farmer

STAR 5/11/93

PORT ELIZABETH — A Patensie farmer whose store was destroyed by two bombs on Sunday night says he believes his ANC membership sparked the attack.

Malcolm Hepburn said yesterday he was an active member of the ANC and that he believed right-wing organisations were responsible for the attack on his Qwathi trading store on the farm Uitsig.

Hepburn could not say which grouping had targeted his store, but said: "It could only be Europeans who could do such a thing."

He said his family had received several threatening telephone calls in November and December over his ANC membership, and that they were avoided by whites in Patensie.

In a chilling telephone conversation last month, Hepburn had been told: "You won't see Christmas."

Police say two devices — believed to be commercial explosives — detonated shortly be-

fore midnight on Sunday night at the store's entrance.

No one was injured but the bombs caused an estimated R150 000 damage.

Hepburn said his store was the only white-owned shop in the Patensie area not affected by a three-month consumer boycott.

Eastern Cape police liaison officer Captain Lisbe Vermeulen said it was premature to comment on Hepburn's claims, saying the motive for the attack had not yet been established.

Hostile

Detectives were following up all leads and had opened a sabotage case, Vermeulen said.

Hepburn said white people in Patensie were hostile and stayed away from the farm.

He said that, as an ANC member, he attended the organisation's meetings and took part in protest marches.

He said the attack would not make him give up his ANC

membership or harm his very good relations with Patensie's black residents.

Hepburn's daughter Rosemarie said the two bombs went off at about 11.45 pm.

Four family members put out the blaze, which destroyed food, clothing and other goods.

Sunday night's attack came hours before the first sitting of a committee set up by the Goldstone Commission to probe the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Apla has declared war on whites and is active in the eastern Cape.

In the Free State, a black taxi driver was killed and several passengers were wounded by a white man firing from the back of a pick-up in Ficksburg just before Christmas, following a spate of guerilla attacks in the area.

Five whites have been killed and 40 wounded in attacks by Apla, which on Friday declared 1993 the "Year of the Great Storm". — Sapa-Reuter.

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Bomb on E Cape farm

PORT ELIZABETH. — Bombers have destroyed a farm store owned by one of the few white members of the ANC in the eastern Cape.

Ms Rosemarie Hepburn, daughter of Patensie farm owner Mr Malcolm Hepburn, who is a member of the ANC'S local branch executive, told reporters that it was clear the motive

was not theft. No one was hurt in the bombing.

(849) AT 5/1/93
Police said yesterday commercial explosives had been used.

● Police are investigating a case of terrorism following a limpet mine explosion on Monday at a supermarket on the West Rand. — Sapa



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Zambia: Winnie witness is free to go

LUSAKA — The Zambian government said yesterday that jailed South African Kasakatiza Cebekhulu, a potential witness against Winnie Mandela, was free to go to any country that would accept him. *BIDM 5/11/93*

Cebekhulu was allegedly abducted to Lusaka in May 1991 by the ANC to stop him testifying against Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie, at her trial for kidnapping and assault.

He has been held since then in a Zambian prison.

Asked when Cebekhulu would be freed, Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba replied: "It is really up to Cebekhulu himself to make a decision, but we have a lot to clear before he can go out of the country."

Zimba gave no more details, but indicated that Cebekhulu, 23, was hesitant to return to SA "for obvious reasons". — Reuter.

13 die in Natal over weekend

DURBAN — Police said yesterday a spate of New Year weekend attacks had left 13 people dead and nine injured, with figures expected to rise. *BIDM 5/11/93*

Durban police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi said 10 people were killed and eight wounded in separate incidents on Sunday alone. *5/11/93*

On Sunday morning at Harding seven people died and five were injured in a family feud. Police could not say how many families were involved. Pangas, AK-47 rifles, assegais, shotguns and 9mm pistols were used.

In the Midlands town of Imbali, taxi driver Milkman Majozi and one passenger were shot dead and five passengers wounded when unidentified gunmen opened fire indiscriminately on the Sinwazi-Mbelebele road on Sunday afternoon.

In Wembezi near Estcourt, police on Sunday night discovered one person shot dead and two others injured in Section VQ.

On New Year's Day a 68-year-old man was shot dead in the Mahlabathini district in Ulundi. In the same district on Saturday,

another man was shot dead during a faction fight.

On Saturday in Umhumbulu, south of Durban, a 53-year-old man was shot dead. Four empty shotgun cartridges were found at the scene.

Security forces on Sunday used teargas to prevent fighting between large groups of ANC and Inkatha supporters at Imbali.

The incident took place during an ANC protest march and apparently arose out of a dispute between the ANC and Inkatha over whether SADF units should be moved out of the township.

From Port Elizabeth it is reported that a Patensie farm store owned by ANC local branch executive member Malcolm Hepburn was destroyed by a bomb just before midnight on Sunday.

Police said commercial explosive had been used, but it was "too early to say" who might be responsible.

No one was injured in the blast, and Hepburn's daughter Rosemarie said "it is clear the motive was not theft, just damage". — Sapa.

Wit Wolwe threaten Apla and MK

BRITS — The Wit Wolwe yesterday threatened to initiate a series of attacks — including sabotage — against Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe on January 12 unless government took action against the organisations. *BIDM 5/11/93*

At a news conference in Brits the Wit Wolwe also suspended negotiations with the "illegal" government and said it would soon present a list of demands to which government should respond within 30 days or face action.

The news conference was held by men

wearing balaclavas in an empty reservoir on the plot of Wit Wolwe leader Barend Strydom's parents in-law. *(S11)*

Strydom was not present and the demands and threats were made by the Wit Wolwe's "chief of staff" who declined to identify himself, and "Boerstaat" Bosman, regional chairman of Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party. *(S11)*

The Wit Wolwe threatened to use the same tactics as Apla and MK, including cross-border raids against "soft targets", and said they regarded "every black man as an enemy". — Sapa.

Goldstone told of Transkei bases

Huge reward

posted for

BIDM 5/11/93

Apla gunmen

POLICE have offered one of the biggest rewards yet — up to R100 000 — for information leading to the arrests of three Apla gunmen allegedly responsible for several attacks in the Border region.

Warrants of arrest for Letlapa Mphahlele (alias Happy), Luyanda Humphrey Goomfa (alias Thami) and Wellie Gideon Matlha (alias Vuyo) had been issued, Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said in a statement yesterday.

They were all wanted on charges of attempted murder and malicious damage to property, Van der Merwe said.

In addition, a fourth Apla member, purportedly a former chief of operations in Transkei, Vumankosi Laurence Ntshinga, alias Sizwe, was being sought.

Although Van der Merwe did not disclose the sizes of the rewards offered, informed sources said police would pay anything up to R100 000 for information.

The three Apla members have all been accused of attacks and damage to property in several towns, particularly Lady Grey. Van der Merwe said Mphahlele had taken over from Ntshinga as chief of operations in Transkei last year and was also a member of Apla's executive committee.

"The public is urged to assist the SAP in locating the wanted men," he said, but he warned they were dangerous.

Meanwhile, the police and the SA Defence Force have told a committee of the Goldstone commission that Apla members

are being trained in bases in Transkei.

The committee, sitting in Port Elizabeth, is investigating the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition, personnel and operational activities. It is chaired by Goldstone commission member Gert Steyn, assisted by Port Elizabeth advocate Fikile Bam and Nico Coetzer, attorney and immediate past president of the Law Societies of SA.

Sapa reports that police suggested to the committee that Transkei should hand over to the commission all 9mm firearms "loaned" to Apla since April to determine whether they were used in terrorist attacks.

In other submissions, the SAP called for:

- An investigation into the alleged training of Apla members in Transkei, including "crash" courses in the use of sophisticated weapons;
- The commission to establish and verify the location of Apla camps and/or training centres;
- An investigation into the supply of arms and ammunition to Apla, both inside and outside the country;
- A general investigation into Apla's personnel, including training, numbers, location and command structures;
- An investigation into Apla's funding and the true relationship between the armed wing and the PAC; and
- A request to Transkeian authorities to

To Page 2



Apla gunmen

cease support of Apla forthwith.

Police counsel Francois van Zyl said in his submission statements made by arrested Apla members made it clear they had undergone military training in Transkei.

Reacting to the submission by the SAP, the Transkei government said it had no objection in principle to the weapons it lent Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe "for the protection of their leaders in Transkei" being tested by ballistics experts as long as a neutral expert or country was chosen.

The Transkei government yesterday formally asked the SA government to second Goldstone to Transkei to chair a proposed commission of inquiry into the existence of Apla bases there.

Our Political Staff reports that the police submission estimated Apla had approximately 120 trained members inside SA. The number of units, varying from three to eight members, was unknown.

Van Zyl said Apla had approximately 2 700 members outside SA but that not all had received military training.

The SADF told the commission that the PAC received a total of \$14m from Libya in 1991 and Libyan leader Col Muammar Gaddafi had indicated that his country contemplated becoming the PAC's primary contributor. *BIDM 5/11/93*

The SADF listed 10 towns and rural areas where it alleged Apla members received training in Transkei.

From Page 1

The SADF said the primary aim of the PAC/Apla was the liberation of Azania through armed revolution, and to replace the government of the day with an "Africanist socialist democracy".

The SADF submitted that the PAC used political as well as military (Apla) structures to promote its armed struggle.

The SADF said by attacking the rural areas opportunities were created to get a foothold in these areas from where the armed struggle could be furthered by local Apla fighting units and self-defence units.

In accordance with Apla's strategy, the political and military wings should work together very closely. The political wing — the PAC — would create the climate in which Apla members who were in the process of moving into SA could survive.

PAC members would provide logistical support and new PAC branches would be created for the very purpose of executing the strategy, the SADF submitted.

Apla's current strategy was to regard members of the SAP and the SADF, irrespective of race, as primary targets.

The SADF referred to Apla's mobile warfare, in terms of which operations should be launched from "liberated zones".

It said Apla's fullscale war was to be waged against farmers, individuals in the armed services and through attacks on white residential areas.

Fears rise of new terror campaign

Apla 'accepts blame' for E Cape bomb

STAR 5/12/92 (SLA)

POLICE reinforcements from as far away as Pretoria are set to move into the Border region, amid fears that Thursday's Queenstown restaurant blast forms part of an emergent terror campaign.

Minister of Law and Order HERNUS KRIEL said the South African Police were in possession of detailed information indicating that the Pan Africanist Congress's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), planned to launch a terror campaign against "soft targets and defenceless communities" in the country.

He said the information revealed that Apla was planning its attacks from Zimbabwe and Transkei and that arms caches were being stored in these countries.

In the latest development, a man claiming to be the commander of intelligence operations for Apla in the eastern Cape and Transvaal last night said Apla had been responsible for Thursday night's bomb-attack in Queenstown.

In a telephone call to Sapa from "somewhere in the city", Congo Jibril said six Apla members had been involved in the attack. He also said eight men and a woman combatant had carried out last week's attack on the King William's Town golf club where four people died.

The attacks formed part of an Apla operation in the eastern Cape dubbed "Shock and Show", he said.

The man also said Apla attacks were not aimed at whites per se but at the security establishment.

He explained this by saying white people were "the silent eyes" of the security forces and that whites made themselves available for military conscription.

Explaining the PAC's lack of communication with Apla, he said the organisation's political leadership had no say over Apla activities. "They (the political leadership) only supply the money (for Apla activities)," he said.

Racial tension is reported to be rising in the Border area, where four whites have been killed and scores injured in two attacks in less than a week.

See Editorial, "Undercurrent Affairs" on Page 12; "Notebook" on Page 13

Residents of the area are facing a bleak Christmas after the widespread cancellation of parties following Apla's warning that there would be more attacks on soft targets, specifically on whites.

Apla has also been blamed for a spate of attacks on farms and police stations throughout the Border area.

Kriel said the leadership of the PAC was about to be questioned by the police in connection with the crimes committed by its military wing.

There is also rising concern about a possible right-wing backlash, as members of the AWB are already patrolling parts of the Transkei border.

Nineteen people were injured, five seriously, when an SPM limpet mine detonated inside Queenstown's



HERNUS KRIEL: Transkei "base for attacks".

Terror

FROM PAGE 1.

Buffalo Springs Spur steakhouse on Thursday, ripping it apart.

Miraculously, nobody was killed in the blast, which left the restaurant looking, as one onlooker put it, "as if a hurricane had gone through it".

Also on Thursday night, gunmen armed with hand grenades, petrol bombs and assault rifles launched an attack on an isolated farmhouse in the nearby Dordrecht district, some 8 km from the Transkei border. No one was injured in the attack.

Yesterday Eastern Cape regional police commissioner Major-General Daantjie Hugget announced the deployment of police reinforcements in the region, the stepping-up of roadblocks and procedures to check security measures at business premises.

The measures come on top of Operation Phoenix, a long-running security force operation in the region aimed at protecting farmers in outlying areas from attackers and cattle rustlers.

SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, reacting to the attacks yesterday, warned that the police would "fight fire with fire".

Addressing a passing-out parade in Pretoria, Van der Merwe warned that acts of aggression against the people of South Africa would be "severely dealt with". The SAP's track record showed that policemen could hunt down "these terrorists, irrespective of where they may be hiding".

He also called for the death penalty for the murder of policemen.

President De Klerk has expressed the Government's shock at the attacks. After talks in Pretoria with former

French Finance minister Edouard Balladur, he said: "We will not stand for terrorism."

He added that the Apla attacks would have a profound effect on discussions with the PAC.

The ANC condemned the Queenstown bombing, saying the victims were innocent and that the attack was the work of "desperados" uncertain of their chances through the ballot box.

"We have a collective responsibility to take our country out of the deep (political) crisis on to a new dispensation," Andrew Hendriks, deputy-chairman of the ANC's Border region, said in a statement.

"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," Hendriks said.

The National Party MP for Queenstown, Dr Manie Schoeman, condemned the blast as cowardly and despicable.

Although Apla had not yet accepted responsibility, he said, the action was in tune with its recent pronouncements. There should be no doubt about the determination of the security forces to apprehend the attackers.

The Conservative Party condemned the Queenstown attack and said it held the Government responsible.

Spokesman Willie Botha said no action had been taken against organisations such as the PAC and ANC which had in the past made terrorist threats.

The Democratic Party in the eastern Cape condemned the bombing "unconditionally".

The DP MP for Albany, Errol Moorcroft, said any party which resorted to such actions showed political bankruptcy and moral depravity. — Own Correspondent, Sapa, Ecna.

Subpoena threat

PAC faces legal action

Sowetan 5/1/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION may subpoena Pan Africanist Congress leaders to testify in its special inquiry into the activities of organisation's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

This step would be taken if the PAC ignored present requests by the commission to testify voluntarily, a spokesman for the commission said yesterday.

This development came as the PAC claimed the Government had flown in Apla dissidents from abroad to testify before a committee of the commission presently sitting in Port Elizabeth.

Campaign to discredit Apla

The PAC told *Sowetan* that its intelligence sources had information that one of the two dissidents was Mr Justice Nkonyana, a former Apla commander who was allegedly involved in the assassination of former PAC leader Mr David Sibeko in Tanzania in 1979.

The organisation said this was part of a campaign to discredit Apla and the PAC.

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The spokesman for the commission said both committee chairman Mr Gert Steyn and the chairman of the Goldstone Commission Mr Justice Richard Goldstone had no knowledge of PAC or Apla dissidents being flown in to testify.

Only South African Police and SA Defence Force witnesses gave evidence yesterday.

The hearing will adjourn until Monday.

Refusing to co-operate

Meanwhile, PAC publicity director Mr Waters Toboti said the organisation remained adamant that its information was true and that it would maintain its stance of refusing to co-operate with the commission even if subpoenaed.

"We have said in the past that the Goldstone Commission was appointed to inquire into public violence between rival political groups in which we are not involved.

"Secondly, the commission was appointed by the Government and is therefore not credible," he said.

● See also page 4

Investigation into Apla is adjourned

■ Chance for parties to respond to claims:

THE GOLDSTONE Commission's committee investigating the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army has adjourned. *Sowetan 6/1/93*

This is to give parties an opportunity to respond to testimony by the SA Police and SA Defence Force.

Legal representatives of the police and the defence force said in testimony in Port Elizabeth on Monday that Apla had planned and carried out attacks from Transkei. The lawyers said the Pan Africanist Congress had to accept responsibility for its military wing's actions.

The chairman of the committee, Mr Gert Steyn, said yesterday the Transkeian consul-general, Mr August Mapasa, had asked that the testimony be made available to him so that the Transkei government could study it and then decide on whether to respond officially.

The committee will sit again on Monday. - *Sapa*.

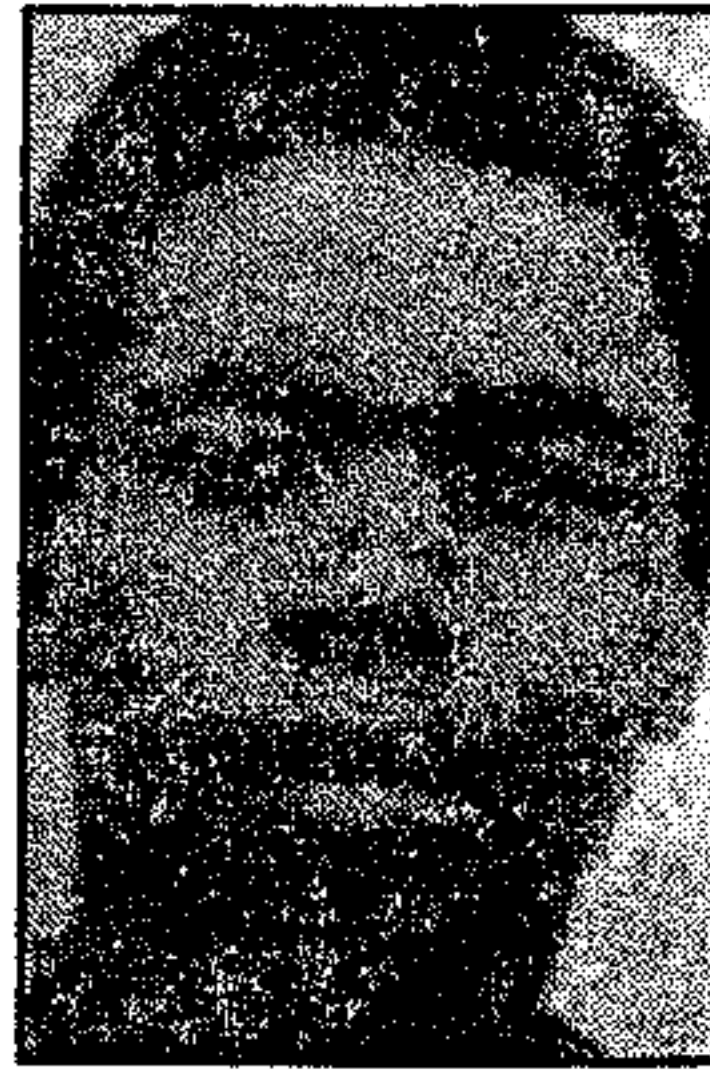
NEWS Wanted 'concerning acts of terror in South A



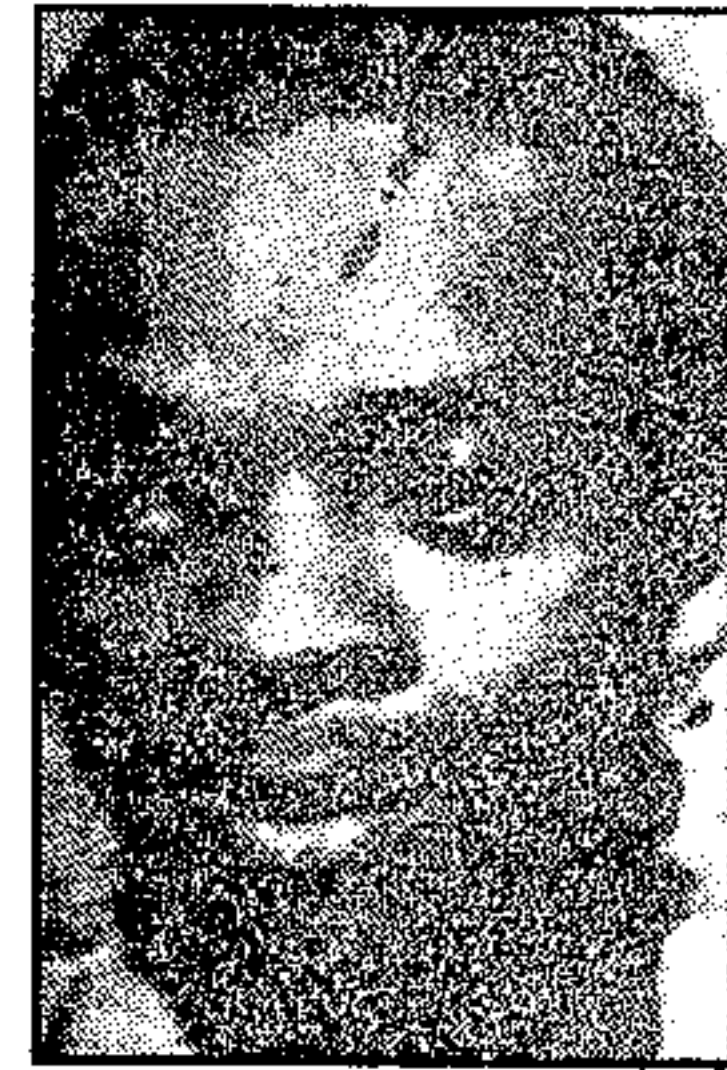
Luyanda Humphrey Gqomfa (alias Thami)



Letlapa Mphahlele (alias Happy)



Welile Gideon Mafilika (alias Vuyo)



Vumankosi Laurence Ntikinca (alias Sizwe)

Apla 4 - big reward

Sowetan 6/1/93
By Josias Charle

Police offer R100 000 for information leading to their arrest and conviction:

THE South African Police have offered a reward of R100 000 for information leading to the arrest and successful conviction of four alleged cadres of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Police spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg told *Sowetan* yesterday the reward had been approved by the Government.

The four include alleged former Apla chief of operations in Transkei Mr Vumankosi Laurence Ntikinca.

The police believe he may be able to furnish them with information "concerning acts of terror in South Africa".

In a statement by the Commissioner of the South African Police, General Johan van der Merwe, the other three

men were named as Mr Letlapa Mphahlele, Mr Luyanda Humphrey Gqomfa and Mr Welile Gideon Mafilika.

Mphahlele, said to be Apla's current chief of operations in Transkei, is being sought for attempted murder at Batho Location in the Free State in December 1991, terrorism and attempted murder at Lady Grey in the Eastern Cape in December 1991.

He is also being sought for murder and three counts of attempted murder at Zastron, also in the Free State, in March 1992.

He is said by the police to be a member of Apla's executive committee.

Gqomfa is wanted for murder and three counts of attempted murder at

Zastron in March 1992 and arson at Lady Grey in March 1992.

The murder charges against Mphahlele and Gqomfa relate to the killing of Mr Fanie Smit, an employee of Fraser's furniture store who was shot dead on March 18 1992.

Mafilika is wanted in connection with attempted murder at Batho Location in 1991 and terrorism, attempted murder and malicious damage to property at Lady Grey in January 1992.

According to Van der Merwe, all four have undergone military training outside the country.

"The public is urged to assist the police in locating the wanted men but people should note they are trained and are being regarded as very dangerous," Van der Merwe said.

Transkei Apla scorn SAP offer

SM 6/1/93
By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Sapa

Transkei and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) have scoffed at the SAP's offer of substantial rewards for the arrest and conviction of four men the SAP claims were Apla cadres wanted on terrorism-related charges.

In a telephone interview from Dar es Salaam yesterday, the chairman of Apla's high command, Victor Sabelo Phama, warned the Government to stop "dragging innocent" people into its probe of "revolutionary violence".

Phama said there were several discrepancies and inaccuracies in the information the police had given to the media on the four men.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said the SA Government should apply for the extradition of the men if it believed they were in Transkei.

Decision on judge's role in probe awaited

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is expected to decide today whether to second Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to Transkei to head an independent commission of inquiry into the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in the homeland.

A formal request for the judge's secondment from Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa had been passed on to the Justice Ministry and was receiving urgent attention, Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Awie Marais said last night. A decision could be expected today.

A Port Elizabeth-based committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating the PAC's military wing went into recess yesterday to allow Transkei and the PAC to respond to evidence led on Monday by the SAP and SADF that Apla had

used Transkei as a platform for terror attacks in South Africa.

Sapa reports that committee chairman Gert Steyn said yesterday that Transkei consul-general August Mapasa had requested copies of the testimonies so that the homeland government could study them and respond.

But Holomisa continued his defiance of requests that Transkei give evidence to the committee, stating: "Transkei will never testify before the Goldstone Commission."

He said the homeland was sticking to its decision to have its own judicial commission of inquiry into Apla activities — and into the "destabilisation of Transkei by the South African security forces" — headed by Mr Justice Goldstone.

He agreed that ballistics experts from neutral countries could test weapons lent by the Transkei Defence Force

to Apla and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for the protection of their leaders in the homeland.

Before going into recess, the committee could find no evidence that the Government had flown in Apla dissidents from abroad to testify before the committee as had been alleged.

According to Sapa, Steyn said reports that the committee intended to subpoena PAC leaders were premature as the PAC had requested copies of the submissions made on Monday by the SAP and SADF. He expected the organisation to respond by Friday.

PAC publicity director Waters Toboti was quoted yesterday as saying the PAC was adamant its information was correct and that it would maintain its stand of refusing to co-operate with the commission, even if subpoenaed.

The committee will sit again on Monday.

STAR 6/11/93

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Apla is

used as

'bogey'

PAC

THE GOVERNMENT WAS using the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) as a bogey to discredit the PAC after it failed to get the organisation to suspend its armed struggle, a defiant PAC said yesterday.

Political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said the names of Vumankosi Laurence Ntikinca, Letlapa Mphahlele, Luyanda Humphrey Gqomfa and Welile Gideon Mafilika had been mentioned by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel at meetings the PAC had with the Government last year.

The Government had linked these four and other alleged Apla operatives to activities dating back to 1986 in the Eastern Cape, Natal, Northern Transvaal and Free State.

Capture the cadres

"The Government wanted us to stop the attacks because the police had failed to capture cadres," Seroke said.

"In both the Pretoria and Gaborone meetings we refused to knuckle down to Government pressure to stop our military struggle," he said.

The organisation was committed to all forms of struggle which included

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

tions, sanctions and the military campaign, until majority rule was achieved.

"We are thus still prepared to talk to the Government but it cannot ask us to disarm ourselves while it retains its military and economic clout, putting us at a disadvantage.

"The Government wants to disarm the liberation movement and then force it to accept the National Party brand of democracy like regionalism, federalism and minority rights," Seroke said.

He spoke to *Sowetan* after the South African Police released names and pictures of purported Apla cadres, offering a substantial reward for information leading to their arrest and conviction.

"They are on a wild goose chase because they will never find Apla. Pressure from whites is mounting as it gets increasingly difficult for the SAP to capture Apla cadres. Issuing warrants of arrests will serve no purpose," Seroke said.



Sowetan
6/1/93

See Apla 4, this page and page 7

Lesotho will co-operate with SA to track 'terrorists'

STAR 7/1/93

Lesotho yesterday denied there were any Azanian People's Liberation Organisation (Apla) bases in the mountain kingdom.

A delegation from the Lesotho government visiting Ficksburg in the eastern Free State — where recent attacks on white farmers have stirred community fury against the PAC's military wing — said Lesotho would not be used as a springboard for Apla attacks on white South Africans.

The Lesotho government pledged it would co-operate to track down "terrorists".
Meanwhile, Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu

Holomisa remained confident last night that his request to the SA Government to second Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone to Transkei would be granted.

Holomisa sent a diplomatic note to President de Klerk on Monday requesting that he release the judge to Transkei to head a commission of inquiry into the activities of Apla in the homeland. He is still awaiting a reply.

Holomisa said last night he was so sure the Government would agree to his request that he had not even considered any other judges for the position. Goldstone had indicated he

was "keen" to head the Transkei commission, Holomisa said.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Awie Marais, who indicated on Tuesday that the Government's reply could be expected yesterday, said last night that Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee had not yet announced his decision.

The matter was being dealt with urgently, Marais said.

A Port Elizabeth-based committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating Apla went into recess on Tuesday to give Transkei and the PAC time to respond to evidence led by the SAP and SADF that Apla was

using the homeland as a base from which to launch its assault on South Africa.

But Holomisa and the PAC have refused to lead evidence before the committee or even to co-operate with it.

The committee is due to resume its hearings on Monday.

● Holomisa said last night that Transkei would allow ballistic tests on pistols lent to the PAC last year to be performed only by a neutral party.

Speaking on TVI's "Agenda" programme, Holomisa reiterated that all the weapons had been returned unused. — Staff Reporter, Sapa.

New year bomb for white ANC man

8/1-14/1193
By SHADLEY NASH:

Port Elizabeth

THE new year started badly for Malcolm Hepburn, the only white member of the African National Congress in the conservative Karoo town of Patensie. An explosion just before midnight on Sunday woke Hepburn and his family. A minute later a second bomb ripped through his store, less than 100m from the farmhouse.

The fire was put out, but clothing, food and other goods were destroyed. The police believe commercial explosives were used, fuelling speculation that the bombers were rightwingers.

Hepburn, known as Qwhathi to his Xhosa-speaking friends, believes he was targeted because he is an ANC man. Now he fears for his life.

Hepburn, 62, and his wife Lorraine, 60, moved to his 12-hectare farm in 1986. They found their white neighbours unfriendly. But their trading store, on a road which links the farm to Patensie's black township, was successful.

Hepburn, who grew up in the Transkei, was christened Qwhathi by an old friend with whom he spent time at an initiation school. A supporter of the then United Party, he shifted his allegiance when Transkei became independent and his family were forced to sell their property. In Patensie, Hepburn quickly made township friends.

"In 1991 when VAT was intro-

duced a consumer boycott was launched and my business suffered badly," said Hepburn. He decided to attend a township meeting to discuss the boycott. "The chairperson wanted to know who invited the 'boer' to the meeting." But he demanded to be heard, and later contacted the ANC's Port Elizabeth office.

By Christmas the boycott had been lifted and he was asked to join the ANC. Today he is an executive member of the local branch. The attitudes of Patensie's whites towards him hardened when he joined the local civic and began campaigning with township residents. "It was after one meeting with the council that a councillor warned me that I was treading on dangerous ground."

When a second consumer boycott was launched late last year, Qwhathi store was the only white-owned shop that thrived. But Hepburn began receiving death threats. An anonymous caller said: "You are going to be burnt out before Christmas." Christmas passed peacefully, but he spent many nights patrolling the farm.

Despite the bomb attack, Hepburn remains unwavering in his support of the ANC. This week he began fortifying his home and what remains of his store. The mood among politicised youths in the township, who have been angered at the bombing, was restive. — Pen

Goldstone inquiry hamstrung

W/mail 8/1-14/1993.

~~11/1~~ (84A) ~~11/1~~ ~~11/1~~

A GOLDSTONE Commission committee began hearing evidence on the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) this week — but it remains highly doubtful it will be able to make a finding.

A committee chaired by retired senior magistrate Gert Steyn heard submissions by the police and South African Defence Force. But both Transkei and the Pan Africanist Congress have refused to participate, and it remains unclear how any conclusion can be reached without them.

Transkei military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa remains determined to hold his own Goldstone Commission, with a far wider brief than that of the Port Elizabeth inquiry.

The committee adjourned until Monday to allow the PAC and Transkei time to study the submissions and in the hopes they would agree to testify.

There has been intense speculation that the commission may subpoena PAC leaders to testify. However, Steyn has said this was "premature".

The political repercussions of such a step would undoubtedly make Judge Richard Goldstone think very carefully before taking it.

The PAC asked for copies of the submissions, but remained adamant it would not participate, and would defy any subpoena.

Holomisa described the hearings as a "kangaroo court", and said no information would be made available to it. He said he was prepared to have guns, loaned to the PAC for the protection of its leadership on visits to the homeland, submitted for ballistics testings by a neutral party.

Holomisa has asked for the secondment of Goldstone to head a Transkei inquiry, to which he wants members of the Transkei bar appointed. This inquiry will probe not only the claims of Apla camps and training in Transkei, but also the South African

Refusals by the PAC and Transkei to participate in a Goldstone inquiry into Apla means the committee will have difficulty reaching a conclusion, reports

SHADLEY NASH

government's response to the issue, its "approach" to the PAC's unbanning, cross-border raids by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and even the effectiveness of the National Peace Accord.

Commenting on the Port Elizabeth hearing, Holomisa noted that the police and defence force were "now

retracting former allegations that there are bases. They are now saying people had crash courses," he said.

Although Holomisa has said Goldstone has agreed to head the Transkei inquiry, no comment has yet come from the judge himself.

In their submissions this week, both the South African Police and Defence Force said that Apla terror attacks emanated from the Transkei and that the homeland was used to conduct "crash courses" for Apla. Francois Van Zyl, counsel for the police, identified at least 10 districts as areas where training of Apla members, sometimes at night under trees and at creches, have taken place.

Van Zyl said the police had information, from arrested Apla members

and other sources, that steps were taken to destroy evidence that Apla members were trained in the region. The police attributed 41 attacks in South Africa to Apla.

Counsel for the SADF, Danie Pretorius, said recent Apla attacks formed part of a strategy called "Show and Shock". He said the idea was to attack soft targets to extract reprisals and in this way identify the "enemy". The "enemy", once identified could be targeted for attack by Apla.

The SADF also alleges that Transkeian territory was used to train Apla members. "Apla is still expanding and creating its internal structures within the Republic of South Africa and recruitment and training is still continuing," he said. — Pen

Guns and farm fear? A rural legend

Ujw 201 81-141193

Ficksburg farmers dismiss as media hype stories of a 'border war' with Lesotho after two attacks on whites. They're here to stay, reports FERRAL HAFFAJEE

GUN-TOTTING farmers patrol the streets searching anybody who isn't white; children go through hours of target practice; police on horseback patrol the electric fence on the Lesotho border.

This image of the eastern Free State town of Ficksburg and surrounds, beamed into thousands of homes after two attacks on farmhouses in December, could almost be termed "rural legend".

When *The Weekly Mail* visited the area, every farmer offered a cup of tea and the use of his phone. The farmers shyly enjoy their newfound media profile, but most scoff at the border war that journalists from across the world have come in search of.

Many are not even sure that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) are responsible for the violent attacks, but they do not dispute that the attacks are political.

Preferring the euphemisms "die troebel (the trouble)" or "die veiligheidssituasie (the security situation)", most will not attribute the violence to any organisation.

There are guns, but they are well hidden. Children have been trained to use them, but the youngsters seen by *The Weekly Mail* this week preferred to play with baby "bokkies" and swim in their pools.

Farmers are, of course, alarmed by the two attacks. They are all buying more dogs and geese, putting up wire netting on their windows and leaving more than one light on in their homes to confuse attackers.

The local stores have run out of expanding metal, used as a safety screen on the inside of windows. One farmer told of how his two daughters now sleep in a walk-in safe when just three weeks ago they slept under the stars.

Gertie Visser, a local schoolteacher,



Sitting by the fence... Gene Visser and a sleep-in Stability Unit sergeant inspect holes cut into his farm's boundary fence on the Lesotho border
Photo: GUY ADAMS

Gene Visser and a sleep-in Stability Unit sergeant inspect holes cut into his farm's boundary fence on the Lesotho border. He says that last year they had a New Year's Eve party on their sprawling lawn. They still had their party this year, but guests crammed into their lounge.

"There has been a lifestyle change," she says.

The policeman sent to guard the Visser farm looked like part of the family, as they sat outside enjoying Cokes, Castles and the January heat.

Gene Visser has a huge Swiss flag flying from a tall mast on his double-storey house and the graffiti on his walls depict not mealie farmers, but Swiss yodellers.

This oddball farmer, who is not Swiss but says he is fascinated by all things Swiss, basks in his home town's fame. He's appeared on local and international television and appears to find the war games excit-

ing. He keeps two rifles — one army-issue — near at hand. He is a crack shot, he says.

The Vissers are no rightwing fanatics. Of the fire and brimstone meeting in Ficksburg a fortnight ago, when Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel was booted amid loud demands for hot pursuit raids into Lesotho, Gertie Visser says: "The people at the meeting were not from Ficksburg. Their attitude was so upsetting. I mean, who do they want to shoot in Lesotho? There's only women and children there."

Other farmers in the area are less vocal about their guns and many would not even take them out for photographs.

"*Dit sal mos nie mooi lyk nie* (That wouldn't look nice)," said Steyn Opperman, an older farmer in the area.

Charles Barret chose not to have policemen guarding his property because "they will not be here forever" and he prefers an uninterrupted view of the poplars on the border.

Like many other farmers, he is keener to talk about the drought which has the beautiful region in a stranglehold, than about Apla.

He did not plant any wheat this year and missed the December harvest. Opperman, who also could not plant this year, puts it in a nutshell: "The

guys at the co-op are not talking about security, they are talking about money ... about the drought."

Frik Grobelaar, the owner of the Rustlers Valley resort, says he has had no cancellations because of violence and dismisses the Apla threat as "media hype."

"There was anger at the economy, the drought, the political uncertainty but there was no outlet," he says. "Now they have found something to pin it on."

Runarous abound in Johannesburg that farms in the area can be picked up for a song from farmers desperate to get out. Indeed, there are many farms for sale — but they have been on the market for three years and nobody's buying.

"It's not abnormal, it's happening all over the country," says a local estate agent.

He attributes the poor state of the property market to the drought, which has caused many bankruptcies, and to impending labour legislation for farm-workers.

The farms are cheap, but the Lesotho Highlands Water Project encouraged speculation and sent prices artificially high. Now, says the agent, they are settling down at their real value.

All the farmers interviewed by *The Weekly Mail* had no intention of selling because of the attacks. "Where are we going to?" asks Louisa Opperman. "Many of the men are farmers, they have no other education."

"*n Ou se wortels is hier nou was* (My roots are now here)," agrees her husband, Steyn.

Barrett looks round at the land which has been in his family for generations: it is surrounded by the Maluti mountains and trees. Twelve kilometres of river run past his land, marking the border with Lesotho.

He shakes his head slowly when asked if he will leave.

Apla row: ball in FW's court

STAR 8/1/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

President de Klerk has not yet contacted Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa about the alleged Apla training bases in the area, the homeland leader said today.

In an unusual step Holomisa today published a letter he sent to De Klerk on December 17 about the Apla controversy.

He revealed that the homeland had been informed of alleged Apla bases in Transkei after he had told De Klerk about an alleged SADF signal ordering the removal of activist Matthew Goniwe.

"We dispatched our police to the places cited but no evidence of their existence was found. You were informed of these steps and the outcome," the letter said.

In the letter Holomisa said it was time for everybody to seriously examine the truthfulness of the existence of Apla bases in Transkei by taking part in his proposed Commission of Inquiry.

He said he had made a request for Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to chair the proposed commission.

Holomisa also inquired from De Klerk whether there were any prescribed conditions under which Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe would operate

after their unbanning.

"Our experience in similar scenarios is that armed wings of liberation movements and the Defence Force are confined to bases while political leaders hammer out the new dispensation.

"The advantage of this arrangement is the exercise of control over all members of the forces there by reducing to the bare minimum the chances of what we witness today."

He complained that veiled threats of cross-border raids by South African Ministers and warnings to holiday-makers were "serious elements of the destabilisation process".

● Bronwyn Wilkinson reports that Transkei's request for the secondment of Mr Justice Goldstone to head the Apla probe in the homeland has hit a technical hitch.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan said last night it appeared the agreement between South Africa and the homeland provided for the secondment of judges in a "judge's capacity only" and not to head commissions of inquiry.

He said President de Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee were addressing the request from Holomisa, but they would have to work around the problem.



W/M caption contest winner

THE winner of *The Weekly Mail's* end of year caption competition was PS Valentine, of Cambridge, eastern Cape.

The photograph was of a *tête-à-tête* between British Inkatha supporter John Aspinall and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in which the chief minister is wearing a traditional Zulu outfit. (The state president's office might be alarmed to know that most competition entrants thought Aspinall was FW de Klerk.)

Valentine suggested Aspinall was saying: "I hear natural fibres are still best for Canada." He will receive his prize of a *Weekly Mail* T-shirt in the post.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

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London gun-runners linked to AWWB

W/Mail 8/1-14/193.

British intelligence officers say they have blown the cover of two alleged gun-runners on a buying spree

By ARTHUR GAVSHON

Security sources say they believe the two men were trying to obtain weapons, ranging from automatic rifles to anti-tank armaments, for Eugene Terreblanche's rightwing movement.

They have identified the pair as Daniel Jacobus Oosthuisen (49), who lives in Pietersburg, and Graham Christian Hartmann (53), an engineer living in Parkwood, Johannesburg. The men fled England last week after realising their cover was about to be blown.

Under the headline "M15 bugs foil plot to arm white extremists", the *British Mail on Sunday* reported that intelligence officers had discovered a plot by the pair to buy £20-million worth of weapons for the AWWB. M15 had established this by listening in to the men's telephone calls.

Documents seized from Hartmann's luggage in London indicate he grew up in Zimbabwe and served in the British South African Police. After moving to South Africa, he worked for Sanlam.

Other papers show the men were trying to raise international finance for a multi-million dollar development programme in Mozambique. British security sources believe this project pro-



Eugene Terreblanche

vided a cover for their clandestine arms dealing.

Their mission was thwarted when the swank Brompton Hotel in Chelsea vainly sought a settlement of the huge bill they had piled up for three months of accommodation and numerous international phone calls.

Police were called in. They contacted M15 (military intelligence) agents, who bugged the pair's phone conversations. Brompton's management then exercised an hotelier's right to seize the couple's clothes and baggage. In something of a hurry, the two men quit the country.

The security sources say their bill was eventually paid by South African Cypriot Andrew Kitallides, who reportedly has links with an arms-trading subsidiary of the Italian company Gammacorp.

Terreblanche was not available for comment yesterday. According to other rightwing sources, the men are not well-known members of the AWWB.

Scotland Yard also declined to disclose any information about the affair. A spokesman would say only: "It is not true that our special branch has conducted an investigation into the

activities of the two men."

However, it is certain that M15 placed the pair under surveillance, and it is on the basis of their information that a link with the AWWB was made.

This week, the South African Police arrested seven men in connection with the theft of a massive arms cache from a SADF arsenal in Welkom — indicating there may be a concerted effort by rightwing groups to obtain weapons for their struggle.

The SAP declined to comment on the arrests or to provide details about the type of arms stolen from the Welkom armoury. However, a Johannesburg newspaper reported that sufficient rifles to arm two platoons, along with thousands of rounds of ammunition, were stolen. The seven men are expected to appear in court next week. Among the papers seized from

Oosthuisen's belongings in London was a prospectus for a company that aimed to raise \$491-million to fund a development programme in Mozambique, and which also would affect Zimbabwe. Described as its main elements were:

- The creation of a wildlife conservation project in Mozambique.
- The establishment of a cattle-ranching project, a meat-processing factory and a community centre.
- The restoration and upgrading of the railway line linking Zimbabwe with Maputo.

The world's top 100 banks were to be approached to guarantee the funding, according to a letter written to the Bureau of International Trade in Johannesburg and signed by Oosthuisen, who styled himself managing director.

The company Oosthuisen stated he managed from Pietersburg is Soundpros 1125 Investments (Pty) Ltd, T/A Sub-Saharan Development Company.

The prospectus also listed 13 individuals or firms of lawyers, architects, surveyors, engineers, auditors and others who formed part of the company's "professional team". Most are located in Pietersburg.

The company's lawyers were named as Niland and Pretorius (PO, Box 10, Pietersburg). The project leader was stated as GDV Spruyt, with no address given, though these academic qualifications were provided: "DIPLO (ARCH), MIA, ARCH (SA)."

Police link wanted pair to murder of motorist

By DE WET POTGIETER

TWO of four Apla members being sought by police are wanted in connection with the murder of Mr Fanie Smit, gunned down in his vehicle while travelling between Zastron and Sterkspruit last March. They are Letlapa Mphahlele, known as "Happy" and Luyanda Humphry Goomfa — alias "Thami".

Happy and another wanted man, Welile Gideon Maflika — alias "Vuyo" — are also being sought in connection with an armed attack on the Batho police station near Bloemfontein in December 1991 and an attack on the SAP single quarters in Lady Grey at the beginning of last year.

In addition to Mr Smit's murder, Thami was allegedly involved in an arson attack on a Lady Grey farm last March.

Vuyo is also wanted on charges of attempted murder and malicious damage to property following an attack on a Lady Grey farm in January last year.

Training

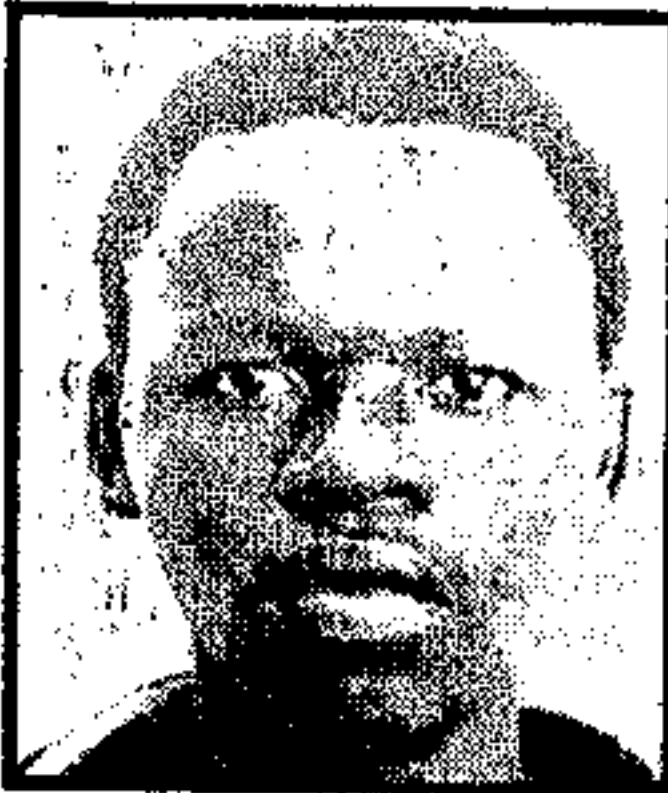
A spokesman for the SAP said all four wanted men had received military training outside South Africa.

He rejected claims by Apla high command chairman Victor Sbelo Phama from Tanzania that the four are not involved.

The fourth wanted man, Vumankosi Laurence Ntikinca — alias "Sizwe" — who was also trained abroad, is not being sought in connection with any specific crimes, but police believe he may be able to provide valuable information about a number of acts of terrorism.

Happy took over from Sizwe as chief of operations in the Transkei last year.

None of the four wanted men were among 19 youths detained by police after a spate of terror attacks in and around Ficksburg last October, and released after questioning due to lack of evidence.



LETLAPA MPHAHLELE
alias 'Happy'



LUYANDA GOOMFA
alias 'Thami'



WELILE MAFLIKA
alias 'Vuyo'



VUMANKOSI NTIKINCA
alias 'Sizwe'

● Ciskei police seized illegal weapons from eight PAC members on Friday and handed them to the police for ballistic testing to determine if they were used in the recent King William's Town golf club attack.

The weapons, confiscated when a group of youths were arrested while trying to disrupt an ANC youth league meeting near Dimbaza, include an R5 rifle and an R1 rifle.

S Times 10/11/93
10/11/93
84A

EVIDENCE that Apla members were being trained to commit common crimes to finance their terror campaign in South Africa was presented to the Goldstone commission this week.

SAP advocate Francois van Zyl told the hearing in Port Elizabeth into Apla training camps that cash-strapped Apla members had been ordered to steal cars to be sold in neighbouring states and to commit robberies.

Secret

He said evidence that they had been trained "in the commission of armed robberies" in a camp in Tanzania had been provided by arrested Apla members.

Mr van Zyl listed 41 robberies and attacks — primarily in the Free State/Border area in the past two years — as the alleged result of this training.

He said Apla recruits like Christopher Neo Mhloni,

Apla terror raids aimed at raising funds, inquiry told

arrested in connection with an AK-47 robbery at a Botshabelo store on February 22 1991, had confessed to being given military training abroad and sent to SA to carry out robberies and deliver the stolen money to his commanders.

In 1992, during a trial in the Harare regional court, Zimbabwean Police Force acting commissioner Augustine Chihuri admitted that he was part of a PAC racket to raise money by stealing vehicles in South

Africa and selling them on Zimbabwe's black market.

Said Mr van Zyl: "He also told the court the Zimbabwean Central Intelligence Organisation had secretly given the PAC the go-ahead to import stolen vehicles."

Referring to Apla's financial status, Mr D Pretorius, for the SADF, quoted Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mhlambo as saying that countries that had previously assisted the PAC financially were refusing to do so because of its refusal to participate in the negotiation process.

Medicine

Further indications that funds were dwindling emerged in a circular by PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani to regional and branch secretaries which said branches had to supply logistical support to Apla, "cloth (sic), feed and accommodate the vanguard of the liberation army".

In another document submitted by the SAP, the regional chairman of the PAC in the Transkei, Mr G G Matshayana, advised members in his New Year's message for 1993 they would "definitely be wise if they started stockpiling basic foods and stop excessive spending".

And, in a letter to PAC leader Clarence Makwetu expressing the understanding that Apla always received 50 percent of "par-

ty funds", Apla's chief-of-staff Barney Hlatwayo, said money was needed for medical check-ups and treatment of most recruits who "come from the streets underfed, sick and naked".

In addition to the smuggling of cars out of South Africa, weapons were smuggled into South Africa hidden in the trucks of transport contractors or in the doors and petrol tanks of vehicles for crash training courses, Mr van Zyl said.

The police knew that Apla used routes via Botswana through the Ramatlabama border post and an air route from Lesotho to the Transkei, he added.

The SADF and SAP presented detailed submissions that Apla recruits had undergone training in Uganda, Libya, Ghana, Tanzania,

Egypt, Nigeria, Lebanon, Cambodia, Botswana and at least 10 venues in the Transkei. In China they received naval training and in South Africa night courses were held in a school and a creche, they claimed.

Mr van Zyl told the commission it was clear from information obtained from arrested Apla members and other sources that attacks on white civilians in the Eastern Free State and Eastern Cape had been carried out under the direct orders of the Apla High Command and regional command structures.

Image

The SAP also had information indicating that an estimated 120 externally-trained members in South Africa and an unknown number who had received crash courses inside the country intended "executing more acts of terrorism aimed at whites and without any regard for who might be killed or wounded".

One of the reasons that Apla had stepped up terrorist activities was to enhance its image among the militant youth and draw support away from the ANC, Mr van Zyl submitted.

The commission, headed by former regional magistrate Gert Steyn, will resume tomorrow.

THE new year started badly for Malcolm Hepburn, the only

white member of the ANC in the conservative eastern Cape town of Patensie.

A thunderous explosion shortly before midnight on Sunday shook Hepburn and his family awake. A minute later a second bomb ripped through his store, less than 100 m from the farmhouse.

Police believe commercial explosives were used, fuelling speculation that the bombers were rightwingers.

Hepburn, known as Qwhathi to his Xhosa-speaking friends, believes he was targeted because he is an ANC member. Now he fears for his life.

Hepburn, 62, and his wife Lorraine, 60, moved to his 12-hectare farm Uitsig just outside the citrus farming town in 1986. They found their white neighbours unfriendly.

"Outsiders are not easily welcomed here and we had little contact with

Bombs won't oust

Patensie's Qwhathi

Clarens

10/11/93.

84A

the white community," says Hepburn. But their newly opened trading store, on a road which links the farm to Patensie's black township, was a huge success.

"I speak fluent Xhosa and we also had the right approach. On opening day the cars and people from the township lined the road to buy at my store."

Hepburn, who grew up in the Herschel district of Transkei, has been on good terms with black people all his life. As a teenager he was christened Qwhathi by an old friend with whom he spent time at an initiation school.

A supporter of the then United Party, he says he shifted his allegiance when Transkei became independent and his family were forced to sell their property.

In Patensie, Hepburn quickly made friends in the township and was soon attending social functions.

But when Lorraine contracted cancer in 1991 he spent much of his time at her side until her recovery.

"My social calendar was curtailed and this put a strain on my relationship with my customers and friends. In 1991 when VAT was introduced a consumer boycott was launched and my business suffered badly. With medical costs mounting and my business dwindling I had to do something."

When the community called a meeting to discuss the boycott Hepburn attended. "There was a lot of discussion about my being there. The chairman wanted to know who

invited the Boer to the meeting," he recalls.

Hepburn demanded to be heard, put his case to the meeting and then contacted the ANC's Port Elizabeth regional office to gain clarity on the boycott. By Christmas the boycott had been lifted and the community, warning to him, asked him to join the ANC. Today he is an executive member of the local ANC branch.

"I have grown up in the Xhosa culture and my natural leaning was towards black politics, having suffered under apartheid myself."

The attitudes of Patensie's whites hardened towards the Hepburns when he joined the local civic.

When a second consumer boycott was

launched late last year, Qwhathi store was the only white-owned shop exempted.

In November Hepburn began receiving death threats. Anonymous callers warned him that "ANC pigs" and "traitors" get killed.

"After a picket in town where some of the youths got a bit unruly and were beaten up by white farmers, a farmer came to visit me at my store to request that the youths behave better at future demonstrations."

Days later Hepburn received another anonymous call. A familiar voice said in broken English: "You is going to be burnt out before Christmas."

Hepburn was deeply concerned. Christmas passed peacefully, but he spent many sleepless nights patrolling the farm.

Despite the bomb attack, Hepburn remains unwavering in his support of the ANC, which he describes as the only organisation with "the strength and brains to do a good job". — Pen

'They call me a white kaffir here. I don't care, because that's what I am'

ST Times 10/11/93 84H

Neighbours shun ANC man whose shop was blasted

Reports and picture by DAWN BARKHUIZEN

WHEN dynamite blasted the roof off small trader Malcolm Hepburn's store in Patensie this week, the thinnest veneer of peace covering the sleepy Eastern Cape Gamtoos Valley also went up in smoke.

The blast was no surprise for Mr Hepburn, 61, the only white executive member of the ANC's Patensie branch.

Also the only white trader unaffected by the town's three-month consumer boycott, he spent Christmas on tenterhooks after four telephonic death threats and accusations that he was a sell-out.

Shunned by neighbours, Mr Hepburn, his wife, Loraine, and 21-year-old daughter, Rose, keep to themselves.

Friends

Other farmers claim this is the Hepburns' choice, saying they do not want to become part of the community.

"I don't have any white friends in the valley," said Rose, who gave up her studies at the University of Fort Elizabeth to help her father in the store when her mother became seriously ill last year. "For a social life, I sometimes go to discos in the township."

Transkei-born Mr Hepburn, who speaks Xhosa fluently, said: "They call me a white kaffir here. I don't care, because that's what I am."

Clash

For newly-recruited AWE members, it is a signal that things are running out of control and that it is time to train and mobilise, according to East Cape commander Barand Mosebert, who was invited to train white farmers in the area last month.

And for Marius de Klerk — the SAP's local station commander, whose men

were caught between farmers and ANC Youth League members in a Ventersdorp-type clash last month — the blast is part of a growing headache.

The one glimmer of hope is the newly-constituted Action Committee, set up in recent weeks with the help of National Peace Accord representatives.

"This has always been a sleepy, peaceful valley. We hardly have much crime and, until recently, there was little political activity," said Warrant Officer de Klerk.

"But in the last three months, we have had consumer boycotts, protest marches, farmers allegedly assaulting picketers and policemen, black youths allegedly swearing at white women in the shops, United Nations visits ... and now a bomb blast."

"I have stepped up my patrols and I must try my best to get things back to normal."

The first rumblings of discontent echoed across the citrus-growing valley two years ago. Members of the newly-formed ANC

branch asked for more houses, a high school and clinic, new toilets to replace old, fetid pit latrines that served four households each, electricity and road improvements.

ANC organiser Joseph Madane said there were only 283 formal houses in the township. The last house was built in the 70s.

Three families commonly live in tiny four-roomed houses like that owned by Eileen Jacobs, 67, who provides a home for 18 people, and Willem Klaas, 70, who has more than 25 people on his premises.

There is no high school, and pupils like 19-year-old Khlosile Maluleka have to travel 48km to Humansdorp, where they must support themselves in backpacks while they study.

Boycott

"We are frustrated because our demands seem to be falling on deaf ears," said ANC Youth League deputy president Gerald Mbandana, 21.

"A clinic and recreation hall have been built, but there has been no response to the most important requests for housing and a high school."

"Farm workers earn between R35 and R80 a week. The rest of us in the township have no jobs at all. Most matriculants this year cannot find jobs and are getting involved with politics."

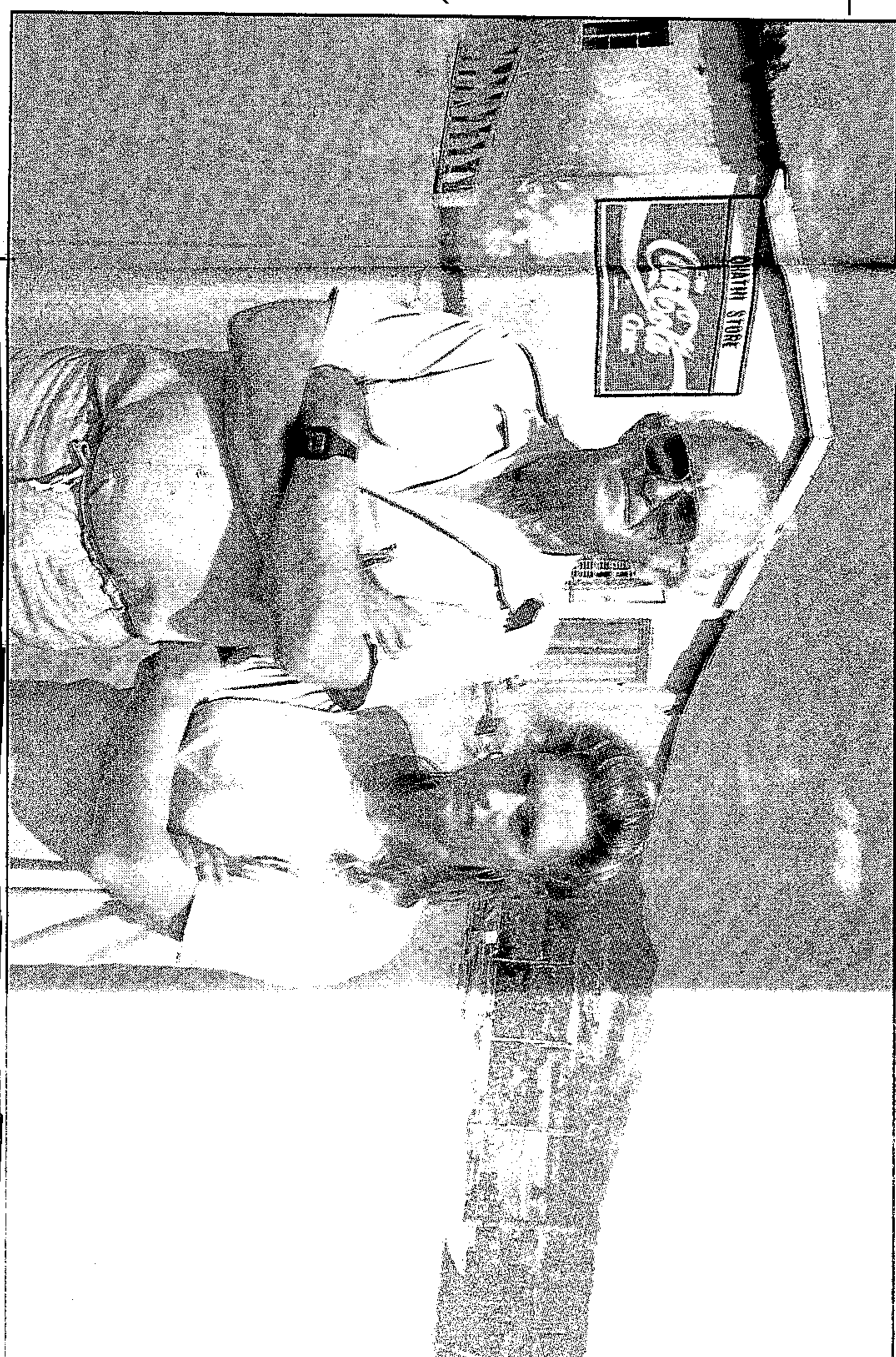
"We will continue our consumer boycott until the farmers force the town council to do something to improve our situation."

White farmers concede that conditions in the township are bad and that the upgrading process is being hampered by red tape surrounding the Regional Service Council, the Cape Provincial Council, the House of Representatives, the National Housing Commission and the Patensie town council.

But one farmer, who did not want to be named, said: "If the black youths want to toy-toy around our town and swear at our wives, we will not take it."

"We are not used to this kind of thing and we will hit back hard. I am just about ready to become a Wit Wolf."

A spokesman for the town council was not available for comment.



BURNT-OUT TRADER: Malcolm Hepburn and daughter Rose. 'I don't know who blew up my shop. Tension is running high in this town and I'm caught in the middle of something much bigger than me'

Judge's arm was twisted — Bantu

JUDGE Richard Goldstone's delayed response to the Transkei's request that he be seconded to head an inquiry into Apla "indicates his arm has been twisted by his master", according to the homeland's military leader. *(Press 10/1/93)*

Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said it was surprising that Goldstone, who had welcomed his proposed commission of inquiry last week, took so long to respond. *(S)*

"It is surprising that it took him so many days before he could refuse this offer. The timing of his refusal indicates his arm has been twisted by his master." *(S)*

SA Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced on Friday that Goldstone would not be seconded to the homeland because he was unavailable.

A Goldstone committee, chaired by Gert Steyn, began a preliminary hearing into Apla in Port Elizabeth on Monday. *(84A)*

However, Holomisa welcomed the minister's proposal that another SA judge be seconded. He said a proposed name could be on Foreign Minister Pik Botha's desk by tomorrow afternoon.

Referring to his own commission, the general said SA Government and Defence Force officials would be subpoenaed to give evidence because they had made allegations about Apla's presence in the Transkei.

SA Military Intelligence chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen would be subpoenaed to testify on the alleged destabilisation of Transkei.

Holomisa said a precedent had been set with other Transkei subpoenas for South Africans being adhered to. — Sapa

Stop it, ANC orders Apla

THE ANC has called on Apla and left-wing dissidents to give up "violence and subversion", calling it a "hopeless project".

In its 1993 policy statement released on Friday, the ANC's national executive committee appealed "to those of our compatriots who fear the prospect of democratic change. What they should fear is the absence of change".

"Those who entertain the delusion that the process of change can be stopped or postponed through violence and subversion should abandon this hopeless project."

However, it was clear that fears of economic collapse — fuelled by violence and political uncertainty — formed a stronger concern.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said that "any political arrangements enabling democratic rule will be nullified if we do not ensure a stable and growing economy".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in an exclusive interview with the Sunday Times, emphasised that the economy could not survive further political uncertainty, and said that if Codesa was not reconvened it would set a political settlement back by two years.

Reinforcing

Mr Joe Slovo, senior ANC and SA Communist Party leader, reinforcing ANC concern about the economy, said SA would have to ensure investor security. "The old bogey of nationalisation has been wiped out," he said, and the sooner elections were held the better for the economy. This view, he said, was shared by the government.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC hoped for multi-party talks by March, a transitional executive council by April — which would give the ANC and other parties a say in the running of the government — and elections in September.

Its policy statement was the "first salvo of the election campaign, which we believe has to be a nation-building campaign".

By CHARLENE SMITH

Mr Ramaphosa revealed that the team that helped US President-elect Bill Clinton win the American election was due here soon to help the ANC hone its election strategy.

The ANC had budgeted R10 a voter — or R300-million — to fight the election and by the end of this month would put 107 campaign managers into the field to set up election branches.

Numerous ANC executives had already travelled abroad to collect funds for the campaign.

Mr Ramaphosa said he realised there was "a sense of disillusionment creeping in (because of the slowed political process), but this is the year we must have fundamental changes".

However, he said, the ANC did not regret withdrawing from negotiations in May last year.

"It helped bring the government to its senses. It was going through the motions at Codesa 2 and was not prepared to settle unless on its terms.

"Our withdrawal helped focus attention on the importance of the process and got the public discussing negotiations again and even marching in support of them."

Mr Ramaphosa said that, though the Record of Understanding had led to conservative parties withdrawing from negotiations and banding together, it had also given these parties the opportunity to articulate grievances and more closely examine their commitment to the negotiations process.

Gqozo promises to tell of Apla actions

EAST LONDON — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had new details of Apla activities in Transkei "which have implications" on negotiations, the ruling Ciskei Council of State said at the weekend.

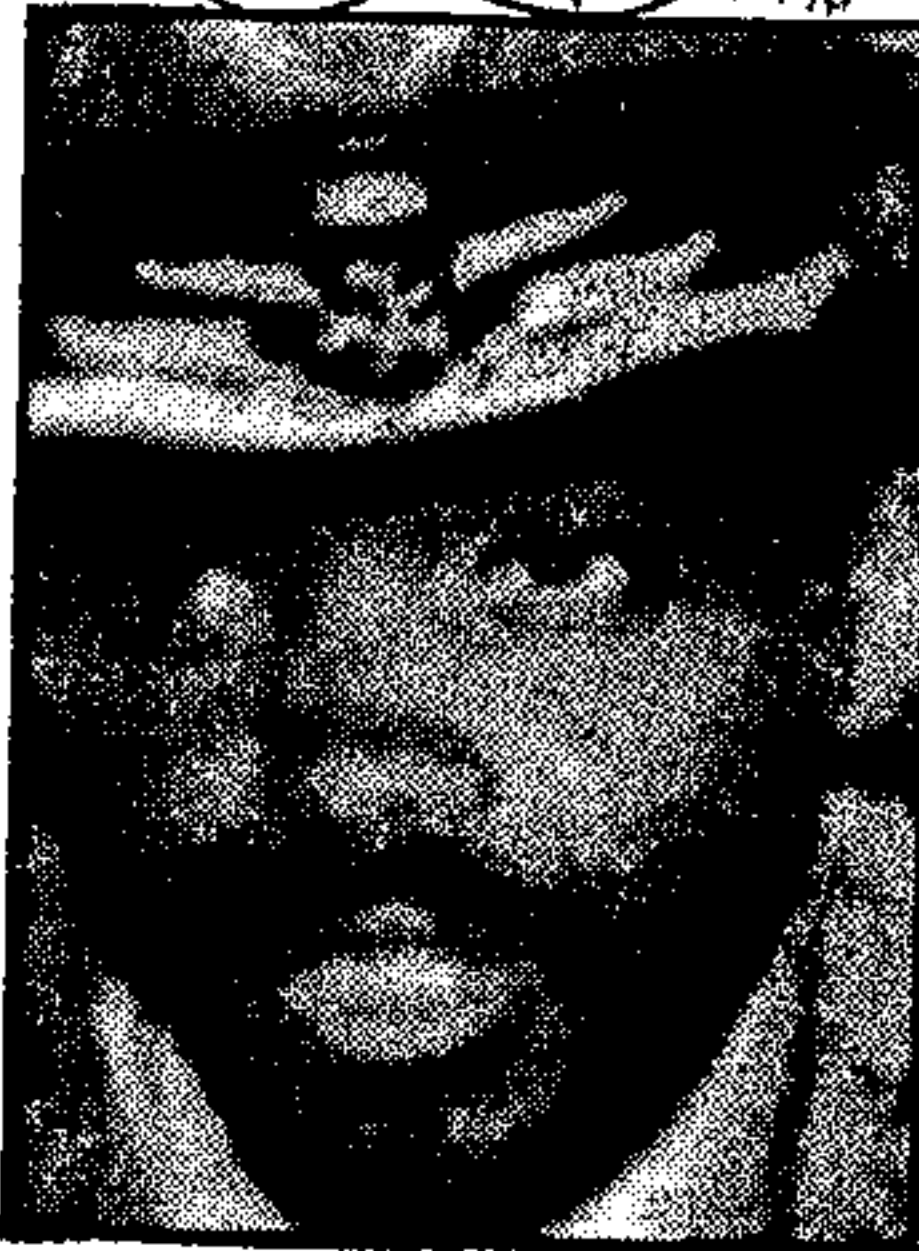
The council said Gqozo would reveal details of Apla work in Transkei at a press conference in Johannesburg today.

"Confirmed intelligence reports have provided evidence of Apla linkage and collusion with other major players in southern Africa. He believes that, owing to the implications which they hold for the negotiation process, they should be announced to all concerned individuals," the statement said.

It is unclear whether Gqozo's impending revelations are related to the arrest of a group of PAC youths who allegedly attempted to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting near Dimbaza on Friday.

The youths were allegedly armed with homemade and automatic weapons.

SAP regional spokesman Captain Gary Maclaren said the weapons — R-1 and R-5 rifles — would be handed over to the SAP to investigate whether they were those used by Apla in its



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo . . . new details of Apla activities in Transkei.

attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown in November.

The seven youths are expected to appear in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court today.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata has disputed the claim that the youths were PAC members, saying he suspected they were members of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement.

Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, was not available for comment yesterday. — Elnews.

MI accused of misleading world over bases in Transkei

Own Correspondent

84A

DAR ES SALAAM — South Africa's Military Intelligence (MI) is either mischievous or deliberately misleading the world by linking the Azanian People's Liberation Army to Transkei, says Apla chief Sabelo Phama.

In an interview at the weekend, Phama dismissed as "absolute nonsense" claims that Apla

had bases in Transkei and planned to infiltrate 500 fighters into the homeland defence force.

Phama said about Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa: "He is innocent. The Boers have a problem with him and want to implicate him. We have no influence over Holomisa's decision to arm the PAC leadership with pistols and we have no contact with him."

He said the SA Government

was mounting a propaganda campaign as an excuse to conduct a raid into Tanzania in pursuit of Apla cadres in order to appease whites. "But I warn De Klerk that his men will not return unscathed."

On the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into Apla activities, Phama said: "We will not go to Goldstone and we will not invite them to our camps."

Phama said Archbishop Des-

mond Tutu was misrepresenting Apla by saying the armed wing of the PAC was untrue to the principles of Africanism and PAC founder Robert Sobukwe.

"Tutu was never close to Prof (Sobukwe) nor is he in the Africanist camp to understand why he (Sobukwe) said at the time that we were not ready to kill. He was calling for a peaceful campaign against the pass laws. "Sobukwe said that as the

struggle developed we would get purer ... and would be able to go into other areas of the struggle. There was never a time when Sobukwe could imagine a situation in which he could watch his people die."

Phama said Apla forces were in pursuit of specific "enemy agents" when they attacked paralyzers at the King William's Town golf club on December 8.

STAR 11/1/93

BENNY ALEXANDER

FWM 11/12/92
Leader of the PAC

The absurdity of suddenly turning to outright terrorism while negotiating with government is lost on Pan African Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander — a former Baptist deacon and regular church-goer.

His "only regret" about the King William's Town killings, recently carried out by the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), is that "lives of innocent people have to be used as an example to demonstrate a truth that affects the lives of the vast majority of the country." He says the slogan "one settler, one bullet," is "part of Apla's psychological warfare."

He says he simply wouldn't know if Apla was responsible for the attacks. He considers it racist that people can fathom independence between the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Fein, while failing to see a similar relationship between the PAC and Apla.

Alexander (37) is a dogged exponent of the PAC, which he joined in 1983. These days he denies any PAC ambivalence about taking part in talks, though not long ago he predicted their failure because "there is no way negotiations could be regarded as a panacea for all our social malaise."

He sees negotiations and armed struggle as "two legs of one strategy." He explains: "The likelihood is that we will not agree, and if those things were rightfully mine from the beginning and I want them returned, then I might have to consider using some force alongside my kind persuasions."

He believes that his early support of workers' rights put him in the leadership role. "I do not have the normal qualifications — decades of involvement in the struggle, exile, the taking up of arms, — to hold a senior post in the liberation movement. I came in via the working class, who wanted someone from their own ranks in the leadership."

Born in Florianville, Kimberley, Alexander moved to Johannesburg after matriculating. He is a bachelor and lives in the (formerly) coloured area of Ennerdale.



Alexander ... negotiations and force are "two legs of one strategy"

From 1975 to 1981 he worked for the Department of Manpower, dealing with worker complaints. In 1982 he went to work full-time for the Baptist church as a leader in its youth ministry. He is a committed Christian ("very much so") and served as a deacon until he became "too involved in politics."

The first union he helped to form was the Black Health & Allied Workers' Union of SA. In 1986 he joined the SA Black Municipal & Allied Workers' Union, "which was responsible for a string of municipalities collapsing." He also made a controversial move that year when he began organising the hated Blackjacks (municipal police) in the Vaal Triangle into a union and "turning them around" politically. He says fear of reprisals by government led him to leave the unions.

From there, he began work in the underground structures of the PAC. Early on he had been profoundly influenced by "the great Robert Sobukwe." The PAC founder had been banished to Kimberley after his release from Robben Island in 1969.

"I sometimes took my cases to him. He was a lawyer. He was extremely articulate, loved by the masses and he was a most feared man. I always used to say when I was a little boy that one day I will be like Sobukwe." ■

LEWIS FOLB

Finding reasons to smile

Lewis Folb remains unperturbed by the massive shake-out in the computer industry. The SPL Group MD is still smiling because he has seen the computer software and services company he runs grow steadily since it was listed seven years ago.

After a slump in earnings in financial 1991, SPL bounced back with a 28% increase in turnover to R51m for the half-year to end-August. Though many computer companies are retrenching staff, SPL has increased its staff complement by almost 20% to 500 in the past year.

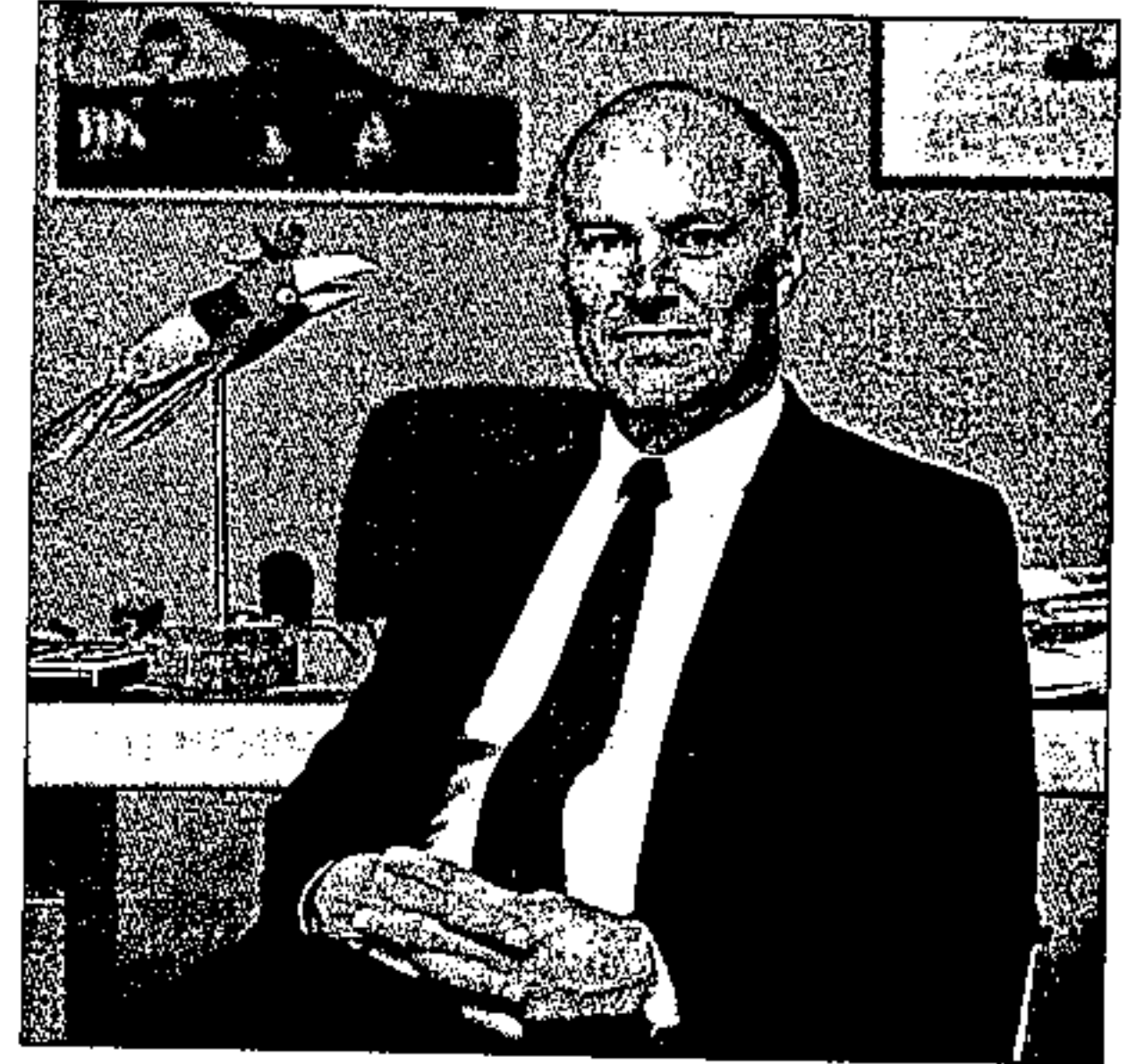
Folb (47) grew up on a farm near Standerton in the south-eastern Transvaal. His lawyer father had turned to farming, rather unsuccessfully, after World War 2. But he remembers a happy childhood despite the lack of money and electricity.

He first encountered city life when boarding at Jeppe Preparatory, going on to Jeppe High School in Johannesburg. He qualified as a math teacher from the Johannesburg College of Education, but in 1968, after teaching for two years in Vereeniging, he decided to move into business.

"I figured the only thing a teacher could

do was sell. Selling and teaching mean you have to put a point across that your audience does not necessarily want to hear."

After responding to five newspaper ads, he landed a sales job with Computer Bureau (now MCS in Cape Town). "The computing industry was still in its infancy and I knew little about selling and even less about com-



Folb ... "I chose a wonderful industry"

puting. But in spite of my random choice, I chose a wonderful industry."

It did not take him long to set up his own software company, which he merged in 1972 with SPL. He established a division for the newly launched ranges of minicomputers and became involved in broader marketing and sales activities. In 1984 he was appointed MD and the following year he listed SPL. With the listing, Folb was named MD of the SPL Group, which comprises Systems Programming, Computerised Personnel Systems and Computer Personnel. In 1990, the Computer Society of SA named him Computer Personality of the Year.

He says the software industry has given him the opportunity to be involved with innovative and intellectually stimulating people. And he values the fact that, being relatively young, the industry is not burdened by traditional business attitudes toward women. Of the 10 directors on SPL's board, four are women. And his two youngest sons attended the company's on-site creche in Rivonia.

Folb, who has a daughter in the US and a son in computing in Cape Town, still yearns for the farm life. He and his wife, Lorraine, live on a 2,5 ha property outside Johannesburg, but he needs to get out to the bush as often as possible. A favourite getaway is their holiday home near Nelspruit overlooking the Crocodile River.

Though he denies having unfulfilled ambitions, he says he would love to have been an experienced lawyer in the new SA. ■

Politics ^{Soweto} married to the gun

11/1/93

HUNGER STRIKER

Will scupper negotiations:

By Mkgadi Pela

THE Azanian Youth Organisation has just emerged from its congress in QwaQwa with a new president who believes that politics and the gun are inseparable.

Mr George Biya (27) of Phiri, Soweto, is makes no apology for this view. He says: "Azania was taken on the battlefield and we will certainly not get it at the negotiating table."

He does not mince words when speaking about his unflinching support for socialism, anti-collaboration stance and "engaging the system at all levels".

His involvement in politics dates back to 1983 when he joined the Azanian Student Movement. He left the country in May 1985 to join the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army.

Biya succeeded Mr Thami Mcerwa as president of the five-year-old organisation. Mcerwa, who is studying abroad, has survived many attempts on his life and has been detained several times.

Biya came back into the country as a unit commander of Azania and was arrested on June 21 at Ramalabana, Bophuthatswana, after a skirmish with the security forces. "When we were 10km into Bop comrade Mocoseli Mzwandile and I walked right into an ambush of the security forces and a skirmish erupted. Comrade Mocoseli was shot dead and I was captured."

"I was subjected to rigorous interrogation and kept in solitary confinement for 11 months at Kooigrond Prison. I was later sentenced to three years for possession of arms and ammunition," Biya said.

While serving the three-year sentence Biya was charged with robbery, attempted murder and murder.

"They convicted me of robbery after claiming we had robbed a Bop irrigation farm of two vehicles. Consequently, I had an additional 10-year sentence slapped on me."

While in prison Biya and other prisoners embarked on a historic hunger strike to force the authorities to release them. His co-hunger striker, Bushy Mofefe, spent more than 60 days without food while Biya did not eat for 56 days. The hunger strikers were later freed.

On his release Biya organised for Azapo and Azayo and was appointed regional chairman of Azayo in Soweto.

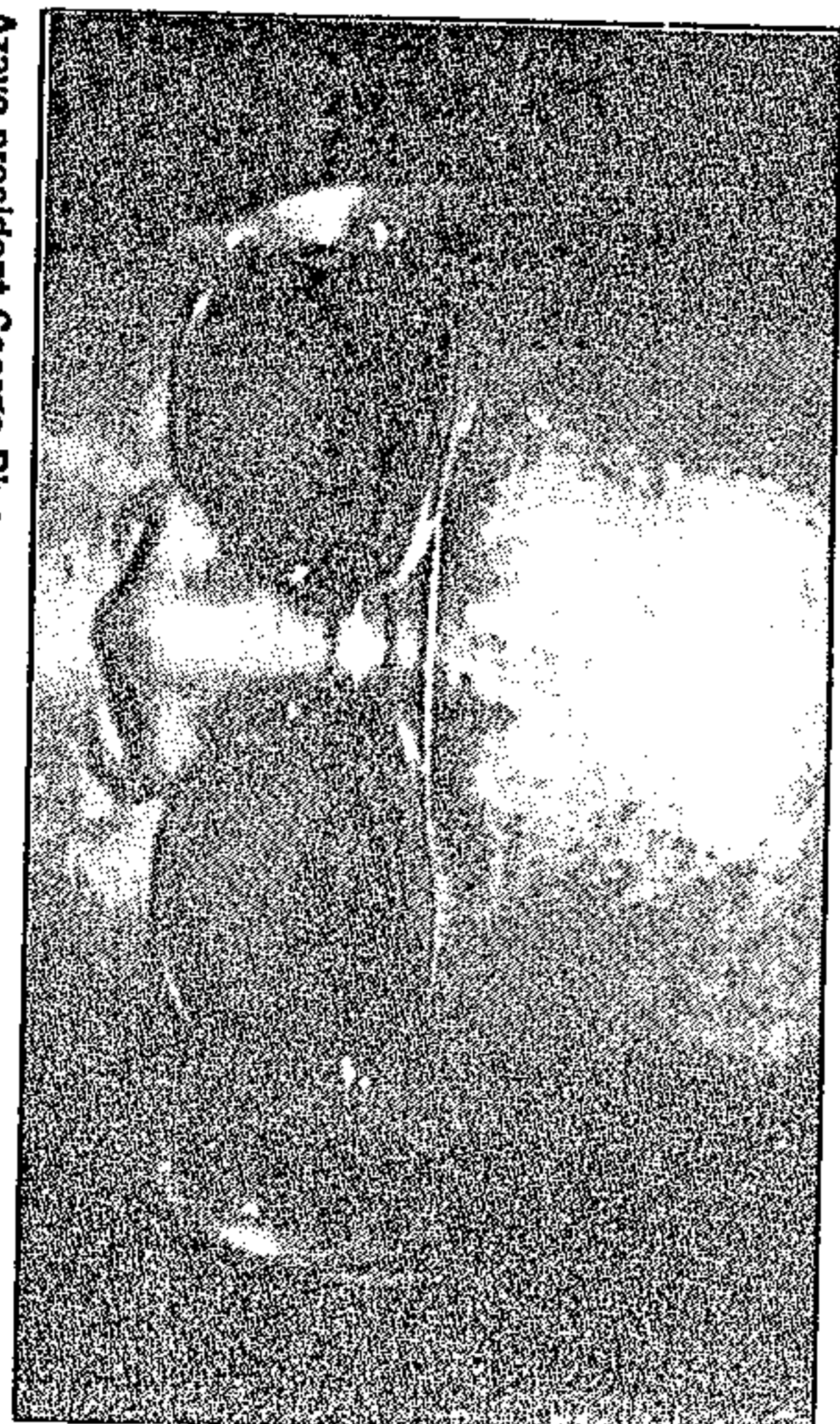
Biya File

Name George Biya
Age 27
Education Matric
Favourite food Vegetable and fruit
Hobby: Scrabble, soccer and reading

In line with the congress theme *Organise and defend Chimurenga*, Biya said his organisation would do everything to "frustrate a Muzorewa option in Azania by employing any means necessary".

Azayo will also campaign strongly against the use of drugs and alcohol by youths.

Other members of the executive are deputy president Stanley Sigotyana, secretary-general Ludo Mashiloane, publicity secretary Thami Mkhwanazi and national organiser Tsheho Mokiri.



Azayo president George Biya

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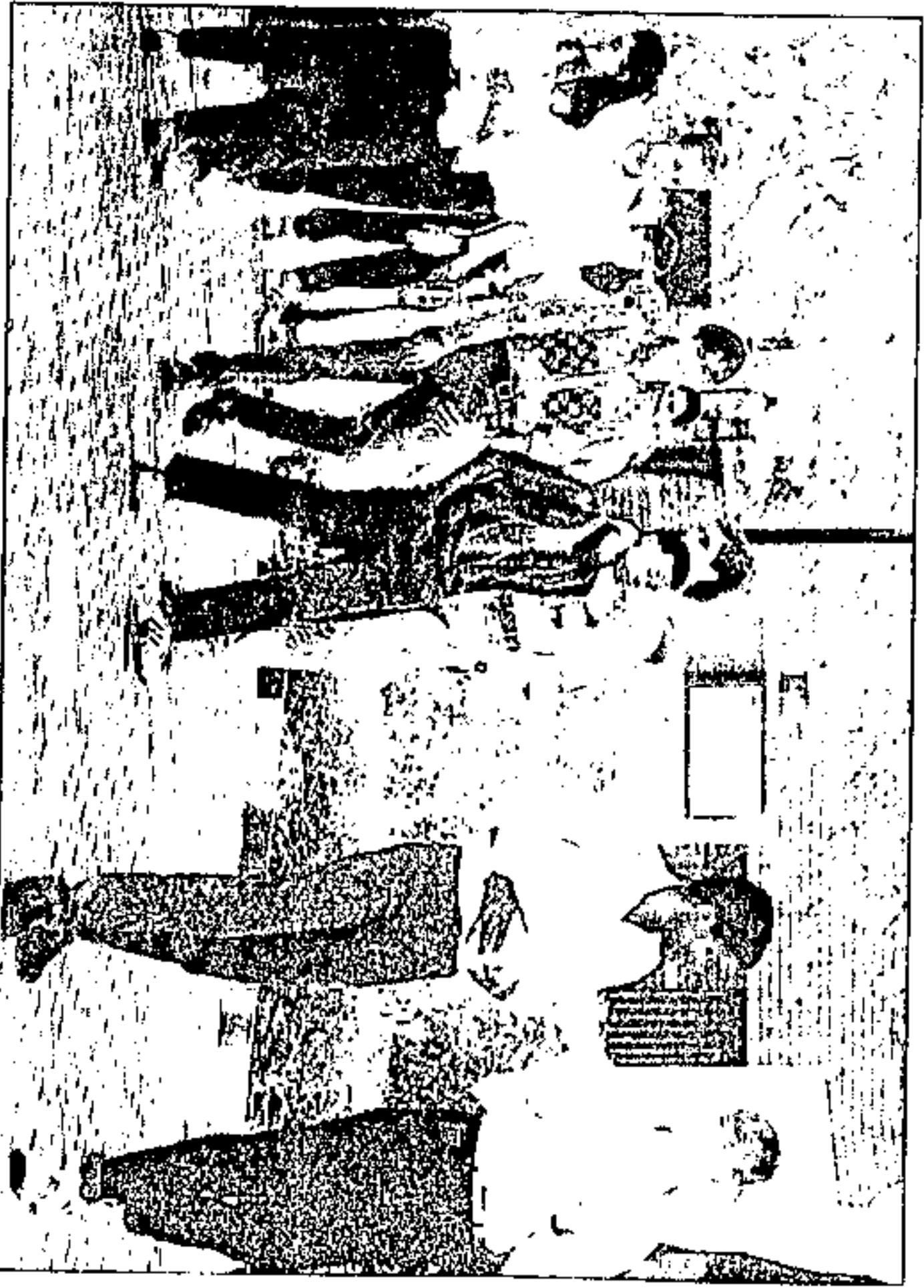
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UNIC VEAAD EMI TINGE PAIDGE

Gqozo 'to unveil the facts' on Apla

DIRK HARTFORD

CISKEI military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo says he will disclose today new details of Apla activities in Transkei, involving collusion with "other major players in southern Africa".

Gqozo is flying to Johannesburg to address a news conference at which he will "expose the facts". These have implications for the negotiations process, he says.

Ciskei police seized illegal weapons from eight PAC youth members on Friday and handed them to the SA Police for ballistics testing. The tests would determine if the weapons were used in last year's King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, the Ciskei government said.

Sapa reports that the youths were arrested after police intervened when they allegedly tried to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting near Dimbaza.

The weapons were "Scorpion homemade firearms", an R-5 rifle, an R-1 rifle and R-1, R-5 and 9mm ammunition, Ciskei police said. The youths appear in court today.

In a statement at the weekend, Gqozo said although he acknowledged Judge Richard Goldstone's probe into Apla's activities, he was gravely concerned about information he had and wanted to make it available to all concerned.

Meanwhile, Transkei's military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa's recommendation for a judge to investigate Apla's activities in Transkei will be forwarded to

□ To Page 2

Gqozo

the SA government today.

The move came in the wake of government's refusal to allow Goldstone to head a Transkei-initiated inquiry into Apla activities after Holomisa refused to take part in the Goldstone hearing on Apla in Port Elizabeth last week.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement in Cape Town last week that

since Goldstone had "an ultimate interest and responsibility in regard to his SA assignment", he could not possibly divorce himself from his own commission.

Goldstone said he agreed with government's decision. "At no time" had he agreed to head Holomisa's commission.

The Goldstone committee will continue its Port Elizabeth hearings today.

□ From Page 1

'SA intelligence ignorant'

Sowetan 11/1/93.

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

847

■ Denies they have bases in the Transkei and says SADF wants an excuse to raid Tanzania and appease whites in SA:

AZANIAN People's Liberation Army chief Sabelo Phama said the South African military intelligence was either mischievous or deliberately misleading the world by linking them to Transkei.

In a face-to-face interview in Dar es Salaam at the weekend Phama dismissed as "absolute nonsense" claims that Apla had bases in Transkei and had infiltrated the homeland's defence force.

He said: "We are concerned that South Africa's military intelligence is either playing a trick by misinforming the world or is really ignorant if it can feed the international community with such stories.

"It is absolute nonsense and mischievous to push the line that Apla plans to infiltrate 500 fighters into the Transkei defence force."

About the chairman of the Transkei military

council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Phama said: "He is innocent. The Boers have a problem with him and want to implicate him. We have no influence over Holomisa's decision to arm the PAC leadership with 9mm pistols, as reported, and we have no contact with him."

Phama said the Government was mounting a propaganda campaign as an excuse to conduct a raid into Tanzania in pursuit of Apla cadres in order to appease whites.

"But I warn De Klerk that his men will not return unscathed."

On the special inquiry into Apla activities by the Goldstone Commission Phama said: "We will not go to Goldstone and we will not invite them to our camps."

A committee of the commission, which began hearing evidence on Apla last week, resumes its work in Port Elizabeth today.

Phama said Anglican Archbishop Desmond

Tutu was misrepresenting Apla by saying it was untrue to the principles of Africanism and PAC founder Robert Sobukwe.

"Tutu was never close to Prof (Sobukwe) nor is he in the Africanist camp to understand why he said at that stage that we were not ready to kill. He was calling for a peaceful campaign against the pass laws at the time.

"Sobukwe said as the struggle develops we would get purer and purer and would be able to go into other areas of the struggle.

"In other words, there was never a time when Sobukwe could imagine a situation in which he could really watch his people die. He would not support Tutu's utterances today." Phama said Apla forces were in pursuit of specific "enemy agents" when they attacked partygoers at the King William's Town golf club on December 8.

* Full interview tomorrow

Gqozo claims bid to oust him

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo flew from Bisho to the Reef yesterday to make a series of shock claims, including allegations of a plot by Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) to topple his government.

The Ciskei military leader told a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport that both his government and the South African security forces had information about where the Apla unit responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack was hiding.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel denied last night that police knew the whereabouts of the unit.

SAP Public Relations Division head Major-General Leon Mellet said police were following up "certain information" about the golf club killings. Four people were

murdered in the attack.

Gqozo, who returned to Bisho directly after making his statement, said he had "confirmed intelligence reports" of a meeting held in Umtata a few days after Christmas between MK, Apla and the TDF.

According to his information, the groups had decided to launch a two-pronged attack on Ciskei and Kwazulu.

Gqozo said MK and Apla recruits in the final stages of their training would be used to carry out the attacks in Apla's name.

He implied that he wanted the SA Defence Force to launch cross-border raids into Transkei against Apla.

Answering questions at the press conference, Gqozo said: "Transkei should come clean on this because it is not only a festering sore for the whole of South Africa... they must come clean whether they want war or negotiations peacefully. "So, I think whatever

action to be taken by all South Africans should be welcomed..."

Asked whether he was referring to military action, he said: "Definitely, because those people are military (people)."

Gqozo said his government "reserved the right to take any action we see fit... anyone entering Ciskei with arms of war will be declaring war on Ciskei".

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa accused the South African Government of using Gqozo to do its "dirty tricks and, by doing so, shifting blame from themselves". The ANC, MK and the PAC strongly denied that such a meeting took place.

MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda said there was no working relationship between the ANC's armed wing and Apla.

In a separate statement, the ANC said Gqozo's statement was a "mixture of outright lies and pure invention". The organisation de-

nied there are or were MK bases in Transkei or that it had ever entered a pact with the TDF or any other body to launch a military offensive against Ciskei or Kwazulu.

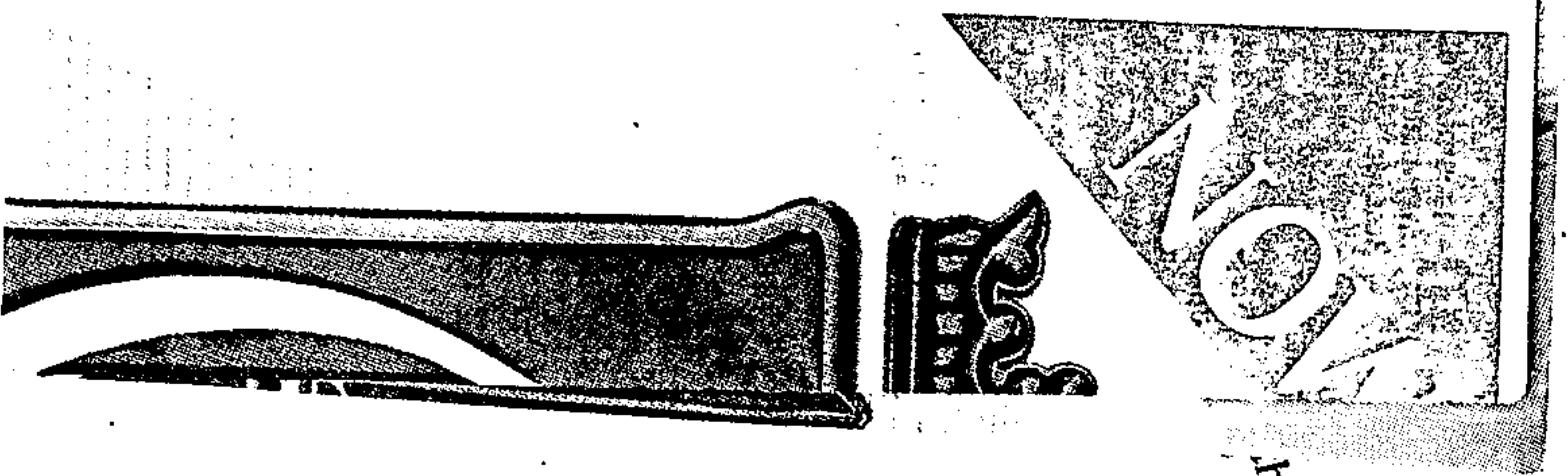
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Gqozo said SACP leader and former MK chief of staff Chris Hani had told MK members in Ciskei to launch attacks in the homeland, using Apla disguises.

Hani denied the claim, saying Gqozo lived in "some other wonderland". He was no longer MK chief of staff and therefore did not give instructions to its members.

Gqozo would not make any documents backing up his claims available to the press because it could expose his sources.

● Decision on Apla subpoenas delayed - Page 5



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Page 5

LLOYD COUTTS

PAC refuses role in probe of Apla

THE PAC yesterday refused to take part in a Goldstone committee investigation into the activities of its armed wing Apla, saying it saw no need to do so.

The organisation told a news conference it had received an invitation to participate in the hearing in Port Elizabeth yesterday and had been asked to extend the invitation to Apla at its Dar es Salaam headquarters.

The PAC said, however, that during a bilateral meeting with government in Botswana last year, it had agreed to continue talks on the armed struggle "in the broader context of a political solution". The matter had been on the agenda in bilateral talks "and we do not see the need to present ourselves to this commission", said PAC

secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke.

Seroke said while there were no current

talks with government, channels of communication remained open.

The Apla command would reply to the commission's request for its participation

if it were deemed necessary. He said the

commission had informed the PAC it

would consider travelling to a neutral ven-

ue should Apla make such a request.

He said the commission should not act as

an inquisition into PAC affairs.

Sapa reports the Goldstone committee

hearing preliminary evidence on Apla will sit next on January 18 in Pretoria.

84A

Gqozo told to produce evidence of 'plot'

GOVERNMENT yesterday called on Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo to hand over to the Goldstone commission evidence that Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Transkei Defence Force were secretly planning acts of terror.

Earlier in the day Gqozo claimed he had "confirmed intelligence reports" which proved the three armies were plotting the violent overthrow of the governments of Ciskei and KwaZulu.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said government encouraged Gqozo "to share the information he has with the Goldstone commission".

Government is believed to have been

~~RAY HARTLEY~~
RAY HARTLEY
BIDA 12/1/93

angered by Gqozo's decision to make the allegations at a Johannesburg news conference instead of presenting them to the Goldstone commission's Port Elizabeth hearing on Apla.

Gqozo said he had decided to keep his evidence from the commission because the SA public needed to be made aware of the plot, and Judge Richard Goldstone would be given documents only "on a very selective basis" if he requested them.

He said MK, Apla and the TDF had met in Umtata shortly after Christmas to plan attacks on the governments of Ciskei and

KwaZulu "under the name of Apla".

Gqozo said SA security forces needed to take decisive action — possibly including military force — against the plotters.

The ANC, MK, Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and the PAC yesterday dismissed Gqozo's allegations.

The ANC described Gqozo's statement as "a mixture of outright lies and pure invention. There are not now, nor have there ever been, MK bases in Transkei. The ANC and MK have never entered a pact with the TDF or any other body to launch a military offensive against Ciskei or KwaZulu," it said.

□ To Page 2

Gqozo BIDA 12/1/93 ~~RAY HARTLEY~~ From Page 1

PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke denied the conspiracy claims, Sapa reports. Gqozo was "flying a kite", he said. "It is clear that he has an axe to grind with the Transkei Military Council."

MK chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda denied any meetings, other than "normal contact", had taken place between MK, Apla and the TDF. "This is in breach of the spirit of the national peace accord. Such statements have only helped fuel violence in the past," he said.

Gqozo's allegations that SACP secretary-general Chris Hani had instructed MK commanders in Ciskei to attack the homeland's government using Apla disguises

were untrue as Hani no longer held any command position in MK, Nyanda said.

Holomisa accused Gqozo of conducting a propaganda campaign against Transkei in collaboration with SA security forces, Sapa reports. Gqozo was welcome to bring his evidence directly to Transkei, or to invite Transkei investigators to Bisho, he said.

Gqozo said he had not communicated with Holomisa over the allegations because "he will definitely deny them".

Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said Gqozo needed to present proof of the plot to Goldstone, because this was "one place where the evidence would have value".

● Picture: Page 3

Gqozo on ANC and PAC pact

■ He talks of military attack to
topple KwaZulu and Ciskei:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter



THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress were planning a two-pronged military attack to topple the governments of Ciskei and KwaZulu with the help of the Transkei Defence Force, (TDF) Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday.

The Ciskei military ruler flew to the Reef to hold a special Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport.

These "revelations" were based on confirmed intelligence reports in Ciskei's possession concerning a secret meeting held jointly by Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the TDF in Umtata "a few days after Christmas," he said.

The PAC said in response to Gqozo's claims that he was "flying a kite" and that his claims were unfounded.

A full response would follow after the PAC had studied Gqozo's claims, political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said.

The ANC said Gqozo's statement was a "mixture of outright lies and pure invention"

Cop informer fears for his life

By Abbey Makoe

Threats made after Coetzee makes allegations:

MR Chris Coetzee, the former police informer who this week made allegations about corruption by police at John Vorster Square, said yesterday he had received threatening telephone calls and feared for his life.

He said what had shocked him most was the fact that the telephone number at his present residence was not known to the police or many people.

Coetzee said the first call came from a man who identified himself only as Kelvin. The man told him: "I want to have your neck" and then hung off.

He said the second call came from Captain Pi Prooy, whom he knew as a member of the Narcotics Bureau at John Vorster Square.

Mr Prooy wanted to meet him "at the earliest possible time", Coetzee said.

Yesterday afternoon another police-man phoned. This time it was a Sergeant Merajies, who said he was from the Intelligence Bureau. Coetzee said he asked his live-in partner to say he was not there.

Coetzee told *Sowetan* yesterday that he was still willing to testify in court.

about the allegations of police corruption at John Vorster Square.

In startling disclosures published in *Sowetan* yesterday, Coetzee - who said he was a police informer since 1983 - claimed informers were being armed illegally with pistols, allowed to raid the homes of suspects and sometimes took part in interrogations of suspects.

In an affidavit Coetzee implicated several members of the SA Narcotics Bureau and the Langlaagte Dog Unit. *Sowetan* has forwarded the names of the implicated officers to the police.

PAC says NO to Goldstone

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress will not participate in the Goldstone Commission special inquiry into its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, as it did not see any need to do so.

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said yesterday the decision was submitted to the commission on Friday after it received an invitation from the commission to testify at the committee hearing chaired by Mr Geri Steyn in Port Elizabeth.

"We have been asked by the commission to extend the invitation to Apia in Dar es Salaam. The commission informed us that it will consider travelling

Apia will reply to invitation by commission itself:

to a neutral external venue should Apia make such a request," Seroke said.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg Seroke said Apia, which had also been asked by the commission to participate, would reply on its own behalf "if it so wished".

However, Apia chief commander Mr Sabele Phama told *Sowetan* in an interview in Dar es Salaam that the commission was irrelevant as Apia cadres were being arrested, put on trial and sentenced and they would not co-operate with the commission.

Seroke said the commission had made available to the PAC, South African Police and South African Defence Force submissions to the committee

hearing.

"These included alleged locations of Apia bases in the Transkei; 201 pseudonyms of alleged Apia trainee graduates who are about to be infiltrated into the country from Uganda; names of the alleged commander and his deputy in the Apia high command and the alleged relationship between the PAC and Apia leadership.

"In our response to the commission we said we were already discussing the matter with its principal, the regime and have agreed with it in Botswana to continue with talks on armed struggle in the broader context of a political solution," Seroke said.

LLOYD COUTTS

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secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke.

Seroke said while there were no current talks with government, channels of communication remained open. (AP) (84A)

The Apla command would reply to the commission's request for its participation if it were deemed necessary. He said the

commission had informed the PAC it would consider travelling to a neutral ven-

ue should Apla make such a request. (AP) (84A)

He said the commission should not act as an inquisition into PAC affairs. (AP) (84A)

Sapa reports the Goldstone committee hearing preliminary evidence on Apla will sit next on January 18 in Pretoria.

A mission to liberate the masses

Sowetan 12/11/93



Face-to-face interview with **Sabelo Victor Phama**,
*Apla chief commander and Pan Africanist Congress
secretary for defence:*

EXCLUSIVE By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

Q: As PAC secretary for defence, a political position which you hold, explain Apla's activities, plans and programme in the wake of the King William's Town killings of whites.

A: Firstly, let me correct you. We do not regard our struggle in black or white terms.

Apla is continuing with armed struggle and the organisation of the Azanian masses as the PAC decided in 1961.

In other words, the strategic objectives of national liberation and self-determination have not been realised and so Apla is still having a mission to liberate Azania as we say the situation there is settler colonialism and we haven't shifted from that position.

Secondly, we know that our people are hardest hit at the moment. We are the last bastion of colonialism in the continent of Africa. So we have a very, very important mission of liberating Azania.

A view is gaining ground that Apla is undermining the leadership of the PAC; it is a rampant loose cannon - the tall wagging the dog, defying its political leadership.

I am the military spokesman of the PAC and it is unfair for the liberal Press to say Apla is defiant, a loose cannon and anti-white terrorist group. There are clear lines of communication between Apla cadres and the PAC leadership. Importantly, the PAC is a political arm of the oppressed people whose leadership decided in a series of congresses after the banning of the organisation (in April 1960) that armed struggle must obtain and it formed an organ called Apla.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pk Botha has accused Apla of being a "criminal hit squad". Is it perhaps because the PAC refuses to acknowledge collaboration with Apla and thus "disowning" it?

At no time did the PAC tell Apla to do this or that. The only time the PAC leadership did that was to say the programme of liberation should continue.

Was Apla responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack in which five whites were killed on December 8? If so, why did it choose that specific target?

Yes. Apla forces were in pursuit of enemy agents that were in the party in King William's Town. Secondly, that was not a wine-tasting party. There were lots of elements that attracted Apla there.

There were security forces who were equally responsible for repression and the monitoring of violent activities in that region. It is a fact that ex-servicemen and Selous Scouts in former Rhodesia were at that party, perhaps even celebrating successes over Apla and the liberation movement in general.

Once again, the so-called civilian element in South Africa has a very thin line because all of them are armed with weapons of mass destruction. It would be understandable if a person is armed with weapons to protect himself but not with offensive equipment which is supplied through licences provided by the racist regime.

We are not dealing with a purely civilian social force but a para-militarised civilian force - a militarised society. **Is there any explanation as to Apla's timing? Why do you intensify your offensive when the PAC is talking to the Government? For instance, the timing of Apla's attacks in the Eastern Cape is seen as a deliberate act to undermine the PAC leadership.**

No, there is no plan to make the attacks coincide with the talks. Apla is continuing with its programme, really, and the King William's Town issue is being blown out of proportion.

We have no plans to sabotage those talks. Our intention is the liberation of Azania. Not talks about talks because these achieve nothing.

Are you working in collaboration with the PAC

Apla is continuing with the armed struggle and the organisation of the masses as the PAC decided in 1961

leadership?

That's one part I wouldn't want to talk about because PAC operations are above-board party political activities while Apla's are underground operations. We haven't surfaced or reached a stage where we can announce our plans.

Is Apla now focusing on "soft targets" - white women, children, black policemen...? How do you explain target?

Targets to Apla are security forces who are the pillars of the political arm of the minority regime. Secondly, all the instruments of power, including its economic base are targets. Thirdly, all the auxiliary forces that are supporting the regime, like Koevoet which is an extension of the South African Defence Force.

However, I have a problem with the term 'soft target' because even children are taught in school to shoot and that there is a need to be armed in South Africa. In other words, immediately you teach a person to handle a firearm the issue of being a civilian is subject to debate.

For instance, in the countryside we have farmers who organise themselves into commando units, a machinery of repression. The rightwing element, AWB and Conservative Party, have made their own para-military arrangements because they have lost confidence in the South African Police.

And the target of that particular service is our people who are already suppressed and are without protection. South Africa is highly militarised and most whites are trained to shoot and they belong to the citizen force. They can be called to take up arms at any time.

Interestingly, it is said Apla targeted a child of 14 or 15 years in Ficksburg. I asked whether that child was the target or caught in the crossfire or was she armed herself because we are told that they are taught shooting at that level.

So, there is a need for thorough investigation relating to every civilian case. But Apla continues with its main targets, the pillars of the racist regime and its support structures.

Are you saying all targets are the same to Apla, that there is no 'soft target'?

No, I am saying that in the South African context the issue of soft or hard targets is a controversial one. We look at particular targets, the askaris for instance, Koevoet, Battalion 32 and forces bent on destroying the masses. It is a luta continua.

Also, there is no difference between a black and a white policeman as they perform the same duties and carry out the same instructions, especially against the liberation movements in general.

A special committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in Port Elizabeth is presently investigating Apla's activities. What is your response?

The Goldstone Commission was appointed by De Klerk in terms of the National Peace Accord which we do not recognise.

Where are Apla bases?

Apla is in Azania and Africa. I will not explain that but the main force of Apla is not outside Azania.

Definitely, Apla cadres are inside the country. You see, when you are engaged in guerilla warfare you do not need bases because we are engaged in a people's war.

What do you say to the claims that you have bases in Transkei and your cadres are being trained there.

A: Let me clear this: we do not have bases in Transkei or any region in Azania.

84A
WA

Bomb found in my car, says ANC man

STAR 13/11/93
By Jacques Pauw

ANC national executive committee member Mac Maharaj yesterday testified that a bomb had been found in his car after his release from detention in connection with Operation Vula.

Giving evidence before a Goldstone committee investigating "third force" activities alleged by Mozambican citizen Joao Cuna, Maharaj said he had always been of "great interest" to the security forces. His phone was tapped and he was under constant surveillance.

He gave no further details of the bomb.

Maharaj denied he had ever met Cuna, who yesterday identified him as the man whom he claimed had told him to fabricate a report about police hit-squad activities. Vrye Weekblad pub-

lished the report.

Goldstone Commission investigating officer Major Frank Dutton testified that in spite of further checking of SAP and SA Defence Force records, he had still not found a description of the massacre Cuna had described to the newspaper. He had also checked the records of the Human Rights Commission and monitoring committees.

Dutton, however, conceded it was possible the incident could not be traced due to the sheer volume of AK-47 attacks.

Dutton caused a stir when he showed the commission a 1,5 m long list of incidents that had taken place in Natal between April 1991 and April 1992.

Advocate Rob Wise ruled that further evidence from Cuna be heard in camera.

Battle over Apla probes a cat and mouse affair

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STW 13/1/93
84A 103

The battle between South Africa and Transkei over commissions of inquiry into Apla reached near-farcical proportions yesterday with leaders from both sides refusing to appear before the other's commission.

Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel said on Monday night the SAP would not testify before Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa's proposed commission of inquiry into Apla activities.

In turn, Holomisa said there would be no point continuing with Transkei's investigation unless the SAP gave oral evidence to support its allegations that Apla was training in the homeland.

The SAP had also to submit itself to cross-examination and inspections *in loco* of the alleged training bases.

Holomisa said from Umtata yesterday that he would send a diplomatic note to Pretoria seeking verification of Kriel's statement.

He confirmed he had received another diplomatic note from the SA Government on Monday informing Transkei that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone would not be seconded to chair the homeland's commission.

Instead, the Transkei Department of Justice would scout around for another South African judge to chair the commission.

Holomisa said the homeland had no specific judge in mind, and that the possible names were not yet available.

tanker's bow was jutting out of the sea while the mid-section, which contained the bulk of the oil, was submerged.

tions director, said the vessel had broken into at least three pieces.

He said, however, there was "no evidence

day morning. Koffeman said the stern of the ship had rolled 30 degrees towards shore and the deck

STAR 13/1/93
'Criminals, radicals attack SAP'

By Michael Sparks

Attacks on police were committed mainly by radical black youths as well as criminals, a committee of the Goldstone Commission heard in Pretoria yesterday.

Brigadier Stefanus Abrie of the SA Police told the committee investigating attacks on policemen that while in the past police might have blamed the ANC or PAC for the attacks, it was now apparent that criminals, as well as youths who opposed a negotiated political settlement, were involved in the attacks.

But Abrie added that statements made by ANC-SACP-Cosatu leaders such as Chris Hani, which aimed at discrediting the police, stimulated violence against the security forces.

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Bomb found in my car, says ANC man

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84A



Big blast hits station, 20 shops

847



APR 13/1993

The Argus Correspondents
JOHANNESBURG. — A powerful bomb ripped through a West Rand shopping complex early today in what is believed to be a revenge attack for the beating of two young black shoplifters.

One of the boys died later in the Baragwanath Hospital as a result of the sjambokking on January 4.

Two shops were destroyed and 18 others badly damaged in the 1.10am explosion in Station Street, Randfontein. Millions of rands damage was caused.

Looting was reported soon after the blast.

Police reported a man in a car was seen speeding down Station Street shortly after the attack.

The attack was apparently aimed at the Elite Cafe belonging to Mr Jackie de Sousa. The shop was destroyed.

No-one was hurt in the explosion.

This was the second blast at one of Mr De Sousa's shops. On January 4 his shop in Suurbekom was badly damaged by a limpet mine explosion.

Randfontein's main street was littered with shards of glass and mangled pieces of metal and masonry. The area was cordoned off as bomb squad experts sifted through the wreckage for clues on the explosive device.

Debris was scattered over 100 metres.

The station building across the street from the Elite Cafe was also damaged.

The force of the blast was so intense that a chest freezer was blown into the street, plastic chairs melted in the heat and the wall between adjoining shops buckled.

Nothing in the Elite Cafe could be saved.

Windows were shattered in 18 other shops and the station across the road. A car parked at the station was damaged.

Major Henriette Bester of the West Rand police said it was not yet known what type of explosive was used.

Gas bottles exploded after the initial blast and caused additional damage.

A shaken Mr De Sousa, near tears, said he did not know why he was being victimised.

"That is 10 years of my life that have been destroyed," he said.

But he was thankful that the blast was in the middle of the night and that there were no injuries.

"My wife and sister normally run this shop and I am glad they were not there."

Bomb rips West Rand shop centre

Sowetan 14/1/93
Sowetan Correspondent

SHOPLIFTERS Attack believed to

A POWERFUL bomb ripped through a West Rand shopping complex early yesterday in what is believed to be a revenge attack for the beating of two young black shoplifters.

One of the boys died in the Baragwanath Hospital two days after the beating on October 1, possibly as a result of the assault.

The Elite Cafe and neighbouring Shorty's Fruit and Veg were com-

be revenge for beating of two boys:

pletely destroyed and 18 other shops were badly damaged in the 1.10am explosion in Station Street, Randfontein.

Damage amounting to millions of rands was reported but no one was hurt.

Police said a person purporting to be a member of Apla telephoned the police toll free number this morning

claiming responsibility for the blast. But police do not suspect the organisation at this stage.

The attack was apparently aimed at the Elite Cafe belonging to Jackie de Sousa.

This was the second blast at one of De Sousa's shops. On January 4 his Zuurbekom shop was badly damaged in a limpet mine explosion.

161 children spent Christmas in jail

Sowetan Reporter

A TOTAL of 161 children under the age of 14 spent last Christmas in jail.

A statement from the Deputy Minister of National Housing, Mr Glen Carelse, yesterday confirmed that "between December 1992 and January 7 this year 161 children aged 14 and younger were detained in

64 'dangerous' kids are still in custody:

Sowetan 14/1/93
police cells and prisons countrywide".

Sixty-one have since been placed in "alternative care", 43 reunited with their parents and 16 in "places of safety" and two in reformatories.

"At the moment 36 cases are being investigated and these children will

probably soon be placed in alternative care.

The remaining 64 children are being detained for serious crimes, such as murder and cannot be transferred because they pose a danger to the community," he said.

ANC 'torturers' named

Sowetan
14/11/93

■ **Brutality and commission's findings come under fire:**

By **Themba Molefe**

Political Reporter

111 844

AFRICAN National Congress detention camps and new allegations of murder and torture against some of its high-ranking leaders came under the spotlight in yet another commission of inquiry report yesterday.

The International Freedom Foundation yesterday released the report of the one-man Douglas Commission which completed its findings this month after hearing evidence from 100 people since July 1992.

Prominent senior leaders of the ANC and South African Communist Party, notably Mr Chris Hani, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Jacob Zuma, are mentioned and implicated in torture and murder in ANC camps in Angola, Mozambique and Uganda.

The commission was headed by advocate Mr Robert Douglas and heard evidence from the 100 witnesses - "including 40 survivors" - in South Africa, Lesotho, the United Kingdom, Germany and Holland.

Douglas recommended that those guilty of such offences be punished and that their victims be rehabilitated and compensated.

He said the Goldstone Commission could be expanded to investigate human rights abuses by the ANC-SACP alliance in exile.

The report uncovered evidence of "appalling brutality, deprivation and torture to extract confessions from innocent people, and murder" committed by the ANC's security arm, Mbokodo, which it said meant "the boulder that crushes".

Other ANC-SACP leaders who also serve on



Advocate Robert Douglas, who is chairman of the commission inquiring into detention centres which were run by the African National Congress in several African countries, at the Press conference yesterday.

the ANC national executive committee are Mr Joe Modise, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Mr Andrew Masondo, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Thomas Nkobi, who "knew" about the crimes.

The Douglas Commission findings followed an Amnesty International report and the ANC's own internal investigation, which however found evidence of abuses but did not reveal names.

* The IFF report was put on trial by journalists when it was released to the media yesterday.

Journalists closely questioned Douglas' motive and also cast doubt on the political purpose which made him take the IFF's appointment.

Douglas admitted to being anti-communist, thus drawing a remark from a questioner as to his impartiality.

Journalists also said it would be difficult for the IFF's report to be taken seriously as it was discredited internationally as a "right-wing" group.

IFF Southern African branch executive director Mr Russel Crystal came under personal fire, with journalists questioning his links with the security police. He denied such a connection.

Journalists also wanted to know when the IFF was going to look into the Government's own abuse of human rights.

ANC rejects new report on torture

STAN 14/1/93
Political Staff (84A)

The ANC has rejected as misleading and propagandistic an "independent" report on human rights violations in ANC detention camps which implicates 70 members of the organisation, some of them senior officials.

The one-man Douglas Commission report was motivated and funded in July last year by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation.

A "litany of unbridled and sustained horror" is what Durban advocate Bob Douglas, who addressed a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, reported from evidence from about 100 individuals and representatives, of whom 40 were survivors of ANC camps in Angola.

He named 14 ANC and SACP leaders, among them members of the ANC's national executive committee, as "directly or indirectly accountable".

Those implicated included Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Joe Modise, Jacob Zuma, Alfred Nzo and Joe Slovo.

Yesterday, Douglas defended his conviction that the accounts of alleged torture he had heard from the 40 survivors were truthful: "When you've heard that (accounts of various torture methods) 10, 15 times, it's got to be true. What I heard wasn't rehearsed."

The ANC said the Douglas report added nothing to the ANC's own internal investigation which would enter a second phase under three independent commissioners shortly.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the original ANC investigation reported last year had also

produced a list of names but it had been decided not to reveal identities until further investigation and until the individuals had been given an opportunity to present their accounts.

The ANC report identified methods of torture similar to those about which Douglas heard and the advocate said that a number of his interviewees had probably given their accounts to the ANC investigation, too.

Executive director of the IFF in southern Africa, Russell Crystal, said it was the naming of individuals which was the strength of the Douglas report as this aspect addressed the demand for accountability.

Crystal came under attack at the press conference when it was alleged by one journalist that he had worked in the South African intelligence community. He denied this saying he was a member of the National Party.

The IFF itself has been widely characterised as a conservative lobby group but Douglas said he had been able to proceed quite independently and he did not believe his anti-communist position had clouded his judgment.

Douglas also recommended that the mandate of the Goldstone Commission be expanded to address human rights abuses by the ANC/SACP in exile.

The advocate concluded that "the saga of the ANC/SACP in exile is one of tyranny, brutality, forced labour in concentration camps and mass murder".

He said the security system of the organisation was the creation of the SACP using methods learnt "from its comrades in the KGB".

The crushing of a mutiny at a camp outside Luanda in 1984 was a "typical KGB one".

84A 1510M 14/1/93

Leaders 'must shoulder blame for camp abuses'

SENIOR ANC and SACP officials, including Chris Hani, Joe Slovo and Oliver Tambo, had to accept responsibility for atrocities committed in ANC camps, even though they were not directly involved in the abuses, advocate Bob Douglas said yesterday.

Speaking at the release of an International Freedom Foundation-commissioned report on the ANC abuses, Douglas said the "Nuremburg principle", which dictated that those in command had to take responsibility for the actions of subordinates, applied in the ANC's case.

His 64-page report said the SACP, helped by the KGB, had established the ANC security department known as Mbokodo and had continued to control it during the ANC's years in exile.

Douglas said an ANC internal commission and an Amnesty International inquiry into the abuses "did a good job" within the confines of its terms of reference, but both had failed to say who was to blame for the atrocities.

He had interviewed 40 returned exiles about their experiences in ANC camps and had found their accounts corroborated each other and were credible.

RAY HARTLEY

The ANC dismissed the report as an "attempt to undermine and sow division within the ranks of the ANC and its allies, and to create a totally misleading perception of the ANC in exile.

"Besides its heavy propagandist slant, reflected in the anti-communist slander, vitriolic attacks on selected ANC leaders and blatant fabrications, the report does not add anything new to what the ANC's own commission... established," the ANC said in a statement.

IFP executive director and NP member Russel Crystal said his organisation stood by Douglas's claim to impartiality.

He said Douglas had chaired an inquiry into the Natal violence at the request of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders.

Commenting on his personal political views, Douglas said he was anti-communist and opposed "non-liberal sources of ideology", but this had not made him biased against the SACP.

"I'm not a missionary. I simply did a job which was something different from (my normal work of) litigation," he added.



Trying to reach peace pact

WILSON ZWANE

organisations, which had been... series of meetings in an attempt... said they would hold a joint... on Sunday. Inkatha had agreed to a condition by Azapo — that "traditional"...

1510M 14/1/93

Chiefs and security forces come under fire

EMPANGENI — The ANC's northern Natal region alleged yesterday that tribal chiefs in the area had received instructions from Ulundi not to tolerate ANC activity within their areas.

In a preliminary submission to a Goldstone commission subcommittee inquiring into violence other than ANC-IFP political rivalry around Empangeni, the ANC's Northern Natal deputy secretary Khulekane Mhlongo said ANC supporters in rural areas were frequently the target of attacks, often led by tribal chiefs.

Mhlongo said the order to drive ANC supporters from tribal areas had come from the KwaZulu government and Inkatha.

He asked the committee to investigate the role of the KwaZulu and SA police in violence.

The abuse of power by KwaZulu and SA government officials in the region also required investigation.

In his preliminary submission Cosatu regional executive member Michael Mabuyakhulu asked the committee, led by Durban

advocate Malcolm Wallis, to inquire into the lack of police protection for Cosatu members in the region.

He alleged security forces were involved in violence, including victimisation of Cosatu members.

Unrest monitor and anthropologist Mary de Haas asked the committee to look urgently into the behaviour of the security forces, particularly the KwaZulu police and SAP, in contributing to violence.

Representatives of the SAP and SADF told the committee they would present submissions when it reconvened in Empangeni on January 27.

The IFP apologised for missing yesterday's hearing of the committee.

Michael Friedman, for the KwaZulu government, said he would respond to the allegations made against traditional leaders at the next sitting.

The Goldstone commission into violence and intimidation will inquire into the importation of illegal weapons into SA and has asked for submissions from interested parties.

IFF defends choice of advocate

84A
100
START 14/1/93
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Durban advocate who yesterday released a report criticising the ANC's treatment of people in its prison camps in exile delivered a verdict "much favourable to the ANC" in another commission of inquiry three years ago, the International Freedom Foundation said yesterday.

Bob Douglas, SC, who was commissioned by the conservative IFF to conduct an inquiry into human rights abuses in the ANC's camps in exile, was employed by the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa in 1990 to investigate the causes of violence in the Natal Midlands.

IFF southern African branch director Russel Crystal — who is a National Party member of the President's Council — said that in that investigation Douglas had found that "for the specific period he was commissioned to study", the Inkatha Freedom Party was to blame for the violence.

Asked why the IFF had chosen Douglas to head its one-man commission, a senior IFF source who asked not to be named mentioned two reasons: Douglas's experience in conducting commissions of inquiry, and the fact that he was known to be "totally impartial and politically neutral".

A member of the Democratic Party, Douglas once stood — and lost — as a parliamentary candidate in Pinetown for the Progressive Federal Party.

According to the IFF source, Douglas, who admitted he was opposed to communism, has been a lawyer for about 30 years.

Although the source said the commission's terms of reference guaranteed Douglas independence and impartiality, the Durban-based advocate would not say how much he had been paid to conduct the inquiry.

He is married with two children.

STOR 14/1/93

Policeman dies as van is ambushed

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A policeman died and another was wounded in Crossroads near Cape Town when a gunman ambushed their patrol van, hitting it at least 17 times.

A caller contacted Sapa in Johannesburg yesterday claiming the Azanian People's Liberation Army was responsible for the attack. The claim could not be confirmed.

A police spokesman said Assistant Constable Christopher Mkhwanazi (22) of the Crossroads police died of a bullet wound in the side on Tuesday night after being shot at the corner of Borchers Quarry Road and Old Klipfontein Road.

Mkhwanazi and Sergeant Johannes Meyer (46) of Parow were on patrol when a man emerged from between shacks and fired at their van.

Meyer is in Groote Schuur Hospital. Two shots passed through his body, one narrowly missing his heart. The other went through his shoulder.

Meyer said he had just turned into Old Klipfontein Road at about 10.45 pm when he felt a blow to his shoulder and heard machinegun fire.

He temporarily lost control of the van and felt Mkhwanazi slump against him.

"I didn't realise I was wounded," Meyer said. "I looked up and saw a man approaching me and could see he wanted to kill me.

"That's when I decided I would have to get away quickly. I put the van in gear and drove off as fast as I could."



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

PAC linked to 'Gqozo's Inkatha'

By CLAIRE KEETON

EVIDENCE is mounting of links between the Pan Africanist Congress and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's "Inkatha" — the African Democratic Movement (ADM) — in the Border region. This has muddied the waters around last year's attack on the King William's Town golf club, whose sophistication led to doubts about Apla involvement.

The evidence of PAC-ADM ties also raises questions about Gqozo's claims this week that the PAC is plotting with the African National Congress and the Transkei government to topple him.

The PAC has maintained notably more cordial relations with the Ciskei Council of State than the ANC, and many Ciskei villagers are believed to hold both ADM and PAC membership.

ADM general secretary Thamsanga Linda told a rally in King William's Town last Saturday that loyal ADM members, including some chiefs, had taken on PAC membership "to get protection from ANC radicalism".

He later claimed to have instructed ADM members to drop their PAC membership because of Apla violence, according to the Independent Monitoring Network (IMN).

W/M and 1511-211193

A PAC information and recruitment drive in Ciskei late last year saw the PAC specifically invite ADM members to attend. As part of the campaign last August, PAC president Clarence Makwehu addressed Ciskei chiefs, many of them ADM members, at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

PAC publicity secretary Waters Toboiti said at the time it is the "PAC's programme to win every African to our side". Given the ANC's conflict with the Ciskei, this convergence of membership may mean the PAC is being drawn into the violence.

The ADM, a Ciskei government organ, has easy access to weapons, and may serve as a conduit for arms to Apla. When former police commissioner General Jan Viktor suddenly left the Ciskei last year, he expressed concern about the way in which firearms were being handed out to headmen, who often have ADM ties.

An incident days before Gqozo made his claims dramatised the murky politics at play. Ciskei Police announced they had arrested seven PAC members last Friday for possession of illegal weapons — R1 and R5 rifles, and Scorpion machine pistols — alleging the seven planned to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting (ANCYL). The ANC immediately claimed

the seven were in fact ADM members masquerading as PAC.

ANCYL Border president Themba Kinana said he was sure the youths got their sophisticated firearms from ADM headmen.

Residents of Bhele, where tensions have been rising for months, told the IMN many local PAC supporters had previously been ADM members. The PAC identified the seven as members, but could not exclude the possibility they had previously belonged to the ADM.

The Ciskei also said it would pass the arms on to the South African Police for ballistic tests to determine any link with the King William's Town attack. The SAP's Captain Nina Barkhuizen said no weapons had yet been received.

Evidence of links between the ADM and the PAC follows other highly expedient alliances between different anti-ANC elements in the Border, an ANC stronghold.

In past years, township councillors in towns like Komga and Cathcart emerged as PAC supporters, despite some PAC embarrassment.

Asked about the links with the ADM, PAC secretary general Bennie Alexander said "the PAC recruits for its own party in any territory" and "talks to anybody at any time at any place". He said he did not know about dual membership, but agreed that while Gqozo was hostile to the PAC when he first took over, he later adopted "a neutral attitude".

Feeding directly into the current paranoia about the PAC and Apla, Gqozo's ANC-PAC-Transkei plot claims may serve to distance him from the PAC, and perhaps to strengthen his conservative reputation in the Concerned South Africans Group. — Ecna



'M sitting in the slanting, sweaty, afternoon sun in front of the Ficksburg Post Office, waiting on Eddie von Maltitz, well-known heavy, farmer, and self-appointed leader of the Resistance Against Communism (RoC) movement.

He arrives dressed in shorts, boots, a holstered pistol, and a T-shirt with a printed camouflage pattern on it. On the back of his Isuzu two printed legends proclaim: "Ek is bly ek het nie 'n Toyota gekoop nie" ('I'm happy I didn't buy a Toyota) and "Save the Rhino and the Farmer".

He didn't want me to meet him at his heavily fortified farm. Now he doesn't want to go the local hotel where we can sit down and talk. "Jong — the integration there is terrible," he shudders.

Nor, it seems, are there any other places in town where a white man can sit down without bumping into the same terrible integration. But at last he succumbs and we are off to the hotel, him leading in his bakkie.

He waves regally from behind the wheel, returning the continuous greetings of other farmers, businessmen, children on the sidewalks, and yes, black people.

Inside the lounge four farmers are discussing business. "Hello, Eddie," they say. "What have you been up to?" Von Maltitz laughs but does not want to sit in the lounge.

The staff knows him well and they greet each other profusely in fluent Sotho. Using the same language he organises for us to talk inside the closed dining room, ordering bottled Fanta as we sit down. The waiter is not allowed to open his cooldrink. Von Maltitz prizes the cap off with a

'Our enemies are in parliament'

WJWad 15/1 - 21/1/93

The rightwing is mobilising in

Ficksburg to defend against the

Apla threat **JAN TALJAARD**

went to the Free State and found a

mass of contradictions and paranoia

pen-knife. "I must be very careful," he explains. "They may try to poison me — the pinks and the blacks."

He talks of the recent attacks on farms in the area. He is adamant that all the attacks were politically motivated and executed by Apla. He agrees with the police, however, that there are no Apla bases across the border in Lesotho. The RoC has an excellent intelligence network, he claims. Only this morning he paid one of his informers.

Apla guerrillas operate from the Transkei, he says, sometimes moving through Lesotho and making their final thrusts at farms from places such as Botshabelo and Bethlehem.

Why then the attacks on farmers in the Ficksburg area? "Burn our cities and leave our farms and tomorrow the cities will bloom, but burn our farms and tomorrow grass will grow in the cities," he says in reply.

To counter these attacks, he claims he has mobilised the whole of Ficksburg, organising patrols and conducting training sessions on his farm. "Look at this," he says, pointing to a bullet wound above his elbow. He jiggles the flesh where he says the bullet is still lodged, explaining it was a ricochet from an R1 rifle during a training session in "firing and movement". Men, women and children are being trained in defensive and offensive tactics.

Six months ago it would not have been possible to organise the community in such a way, he says. But things have changed. Just the other day, he recalls, a shopkeeper told him: "Eddie, you were right all along. From now on I am biting the bullet with you."

The farmers are still talking when we leave.



Well-known heavy ... Eddie von Maltitz

Von Maltitz leads the way to a road above it town. On our way, we cross a small stream and I brakes abruptly. "Just getting some medicine," I explains.

He rummages among the reeds at the side of the stream, quickly finding some nondescript herb. Crushing the leaves between his fingers, he puts it juice against the bullet wound.

"This is better than the best antibiotic," he says. "We are teaching our people to live from the field. We even get our medicine from the field."

He takes leave of me at the side of the road leading to Clocolan: "As the Germans say: *Sieg Heil*. Chewing on the conversation in the car, I wait

the scenery go by: a field of yellow sunflowers, with the Maluti mountains forming the sort of backdrop Van Gogh could not even hallucinate about. Thirty kilometres on, the bakkies are parked in front of the Koranna Hotel in Clocolan. In two of the vehicles, labourers are patiently waiting on their masters. A trailer behind one of the bakkies carries a heavily laden sow. She decees her discomfort with little squeals and snorts. Inside the bar, the bearded and khaki-clad masters are assembled. They talk desultorily about cat-drought. "Die steekgras wat nou uitkom beteken *fok! Ons gaan nie voer he hierdie winter nie*. (The new grass means f-all. We won't have fodder this winter.)" A bow-tied barman sidles in behind the counter to relieve the open-necked, white, daytime barman. "Naand, baas," he greets everyone in turn. "Arms-tel?" he asks of someone who had just come in. "Jy *onloun goed*. (You have a good memory)." "These kaffirs have long memories," someone else supplies in English. The barman, whose name is Jan, smiles and opens the beer. In an adjoining room, four red-faced, pistol-packing youngsters are raucously playing pool. "Hey," calls out one of the bearded elders, "Why aren't you in jail with Oom Roel?" He is referring to Roelif Jordaan, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supreme in nearby Hobhouse and one of eight men who had been arrested in connection with a large arms theft at Welkom. "It was his turn," the young man replies. "You're just like Eugene Terre'Blanche," the older man says. "Much talk, but never there where danger is." The TV is turned up for the news at six and they fall silent. Strangely the header about Apla and news on violence does not raise any comment. It is only when Piki Botha is shown with a Japanese envoy that one of the men at the bar ventures: "Ja, what do you Japanese know about living with blacks." Earlier at the roadside above Ficksburg, Von Maltitz had pointed across the Caledon river into Lesotho. "Those people are not our enemies," he had said. "We know them and we love them. Our enemies are in parliament."

Top ANC man tied to attacks on police

Sapa and Weekly Mail Reporter (B.L.A.)
AFRICAN National Congress security chief Joe Nhlanhla personally armed three Umkhonto weSizwe fighters at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg before they embarked on an investigation of policemen, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday. *W/Mand 15/11-21/1/93*

Nhlanhla also told the cadres to report to him after their reconnaissance operation, so that plans for the execution of the policemen could be made, according to a self-proclaimed MK member currently serving a sentence for illegal arms possession.

Brendan Sampson told a Goldstone committee sitting in Pretoria and inquiring into attacks on policemen that Nhlanhla had instructed them to gather information on three policemen allegedly harassing ANC members in Piet Retief.

The witness said Nhlanhla organised for him and two colleagues to collect .38 and .45 pistols as well as an AK47 rifle and ammunition from Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

He alleged Nhlanhla instructed him in June last year to kill any policemen who hindered their reconnaissance mission.

Thereafter, he claimed, he was to report back to Nhlanhla at Shell House, where further plans would be made to "execute" these policemen.

Sampson, who was arrested soon after he arrived in Piet Retief, is serving a prison sentence for possession of arms and ammunition. He was convicted in July.

Sampson said he was trained at an Angolan camp after he had met Nhlanhla in Lusaka, Zambia in 1986.

Under cross-examination, he admitted to ANC legal counsel Azar Cachalia that he was not a card-carrying, paid-up member of the organisation.

He explained that he had joined the ANC in 1986, when it was still banned. He did not require a card — a system introduced after the ANC's unbanning in 1990 — to prove his membership. It was in his heart, he added.

Top SADF and MK commanders meet

STAR 15/11/93
By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

SADF second-in-command Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn — the man chosen by President de Klerk to investigate "third force" allegations — held a secret meeting with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise this week.

The meeting, on Tuesday afternoon, is understood to have dealt with issues surrounding a new defence force.

Part of Steyn's brief is to look into the possible restructuring of Military Intelligence (MI), and sources said this week's meeting could have had a bearing on this matter.

Yesterday Steyn would not comment on the meeting with Modise or discuss progress in his probe into MI.

News of the meeting between two of South Africa's top mili-



Talking to the "enemy"... Joe Modise.

tary men — on opposing sides — was met with surprise in both ANC and SADF circles.

ANC sources said they thought the meeting was part of a series started in May before Codesa 2 to discuss a future defence force.

Codesa groups agreed last year to establish multiparty control of the security forces. The decision was, however, not ratified at Codesa 2.

At a meeting with the ANC in



Discussing a new defence force... General Pierre Steyn.

May, Steyn outlined suggestions for a new defence force to MK officials.

Modise was not part of the MK group which attended the meeting.

However, the MK commander was part of a meeting — disclosed in The Star — with MI chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen in Pretoria in July.

Modise was not available for comment last night.

Jo-Anne Collinge perceives 'a lurid anti-communist gloss' to findings

Gaps in third report on ANC camps

Stm 15/11/92

THE DOUGLAS Commission report on abuses in ANC camps is an uneven mixture of detailed first-person evidence of torture and killing, on the one hand, and political analysis which relies on much less stringent hearsay information, on the other.

On the question of establishing abuse, the study — sponsored by the International Freedom Foundation — corroborates and substantially expands the evidence set out in the ANC's own preliminary inquiry undertaken last year and in a more recent Amnesty International report.

To some extent the corroboration reinforces the veracity of all three reports, although it must be borne in mind that the coincidence of evidence is owed partly to the fact that some witnesses testified for all three inquiries.

Douglas's efforts to establish the thesis that the camps were the brainchild of the South African Communist Party and were but an instance of "the SACP taking con-

trol of the ANC in exile and using it for its own purposes" rest on far more shaky foundations. The only direct evidence of the SACP's role is the reference by witnesses to the actions of leading ANC communists at the camps and in the ANC security structures.

Commissioner Robert Douglas depends to a large extent on the views of Stephen Ellis, co-author of *Comrades against Apartheid*, because he is "satisfied that his (Ellis's) information on the role of the SACP in exile is about as accurate as one is likely to get".

The report, however, suggests that Douglas's political acumen does not equal his diligent legal application in gathering evidence of torture. For instance, he makes such obvious errors as referring to the student protest march of June 16 1976 as the culmination of the Soweto uprising rather than its starting point.

In chapter two of the report, Douglas concludes "without

first-hand back-up evidence — that the ANC's security arm, the notorious Mbokodo, was set up by the SACP "under the tutelage of the KGB".

In chapter 8, he states: "... the idea, so I heard, to create Quatro (an ANC camp in Angola) came from none other than (Khmer Rouge leader) Pol Pot who, so it is claimed, murdered some three million of his fellow Cambodians."

In contrast to the strong evidence of torture, there is not a single witness's statement presented to back this assertion.

Statements such as these lend to the report a lurid anti-communist gloss, at odds with its legalistic methodology.

The Douglas Commission differs from both the ANC and the Amnesty reports in that it names those it concludes are responsible for abuses in the camps. Only in the case of 11 leading ANC and SACP figures does the report marshal the case against them. The other 50-odd people are

simply listed. While the majority are mentioned in the published statements of witnesses, only a few are referred to by several witnesses. Douglas was unable to explain what level of corroboration of evidence was required in order for an alleged torturer's name to appear on the list.

Douglas said the IFF had allowed him to pursue his brief with professional independence. He admitted he was an anti-communist but said this had not interfered with his job as sole commissioner.

The IFF's southern African director, Russel Crystal, this week described his organisation, which has its headquarters in Washington, as "libertarian". At its launch in the region in 1986, the IFF professed support for rebel groups such as Renamo and Unita, and during the state of emergency actively opposed the United Democratic Front campaign for the ANC's unbanning. □

Given weapons by ANC - witness

By Michael Sparks

A witness told the Goldstone Commission yesterday that an executive member of the ANC had provided weapons for an attack on police in Piet Retief, while at the same time being involved in negotiations at Codesa 2.

Brandon Samson was giving evidence to the committee investigating attacks on police. He said NEC member Joe

Nhlanhla had told him to go to Piet Retief in the eastern Transvaal to find out the movements of policemen and later to return and attack them.

Samson told the committee he was given two handguns and an AK-47 in Nhlanhla's office at ANC headquarters in Shell House in Johannesburg in June 1992.

Samson was later convicted of illegal possession of arms and ammuni-

tion, but acquitted of threatening a policeman. He is due for release today after serving six months of his sentence.

When questioned by ANC counsel Azhar Cachalia, Samson said while he did not carry a membership card for the organisation, he regarded himself as a member.

● In a separate hearing into activities of the "third force", George Milaras, who had employed

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Mozambican Joao Cuna, said he had suggested to Cuna that he talk to the Vrye Weekblad, hoping it might give him personal security.

Cuna later claimed that a report that he had been paid to kill ANC activists was not what he told the paper.

The hearing was adjourned until Monday.

● Police said to add to violence — Page 6

Hani denies torture, killing

Political Staff **84A**

SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani yesterday denied he had tortured or executed detainees in ANC camps or that such occurrences ever took place in his presence.

He was reacting to allegations in Durban advocate Bob Douglas's report which identified him as the "leading figure in the reign of terror".

The Douglas inquiry into human rights abuses in ANC camps was a "mixture of truths and lies" intended to discredit the organisation, said Hani.

Discussing individually the allegations made in the report, he admitted to a leading role in suppressing the 1984 mutiny in Angola. He said he stepped in to stop the disintegration of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and saw his task as restoring authority through "persuasive discussions and not the use of force".

The report linked him specifically to the execution of four ANC members. Hani said a tribunal sentenced several members to death after the mutiny. After "some" were executed, Hani said, he and ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope asked the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) to halt the executions.

He said he witnessed no executions while he was in exile. Hani admitted to visiting the notorious Quatro detention camp and interviewing some of the detainees for written reports to the leadership.

He said he visited Quatro several times as the then MK commissar and later chief of staff. Since his first visit to the camp he had requested the upgrading of conditions.

Some of the detainees told him of "gruesome torture" which he reported to the NEC. However, he denied any personal involvement or giving orders for anyone to be tortured or executed.



Chris Hani... says he asked for an end to execution of multitudes.

STWZ 15/11/93

The report directly implicated camp guards for the violation of human rights. Hani said they were appointed and controlled by the ANC department of security and he was never part of the specific department.

The Douglas report said Hani was "most pleased" with the death of senior MK commander Thami Zulu. Hani yesterday described

Zulu as having been "a close friend" with whom he shared confidences. He had visited him twice while Zulu was detained by the ANC and also when he was released.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said the report vindicated the CP's refusal to negotiate with the ANC.

The CP found it inexplicable that the Government could enter into binding bilateral agreements with such an organisation or that it could consider the ANC as the co-builder of a constitutional dispensation for South Africa, Treurnicht said.

"The CP attaches no value to ANC talk about democracy and tolerance for our cultural and religious heritage," he said.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday that the report made "grim reading" and confirmed the findings of both the ANC-appointed and the Amnesty International commis-

sions of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC prison camps in exile, released in September.

However, Leon also said it was "procedurally unfair" for the Douglas Commission to have published serious allegations against named ANC leaders without allowing them the opportunity to refute the allegations against them.

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday condemned the ANC for its "predictable and hollow response" to the Douglas Commission's report, saying it demonstrated the organisation's "unwillingness to come clean on the issue of human rights abuses".

IFF Southern Africa executive director Russel Crystal — who is an NP member of the President's Council — said the ANC's response was consistent with what the Douglas report described as the organisation's "antagonism to democratic procedures".

● Gaps in report — Page 8

THE DOUGLAS COMMISSION

A FASCINATING court case will ensue if SACP member Ronnie Kasrils carries out a threat to sue the International Freedom Foundation and advocate Bob Douglas for defamation.

Mr Kasrils said a "tissue of lies" had been woven about him in the Douglas commission report into ANC death camps released this week by the anti-communist IFF.

He said there were "scores" of people who could refute allegations in the report that he was responsible for having 14 Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres held in a concrete basement in Quibaxe camp (in Angola) where a diesel engine nearby flooded the basement with noxious fumes.

Mr Kasrils, who yesterday consulted lawyers on the report, believed those who would defend him include 11 of the 14 (the other three died over the years) who were still alive and now live in SA. All had remained ANC members and some were active in ANC structures.

If Mr Kasrils goes ahead the case will attract wide attention and could open past activities of top SACP and ANC members to scrutiny. It could also set new ground rules for defamation actions against political figures.

"One has to ask on what information Mr Douglas based his findings, or sought to check information put before him. He never asked me to testify," said Mr Kasrils yesterday. But would he have testified given that the ANC rejected the commission which began its inquiries soon after its own had ended?

"I don't operate as an individual. I am under discipline from my organis-

Red Ronnie Kasrils threatens to sue

over 'tissue of lies' about his role in

ANC's death camps

By CHARLENE SMITH

STW 17/1/93

I won't break ranks with my colleagues". Mr Kasrils was camp commissar and political instructor at Quibaxe from September 1977 to January 1978, when he left.

Interviewed in his small office at ANC headquarters this week, where he is head of the ANC campaigns committee, Mr Kasrils sketched a very different picture of the December 1977 event of that of the Douglas commission.

The 14 men allegedly held imprisoned had received basic military training at Novo Catangue camp, 90km south of Ben-

guela, but rebelled when they were not immediately sent on missions to South Africa.

They were brought to Quibaxe, about 400km north of Luanda. A former coffee plantation, it was one of the smallest and poorest ANC camps. Sur-

rounded by scrub land, ravines, villages and banana plantations, its old abandoned buildings were usually not used by ANC cadres. They slept in tents and, in later years, dugouts as protection against air strikes.

Mr Kasrils said all slept on bedding on concrete floors "whether command-

ers or trainees". A former MK soldier said the camp was infested with mosquitoes and it was not a place he would have liked to stay in long. Until 1986 - when it became a training camp - it was used as a transit camp for newly trained ANC guerrillas who were sent there prior to postings or missions elsewhere.

Mr Kasrils said the 14 arrived at Quibaxe "angry and unco-operative". They were told they would have to assist with such camp chores as cooking, gathering firewood and construction.

They refused and were given the option other military commanders might give: "Hide by our terms or get locked up."

The men persisted and were put in a storage basement.

Mr Kasrils said their door was left open for ventilation and they were allowed into a fenced-in open area off the basement.

During that time, Mr Kasrils said the men climbed on top of two diesel drums, used for storing water, in an attempt to go

through a trap-door into the doctor's surgery. They fell off the drums, which in turn saturated their bedding. They were given fresh bedding.

After three days, he said, he asked them to join the camp's morning exercises. Within a month, Mr Kasrils said, they were all integrated into MK and removed from the basement.

Scathing

Torture in ANC camps, in particular the notorious Quatro - far to the east of Quibaxe - had come under the spotlight since the ANC published results of its own commission in October last year.

Headed by a non-ANC member, advocate Gilbert Marcus, that report concurred with a witness who called Quatro a "concentration camp".

However, Mr Kasrils was not mentioned as a torturer, or an accessory to abuse in either that report or a scathing Amnesty International report released late last year.

In another dramatic section, the Douglas commission said: "There is also evidence that a top-level delegation headed by Oli-



NO JOKE... Ronnie Kasrils, who is angry he wasn't asked to give evidence

Ver Tambo, which included Joe Slovo, Joe Motise, Cassius Make and Ronnie Kasrils, visited Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in 1978.

"The idea, so I heard, to create Quatro, came from none other than Pol Pot who, so it is claimed, murdered some three million fellow Cambodians." Mr Kasrils disputed the they did not have sufficient facilities in their prisons for our people. Quatro began in 1978 to study their military techniques, but no one went to Laos or Cambodia. I was not part of that trip.

"Quatro began because the Angolans made it clear they did not have sufficient facilities in their prisons for our people. Quatro began as a rehabilitation camp, essentially a prison, but also a place where we would try to turn confessed South African spies."

'They hanged me from a tree and then burnt my feet with candles'

THE Douglas commission on ANC prison camps is a grim litany of the evil perpetrated by Mbokodo — the ANC/SACP security apparatus which means the "Boulder Which Crushes".

Released this week, it culls from affidavits the stories of anonymous and terrified people like Alice, kidnapped with her boyfriend while holidaying in Botswana in 1987. The two were marched into Zambia, then separated. She hasn't seen him since.

At an ANC camp in Zambia she was tortured in order to expose her boyfriend as a double agent. Thereafter she was imprisoned and raped. She believed the experience would "drive me mad".

But Mbokodo's paranoia and criminal spite did not typically target bystanders like Alice. Rather it weeded out "infiltrators" and "spies", processing and re-educating them in primitive camps scattered throughout southern Africa.

The first camps were founded in secret in the late 70s under the aegis of the SACP and the tutelage of the KGB.

A day in the life of a prisoner there was sheer hell.

Screams

Four women at Angola's notorious Quatro camp went insane after being incessantly beaten and sexually abused. "Eventually", a witness recalls, "they were all executed because it was impossible for them to be released."

Today former camp commanders, commissars and guards walk free.

When they wanted to drown out the screams from all-night torture sessions, they turned up their radios full blast.

The names of those who visited the camps and saw nothing wrong include Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Alfred Nzo, Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Slovo and Jacob Zuma.

There was plenty for them to see and investigate. The probe by Bob Douglas, a Durban advocate, involved interviews with some 40 camp survivors and about 100 witnesses. It was commissioned by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation and has had a frosty reception from the ANC.

By BILL KRIGE

Sewage

The ANC/SACP prison system was founded on the need to impose discipline on the thousands of defiant and angry exiles from the 1976 uprising. Most wanted to be trained to fight the hated apartheid government, but for many their noble ideals were extinguished in blood and violence, in "confessions" extracted under torture or in years of detention in disgusting cells.

At Quatro the cells were windowless. At nearby Nova Instalacao — an Angolan state prison — raw sewage overflowed on to bare concrete floors from permanently blocked toilets.

Often the sins of dissidents were trivial, echoing the grim arbitrariness of the Soviet Gulag. People

were incarcerated because they asked questions or read the wrong books or criticised leaders. One man was detained because he and an Mbokodo guard loved the same woman.

When the liberation movements — near death until the 1976 influx — were unbanned in 1990, prison camps existed in Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.

"I saw boiling water being poured on the head of an inmate," recalls a former Quatro detainee. "On another occasion I saw an inmate being compelled to walk on burning coals."

"We were housed in tiny cells where we were crammed like sardines. In 1987 Oliver Tambo visited Quatro and we had the opportunity to tell him our story," recalled the man, a trained cadre named Frederick. "He did nothing to alleviate our position."

The commission highlights, as have earlier investigations, a sadistic regimen of lies and deceit and violence on an intolerable scale.

Fractures

"They hanged me from a tree and burnt the soles of my feet with candles and beat me on the back," recalls a former SAP constable and Quatro inmate who claimed he was lured to Zambia under false pretences.

Another survivor claimed the Quatro guards were cronies of current SACP boss Chris Hani. "I actually witnessed the death of one of my comrades due to exhaustion, anaemia, dehydration and the result of numerous beatings," he said.

A nursing sister at Pango camp in Angola recollected treating ANC cadres who had been convicted of smoking dagga. "The punishment", she said, "was so severe some of them later died of their injuries." They had skin burns, bone fractures and suffered internal bleeding after people jumped on their stomachs.

At Bokolota, in Uganda, starving Mbokodo prisoners stayed alive by eating dogs and snakes.

On December 18 1990, long after the ANC was unbanned, inmates at Quatro were approached by top ANC security official Joe Nhlanhla.

"He apologised for what had happened to us," an inmate recalled drily. "He said that the wrong the ANC had done must now be forgotten."

CIPRESS 11/11/93
(S/A) (2)

Whites arrested for shop bomb

THREE white men were arrested in Despatch this week in connection with the New Year bombing of a Patensie farm shop owned by ANC member Malcolm Hepburn, police have confirmed.

The men, aged between 27 and 52, are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

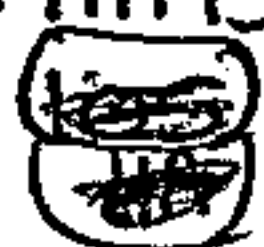
Police arrested the men in connection with a vehicle theft syndicate but believe they could be linked to the bomb attack.

Last Sunday commercial explosives were placed at the front and back doors of the Qwhathi Store, causing about R150 000 damage and fuelling speculation about a rightwing attack. - Pen

ANC links

Ciskei govt

to club killings

C/Press
17/11/93


BORDER ANC regional president Smuts Ngonyama has alleged that weapons used in the King William's Town Golf Club attack last year belonged to the Ciskei government.

Speaking at a press conference on Tuesday, Ngonyama linked the attack to weapons confiscated from a group of African Democratic Movement (ADM) members arrested near Dimbaza last Friday.

The youths, armed with homemade and automatic weapons and allegedly wearing PAC T-shirts, were arrested while attempting to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting in Bhele village.

"An investigation should be immediately launched to establish the link between these armed ADM members and the attacks at the King William's Town Golf Club," Ngonyama said.

He called on police to clean up the Border/Ciskei region.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said that headmen in Ciskei, mostly ADM members, wore PAC clothing to create the impression there is in-fighting between the ANC and the PAC in the region.

Bata said the real fight was with the Ciskei government as people rejected Brig Gqozo's headmen system. - Elnews

'Attacking SAP is the PAC's policy'

ATTACKING and murdering members of the SAP was PAC policy, a Goldstone committee heard in Pretoria this week.

Lt-Col Geles Nel told the committee, inquiring into attacks on policemen, the PAC had decided to give military training to more people in the country so they could attack the SAP.

He had learned this from informers, some of whom were "profile figures" within the PAC.

Nel also presented as evidence a written statement by a convicted Apla member saying there was an informal military training base at Sterkspruit in the Transkei.

In testimony on another issue, self-proclaimed ANC and MK member Brandon Samson testified that he had been given firearms and ammunition by ANC NEC member Joe Nhlanhla.

Samson said Nhlanhla had given him .38 and .45 pistols as well as an AK-47 rifle at the ANC's national headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, in June.

He had been ordered to go to the conservative south-eastern Transvaal town of Piet Retief to monitor the movements of certain policemen who were apparently harassing local ANC members there.

Thereafter, he was to report back to Mr Nhlanhla to discuss the execution of these policemen, as well as of others who might be identified during the reconnaissance.

Samson was arrested soon after his arrival in Piet Retief.

Samson told the Goldstone committee that he was discarded by the ANC like a "used condom" before his trial at which he was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

Weapons case bail opposed

STAR 19/1/93

WELKOM — An Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member accused of stealing weapons and ammunition from an SADF armoury in Welkom in December had previously been involved in acts of terror, the Welkom Regional Court heard yesterday.

Opposing the bail application of Andries Cornelius Odendaal (26), the State said he had been involved in the 1991 bombing of Cosatu House in Pretoria and explosions at the Verwoerdburg and Krugersdorp post offices in 1992.

Odendaal was arrested with five other AWB members — Cornelius Johannes Strydom, Roelof Johannes Jordaan, Guillaume Cornelius Loots, Rudie Gunther Rossman and Roelof Johannes Fouche — who were granted bail ranging from R7 500 to R3 000 each.

The State said Odendaal had failed to comply with the bail conditions set after his arrest for the bomb attacks.

He was rearrested and released again on bail. But he again broke his bail conditions.

He told the court that at a men's party last year he was issued with a black uniform.

He thought he and the other men were going on a patrol but realised something was amiss when the group began cutting fences.

● Mr Justice G S Cillie ruled in the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein yesterday that the SA Police must pay the costs of a lawsuit brought by the AWB on the release of the six AWB members.

The judge said Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, in terms of which the men were held, was not applicable in this case. — Sapa.

Temple blast: religious leaders to meet

Pretoria Correspondent

STAR 19/1/93

Laudium's Muslim and Hindu leaders were to meet urgently today to avert a possible outbreak of religious violence after a bomb blast wrecked a Hindu temple in the town this morning.

The device exploded at about 3.15 am and, although no one was injured and little damage was visible to the exterior of the building, the inside of the temple was completely wrecked by the blast.

Residents living near the

guttered building were abruptly awakened by the noise.

"I jumped out of bed and couldn't understand what happened," said one resident who lives about 100 m from the temple.

Others near the site at the time of the blast said they had thought the din was due to loud thunder.

A spokesman for the Muslim community, Nazir Phidi, said Muslim leaders would be meeting their Hindu counterparts today to discuss the blast and clear up any "misguided feelings" that might

exist.

"There is a very good relationship between the Hindus and Muslims in Laudium and we hope the senseless act of some troublemakers will not harm it," he said.

The meeting would be aimed at ensuring no counter action from the Hindus resulted.

"It must be made quite clear that this was not the act of the Muslim community as a whole," he added.

While a police bomb disposal squad cordoned off the block at 13th Avenue and

847 754
Olivine Street to search for more explosives, community members said they could not understand why anyone would want to blow up a religious temple in normally quiet Laudium.

"There has been no political trouble here, let alone any religious faction fighting," said one Hindu resident, who went to the temple regularly to worship.

Claims that the blast was the result of faction fighting between Hindus and Muslims in India were strongly denied by residents.

news in brief

Sowetan 19/1/93 (8/11) 

4 die in petrol bomb attack

FOUR people died near Richmond in Natal at the weekend when the house in which they were sleeping was petrol bombed. The four - including a three-year-old child - were all members of the Ngcobo family.

They were Mr Solomon Ngcobo (83), Mrs Alice Ngcobo (81), Mr Cosmos Ngcobo (60) and Banlungisile Ngcobo (3). The attack took place late on Saturday night and the only occupant of the house to escape the flames was 32-year-old Mavis Ngcobo.

She ran from the house and was attacked by a man outside. She has been admitted to Edendale Hospital in Maritzburg.

Policeman tells of attacks on members

Sowetan 19/1/93

A POLICEMAN told a Goldstone committee in Pretoria yesterday that "high-profile figures" in the ANC had encouraged defence units to attack policemen in the Vaal Triangle last year.

Giving evidence to the inquiry into attacks on police, Captain Petrus Cilliers of Vereeniging said it was "clear that members of the ANC are involved in attacks on SAP members".

He said this was despite declarations by ANC leaders that it was not ANC policy to attack and murder policemen.

Cilliers said 16 policemen were killed and 31

■ Cop claims top ANC leaders were out to discredit SAP:
injured in 87 attacks between January and December last year.

Police arrested 276 and charged 102 in connection with these attacks.

Cilliers said the ANC also tried to make policemen unpopular in the community by falsely accusing them of being involved in attacks on black communities.

He said police uniforms and weapons were sometimes used during attacks to generate an

atmosphere of hatred and mistrust against the police.

The PAC and its military wing Apla were also responsible for attacks, Cilliers said.

He said there were 255 members in 21 self-defence units in Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Boipatong. Seven of the members were also cadres in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The hearing continues - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

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David Webster

Sandton management committee resigns

BIDAY 19/11/93
THE Sandton Town Council management committee resigned yesterday with immediate effect and a new committee will be elected on Monday next week.

Chairman Willem Hefer said yesterday that it was a "straightforward" step that had its basis in a "gentleman's agreement" made when the present council was voted into office in 1988.

An informal agreement was made that the management committee would be re-elected on a yearly basis, although the council ordinance allowed it to stay in place for a full five-year term.

Hefer said the agreement had been honoured each year, but this had not happened in 1992 as no call for a re-election had been made until late last year.

However, several council members accused the management committee of calling the re-election before their support base was eroded by the resignations of two of their supporters and the impending resignation of another.

Councillor Liz Clogg said yesterday that

GAVIN DU VENAGE

the loss of councillors Ernie Sacks and David Anderson, whose resignations take effect only next month, would leave the management committee badly exposed.

She said the councillors had formed part of the "cabal" supporting the management committee, and their loss — together with the loss of Peter Jardine who is said to be emigrating — would mean their power base would be eroded.

Councillor Frederick Eylers said candidates standing for the vacant seats, who supported the management committee, would probably lose. But anyone running against them would win the by-elections. By calling for a management committee election before the by-elections, Hefer was avoiding the risk of losing his position.

Hefer rejected the accusations as "nonsense" and said there was nothing sinister in calling for the management committee elections now. "Certain councillors see conspiracies everywhere," he said.

Kasrils seeks legal advice on 'lies'

ANC official Ronnie Kasrils confirmed yesterday that he was seeking legal advice on claims of his involvement in alleged ANC camp torture by the International Freedom Foundation-sponsored Douglas commission.

"The question is being discussed with my lawyers and the matter is being considered," Kasrils, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, said yesterday. BIDAY 19/11/93

He said at the weekend he had not been asked to testify before the Douglas commission and described claims of his involvement in ANC torture as a "tissue of lies".

Meanwhile, the Returned Exiles' Co-ordinating Committee said advocate Bob Douglas's report — a litany of alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps — was an accurate reflection of the history of the ANC internal security department's reign of terror, torture and killings in exile.

the committee, which described itself as a collection of survivors of "the so-called

LLOYD COUTTS

excesses by the ANC security department" appealed to ANC leader Nelson Mandela to ensure that compensation be paid to victims of Mbokodo.

"Many of us are permanently disabled, both physically and mentally. Some are running up huge medical bills, but most are destitute and cannot afford the medical treatment they need. Most of us will never be able to earn a living again," the organisation said in a statement.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Bisho that Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo said the Douglas commission report was shocking testimony of disregard for human life.

"The report's testimonies confirm a terrible intolerance on the part of the leaders of the ANC and South African Communist Party, which corresponds to the harshest levels of intimidation experienced by communities in the Ciskei, Natal and the PWV area," Gqozo said.

84A
MK man

on pledge

by ANC

By Peter Davies

A man claiming to be a former Umkhonto we Sizwe member told a Goldstone Commission hearing yesterday that he had been promised "special training and a possible study bursary" if he went to Piet Retief to "mess up" and kill policemen. *STAR*

Brandan Samson was testifying in Pretoria to the committee investigating attacks on police. He said ANC national executive committee member Joe Nhlanhla had ordered him to Piet Retief to monitor certain policemen, and later to return and kill them. *20/11/93*

However, ANC lawyer Azhar Cachalia said the allegations against Nhlanhla and Samson's evidence would be proved to be "a tissue of lies".

Samson, who peppered his testimony with expletives, told the committee he was given weapons in Nhlanhla's office at ANC headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg, in June 1992. He said only he and Nhlanhla knew about the mission.

Samson was arrested on the night he arrived in the eastern Transvaal town, and when he had approached Nhlanhla for legal help, he said the ANC man "Pontius Pilated" his way out of the matter.

Samson said he felt betrayed after his arrest. During interrogation he began to realise the police knew details of his mission. He had then decided to make a confession to a magistrate rather than the police.

The hearing continues today.

No motives discovered for temple blast

STEPHANE BOTHMA

SAP forensic experts were examining the explosive device which damaged a Hindu temple in the Pretoria suburb of Laudium early yesterday morning, but no motive for the blast had been established yet, SAP spokesman Maj Andrew Lesch said.

Muslim organisations rejected suggestions that Muslim/Hindu conflict had led to the explosion, which damaged the Seva Samay temple — one of two Hindu temples in Laudium — at 3am yesterday.

However, Muslim and Hindu community leaders met yesterday to avert a possible outbreak of religious violence.

After the meeting, they expressed the hope that perpetrators would be brought to justice as soon as possible, Sapa reported.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for the blast, which damaged pillars, the ceiling and windows.

Windows of an adjoining school and neighbouring houses were also damaged in the blast, which could be heard 20km away.

The attack was widely condemned by Muslim and Hindu community organisations, as well as by the Laudium branch of the ANC.

The Johannesburg-based Central Islamic Trust said if the attack was carried out in retaliation for the destruction of the Muslim Babari mosque in Ayodhya, India, they condemned it in the strongest terms.

SA Muslims and Hindus had co-existed peacefully in SA despite efforts by the perpetrators of apartheid to divide these communities, the trust said.

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Hindu temple blast: 'third force' suspected

84A STAR 20/11/93
Pretoria Bureau and Sapa

Muslim organisations have rejected suggestions that Muslim-Hindu conflict led to a blast that extensively damaged a Hindu temple in Laudium near Pretoria yesterday and hinted at the possible involvement of a "third force".

No one had claimed responsibility for the attack, according to the police.

Hindu and Muslim groups, the Laudium ANC branch, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the SA Council of Churches yesterday condemned the 3 am bombing of the Seva Samaj Hindu temple in 13th Street.

Although no one was hurt, the blast caused an estimated R100 000 damage to the temple, a neighbouring school and about a dozen houses.

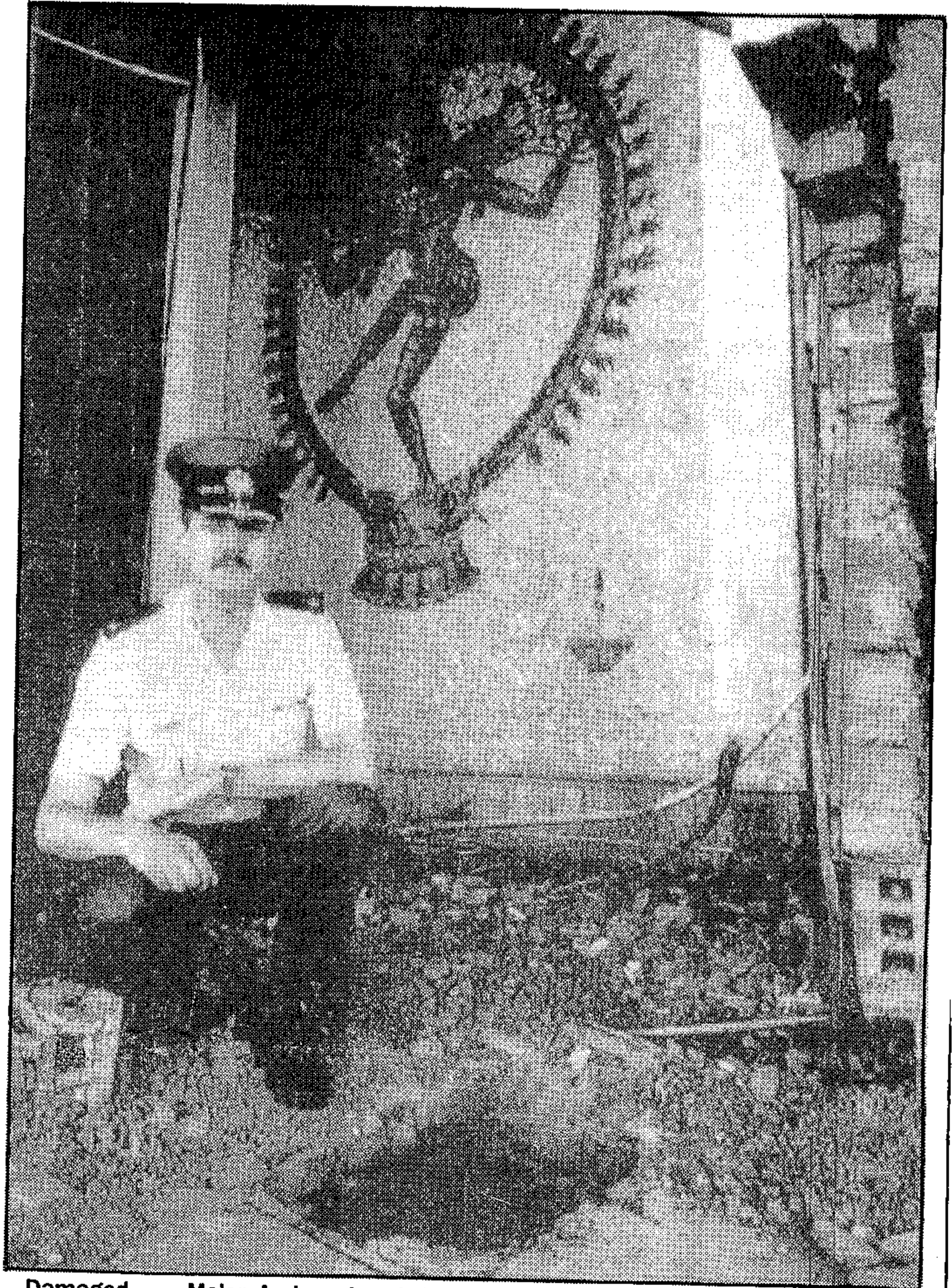
The editor of the Laudium Sun newspaper, Yusuf Abramjee, said the explosion had "sent shock waves through the community because relations between Hindus and Muslims in Laudium have always been excellent.

"There has been no incident or conflict that one could link to the blast."

Abramjee said religious organisations discounted the possibility of Muslim responsibility, leaving the possibility of an unidentified "third force" wanting to divide the community.

At a joint meeting in Laudium yesterday, seven Muslim organisations, including the Pretoria Muslim Trust, Darul Uloom Pretoria and Pretoria Sunni Institute, denounced the blast.

The Council of Muslim Theologians urged religious bodies to tolerate each other and be extra vigilant "as the forces of evil try to cause communal mayhem for their own sinister purposes".



Damaged . . . Major Andrew Lesch inspects the Hindu temple in Laudium which was bombed early yesterday morning.

Picture: John Hrusa

New taxi association welcomed as 'healthy'

Stan Hlophle

The formation of a new taxi body, Taximax, was yesterday welcomed as healthy competition by the giant Southern African Black Taxi Association (Sabta).

Sabta spokesman Mike Ntlatleng, yesterday said Taximax — formed recently with two former Sabta executives James Chapman and Enos Makena among its directors — posed no threat to Sabta. Both resigned from Sabta last year amid controversy.

A Taximax spokesman said that the new organisation was not set up as a rival to Sabta. Its main objective was to assist legal taxi owners in Pretoria, irrespective of their affiliation.

Ntlatleng said competition would serve the interests of its membership and the industry.

Asked about the resignation of top executives, he said problems which had plagued

the organisation had been resolved and the executives were looking forward to turning Sabta into a profitable organisation.

A meeting to resolve a dispute over the Durban/Johannesburg route between Sabta and Eagle Liner bus company was postponed until February 4 after talks deadlocked yesterday.

This followed allegations by passengers that gunmen had forced them to leave a Johannesburg-bound bus and board minibuses at twice the price of the bus trip.

Passengers, who attended the meeting said they had been threatened and accused of supporting white businesses. Many of them had lost their luggage and food parcels.

A bus company spokesman said it was the right of passengers to choose their mode of transport.

11 appear over R30-m gold theft

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

Eleven former employees of Rand Refinery appeared briefly in the Germiston Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the theft of unwrought gold valued at more than R30 million.

The accused are Jan Botha (25) of Germiston; Jan Fourie (45) of Germiston; Louis Snyman (27) of Johannesburg; Johan Fourie (30) of Primrose; Johann Smit (21) of Springs; Eduard Pieterse (23) of Prieska; Rudolph Olivier (23) of Springs; Johan Voltschenk (25) of Meyerton; a 17-year-old youth of Elsburg; Andries Swart (32) of Elsburg; Andries Henry Howell (26), of Rosettenville. 21/1/93.

Bail of between R1 000 and R5 000 was granted. Some were released on warning.

Two other former employees recently appeared in the Kempton Park Regional Court in connection with the same theft.

Jacques Jonck (23) of Heidelberg was jailed for nine years. Reuben Lezar (29) of Elsburg was jailed for five years.

The 11 accused will appear again in March. — Sapa.

Accused 'not trusted enough to get guns'

By Peter Davies

A Goldstone committee chairman investigating attacks on police yesterday told former Umkhonto we Sizwe member Brandon Samson it was unlikely that former ANC security boss Joe Nhlamla had ordered him to Piet Retief, in the eastern Transvaal, to kill policemen because Samson was not trusted by the ANC.

Chairman Gert Steyn said, in Pretoria, that, despite Samson's insistence that Nhlamla had provided him with weapons from ANC headquarters at Shell House in June last year, it was logically "dangerous to hand out weapons to people you don't trust".

Samson claims Nhlamla ordered him to Piet Retief to monitor certain policemen, and later to return and kill them. He said only he and Nhlamla, whom he referred to as "the old man" knew about the mission.

Samson admitted he had been considered a spy by the ANC after returning as a dissident from exile in 1991. He said that Nhlamla had indicated his "case was still open" and that Samson must "show commitment to the movement" by "proving himself" on missions to Piet Retief.

He was also sent to Natal where he was to monitor the movements of alleged Inkatha man Pat "McGregor" Hlongwane. Hlongwane is the head of the returned exiles committee which campaigns on behalf of ANC dissidents.

ANC lawyer Azhar Cachalia said that Nhlamla did not have the authority to dispatch weapons, and that Samson was lying.

Court records in Piet Retief indicated that Samson previously admitted he had received weapons from a man known as Mthobi.

Cachalia said Nhlamla had admitted to "bumping into" Samson on a few occasions, but said they had never discussed any Piet Retief mission.

When quizzed by Cachalia, Samson said the ANC had an official and an unofficial policy towards the assassination of policemen.

He said the official version, as documented by Nhlamla in Durban last year, was that the ANC opposed any campaign to kill policemen.

Samson insisted that this official policy was for "public consumption" and that there was an unofficial ANC policy which tacitly condoned attacks on policemen.

'Poison' killer jailed for 15 years

A taxi driver who shot dead a former policeman and taxi owner from a rival faction, yesterday told a Springs Circuit Court that he committed the deed to "rid the community of poison".

Petrus Khumalo (38) was

sentenced by Mr Justice JF Myburgh and two assessors to an effective 15 years' jail for the murder of Pascallas Mea of KwaThema and for unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition. — East Rand Bureau.

MK-Apla plot to kill policemen, probe told

By Peter Davies

Suff

rect evidence to repudiate Grundling's claims.

bound at ANC headquarters in Shell House on January 5.

had told him that MK had forged close links with Apla members to eliminate as many South African policemen as possible.

A Soweto police officer told a Goldstone Committee probing attacks on policemen yesterday that the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Transkei Defence Force and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had agreed last month to attack three homelands and the security forces under the banner of Apla.

Grundling said his information showed that Nyanda had told delegates at a report-back meeting in Transkei on January 5 that MK, Apla and the Transkei Defence Force had made the decision at a meeting last month in Butterworth, Transkei.

He said he had contacted Nyanda, who is attending the bilateral meeting between the Government and the ANC at a secret venue in the Transvaal, and Nyanda said it was the "first time he had heard of these serious allegations".

Grundling testified that 31 policemen had been killed in Soweto between July 1991 and December 1992.

ANC lawyer Azhar Cachalia vehemently denied the claim by Soweto crime information service co-ordinator Captain Petrus Grundling and said if necessary MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda would give di-

In terms of the decision, the South African security forces, KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were to be attacked from next month.

Although Grundling said he had relayed the information to his superiors, Cachalia said neither the Government nor the SAP had ever raised the matter.

The areas with the highest casualties were Meadowlands (17), Dobsonville (14) and Diepkloof (11).

However Cachalia said a "simple check" would have shown that Nyanda was office-

Asked if there was a relationship between MK and Apla, Grundling said his informants

During the same period, SAP members had been attacked 79 times and the houses of five policemen had been damaged.

The hearing has been adjourned until March 9.



TORTURE

Growing chorus

FM 22/1/93

The trouble with the report of the Douglas Commission of Inquiry into ANC detention camps in exile, says the ANC, is that its author — Durban advocate Bob Douglas — was acting for an organisation with “a very clear rightwing bias.” The reference is to the International Freedom Foundation (IFF), which commissioned the report.

The IFF describes itself as a registered educational body headquartered in Washington, promoting democratic institutions and the free market system. It has also earned something of a reputation for reds-under-the-bed paranoia. There is a whiff of this in the Douglas report, with its excursions into rather intemperate anti-communist tirades that seem out of place in a report of this kind.

Aside from naming those in the ANC who are allegedly implicated in the litany of awful torture and brutality by ANC cadres in exile, Douglas adds little to the findings of two earlier reports on the matter: the ANC-appointed Marcus Commission and that by Amnesty International (*Current Affairs*, October 23 and December 4 1992). The fact that extreme physical abuse of individuals took place is common cause.

In spite of being tainted because it was appointed by the ANC, the Marcus report “strongly recommended that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible for maltreatment of detainees.” It was clear, said the Marcus report, that several people against whom serious allegations of brutality had been made are currently employed by the ANC’s security department. Nobody guilty of the atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume positions of responsibility, it said.

Names were not divulged, though a list was given to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, with the recommendation that an independent inquiry be appointed to bring them to account.

A second commission was appointed by

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 22/1/93

the ANC and has begun its work under the chairmanship of former Nafcoc chief Sam Motsuenyane, assisted by a former US judge and president of the US Black Lawyers Association, Margaret Burnham, and a former chairman of the Zimbabwe parliament’s judicial committee, David Zamshiya.

Countering charges of heel-dragging by the ANC, spokesman Carl Niehaus says: “We have taken the correct legal route to further investigate those implicated and to give them an opportunity to state their case. We are concerned that the Douglas Commission is an attempt to pre-empt this process and to make propaganda.” Niehaus adds that the “total control of the IFF over the Douglas report reflects poorly on it.”

The recommendations of the second ANC-appointed commission “will be acted upon,” he adds. “We are dealing with this matter more openly and appropriately than the government is over its skeletons.”

That remains to be seen. Among the figures named by Douglas as having blood on their hands are several very senior ANC/SA Communist Party men: Chris Hani, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo, Joe Modise, Jacob Zuma, Ronnie Kasrils (who describes the report as a tissue of lies and is taking legal advice), Mzwai Piliso, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi, Joe Nhlanhla, Sizakele Sigxashe and 57 others.

The IFF and Douglas say that if the ANC truly wished to ascertain which of its members were implicated in the abuses, its own records would supply all the details. They point out that the principle of individual accountability and responsibility for the crimes is established in international law (following the Nuremberg trials).

Douglas, pointing out that investigations by the ANC’s own commissions will “never be effective for the reason that most people will believe that this is just another cover-up,” makes two recommendations: “The guilty have to be punished and their victims rehabilitated and compensated.” (The earlier commissions made similar recommendations).

The best way to carry out his recommendations, Douglas adds, is for the Goldstone Commission to investigate human rights abuses by the ANC/SACP in exile. ■

W/Mail 22/1-28/1/93.

Spoilers blamed for temple blast

(84A) (749)
By REEDWAN VALLY and FERIAL HAFFAJEE
PHYSICAL damage from this week's blast in
Laudium may have been restricted to the Hindu
Seva Samaj temple — but its ripples will long be
felt in the staunchly religious community.

Residents in the Indian settlement outside
Pretoria are grappling with theories of "third
force" involvement. They vociferously deny
rumours that religious strife in India has made
its way to South Africa — knowing this could
cause bedlam in a community where all cultural
and social organisation is along religious lines.

"You hardly find people aware of what is hap-
pening in India," says Moulana Jeena of the Pre-
toria Muslim Trust. "The few who keep abreast
of international affairs are deeply disappointed.
There has not been an occasion where (local)
people have vented anger," he said.

Both Jeena and Ramesh Chagan of the Preto-
ria Hindu Organisation say most people support
the third force theory. "It could be a desire to
bring about more chaos and ungovernability,"
suggested Jeena.

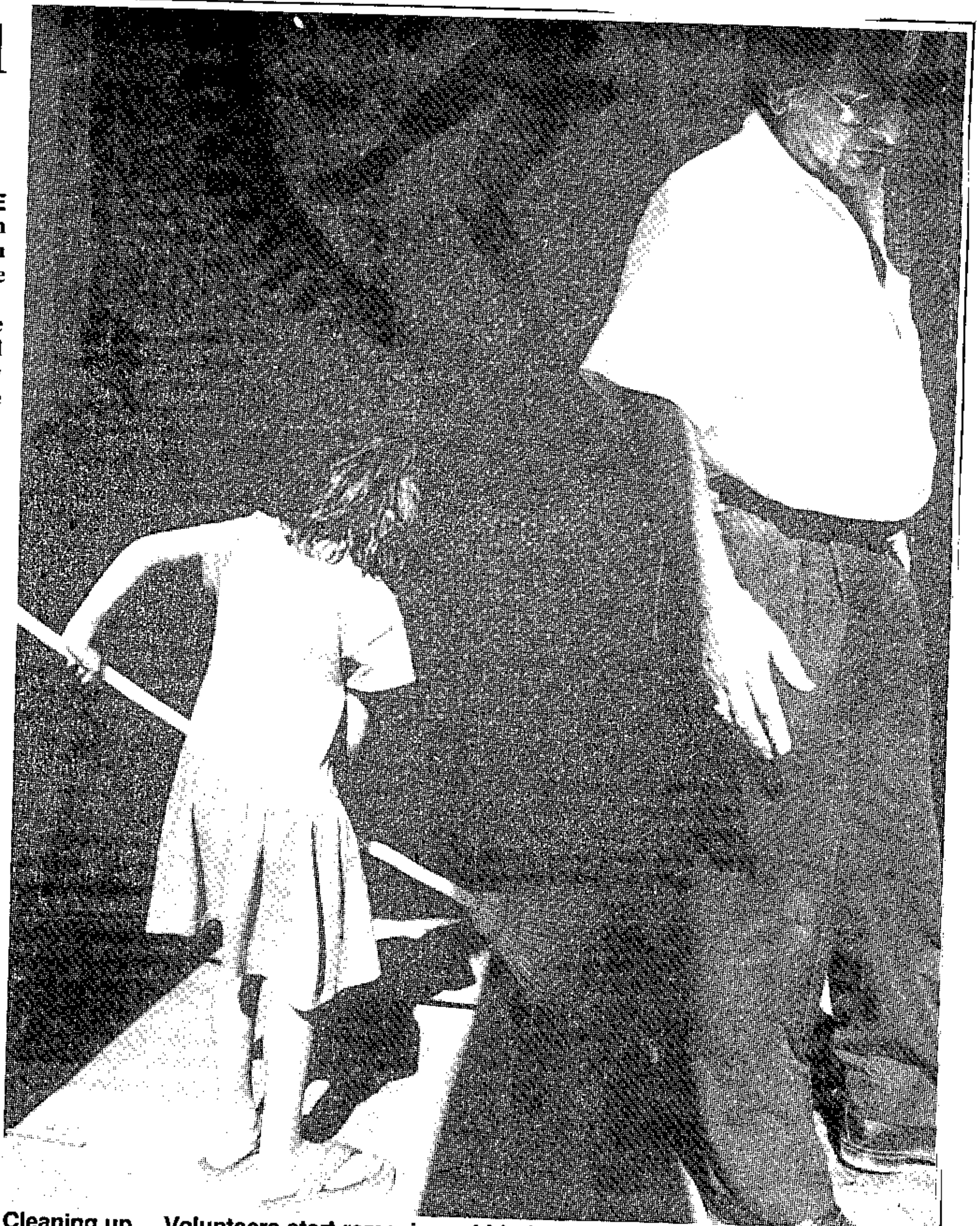
Religious leaders issued statements denying
religious conflict and Muslim leaders visited the
temple, offering help. But on a radio talk show
programme this week, Hindu fingers were
pointed accusingly at Muslims.

Whoever planted the bomb also planted the
seeds of doubt. If rightwing provocateurs were
responsible, they succeeded in dividing a com-
munity where Hindus and Muslims have lived
peacably for 140 years.

Some fingers point to a growing fundamen-
talist Muslim organisation in Laudium. But ask
around and it soon becomes clear that "funda-
mentalists" means "conservative", not "radical".

South African Muslims are too conservative
for the Islamic radicalism of the Middle East,
notes a Lenasia religious leader.

The quiet community is heavily populated by
wealthy business people — according to Mer-
cedes Benz SA, it boasts the most Mercedes per
square miles in the world.



Cleaning up ... Volunteers start removing rubble from the Hindu Seva Samaj temple in
Laudium. A bomb, placed near the mosaic of Kali — goddess of creation and destruction
— ripped through the temple on Tuesday morning

Photo: GUY ADAMS

Visit vengeance for the camps ... on those proven guilty

THE stories which have emerged from the ANC detention camps are horrible. For months now, we have heard tale after chilling tale of arbitrary degradation, mindless cruelty and murder. That the ANC's security wing was guilty of these despicable acts is a matter of unchallenged historical record.

Like Swapo's "internal security" ghoulis deep in the African bush, the men of Mbokodo became paranoid and crazed — hundreds of thpots Colonel Kurtzes playing roles in their own versions of *Apocalypse Now*, able and willing at a whim to visit unimaginable horrors on their victims.

Now that the magnitude of the crime is known, there are really only three questions to be answered. Will the perpetrators be punished? Will the victims be compensated? Will steps be taken to ensure that the Mbokodo can never re-surface, in any form?

The ANC says that the second of its commissions of inquiry into the tragedy of the detainees will deal with these issues once and for all. South Africans, black and white, demand that outcome without further delay.

But there is a wild element to the recriminations which have followed the revelations, and it is dangerous. In the report of the Douglas Commission — and much of the commentary it has inspired — unqualified, direct blame is attached to a variety of prominent individuals. This cloud will hang over them in the coming elections; the blight could even follow them to their graves. It is our duty to ask whether this public "sentencing" is just, for our society cannot exorcise itself of the shame of the camps by aping the arbitrary approach of the Colonel Kurtzes and executing the innocent along with the guilty.

I have looked very carefully into just one case: that of Joe Slovo. Advocate Douglas is un-

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23/1/83

UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN
JOHNSON



THE report of the Douglas Commission convicts Joe Slovo of the most heinous crime, but fails to provide the evidence. It is our duty to ask whether this public 'sentencing' is just.

equivocal on this subject: "I come to the conclusion," he writes, "that Joe Slovo, in the evidence, was responsible and accountable for the crimes committed by Mbokodo. He was the most powerful communist in the movement at the time. He was seen visiting the camps, including Quatro. He saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it." One would expect that such a damning statement would be made only on the strength of irrefutable evidence. I have searched the 64 page report in vain for such evidence.

Douglas tells us he interviewed about 100 witnesses. In his report he quotes from the heart-rending stories of 25 of them. Of those, two mention Joe Slovo.

Witness 22 says: "Joe Slovo visited Quatro, to my knowledge, during 1984. He visited the prison at night so that inmates would not recognise

him. I might add that we had always had the highest regard for Joe Slovo, who was head of special operations. The fact that he could associate himself with the brutality of our imprisonment came as a great shock to me. I was told by the warders of his visit and recall their boasting of his being in their company."

Witness 23, who refused to swear an affidavit, says: "In my opinion all the top leadership of the NEC knew about the abuse of human rights that took place, especially Slovo, Tambo, Kasrils and Hani."

Nowhere else in the reams of evidence does Slovo's name appear. It does not require legal training for one to conclude that the case against him rests on hearsay evidence from an Mbokodo warder, who would have had an obvious interest in making such a boast, and the speculation of one other witness. Nevertheless Douglas states flatly that Slovo was seen visiting the camps (the plural is particularly gratuitous), therefore "saw what was going on" and say that I, as an ordinary citizen, would feel deeply aggrieved were I to be convicted of anything at all based on such leaps of logic.

Slovo swears that he never, ever visited an ANC detention camp. He has challenged anyone to come forward and testify that he was seen at one. On the principle of the assumption of innocence in the absence of proof of guilt, then, he surely has reason to question the findings against him.

You may or may not like Joe Slovo and what he stands for. That is irrelevant.

Everyone is entitled to a fair trial. And if justice is to be done to the wretched victims of the camps, then the right culprits must be properly identified. The Douglas report convicts Slovo of the most heinous crime. It fails to provide the evidence.

Expect no compensation

VICTIMS of ANC detention camps will receive no compensation, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said on Friday. (S4A)

Referring to Bob Douglas' inquiry into atrocities at these camps, Mokaba said the advocate was "simply daydreaming and hallucinating" when suggesting that apartheid agents be compensated for the dirty work they had conducted against the liberation movement. CIPREN 24/1/93

"They got caught and received their punishment . . . How on earth can any straight-thinking person suggest that the victims must compensate their aggressors?" he asked in a statement.

Huge increase in armed crime last year, say police generals

Illegal arms crackdown

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

KNYSNA — President de Klerk is expected to announce a drastic clamp-down on illegal firearms this week to try to combat the soaring increase in armed crime, Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel and his top generals disclosed at a weekend press briefing.

It was also disclosed that armed robberies had jumped 21 percent and murders 7 percent last year.

Serious crimes had increased by more than 2 percent and crimes in general by 1,42 percent.

The comparisons were made on crimes committed in the first 10 months of 1991 and 1992, as figures for the end of 1992 were not yet available.

Kriel said one of the main problems was the free availability of firearms.

He said De Klerk would announce "drastic steps" during his speech opening Parliament on Friday.

Police sources said they

believed De Klerk would announce a period of grace for handing in firearms followed by the imposition of increased penalties.

Kriel indicated that these measures would not succeed unless there was greater control over ANC arms caches — the subject of Government-ANC negotiations.

At the briefing, Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux, head of the SAP's division of crime combating and investigation, said 2 429 people had been killed in political violence last year — 8 percent more than the 2 246 slain in 1991.

Murdered

In 1992, firearms were used in 822 political attacks — 127 of them AK-47 assault rifles. A total of 7 726 firearms were confiscated.

Major-General Mike Besfer, head of the SAP's efficiency services, said 226 policemen were murdered last year. This was 38 percent more than the 163 in 1991.

Of the 103 policemen killed on duty, 89 had been shot — 45 of them with AK-47s.

Major-General Wouter Grove, head of SAP special

units, said there had been a 16 percent increase in stock theft in the first 10 months of 1992, a 7 percent increase in rape, a 6 percent increase in serious assault, a 7 percent rise in fraud, 0,8 percent rise in theft and a 3 percent decrease in housebreaking.

Grove said that although political violence received great publicity, it represented only 0,72 percent of total crime while political murders represented only 13 percent of all murders.

The high crime rate was overburdening the SAP. Each member of the Murder and Robbery Unit was investigating an average of 30 cases monthly.

While cataloguing the many measures the SAP had taken to try to combat crime, Kriel confirmed that the main causes of crime were the economy and the political situation, which were both beyond the SAP's control.

He said the force was increasing its efficiency by working longer overtime and bringing in foreign experts to advise on training, and had restructured to focus on community-related policing to regain people's trust.

STAR 25/1/93

Apla attacks suspended — Kriel

By Peter Fabricius

84A

STAL 25/1/93
would increase again once the heat was off.

KNYSNA — The high command of Apla — army of the Pan Africanist Congress — decided on January 4 on a temporary and tactical scaling down of its terror campaign against whites, Law and Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL said.

Speaking at a weekend briefing, Kriel said Apla's decision had been forced on it by effective action against it by police, the SA Defence Force and civilians.

But he believed the Apla move was aimed at lulling police into a false sense of security and that terror acts

Kriel rejected PAC claims that it was not responsible for Apla actions and said PAC president Clarence Makwetu was also a member of Apla's high command.

He said the PAC was not moving to separate the PAC and Apla leaderships to distance itself from Apla.

Kriel disclosed that, apart from Transkei and Zimbabwe, Apla was also receiving military training in Tanzania, Uganda, Libya, Egypt, Guinea and Iran.

Asked whether the SAP would conduct hot-pursuit raids into these countries, he

said it would follow Apla tracks wherever they led.

Kriel said although Transkei was being used as a training base and launching pad for attacks inside South Africa, Apla had decided recently to launch attacks from inside SA to protect its Transkei "hosts" against cross-border operations by Pretoria.

Asked why SA had not conducted hot-pursuit raids into Transkei, Kriel said the training bases were small and mobile and that Apla cadres had always moved by the time information of their presence reached the SA security forces.

The report of the Douglas Commission into human rights abuses in ANC detention camps has caused a furor in political circles, especially insofar as it attaches blame for these abuses to prominent leaders. The publication of the report, sponsored by the International Freedom Foundation, led to claims and counter-claims.

Believing that the debate is of great importance for all South Africans, The Star invited Joe Slovo — one of the leaders named in the report — to set out his reasons for rejecting Advocate Bob Douglas's findings. Douglas was then invited to respond to Slovo's charges. The arguments appear here — giving readers an opportunity to make up their own minds.

STAR 27/1/93

844

ANC camps: rivals square up

Smeard by hearsay

By JOE SLOVO

You could wish for nothing more reassuring than the words used by Russell Crystal, supervisor of the SA branch of the historically anti-communist IFF, to introduce his client's report on ANC detention centres. "Advocate Douglas," he said, "has applied strict legal criteria in pursuit of the truth, and has maintained a consistently high standard throughout — the result of which is indisputable."

What is Douglas's conclusion about my complicity in crime as the No 2 culprit? "I come to the conclusion that Joe Slovo, on the evidence (my emphasis) was responsible and accountable for the crimes committed by Mbokodo. He was the most powerful communist in the movement at the time. He was seen visiting the camps including Quatro. He saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it."

Now, Joe Slovo was, according to the report, one of the most prominent figures. No one could have overlooked his presence, or involvement and approval of the atrocities alleged. Did it not cross Douglas's legal mind that it was extremely odd that of over 100 witnesses he claims to have interviewed under oath, only a single one attests to my complicity and in his case, as I will show, his evidence would be laughed out of court? That witness said:



Joe Slovo... laws of natural justice must apply.

Joe Slovo visited Quatro, to my knowledge, during 1984. He visited the prison at night so that inmates would not recognise him. I might add that we had always had the highest regard for Joe Slovo who was head of special operations. The fact that he could associate himself with the brutality of our imprisonment at Quatro came as a great shock to me. I was told by the warders of his visit and recall their boasting of his being in their company."

By what tortured reasoning can any person, even without legal training, use this bit of hearsay pantomime to ground Douglas's conclusion that Joe Slovo "saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it"? But what

In the first place, since the SACP and its leaders are considered by Douglas and his clients to be among the main culprits, why did he not see fit, at the very least, to give the party or those of its fingered leaders an opportunity to answer?

Umkhonto we Sizwe throughout these difficult times. No one questioned his commitment and no one doubted his personal integrity."

To cap it all, listen to this gem: "There is also evidence that a top level delegation headed by Oliver Tambo which included Joe Slovo, Joe Modise, Cassius Make and Ronnie Kasrils visited Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in 1978. The idea, so I heard, to create Quatro came from none other than Poi Pot who, so it is claimed, murdered some three million of his fellow Cambodians."

The visit to Cambodia and Laos never took place. When we went to Vietnam (Kasrils was not there), it was in a state of underwear of the commission is nowhere more visible than the way it throws in the smear about Poi Pot with words "so I heard". It is public knowledge that the ANC was the first to engage in an inquiry into whatever crimes may have been committed in its prison camps.

There is no precedent anywhere in the world for a liberation movement to so openly unclothe itself. Unfortunately not only Douglas but also some sectors of the media have complained that those responsible have not been identified, well knowing that a commission has been launched by the ANC to do this. In its first commission those mentioned had not had an opportunity to respond.

By what standard of fairness can the ANC be criticised for doing something which goes to the very root of our common law? The doctrine of *audi alteram partem*, to protect individual liberty by providing a fair hearing, was scandalously evaded by Douglas and the ANC's attempt to take the route of natural justice is, to boot, also rubbished by his commission.

In the chapter dealing with allegations about the prison camps, Ellis has this to say: "Joe Slovo, for example, although known to be a communist, remained popular with the rank and file of the ANC and

Rules apply to all

By BOB DOUGLAS

Mr Slovo's emotionally charged attack on my integrity does him no credit. Rather, he should have explained why the ANC built a prison camp like Quatro in which it beat and tortured young recruits to death.

He should also have explained why he is still committed to Marxist principles when all reasonable people know that the application of such principles brings about utter devastation.

Slovo was invited to deal with the allegations against him. On October 1 1992, I wrote to the National Executive Committee of the ANC (Slovo is a member) stating inter alia: "I am fully prepared to make details of all the allegations as well as the members of your organisation who stand accused available and to give you every opportunity you may require of dealing with them."

"If you contact me I shall make myself available at your convenience to meet at any venue which is suitable to you." In the circumstances it is incomprehensible to me that Slovo can now claim that the *audi alteram partem* rule was not applied.

Slovo misses the point about his responsibility and accountability for the crimes of the ANC's security arm (Mbokodo) in exile. The following facts are indisputable:

- The ANC in exile had a security arm known as Mbokodo (the boulder which crushes).
- Mbokodo committed the most appalling crimes against Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in exile (see the Amnesty Report and the ANC's own report).



Bob Douglas... no hint of apology has been shown.

Mbokodo was established and controlled by the South African Communist Party.

Slovo was Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff and a leading member of the SACP at the time.

In the light of the above, is Slovo really trying to say he did not know what Mbokodo was doing? What does Slovo say about President de Klerk's responsibility and accountability for the crimes of the South African security forces? He says De Klerk is to blame. All I have done is apply the same rule of collective responsibility to him.

Why does the ANC need another commission to identify those responsible for crimes? The ANC knows exactly who they are and dozens of them have already been identified in

the press (Weekly Mail). The ANC should boot the lot out and the sooner the better. In vain one searches Slovo's statement for one hint of regret of what happened, for one hint of compassion for the shattered lives of the former inmates. It goes without saying that he hasn't bothered with my recommendation that they be compensated and evildoers punished. I feel sorry for Joe Slovo. His life's work lies in ruins. Communism is dead. He just does not have the moral courage to say: "My God, we were wrong. I'm sorry."

Douglas was invited to write a response to the same length as that of Slovo's article, but decided he could make his points in a shorter piece. □

Apla's claims exaggerated, say police

849
Sowetan 28/1/93

■ But movement a threat to negotiations

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) used disinformation to create an exaggerated picture of its own capabilities, according to the police.

The movement, however, was a real threat to peace and the established negotiations process, says Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

Apla's claims of having killed 500 security force members last year, if one interprets police statistics for 1992, verge on the incredible.

According to official Government statistics, only 226 members of the South African Police had in fact died in 1992 from various causes, including accidents, while on duty.

Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux, of the SAP's Crime Combating and Investigation Division, said at the weekend that in eight instances only had Apla members been connected to the deaths.

"It is thus evident that Apla uses disinformation to create an exaggerated picture of its own capabilities," Le Roux said.

Apla does, however, remain a problem for the SAP, Mr Hernus Kriel, said at the weekend.

Kriel believes that the nuisance factor Apla represents and the misery index which it influences will turn people against the PAC. The movement did very little to speed the flow of negotiations in South Africa, he said.

Opposition to negotiations

Kriel believes that the ANC has left a vacuum on the extreme left where it once sat and that the PAC was, through Apla, trying to secure this position for itself by tapping the support of people who are opposed to negotiations.

According to SAP intelligence, Apla decided early in January that its cadres would lie low while interest in its activities was high and while civilians were busy arming themselves.

But as soon as things were "back to normal", Apla would strike again, Kriel said.

Kriel's intelligence on Apla appears to be thorough and covers funding, training and operations.

The SAP believes, for example, that Apla received R14 million from the Libyan government during 1991 and that the PAC's military wing was operating from at least 10 bases in Transkei and Ciskei.

While the Government knew where these bases were it was difficult to launch pre-emptive strikes against them because they operated intermittently and arbitrarily, Kriel said.

"Our informants are not always at a phone when the bases are up and running," Kriel said.

A base, he said, was not a formal set-up with tents behind barbed wire fences and marching soldiers in uniform on the compound. It was more like a single house where individuals were handled briefly.

Military training

It is estimated that Apla had about 120 cadres in these states. Military training still took place in Tanzania, Uganda, Libya, Egypt, Guinea, Zimbabwe and Iran.

"Although Apla's military operations are mainly planned in Zimbabwe and are to a certain extent coordinated under the control of Sabelo Phama, the territory of the Republic of Transkei is used for the training of Apla recruits and also as a platform for attacks, especially in South Africa," Le Roux said.

Since January 7 this year the SAP had investigated cases against 85 members of either Apla or the PAC for ordinary crimes relating from what Le Roux called "intimidation" to robbery, public violence, possession of unlicensed firearms and assaults.

Kasrils denies gassing claim

By BAFANA KHUMALO

TWO former African National Congress prisoners dismissed allegations by the Douglas Commission that they and 12 other Umkhonto weSizwe members were overcome by noxious fumes while held in a concrete basement in the ANC's Quibaxe camp in Angola.

One of the men is the well-known former South African flyweight boxing champion, 41-year-old Ben "TNT" Lekalake, who arrived back in the country from a training course in America last week. He and 42-year-old Victor Ngwenya spoke at an interview arranged by ANC campaigns committee head Ronnie Kasrils at the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters.

The commission accused Kasrils of responsibility for holding the men in the basement. It claimed the room had been flooded with fumes from a nearby diesel engine and that the 14 MK internees had to be rescued by comrades.

Lekalake and Ngwenya confirmed they had been held in the basement, but denied that the incident reported by the Douglas commission had ever occurred.

Relating the events leading to their detention, Lekalake said: "I had left the country in the aftermath of the 1976 uprising and had been trained for six months. I was eager to come back into the country and fight."

Instead, the ANC told him that he would have to go for "further military training in Europe". This, Lekalake found "unacceptable".

"We were so hot-headed that we wanted to come back and fight immediately," he said, adding that they "refused to take orders and told the camp commanders that we wanted to go home".

Ngwenya said: "We thought that it would be six months' training and then we would get our AKs, then come back and fight."



Victor Ngwenya



Ben 'TNT' Lekalake

"The camp commanders and ANC Khumalo (Ronnie Kasrils' *nom de guerre* in exile) told us that we would have to take part in the day-to-day activities of the camp," said Ngwenya, "but we refused."

After this refusal, the two said, a trial was held where "we were found guilty of defying the movement". The two were at pains to point out that Kasrils was not involved in this trial. The tribunal was conducted by Joe Modise, camp commander at Quibaxe, and Piliso Mzwai, security officer. Kasrils, at the time, was the political instructor.

The 14 were sentenced to a two-month stint of menial work: digging latrines, trenches and dugouts. Describing the conditions of their detention Lekalake said, "We were imprisoned in a basement of sorts and I guess you can say it was dark but not so dark". Their bedding consisted of air-bags and sponge mattresses. "We did not need blankets because it was so hot," added Ngwenya.

The two vociferously denied that the diesel generator was anywhere near their detention quarters. According to them, the generator was "about 50 or 60 metres away".

Describing conditions at Quibaxe, Kasrils said: "The camp was rudimentary, an old Portuguese coffee plantation. People lived in tents. He added there were some-

times food shortages and that the camp inmates had to survive on a diet of coffee and rice.

Giving his version, Kasrils said in 1977 he had been living in London and "was asked to come to Angola to give political education to the Soweto generation". Upon arrival at Quibaxe, he said they had to deal with the 14.

"They were upset because they could not immediately get missions back home," said Kasrils. He added that they were "unco-operative and did not want to take orders from the camp commanders".

They were told that they would be locked up in the "basement" if they did not take part in helping out with the duties of the camp. "They opted for the basement," said Kasrils.

Describing the basement, Kasrils said it was a barrack built for plantation workers underneath a hill and that it "was large and had a high ceiling". He added that the 14 "were not confined to the barracks" as there was no enclosure. "They could come and go as they pleased," he said. "It certainly was no black hole of Calcutta."

This week, Bob Douglas, who conducted the Douglas Commission said that the allegations against Kasrils had not come from former prisoners, but from the evidence of two witnesses present at Quibaxe in 1977.

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Kasrils launches bid to clear his name

ANC NEC member Ronnie Kasrils yesterday launched a drive to clear himself of allegations that he was responsible for torture and abuse at the ANC's Quibaxe camp in Angola in the past. **(SFA)** Kasrils arranged media interviews with two men claiming to be among 14 former Quibaxe detainees alleged by the International Freedom Foundation's Douglas commission to have been mistreated by him. **810/11/29/11/93** Kasrils said the ANC and his lawyers were still deciding whether or not to sue Douglas for defamation arising from the claims contained in the report.

RAY HARTLEY

held in a basement in Quibaxe camp where "a diesel engine nearby flooded the basement with noxious fumes". **(SFA)** Lekalake claimed the diesel engine referred to was an electrically generated about 60m from the detention cell and had never been used to abuse detainees. Lekalake and Mgwenya were accompanied by Duncan Dlamini — MK chief of staff for the camp when the abuses allegedly took place — during the interviews. They said they had been held for two months for refusing to continue with training and their only contact with Kasrils was when he tried to persuade them to become more involved in camp life.

Codesa will work, says Mandela

LLOYD GOUTTS

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had agreed in December that Codesa was the forum for multiparty negotiations, ANC leader Nelson Mandela has said. In the February edition of the ANC journal Mayibuye, Mandela said the ANC was not prepared to waste time setting up a new forum, but Codesa could be restructured to accommodate other parties. "It has taken a long time to establish Codesa. For us now to try to set up another multiparty forum may take

as long, and we are not prepared for that. "Codesa is an effective organisation for any future multiparty talks. All that is necessary is that parties which want to make a contribution to the process can come and join. We will listen to any suggestion they make which can improve the effectiveness of Codesa." **810/11/29/11/93** Mandela said the ANC envisaged the installation of a transitional executive

The assembly would then design a new constitution for the country. "This might take some time and might go beyond 1993," he said. Most political parties had realised the need for a peaceful settlement in the near future, and 1993 was likely to be turned into a year of decisive achievements, he said.

Net distributable income (R)



Ex-camp two clear Kasrils of torture

By **MONWABISI
NOMADLO**

TWO of the former 14 ANC Quibaxe camp prisoners have exonerated Ronnie Kasrils of accusations of torture as alleged in the recently released Douglas Commission report sanctioned by the rightwing International Freedom Foundation.

In the report Kasrils — who was political instructor at the camp in 1977 — was alleged to have thrown the defiant 14 into a concrete basement where they were overcome by poisonous fumes from a “nearby” diesel generator.

Former SA lightweight champion and a former Quibaxe prisoner, Ben “TNT” Lekalake, 41, arrived back in SA from exile last week Thursday and dismissed the allegations against Kasrils.

Interviewed at the ANC’s head office, Lekalake was supported by another former prisoner, the 42-year-old Victor Ngwenya.

Kasrils has instituted a defamation action against

the anti-communist advocate Bob Douglas, responsible for the report.

The report held Kasrils responsible for the detention of the 14 in a concrete basement flooded by fumes from a nearby diesel generator until they were allegedly rescued by other comrades.

The two said the generator was in fact about 50 or 60 metres from their detention room.

The former prisoners agreed that they were detained for defiance at Quibaxe in a room called “Kolokoto” that could accommodate 22 people.

Lekalake, who left the country in 1976, said there was discontent at Nevokadela camp with MK cadres frustrated they were not allowed to return home to engage the enemy in combat after six months of military training.

Kasrils said he understood the frustrations of the cadres.

“In 1963 we felt the same way. We wanted to return to fight but the time was not ripe,” Kasrils said.

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Call to beg for Apla

UMTATA — Members and supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress in Transkei have been told to go from door to door begging for money and clothing for its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Speaking at the organisation's biannual regional conference in Umtata on Saturday, PAC regional secretary Zingisa Mkabile told delegates from 26 Transkei districts the time had come to support the armed struggle.

"Make it your commitment to go from door to door begging for money, clothing and other valuable material in

aid of our boys at Apla," he urged.

Mkabile said it had become evident his organisation would never get financial support from the Organisation of African Unity, which had become critical of the PAC after recent reports of alleged Apla attacks.

He blamed the OAU for selling out the black people of South Africa.

The conference passed a resolution pledging commitment to the armed struggle.

It also resolved to continue the sit-in at the offices of the Daily Dispatch newspaper in Umtata. — Sapa.



Fears over security ^(84A) at Paarl language monument

Staff Reporter

11/2/93
GUARDIANS of the Taalmonument in Paarl are worried about its vulnerability following a blast which damaged a similar monument at Van Riebeeck Park, Welkom.

The Welkom monument was blown up with commercial explosives yesterday. Damage is estimated at R20 000.

Mrs Johanna de Wet, director of the Taalmonument, said she was disturbed by the incident.

The board controlling the monument would discuss the issue but would not be in a position to make a quick decision.

There were 12 members, including attorneys, ministers and academics from around the country.

An employee in the information office at the Paarl monument said the structure was very vulnerable to attack.

"There is nothing protecting the monument. It would not simply be a case of R20 000, but could cost R4 million to replace," he said.

The monument in Paarl was built at a cost of R750 000 17 years ago.

ANC men *Star 4/2/93* found with arms cache

Staff Reporter *84A*

Three ANC members have been arrested for attempting to smuggle a large weapons cache from Swaziland to South Africa, according to police liaison officer Captain Burger van Rooyen.

Included in the cache, which was hidden in the false bottom of a car boot, were two RPG-7 rocket launchers with six rockets and boosters.

Van Rooyen said the discovery was made during a routine search of the car as it tried to enter South Africa at the Golela border post on Monday.

Other weapons in the cache were 34 F-1 hand grenades, 2 800 AK-47 rounds, nine Makarov pistols with 18 full magazines, 13 Stechkin pistols with 26 full magazines and 40 UZRG hand grenade detonators.

Van Rooyen said two of the men were arrested at the border post and the other man was held later.

They are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Blast damages Taal monument

JOHANNESBURG. — One of South Africa's three monuments to the Afrikaans language was damaged in an explosion in Welkom's Van Riebeeck Park yesterday morning, it has been reported. **8/4A**

Damage estimated at R20 000 was caused to the monument, built in 1966 on the initiative of 12 Welkom school principals. **CT4/2/93**

Other monuments to Afrikaans are in Paarl and in Middelburg, in the Karoo. — Sapa

STAR 412193

Afrikaans monument blast

One of South Africa's three monuments to the Afrikaans language was damaged in an explosion in Welkom's Van Riebeeck Park yesterday morning. Damage estimated at R20 000 was caused to the monument, built in 1966 on the initiative of 12 Welkom school principals. Other monuments to Afrikaans are in Paarl, in the Western Cape, and in Middelburg, in the Karoo.

Talks crisis over ANC arms cache

BIDAM 5/2/93

84A (circled) (circled) (circled)

THE ANC/government negotiations were plunged into crisis yesterday over the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe following the arrest of MK cadres and the seizure of a large arms cache.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told diplomats in a special briefing that government might withdraw from talks with the ANC unless MK's role during the transition was defined.

But in urgent talks last night, senior ANC and government members managed to reach a compromise to defuse the crisis.

The ANC leadership convinced government that neither it nor top MK structures had known anything about the arms smuggling incident.

Police had found the arms during a routine check at a roadblock near Golela on the Natal/Swaziland border.

The weapons apparently came from Mozambique and included two RPG-7 rocket launchers with six rockets, 34 hand-grenades, about 3 000 AK-47 rifle cartridges, nine Makarov pistols and 13 Stechkin pistols.

Botha told diplomats that three MK members were arrested — one commander in Natal and two cadres acting under his instructions.

He said they had made confessions and the "purpose of the action was to kill more Inkatha people".

Botha said that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthegelezi had warned government that MK was still operative, but government had denied this and defended the ANC.

The meeting last night resolved that the

BILLY PADDOCK

top leadership of MK, including its commander in chief, would go to Durban, see the three detainees and assist the police fully in investigating the matter.

The top-level negotiations involved Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international affairs head Thabo Mbeki.

It is understood the ANC was badly shaken by the incident, with the discovery of the smuggling operation weakening its negotiators' position that the organisation was disciplined and in control.

Low-level subcommittee talks yesterday — displaced by the crisis — had been expected to move towards closing the deal whereby the ANC would surrender control of its weapons' stockpile and share political control of all security forces.

In 1991 the ANC signed an agreement with government to suspend the armed struggle and stop the traffic of weapons and cadres into the country.

Botha, in his briefing to the diplomats, said that government would not tolerate such flagrant disregard of agreements and MK's continued unlawful actions.

He threatened that if the ANC did not distance itself from the action and condemn it, government would pull out of negotiations with the ANC.

This would have resulted in a total breakdown of constitutional talks.

Botha appealed to the foreign commun-

□ To Page 2

Arms cache ^{BIDAM 5/2/93} ^{(84A) (circled) (circled)} □ From Page 1

ity to put pressure on the ANC and suggested that the EC negotiate with the ANC to take control of its weapons.

Botha said that if the ANC could not fully control its armed wing, the country would be plunged into "civil war".

Diplomats commented that Botha's "grave despondency" could have been more bluster than a real commitment to carry out his threat.

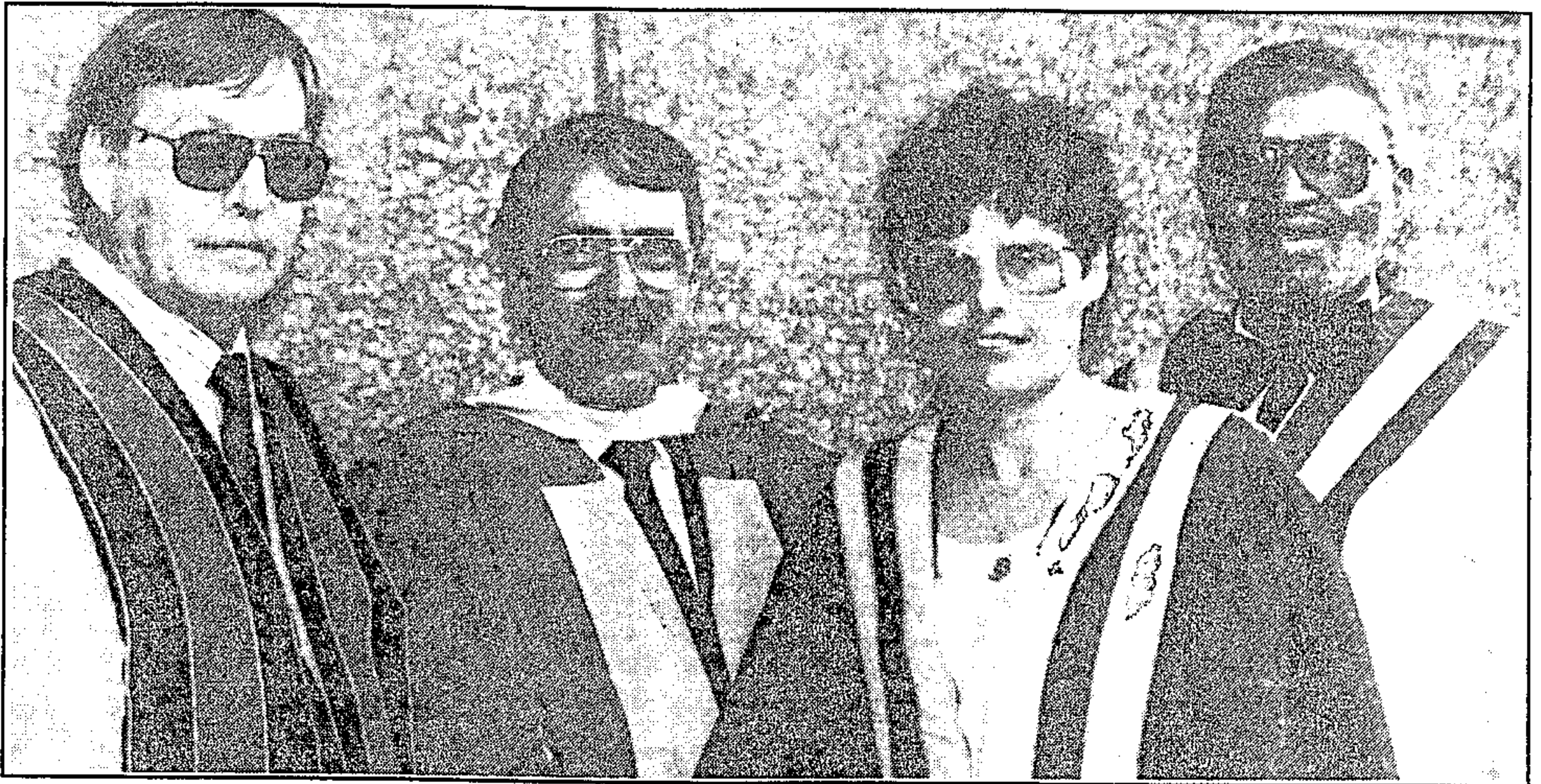
There was a belief among some members of the diplomatic community that it could be a strategy by government, which might have known about the cache earlier,

to weaken the ANC's negotiating position on MK and at the same time facilitate Monday's bilateral meeting with Inkatha.

It is understood in government circles that Botha did not "intend to give an ultimatum" but rather to state that the MK issue had to be resolved before any further talks could proceed.

Talks between government and the ANC on constitutional issues were scheduled for today and tomorrow. These discussions were expected to pave the way for agreement on a joint constitutional proposal.

NEWS Pik Botha briefs diplomats on alleged MK arms cache



Some of the staff members at the Daveyton College of Education which was officially opened yesterday. In the picture are, from left, college councillor Mr C Stander, Deputy Director-General of the Department of Education and Training Dr DH Meiring, acting vice-rector Mrs GC Nel and rector Mr MB Kumalo. Hundreds of people attended the opening ceremony. PIC: PATTY MOENG

Talks hurt by arms find

Sowetan 5/2/93

84A

~~SET~~ ~~STAR~~

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **TOP PRIORITY** Government will focus on

Umkhonto we Sizwe in next round of talks:

RELATIONS BETWEEN the Government and the ANC have been severely damaged after police discovered a major arms cache in Natal this week.

Senior Government officials yesterday urgently met their negotiation counterparts in the ANC after police reportedly arrested two ANC members, a Mr Vusimusi Derek Ngobese and a Mr Mandlankosi Clifford Makhoba, during a routine check on the Swaziland border on Wednesday and confiscated a big arms cache that included RPG rocket launchers, handgrenades and small firearms.

The weapons were said to have been smuggled into the country from Mozambique on the instructions of a senior Umkhonto we Sizwe official whom the Government has identified as

a Mr Siphon Daniel Joel Sithole.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday summoned diplomats in Cape Town and told them about the "urgent crisis" in the country and the "destructive impact" the incident has on the negotiation process.

Botha reportedly told the diplomats that the men had confessed "before a magistrate" that Sithole, allegedly an MK commander in Natal, had instructed them.

Botha told the diplomats "Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had warned us about MK's activities in Natal" and that proof had now been found.

He is believed to have said that "the ANC either knew about the operation or it did not" and

that the movement was guilty in both instances.

Botha said he expected the ANC to distance themselves from the incident or contact between the two would be jeopardised.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation could not "simply accept the information the Government submitted to us.

"We regard it necessary for the ANC to undertake an investigation into this incident. We cannot at this stage confirm whether the people that are in South African Police custody are ANC members."

Ramaphosa said the organisation was fully committed to the negotiation process.

Talks Crisis

THE HARMONIOUS RELATIONS between the ANC and the Government received a setback yesterday after revelations of alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe gun-running into Natal.

The arrest on the Swaziland border of two alleged ANC cadres with arms, cast a cloud over bilateral talks which was scheduled for yesterday.

While senior Government and ANC officials met to discuss the issue, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha summoned diplomats to inform them of the "urgent crisis" in the country.

See page 2

Swefan
5/2/93



Over MK Gunships

Defence Force raid on Apla scrapped'

EXCLUSIVE

Five months before the Azanian People's Liberation Army launched its bloody eastern Cape campaign late last year, the SADF was ready to strike at Apla bases in Transkei — but its political masters squashed the idea.

A group of Military Intelligence (MI) operatives, all members of the intended raiding party, told The Star the operation was planned after evidence showed that Apla attacks on "soft" white targets were imminent.

One of the raiders would have been former Civil Cooperation Bureau operative Ferdi Barnard. According to documents in The Star's possession, he was still employed by MI long after his "official sacking" in December 1991.

The raid would have taken place last July, five months before Apla attacked "soft" white targets in the eastern Cape. According to the MI operatives, they were briefed about the attack, told to grow beards to hide their identities, and possible targets were discussed.

They claimed they were to be joined by a special SAP task force from the Crime Information Service.

By
Jacques
Pauw



SADF spokesman Major Charl de Klerk said yesterday the activities of Apla and MI were at present being investigated by the Goldstone Commission and were, therefore, regarded as sub judice. For that reason the SADF would not comment, he said.

An SAP spokesman said yesterday the police at no stage planned to raid any Apla bases in Transkei. He said the Police Act did not make provision for cross-border raids.

The group of MI operatives said the raid had been cancelled because it became politically "too sensitive". The group is "bitter" because the attacks on "soft" targets could have been prevented.

Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel threatened Transkei in December that the security forces might in future cross into Transkei to take out Apla bases. Government spokesman

Dave Steward has also said South African security forces would raid Transkei if intelligence proved the existence of Apla bases in the homeland.

It has also emerged from a secret police "information note" that the SAP obtained detailed information from two captured Apla members more than a year before the eastern Cape attacks. It pointed to training facilities in Transkei, Apla safe-houses, the military structure of the organisation and names of Apla cadres.

The SAP spokesman yesterday confirmed that two Apla members were arrested in June 1991 and provided the police with "unconfirmed information" about Apla structures, activities and facilities in Transkei.

This information, along with intelligence gathered by two MI teams, would have been used to hit targets in Transkei, the MI operatives claimed this week.

At least two Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) intelligence teams were instructed at the beginning of the year to concentrate on

To Page 3

Plan to raid Apla bases in Transkei aborted'

From Page 1

activities in Transkei. The two teams were headed by Geoffrey Price and Anton Nieuwoudt, and included Barnard, Rich Verster and Henri van der Westhuizen. Colonel At Nel was, according to The Star's information, in charge of the operation. All these operatives, with the exception of Barnard, were fired by President de Klerk as part of his recent purge of the security forces.

Barnard was, according to a report by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and subsequent statements by the SADF, fired in December 1991. According to files obtained by the commission during its raid on DCC headquarters in Pretoria in November, Barnard was paid three months' salary in 1991 and told to leave.

The DCC, however, continued to employ Barnard. He operated under the pseudonym "Tony" and concentrated on gathering information about Apla activities in Transkei.

In the first half of 1992, he

provided his handlers, Price and Verster, with several intelligence reports about Apla.

He had a PAC source named "Mr B" in Umtata.

Barnard, confronted with MI documentation, confirmed this week that he was a member of the intended SADF raiding party and was, at least until July last year, still working for the DCC — more than six months after the SADF claimed he had been fired.

He would not say until when he was employed by MI.

According to the group of MI operatives all information about Apla was referred to a central information desk where it was evaluated as "critical".

Soon afterwards, a team was compiled to hit Apla bases and cadres in Transkei. The men said they would have been equipped with special weapons.

Barnard said: "All the information gathered by the SAP and MI's intelligence teams was evaluated and in July last year we received an order to prepare ourselves for cross-border raids into Transkei. We were briefed

on possible targets.

He claimed an SAP team would have taken part in the attacks against Apla. The police squad, The Star was told by the MI operatives, would have been commanded by former Vlakplaas commander Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene de Kock.

Barnard said they were told the operation had been cancelled because of the "political implications".

Verster this week refused to comment on the planned raid. He said he was bound by the Official Secrets Act.

According to the secret police "information note", dated August 29 1991, the PAC had a regional political-military council in Transkei commanded by Vumankosi Ntकिनca, alias Vuma, alias Sizwe, who is wanted by the SAP so that he can furnish information concerning acts of terrorism.

Bulelani Xuma, alias Siphon, was identified as chief of logistics; Themba Kenene, alias Joe, as chief of security; and Madodana Fihla, alias Styles, as commander of training and op-

erations. Apla, said the police note, had divided the country into four military zones.

At that stage (August 1991), the note said, there were 26 trained Apla members in Transkei. Six places were mentioned where "instantaneous military training" had been given.

According to the document, Apla members were instructed to, among other things, provide fellow members with military training, attack white SAP and SADF members, commit robberies to fund projects and attack white farmers.

Most of the SAP information was confirmed by Barnard's source, whom he described in his reports as an "influential drug smuggler" who moved in top PAC circles and regularly mixed with PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

"A lot of armed activity against the security forces and police is being planned from within Transkei and the situation would become progressively worse," Barnard said in one of his reports.

● Negotiations jeopardised — Pik ● ANC denies involvement

Star 5/2/93

MK arms smuggling

(84A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha has warned foreign ambassadors that the negotiation process has been jeopardised by the arrest of two alleged ANC military cadres held while trying to smuggle a large arsenal of weapons from Mozambique to Durban.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel last night demanded an explanation from the ANC, and said they had laid an official complaint with the National Peace Committee and requested an urgent meeting.

They said they had information that a regional commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), was allegedly involved in smuggling the

weapons into South Africa.

The Star learnt that the two "MK members" were arrested on the Swaziland-SA border at Golela.

Hidden in the false bottom of their car were 34 hand grenades, 22 pistols, two RPG rocket-grenade launchers and 2 800 rounds of AK-47 ammunition.

According to information which Botha supplied to ambassadors at an urgent briefing, the "MK members" confessed to a magistrate that

they had collected the weapons in Mozambique on instruction of Natal commander and commissar of MK, Sipho Daniel Joel Sithole.

The disclosure came on the day that Meyer and Kriel were involved in discussions with the ANC about the continued existence of MK as well as control of MK arms and training.

Meyer and Kriel said in their statement that the seizure of the arms emphasised the absolute necessity for:

- Proper control over MK arms and caches.
 - An immediate moratorium on MK recruitment.
 - Establishing structures to control MK cadres.
 - Reaching agreement on the final position of MK and other armed formations.
- Meyer added that Government's view was that it was still important to ensure the process was kept going "but only on a stable basis". He said that ANC leader-

ship, including secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, had insisted that the ANC was not involved in the arms smuggling and had not issued instructions for the supply of the arms.

"But we want written proof of that," said Meyer. Government sources indicated today they expected the Goldstone Commission would examine the incident.

The sources differed on the seriousness of the threat to negotiations. Some said it

was "just another incident". ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the meeting on constitutional matters scheduled for Wednesday would continue and that the ANC would conduct its own internal investigation into allegations of arms smuggling.

The ANC delegation had given the immediate assurance to the Government that no members of its National Executive Committee or senior MK figures were involved in this incident.

TOW

Star 5/2/93

MP's farmhouse burns down

A Britstown district farmhouse belonging to the National Party MP for De Aar, Attie Jooste, was gutted by arsonists on Wednesday night while Jooste was away in Parliament, police said. The house burnt to the ground. Damage is estimated at about R1 million. (84A)

Urgent talks on MK 'arms smuggling'

W/May 5/2-11/2/93

(SUA)

SENIOR government ministers and the African National Congress were locked in urgent talks in Cape Town yesterday on the role of Umkhonto weSizwe in the smuggling of a large arms cache into Natal.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa were closeted in sensitive discussions yesterday afternoon. The talks are focused on an arms smuggling incident by MK operatives uncovered on Wednesday. The arms have allegedly been smuggled as part of an MK operation originating in Natal.

A government official confirmed the discussions were being held but said no announcements would be made afterwards.

Police found the arms during a routine check at a roadblock near Golela on the Natal/Swaziland border.

The weapons, which include two RPG7 rocket launchers with six rockets, 34 hand grenades, close to 3 000 AK47 rifle cartridges, nine Makarov pistols and 13 Stechkin pistols, were concealed under a false bottom in the boot of a car. Three ANC members were arrested.

The weapons are believed to have been smuggled into South Africa on the instructions of a senior ANC/MK official in Natal. Security sources said a sworn statement by the official had been made before a magistrate.

The incident has catapulted what would have been low-level preparatory talks between the government and ANC to intense negotiations at national leadership level. The weapons find has suddenly altered the scope of these talks to include the top negotiators. - Sapa

'Bullets are the Star 6/2/93 answer until (84A) broad ballot'

NEIL MOORHOUSE
Africa News Service

CAIRO — The Pan Africanist Congress would not give up its armed struggle until the ballot was secured for all citizens, regardless of race, the organisation's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said during a week-long visit to Egypt.

After meeting Foreign Minister Amr Moussa, Ebrahim said it was inevitable that the senseless killings in the townships would spill over into the white neighbourhoods. "Only a quickening of the electoral process, based on democratic, nonracial principles, can stop this," he said.

Quoted by the semi-official Al Ahram newspaper, Ebrahim warned Egypt of the South African Government's alleged use of African and European mercenaries from neighbouring African countries and other parts of the world. He pointed out that 119 people had died in police custody in 1992, and that the Government had failed to account for these deaths.

"As long as Government-instigated violence continues, the PAC is under no obligation to suspend its armed struggle," he said.

Reconvene Patriotic Front

During his stay at the invitation of the Egyptian government, Ebrahim called on Egypt to assist in reconvening the Patriotic Front, particularly in view of Egypt's chairmanship of the OAU.

Egypt has made moves in the last year to strengthen ties with all the various political parties in South Africa. Last year, it provided a training course in diplomacy for PAC and ANC members. Al Ahram said training was also provided in the police force, especially in customs. No training was, however, provided for the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Egypt has seen South Africa as a vital trading partner, but has delayed restoring diplomatic links until elections are held for a fully representative government. The opening of a South African mission in Egypt has been delayed until the middle of this year.

Star 6/2/93

Goldstone to probe arms cache claims

THE discovery of an arsenal of arms in Natal dominates all-day talks, but Government and ANC sources say the crisis is over. Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS reports.

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone Commission is to probe Government allegations that the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, tried to smuggle a carload of arms into Durban via Swaziland.

The arrest of two alleged MK cadres at Golela with an arsenal of arms in a hidden compartment has thrown an unexpected spanner into the machinery of negotiations which were just starting to gathering momentum.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha called in foreign ambassadors here this week to tell them that the two alleged MK cadres had confessed to a magistrate that they had collected the arms in Mozambique on instructions from Sipho Daniel Joel Sithole, commander and commissar of MK in Natal.

He warned that the incident could jeopardise negotiations and urged the envoys to use their influence to prevent this. Later, Government and ANC sources indicated that the crisis had passed.

Yesterday the ANC's Southern Natal Regional Executive Committee said that MK Southern Regional Command "as a collective" was not involved.

Nor did any member of the regional committee have prior knowledge or involvement in the incident. The committee said it would investigate and take the appropriate disciplinary action but its investigation was being hampered because it was being denied access to its arrested cadres.

Under duress

It could not rely on the confession of the two because it was "common knowledge that such confessions are extracted under duress".

Police sources said that access to the MK men was being arranged.

Then, in a brief statement, the ANC's head office in Johannesburg said it had received a communication from the Goldstone Commission, announcing its intention to investigate the allegations.

The ANC was as concerned as anyone to get to the root of

the matter and would co-operate with the commission's investigation.

The Government first raised the allegations in a meeting with the ANC to discuss the future of MK and control of its arms caches.

It is understood that the matter dominated the all-day meeting in Cape Town and almost caused a breakdown.

Later the mood improved when the ANC promised to look into the matter.

Afterwards Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel issued a statement announcing that the incident had been reported to the National Peace Committee and the Government had emphasised the need for a resolution of the problem of MK's continued existence, training, recruiting and arms control.

In its statement, the ANC Southern Natal regional executive committee said this was not the solution to the problem.

The solution was that all armed formation should be speedily integrated into a new defence force.

It accused the Government of using the incident to delay negotiations so it could cling to power.

Pik firm on PAC ceasefire

Star 6/12/93

CAPE TOWN —

The Pan Africanist Congress assured the Government during their two-day meeting in Botswana late last year that it would suspend its armed struggle, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

A month later Mosenke resigned from the leadership of the Africanist organisation, citing family and work pres-

Two weeks before his resignation, however, the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), staged attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown. Five people died and many others were injured in the attacks.

PIK BOTHA has reiterated that the PAC last year gave an undertaking to suspend the armed struggle, writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

ing: "When I said to Mosenke — who, unfortunately, has since resigned, and I have great respect for him — that we should write that agreement into the joint statement, they said that was the situation on the ground.

Botha said the PAC had committed themselves to a peaceful resolution of the country's problems, meant that they would suspend the armed struggle.

Botha reiterated the Government's position that Pretoria would not be able to agree to any PAC involvement in negotiations until the organisation had distanced itself from Apla — and he thought the ANC shared his view.

had told the Government that a decision to suspend the armed struggle would be made by the organisation's annual congress originally scheduled for April this year. Botha told the brief-

"They told us they were not involved in violence, and that they had offered to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Hence, our joint statement, that the Govern-

ment and the PAC had committed themselves to a peaceful resolution of the country's problems, meant that they would suspend the armed struggle.

Botha said the PAC had committed themselves to a peaceful resolution of the country's problems, meant that they would suspend the armed struggle.

ROCKED BY REBELS

By SBU MNGADI

THE ANC faces possible rebellion from its three Natal regions.

Members of the southern Natal region have dubbed as a "capitulation" to the government the organisation's initial response to the arrest near the Swazi border of two Umkhonto weSizwe cadres with a large quantity of arms - and the subsequent arrest of a senior ANC member in Durban.

Arms find splits ANC

Following an ANC statement describing the men as "a gang of criminal gun runners" - and a further statement that the movement could not confirm that the men were Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) members until the government had granted ANC representatives access to them - members from the Natal regions claimed the cadres were "disowned" by the ANC.

Sources in the ANC and MK in southern Natal cited this as the "last straw", saying the three were "trusted Umkhonto weSizwe officers". This incident could further widen the rift between the ANC headquarters and the three Natal regions. Vusumuzi Derek Ngobese and Mandla Clifford Makhoza, both of Durban, were arrested by police on Monday at the Golela border post with Swaziland. They were in possession of 34 F1 hand-grenades, 40 hand-grenade detonators, nine Makarov pistols, 13 Stechkin pistols, 26 Stechkin magazines, two RPG7 rocket-grenade launchers, six RPG7 missiles, six RPG7 propellant charges and 2 800 rounds of AK-47 ammunition.

Ngobese is southern Natal MK Command's chief of personnel. The find initially threatened to scuttle the ANC-SA government negotiation process until the ANC released a media statement describing the two cadres as "criminal gun-runners". The statement was preceded by an urgent meeting in Cape Town between ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC said it was not convinced that Ngobese and Makhoza were MK members. It claimed the two were a gun-running gang trying to hide behind the ANC flag. This prompted Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to say the organisation was adopting a responsi-

■ To Page 2



Cyril Ramaphosa

Roelf Meyer

ANC rocked by rebels

From Page 1
 The attitude and should be given a chance to resolve the issue.

The arrests have apparently touched a raw nerve in southern Natal, where MK cadres described the seized consignment as "a tip of the iceberg".

On Wednesday, senior ANC member Siphosiphile was detained by security police from the southern Natal ANC offices in Umgeni Road, Durban, after it was discovered the car two were driving belonged to him. Sithole's arrest triggered off a wave of panic

in the southern Natal regional executive committee, whose members also hold senior positions in the southern Natal MK command, MK cadres told City Press.

The region's lawyer, Bheka Shezi, whom police refused access to the three on Friday, said he believed the investigators expected to make further arrests soon.

Shezi said the SAP's Legal Services Department had granted him permission to consult with the three detainees. However, on reaching Piet Retief, a Brig Siebert, commanding officer of the eastern Transvaal Crime Investigations Services, put his foot down. Siebert told Shezi he had spoken to senior ANC members in the Legal Department in Johannesburg who had arranged to interview the three only tomorrow.

Shezi said Siebert informed him that two of the detainees were "very co-operative", while the third man swore at his interrogators. The Goldstone Commission has indicated it will look at the arms cache issue.

During the wildest taxi drivers' strike

Pict: TLABI KHULE



C/Press 7/2/93
~~3/11~~ (84A)

'Get out of town, you democrat!'

By MOSES MAMALI A

accidentally cheated death when rightwingers bombed his house and destroyed his car for referring black patients to the town's "white" Voortrekker Hospital.

Neo-Nazis threatened to bomb the home of Dr Andre van der Berg, who runs a practice in the conservative northern Transvaal town, for daring to refer his black patients to the hospital.

Last Saturday the rightwingers struck.

Only a miracle saved Van der Berg and his family from tragedy when the attackers hurled a petrol bomb at the doctor's home during a terror operation.

The deadly device exploded on the veranda, failing to ignite the family home.

However, a second explosion extensively damaged Van der Berg's family vehicle.

A shaken Van der Berg said his problems with rightwingers started early in 1991 when he referred a black patient to Voortrekker after the hospital was declared open to all races.

"Although the law allows black patients to be admitted to all hospitals, some people do not approve of the mixing of races.

"The same day my patient was admitted, I was met by a group of rightwingers who ordered me to remove the patient immediately, 'because the hospital was for whites'," he said.

When Van der Berg refused, the group became very aggressive and he



CLOSE ESCAPE . . . The family of Dr Andre Van der Berg was lucky that their car was the only casualty in the right-wing attack on their Potgietersrus house.

Photo: TLADI KHUELE

White thugs bomb doctor for treating patients as equals

was rescued by the police who were called in to defuse the explosive situation.

Since that day Van der Berg has received countless threatening calls from angry white racists who warned him to get out of town, branding him a "sell-out".

Although the doctor realised the threats were serious, he defied the order to stop transferring black patients to Voortrekker Hospital.

"I treat people as equals and there is no reason why I should not transfer black patients to the Voortrekker Hospital, which is under-utilised.

"The Makopane Hospital in Mahwelereng, which the rightwingers say is for blacks, is always overcrowded."

In December last year the doctor received a particularly sinister call from a rightwinger who told him remove a patient he had just referred to the

"white" hospital.

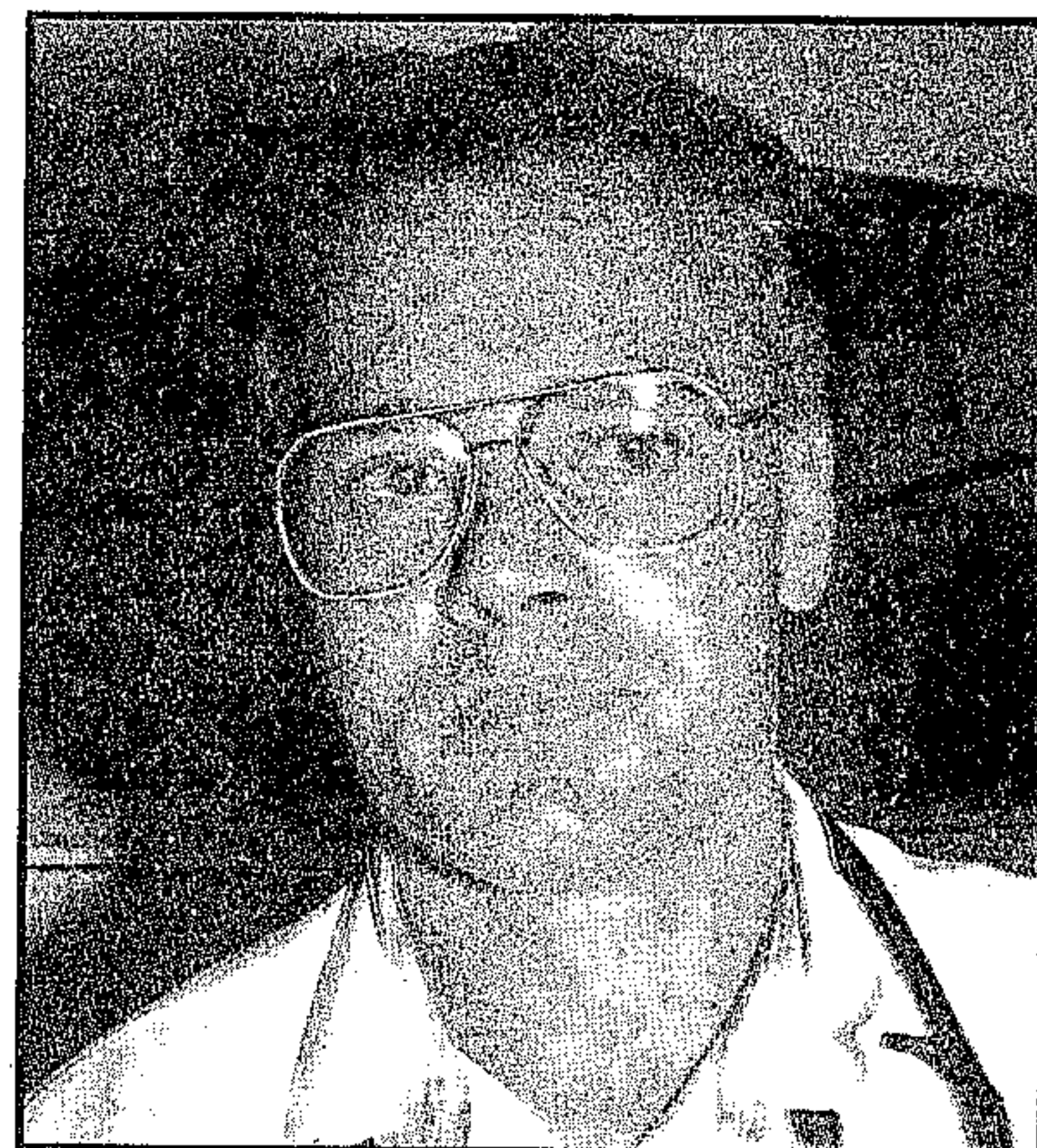
The caller vowed that violent action would be taken if he failed to act.

Then at about 2:30 am last Saturday the bombers, who were on foot, attacked his house and car.

However, Van der Berg's beliefs are unshaken by the terror attack and he has vowed that he would neither move from the conservative town, nor stop treating people as equals.

Although he said he did not belong to any political party, he was committed to efforts to normalise race relations in the country.

He said he had reported the matter to the ANC and was appealing to the organisation for help.



WON'T MOVE . . . Dr Van der Berg refuses to let rightwingers intimidate him.

C Press 7/2/93

PAC concerned at 'gun-running'

THE PAC said on Friday it was "greatly concerned" at reports of alleged gun-running into Natal by the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. (HA) (84A)

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said in a statement that since the ANC had suspended its armed struggle against the government and its security forces, the ANC should explain for what purpose the arms were to be used in the province.

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC inquiry into weapons cache

8/Times 7/2/93 84A

SENIOR ANC officials will travel to Natal this week to investigate the circumstances surrounding the arrest of three alleged ANC members linked to an arms cache discovered by police at a Swaziland border post.

ANC officials on Friday remained tight-lipped, saying they were investigating the matter.

But the organisation released a statement yesterday confirming it would co-operate fully with the Goldstone commission probe into the allegations scheduled for February 15.

Judge Richard Goldstone announced on Friday that his commission's public inquiry into the illegal importation of automatic weapons and explosives into SA would include the discovery of arms on Monday in a vehicle travelling between Swaziland and SA.

Three ANC members were arrested when the cache was discovered.

ANC mum on alleged MK trio

Sowetan 8/2/93

■ Organisation demands to see
arrested cadres:

Sowetan Correspondent

THE ANC is remaining tight-lipped on the alleged involvement of three Umkhonto we Sizwe members in cross-border weapons smuggling.

Despite media speculation that the arrests have set Natal regions of the liberation organisation at odds with the national leadership, ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday said it was likely that ANC representatives would today be permitted to visit the three men.

"We are asking for access to all three and we believe it is going to be granted," she said.

Marcus said the ANC was certain of the identity of only one of the detainees, Siphosithole, who was detained at the organisation's offices in Durban.

She confirmed he was a senior ANC member.

The other two men were identified in a Sunday newspaper report as Vusumuzi Derek Ngobese, chief of personnel for MK in southern Natal, and Mandla Clifford Makhoba.

"Although we know that Sithole has been arrested, we don't know his relationship to the other two or to the events under investigation.

"Police arrested him as a result of information supplied by the men taken at the border and we need to know the circumstances under which such information was given," Marcus said.

ANC mum on 'gun-running row'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The ANC is remaining tight-lipped on the alleged involvement of three Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members in cross-border weapons smuggling, despite media speculation that the arrests have set Natal regions of the organisation at odds with the national leadership.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday it was likely that ANC representatives would be permitted today to visit the men arrested in connection with a weapons haul on the Swazi

border last week.

Marcus said the ANC was certain of the identity of only one of the detainees, Siphosithole. She confirmed he was a senior ANC member.

The other two men were identified in a Sunday newspaper report as Vusumuzi Derek Ngobese, chief of personnel for MK in southern Natal, and Mandla Clifford Makhoba.

"Although we know that Sithole has been arrested, we don't know his relationship to the other two or to the events under

investigation," Marcus said.

She questioned the basis of a Sunday newspaper report on a growing rift in the ANC as a result of the arrests. A press release, which had reportedly given offence to Natal regions by referring to the arrested men as "criminal gun runners", was in fact issued by a Natal region and not by ANC headquarters, she stressed.

According to the report, Natal ANC members believed that cadres had been "disowned" in the interests of keeping negotiations on track.

Disunity is a cause for concern

Sowetan 9/2/93

64A

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE arrest of three Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in Natal in connection with the smuggling of arms last week should not be linked to political negotiations.

This was said by two callers during the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback* Show last night.

Reacting to the Government's threat to suspend negotiations following the arrests, an anonymous caller said: "The Government should not suspend talks because of this. The African National Congress did not suspend negotiations when covert operations of the Military Intelligence and the Civil Co-operation Bureau were exposed.

"The Government's response is unreasonable. It should also look into its

own MI and CCB affairs," he said.

Jacques of Standerton said the Government should remember the ANC was not the only organisation it was negotiating with.

"The Government must know that it deals with many parties and the ANC is only one of them. It is unfair to suspend talks simply because of the conduct of only one of the parties," he said.

Some of the issues discussed in the programme last night included disunity among liberation movements, the SABC's failure to screen crucial soccer matches played at the weekend and the emergence of an elitist group within the ANC.

"The fact that Azapo, PAC and ANC are fighting one another is disturbing me. I call upon them to swallow their pride and reconvene the Patriotic Front as a matter of urgency."

Sinkie, Tembisa

"I am worried more about unity than political power. Liberation movements must stop pointing fingers at each other. They must find common ground and negotiate."

Duba, KwaThema

"I'm deeply concerned that all the time we put the blame on the Government. It is not the Government but the liberation movements that are to blame. If the ANC can come closer to the Government on power-sharing, why can't it come closer to Azapo?"

George, Johannesburg

"Games favoured by whites were last weekend screened on both TV1 and CTV. Football, our most popular sport, was not screened."

Steve Phiri, Atteridgeville

Star 9/2/93

New turn

in ANC arms row

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Senior African National Congress officials were travelling to Durban today to question a further six people arrested in connection with an arms haul at the Swazi border last week, an ANC spokesman said.

A police spokesman said no request had been received yet from the ANC for such interviews and he could not confirm the arrest of the six men.

The officials, led by ANC lawyer and negotiator Mathew Phosa, yesterday interviewed three detained MK members — Siphosithole, Vusumuzi Ngobese and Mandla Makhoba — for almost 10 hours in Middelburg.

Phosa said today the ANC team had established "beyond reasonable doubt" the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) and southern Natal regional executive committee were not involved.

It was also satisfied ANC military headquarters in Johannesburg and the military command in southern Natal had no part in the operation.

The ANC investigating team, which includes MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda and southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe, will make recommendations to the NEC on "how to handle the matter politically".

The Government asked the ANC last week to declare whether any members of its NEC or MK had been involved in the arms smuggling.

The ANC reiterated its commitment to suspending the armed struggle.

Municipal offices bombed in OFS

9/2/93
84A
WELKOM. — An explosion rocked the municipal offices of Bronville, a township near Welkom, early yesterday morning — hours before the Welkom municipality began cutting the electricity supply to 263 residents.

No one was injured in the blast but about R110 000 damage was caused to the building, SAP spokesman Captain Johlene van der Merwe said.

She added that the township was tense yesterday morning and that a police contingent of about 140 men were present. One man was arrested on a charge of malicious damage to property after he had stoned a police vehicle. — Sapa

IFP lashes ANC Midlands leader

Sowetan 10/2/93

IFP
84A
ZEB

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday lashed out at ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala's justification for arms smuggling by Umkhonto we Sizwe, saying this threatened the peace in the Natal Midlands.

Gwala was on Monday quoted as saying ANC members were probably smuggling arms into the country to defend themselves in township warfare "not for purposes of carrying war into Natal but for purposes of self-defence".

"I don't think we should pretend that we don't try to obtain arms ourselves, or else how can we defend our people?" he was quoted as saying.

The statements follow the arrests of three Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres last week who were linked to the discovery of a large arms cache on the Swazi border. The weapons were apparently headed for Natal.

In a statement issued on Tuesday the IFP criticised Gwala's remarks as ludicrous.

"By saying arms were being smuggled into the country for defence, Gwala was attempting to legitimise the illegal flow of weapons into Natal," the statement said.

This was evidence of Gwala's "unrepentant

■ Inkatha says the ANC is stockpiling weapons in preparation for the elections:

and militant influence" in the Natal Midlands.

"This is the same influence which is at the heart of political instability in the Midlands," the IFP charged.

Inkatha has continually alleged that Gwala's radical and militant stance is behind the political upheaval in the Midlands.

The ANC, on the other hand, has alleged that IFP warlords, backed by the KwaZulu government, are involved in continuing efforts to erode ANC support in the region.

The IFP further reiterated its charge yesterday that Umkhonto we Sizwe was stockpiling arms in Natal in preparation for elections.

"The ANC cannot win through the ballot and has decided that through the use of intimidation and violence they might stand a chance... The electorate must take note of the ANC's double agenda." — Sapa.

Arms cache: more held

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Sowetan
10/2/93.



Sowetan Correspondent

FOUR MORE African National Congress members have been arrested by police in Durban after an arms cache was found in a car on the Natal-Swaziland border last week.

The arrest of the men in Durban brings to seven the number of ANC members now being held in connection with the finding of the arms cache.

Police spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg, confirmed that the SAP were holding a further

four suspects in Durban. He could not give further details.

Last week police arrested the three suspects on the South African side of the Golela border and seized a variety of weapons, including rockets, launchers and pistols, found in the boot of a car.

Senior ANC officials travelled to Middelburg in the Transvaal on Monday to interview the three arrested men.

After meeting with the suspects, the ANC confirmed that the men were members of the organisation.

More arrests over arms cache

THE arrest of five more alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members in connection with arms smuggling into Natal has put the ANC on the defensive before today's scheduled bilateral talks. *BIDM 10/2/93*

This brings to 10 the number of alleged ANC members arrested in connection with the operation.

Two of those arrested have subsequently been released.

After the latest arrests, Judge Richard Goldstone postponed his inquiry into the smuggling operation at the request of the Transvaal attorney-general. The inquiry was due to start next Monday.

Yesterday ANC southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe confirmed that at least two of the latest arrests were members of the organisation.

He said the high-level ANC investigation team, led by senior negotiator Matthew Phosa, was in Durban this week to interview those detained. On Monday in Middelburg, the team interviewed the first three, detained last week.

SC **BILLY PADDOCK** *(841)*

Phosa said the ANC team had established beyond doubt that the organisation's national executive committee and the southern Natal regional executive were not involved.

The team was also satisfied that military headquarters in Johannesburg and the military command in southern Natal had no part in the operation.

Hardline ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala complicated matters for the organisation's negotiations team when he justified the smuggling of weapons into Natal in contravention of a 1990 agreement.

Gwala was reported as saying: "I don't think we should pretend that we don't try to obtain arms ourselves, or else how can we defend our people?"

Inkatha seized on this to justify its insistence that MK be disbanded before Inkatha entered multiparty talks. Inkatha charged that the ANC was stockpiling arms in Natal

TO PAGE 2

Arms cache

BIDM 10/2/93
in preparation for elections and destabilising the region further.

Government and Inkatha, in a joint statement on Monday, voiced concern over the smuggling operation and its potential to derail negotiations.

And Sapa reports that CP spokesman Schalk Diederik said government should break off negotiations with the ANC in the light of "irrefutable evidence" that it was continuing to wage a revolutionary war against political opponents.

A government source said yesterday the goal of setting up a multiparty planning conference before the end of February had receded with the arrests.

Inkatha's insistence on MK's disbandment before it would agree to participate in the planning conference had become a sticking point, he said.

However, government believed that if it and the ANC could clinch a deal on a phased process of achieving joint control of all

armed formations, Inkatha would go along with it.

He added that the two-day talks between the ANC and government would focus on the MK issue.

The government source said mere declarations of innocence on the part of the ANC would not satisfy it or Inkatha.

There had to be assurances that there would be no similar incidents and government would insist on the law taking its course.

It is understood the ANC will argue that the arms smuggling was conducted by a few members on their own initiative.

Police supported by soldiers confiscated an arms cache in Dube hostel in Soweto yesterday, Sapa reports. Fifteen AK-47 assault rifles, three Makarov pistols and several other 9mm pistols were found, along with ammunition. Police said four suspects were arrested. No more arrests were expected.

FROM PAGE 1

Star 10/2/93

Haul threatens talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Progress in talks between the ANC and Government may be delayed if the ANC leadership does not distance itself from the alleged smuggling of arms into the country by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), say Government negotiators.

The negotiators have been told to get a "proper reply" from the ANC at today's meeting in Cape Town on the arms haul at the Swazi border last Monday.

They said the matter would be the first item on the meeting's agenda.

ANC officials yesterday questioned six of the nine arrested men in Durban. Two of the six were released yesterday, said ANC lawyer and negotiator Mathew Phosa. The officials questioned three ANC members in Middelburg on Monday.

The ANC undertook at last Thursday's meeting on security matters to report back today to the Government on its investigation into the arrests.

Phosa said yesterday the investigation had established "beyond reasonable doubt" that the national executive committee (NEC) and the Southern Natal regional

executive committee were not involved in smuggling arms.

It was also satisfied ANC military headquarters in Johannesburg and the military command in Southern Natal had no part in the operation.

Immediately after last week's meeting the ANC reiterated its commitment to suspending the armed struggle.

The ANC is understood to have told the Government at the meeting it could have tried to derail talks by making an issue of the alleged involvement of senior SADF officers in campaigns against the ANC.

those leaders: if not, why not; if so, who are they? B23E

†THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No. It is not customary for the American Government to invite foreign heads of state or political leaders to the inauguration of the President. As was the case with other countries, South Africa was represented by its Ambassador in Washington, Mr H H Schwarz.

(2) No. My Department became aware through the news media that Mr Nelson Mandela had been invited by a member of the American Congress to attend the function as his guest.

(3) Falls away.

*8. Mr H D K van der Merwe—Justice: † [Question standing over.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Is it not customary in this House that we start at this time on Wednesday precisely because there is a Cabinet Meeting and that it should be the occasion on which the hon Ministers must be in the House to reply to questions put to them by hon members? [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! It is also customary in this House that at times there can be exceptions when hon Ministers are not available, which is evidently the case here. [Interjections.] I shall not take further points of order on this.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, on the Order Paper we find the following words under the headings, "Question Paper, General Affairs":

Precedence given to interpellations and questions on general affairs on Wednesdays pursuant to the resolution adopted by the House on Friday, 29 January 1993.

The submission that, with respect, I wish to put to you, is that the Cabinet has therefore known since Friday, 29 January 1993 of this specific arrangement that questions are to be dealt with on Wednesdays, and that from Friday, 29 January, until today, they had the opportunity to prepare themselves to be present and to reply to questions in Parliament. I therefore wish to request that you rule that the normal case to which you referred, namely that questions may stand over, is subject to what is on the Order Paper, and that questions cannot simply stand over in this manner.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member has made his point. I have already replied to it.

ANC penal camps: indemnification

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

Whether the Government envisages taking any action in respect of persons who were recently identified by the Douglas Committee as having been implicated in crimes in ANC penal camps and who have indemnity at present in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No 35 of 1990); if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when? B25E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

It is evident from the Douglas Commission's and Amnesty International's reports as well as from the ANC's own investigations that there are persons in the ANC who allegedly were responsible for crimes committed in ANC penal camps in Uganda, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique, among other places.

Since these alleged crimes were committed outside the Republic, the South African courts have no jurisdiction in respect thereof and no criminal steps can be taken in the Republic. This does not make these cases less serious and the governments concerned should take note thereof. I further wish to indicate to the hon member that those persons who enjoy indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1990, enjoy such indemnity only in regard to offences committed within the Republic with the exception of the offences of high treason and terrorism, which have extra-territorial application.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, has the Government taken cognisance of the recommendation of the Douglas Commission that, after it has been determined that people are probably accountable for these offences, legislation should be introduced to make provision that these people are indeed punished, since provision therefor is not made in South African law at present, and, if so, what are the Government's intentions in this regard?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the Government has taken cognisance of these recommendations. These offences are certainly serious offences of which cognisance should be taken, but the fact is that that which arises out of a commission cannot be applied in criminal law in South Africa. It will only be used for a

political purpose. Commissions are not appropriate for this purpose. As far as the further aspect is concerned, it is totally unacceptable for it to be activated retrospectively with regard to criminal offences. B26A

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is it in the first place true that the Government is not at all considering the introduction of legislation in respect of the possible accountability of these people in terms of civil law? B26A

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, as matters pertaining to criminal law definitely fall outside the Indemnity Act, the civil law consequences arising out of the Indemnity Act are also not applicable. I should like to suggest that it would be an enormously far-reaching matter if this Government were to be accountable for civil claims originating in other countries and for which persons could not even be criminally charged in this country.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, did the Cabinet at any stage at all consider introducing legislation regarding these offences committed in other countries and does the hon the Deputy Minister agree with me that according to international criminal law it is completely acceptable that legislation be passed in a country for offences committed in another country?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I do not agree with the hon member on the last aspect, and as far as the first aspect is concerned, he should lay it on the Table.

†HON MEMBERS: Under the table!

Death sentences

*10. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Justice:†

How many (a) Whites and (b) Blacks received the death sentence in criminal courts in the Republic during the period 1 October 1992 to 1 January 1993? B26E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (a) 2
(b) 22

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, has any progress been made since the announcement by the hon the State President during the course of his Opening Address to this Parliament that the

position regarding the death penalty was to be reviewed by the Government? B26E
Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Is that not a new question?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I would submit that that is a new question which should be tabled. [Interjections.]

Precedence given to interpellations and questions on own affairs on Wednesdays pursuant to the resolution adopted by the House on Friday, 29 January 1993.

INTERPELLATION

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

Own Affairs:

Model C schools: financial assistance

Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:*

Whether the Government will consider rendering financial assistance, in addition to the payment of subsidies to individual parents of children in Model C schools, to such schools the management councils of which fail to collect sufficient compulsory school fees for those schools to meet their financial obligations? B78E.INT

B78E.INT

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Speaker, the answer is no. The reason is essentially twofold. Firstly, the payment of such a subsidy would be diametrically opposed to the principle of equal State support for all ordinary public schools that fall under the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly. All State schools and State-aided schools will receive the same amount of money from the State, but the allocation of this money will be different. It would therefore be unfair to give more money to State-aided schools by means of subsidies and it would violate a principle which is an essential part of the system. The hon member for Brits would benefit from at least attempting to master the principles underlying the financing of education. B78E.INT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

MOTED STRISTS,

BOURTS MKS ON

844

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

NOTHING WOULD STAND in the way of the resumption of talks "however good or bad it may be", Government sources said yesterday after a week in which police

believed they had cracked an arms smuggling network involving ANC members.

The Department of Law and Order yesterday said eight people were now being held in connection with the seizure of an arms cache near the Swaziland border last week. Seven are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and two

under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act which allows for a maximum of 48 hours detention, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said.

At the end of a short meeting between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town yesterday, there was a general feeling of achievement after the ANC had absolved itself from complicity in the arms-smuggling incident.

The two parties are expected to meet to trash out the issue today. Earlier a Government intelligence source said the ANC was "smuggling arms into Natal to strengthen its position in the province".

This has reportedly placed the Government under severe pressure from the Natal branch of the National Party to extract a full explanation from the ANC.

In a statement last night, the executive committee of the NP in Natal said it "notes with total dismay that three MK members were involved in smuggling arms - and ammunition into South Africa with the admitted intention to use them in Natal".

Sources said the need for multiparty negotiations was too serious for anything to stand in its way.

'Cadre' to be deported

GABERONE: AN alleged Azanian Peoples Liberation Army cadre, who was charged with possession of unlicensed firearms, is to be deported to Zimbabwe, instead of South Africa, the *Botswana Gazette* reported yesterday. ~~(S.A.F.)~~ (S.A.F.)

The newspaper said the Botswana government made the decision after the Pan Africanist Congress had asked the authorities not to deport Mr Siculo Mlando to South Africa as he would face arrest and be forced to testify before a commission on violence. Mlando was charged with possession of unlicensed firearms after police shot and wounded him in Francistown last month, the newspaper said.

Sowetan 11/2/93

ANC tries to defuse arms smuggling row

BIDAY
11/2/93
~~84A~~ (84A)
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC tried yesterday to defuse the row over Umkhonto we Sizwe involvement in the arms smuggling operation by arguing government and Inkatha were just as guilty of threatening negotiations.

However, government kept up the pressure on the ANC to provide "a proper reply and explanation" for the arms haul and to state its commitment to the suspension of the armed struggle.

A senior ANC source said the organisation and government were struggling to avert a "major crisis in the talks that could cause fundamental damage" following the arrest of nine alleged MK cadres. One of

the nine was released yesterday.

In its bid to limit the damage, the ANC said by deploying 32 Battalion members to patrol the Transkei and Ciskei borders government confirmed that it remained the "private army of the NP". It said government had not carried out its undertaking to disband the battalion, and battalion members should be confined to barracks "without delay".

The ANC also said an Inkatha central committee member, Isaac Ntsele, had been arrested in possession of arms and ammunition and had appeared in court on

Monday. It said Ntsele had been arrested with his son and two Mozambican nationals at Kangwanase in the Manguze district in possession of 13 AK-47 rifles, two assault rifles, ammunition and spare magazines.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Ntsele's arrest was a different matter to that of the smuggling operation and there had been no attempt to disguise it. "The Inkatha incident was that of an individual who is not a member of a private army," he said.

The ANC said its national executive committee, the southern Natal regional executive, military headquarters and the

To Page 2

ANC *BIDAY* 11/2/93. ~~84A~~ (84A)

regional military command were unaware of the smuggling operation.

The ANC argued that the arms cache and smuggling operation were the issue talks were geared to resolving and should thus not be used to derail talks.

It said it could have made an issue out of the alleged involvement of senior SADF officers in campaigns against the ANC, but had not done so.

The ANC questioned the fact that government had issued statements on the discovery of the arms smuggling operation on

the eve of sensitive talks on MK and armed formations. No statements of concern had been issued on the large weapons cache found at the Inkatha-dominated Dube hostel on Tuesday.

Kotze said it had not yet been established who was responsible for the Dube cache. He said the number of ANC cadres arrested "proves this is an operation of a whole network and not just a few maverick members on their own".

Police were still investigating, he said.

● **Comment: Page 10**

From Page 1

IFP men also accused of gun smuggling

Star 11/2/93

MK weapons

(84 A)

row bypassed

By Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius

Government and ANC negotiators last night decided to bypass their row over alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) arms smuggling — but not before the ANC negotiators hit back with a disclosure that four men, allegedly including an Inkatha Freedom Party official, had been arrested for smuggling arms at the weekend.

On the tough first day of a three-day meeting in Cape Town, the ANC team claimed that Izak Godi Ntsele — whom the ANC alleged is a member of the IFP central committee — his son and two Mozambicans had been arrested in the northern Transvaal on Saturday for allegedly being in possession of at least 13 AK-47s.

After checking, the Government negotiators confirmed the arrests.

Relations between the ANC and the Government were soured after three ANC members were arrested for allegedly smuggling arms at the Golela border post with Swaziland, and the arrest of eight more people in follow-up operations. Three of them have been released, including one yesterday.

The ANC has confirmed that some of the arrested men are ANC members, but has denied knowledge of the alleged smuggling.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said today the party had no knowledge of a Ntsele on the central committee of the IFP, calling news of the arrests "a pathetic attempt to divert attention" from the MK arrests.

The IFP did not involve itself in the smuggling of arms and IFP members found to be engaged in such activities must face the full weight of the law, she said.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze today confirmed the arrests of six men in connection with the smuggling of arms — Ntsele, his son Justice, two other men and two Mozambicans. Kotze said Ntsele was the chairman of the IFP branch at Emanguze in Northern Natal.

After yesterday's meeting, Government sources said the ANC had not yet satisfied its insistence that the ANC distance itself from arms smuggling, give a reassurance that it would not recur, and take disciplinary steps against those involved.

The ANC is expected to issue a statement today giving its official response to the Golela haul.

● To Page 3

MK weapons row bypassed in key talks

From Page 1

Sources close to negotiations said although progress had been made, the negotiators had not fully resolved the matter, but had decided to put it aside so that they could move on with talks on constitutional issues.

The sources said these issues were regarded as too important to be delayed.

Responding to Government pressure for the ANC leadership to distance itself from the arms cache, the ANC negotiators said the ANC had sent the Government a letter explaining that its investigations showed its, and

MK's, top leadership knew nothing about the alleged operation.

Sources said Government was still "not very happy with the ANC's position".

The ANC faces a constituency problem on the issue and is reluctant to condemn the arms smuggling in too strong terms for fear of alienating its militant structures in Natal.

For Government negotiators, the issue has turned up the pressure on the ANC to exert greater control over MK, while on the other hand it has strengthened the hand of the conservative forces in the Gov-

ernment who oppose concessions being made to the ANC.

Today's talks are expected to focus on a wide range of constitutional options for the transition, including extending the lifespan of a government of national unity to five years.

The Government's team was led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, with Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Defence Minister Gene Louw.

The ANC's team was led by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Star 11/2/93

Rightwingers are stockpiling stolen SADF arsenal — ANC

THE African National Congress plans to raise with the government evidence it claims to have that rightwing mercenaries with an alarming assortment of South African Defence Force weapons are plotting to destabilise the country.

The Weekly Mail is in possession of photographs of some of the weaponry allegedly stolen from SADF bases which is allegedly being stockpiled by the mercenary group.

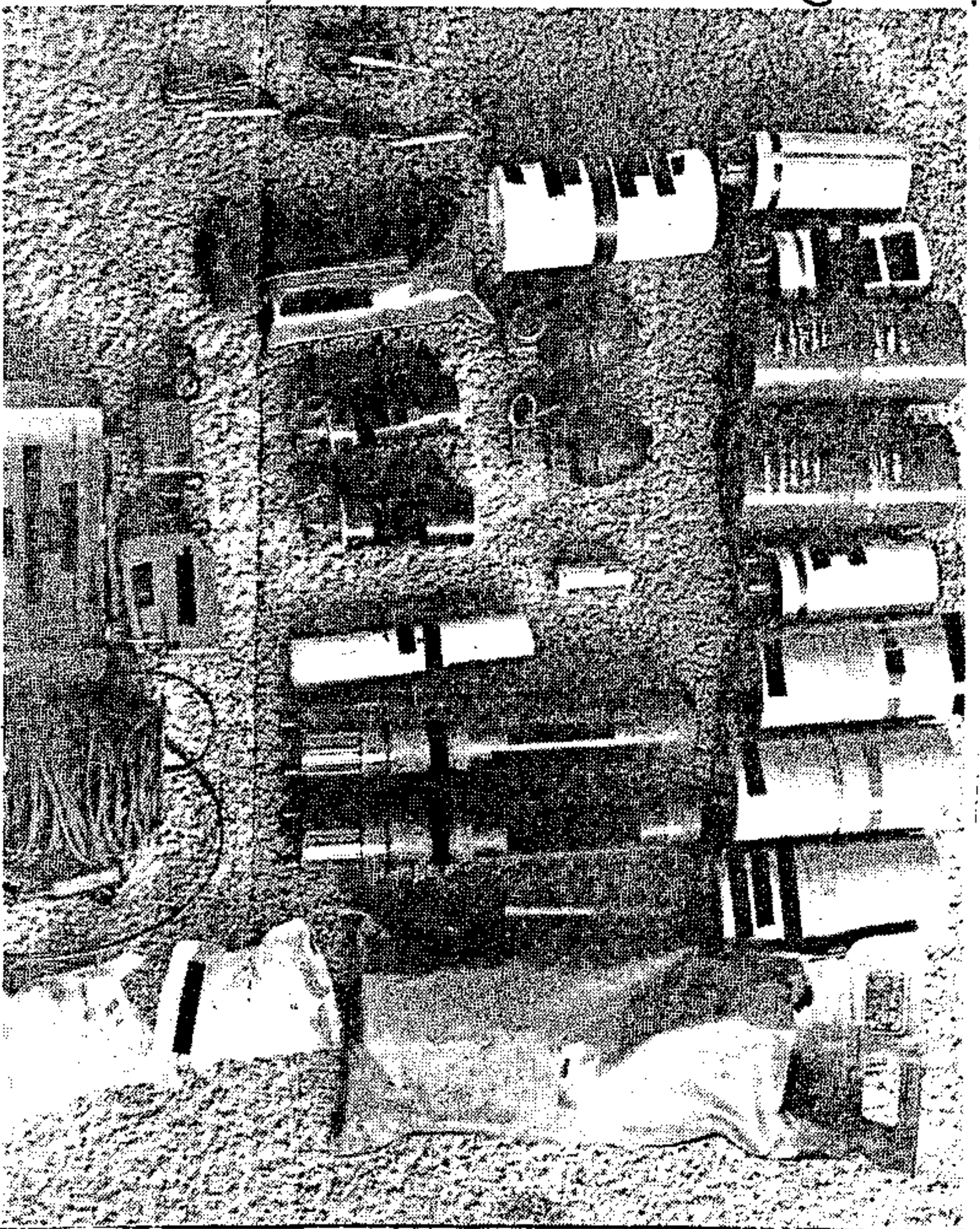
The weapons cache, seen by a *Weekly Mail* reporter in Natal, includes plastic explosives, hand grenades, detonators, ammunition, an anti-personnel limpet mine and teargas canisters. *W.M. Mail* 12/2-18/2/93.

An ANC official, who asked not to be named, said yesterday: "The highly sophisticated cell comprises rightwingers and, possibly, seasoned mercenaries from outside the country.

"It is based in Natal and uses a highly sophisticated communications network.

"We believe they are plotting to attack ANC offices and activists."

There is speculation that the rightwing militants may be the "South African Repub-



Some of the weaponry allegedly stolen from SADF bases for the assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe in October last year, as well as the slaying of six people at the Chris Hani squatter camp in Daveyton on Sunday.

In the wake of the recent confiscation of two arms caches, one on Swaziland's Golela

border early this week and the other in Kwa-Mashu yesterday, the ANC plans to use the evidence as proof that the government lacks control over its own security forces.

It is likely to argue that, in the light of plots to destabilise the country and thwart democracy, multiparty control of the security forces is an urgent priority.

Another arms cache found

THREE PEOPLE, ONE OF THEM AN alleged member of the African National Congress, were arrested after an arms cache was found in Kwamashu, near Durban, yesterday.

This brings to 11 the number of people arrested in connection with illegal possession of weapons during the past 10 days.

Eight people were arrested following the seizure of illegal weapons at the Golela border post, near Swaziland, on February 1.

Sowetan 12/2/93
FRAGILE TALKS I latest discovery *(S44)*

may put negotiations under a strain:

The ANC has admitted five of the suspects are its members.

The arms, which included rocket launchers, were apparently destined for strife-torn Natal.

Yesterday's discovery came as the Government and the ANC were locked in intense discussions on constitutional negotiations.



The Kwamashu find was the third in 10 days and could place further strain on the fragile negotiations process.

The ANC has denied that the organisation's leadership had instructed the men to smuggle weapons into Natal or that Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders knew of the cache.

The Government immediately called

for urgent talks with the ANC, and after hours of negotiations, the ANC said it would investigate police allegations of MK involvement in arms smuggling.

Fuel was added to the fire when ANC Natal regional leader Mr Harry Gwala said arms were being smuggled into the province to be used in self-defence by ANC supporters.

Yesterday Law and Order Minister Mr Hennus Kriel said the Government intended discussing the matter at its meeting with the IFP on February 17, 18 and 19.

Star 12/2/93

Mayekiso appears over arms

Trade unionist and civic leader Moses Mayekiso appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday charged with illegal possession of Russian-made firearms and ammunition. The president of the SA National Civic Organisation is charged together with his bodyguards, Mbulaisene Monyayi, John Phike and Wonga Mrubata. The hearing was postponed to May 17 (84A)

THE ANC FM 12/2/93.
Arms and the men

(Handwritten initials)
(84A)

The detention of four more ANC members on Monday in connection with last week's seizure of a large arms and ammunition cache at Golel on the SA-Swaziland border, is likely to ensure that the controversial issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) will dominate this week's bilateral meeting between government and the ANC.

The ANC has admitted that the three suspects detained earlier in Middelburg in connection with the arms find were members of the ANC. The three are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

On Tuesday, Inkatha attacked ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala for justifying arms smuggling by MK.

It appears the weapons were being taken to Natal. The cache included 34 grenades, 22 pistols and two rocket-grenade launchers with six missiles.

Interestingly, the PAC, too, has criticised the ANC over the weapons find — which is rich indeed, in view of the PAC's continued commitment to armed struggle.

The arms find threatened to derail what appeared to be sweet progress in talks between the ANC and government aimed at reconvening multiparty talks. However, the ANC quickly held talks with government officials on the matter and has begun an internal inquiry.

Tension between the ANC Midlands and Southern regions and the ANC leadership is being denied — though the leaders clearly will have to rein in the "Gwala-ites" if negotiations are to be kept on track.

The tone of the ANC leadership's response indicates it is surprised and concerned at the evidence that MK members are still bringing in arms. ■

IFP men held for arms smuggling

W/Mail 12/2-18/2/93
Weekly Mail Reporter

POLICE had not publicised the arrest of two Inkatha Freedom Party members suspected of arms smuggling because they were waiting for another arms consignment to cross the Swazi border, Law and Order Minister Hérnus Kriel said yesterday.

"Due to untimely publicity, it is now obvious this will not happen," Kriel said.

The African National Congress, reacting to the police disclosure of weapons smuggling into Natal by Umkhonto weSizwe, pointed out to the government yesterday that two of six suspected arms smugglers arrested at the weekend were IFP members. The six suspects, including IFP Emanguzi branch chairman Isaac Ntsele, appeared in court on Monday.

Kriel said the government viewed the Inkatha incident "in a very serious light" and would raise it at bilateral talks later this month. But he suggested that the MK and IFP cases were not comparable because MK arms smuggling contravened ANC-government agreements.

He added that no information had been received to indicate that the Inkatha arms were destined for any structure in which the IFP, as a political organisation, was involved.

Natal cadres resist 'MK disbanding'

W/Week 12/2 - 18/2/93.

844

THE government and the African National Congress are tantalisingly close to a deal on the security forces — including the dissolution of Umkhonto weSizwe — but winning support for it in Natal will be a huge headache.

In the wake of last week's arms cache find on the Swaziland border, yet another weapons stockpile was found yesterday in kwaMashu, near Durban, and three men were arrested. One of them, according to police, is a card-carrying ANC member. Most of the arrested men come from kwa-Mashu, which is known to be an MK stronghold.

There are signs of severe tension between the ANC head office and the three Natal regions. Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been unrepentant about the arms finds, arguing that "in a flood you must climb on any devil's back". Yesterday the ANC Youth League in southern Natal released a statement saying there was no question of MK being dissolved, and that arms smuggling should be seen in the context of "the onslaught (on communities) of the kwaZulu Police, Askaris (turned ANC cadres) and warlords".

Another Natal official said the disbanding of MK would be tantamount to "political suicide".

MK cadres in Natal are smuggling arms for use in the war against Inkatha. Despite directives from the ANC head office, they are reluctant to lay down their weapons.

By PHILIPPA GARSON and FAROUK CHOTHIA

for the ANC in the province.

President Nelson Mandela has acknowledged that head office guidelines are being ignored by certain MK cadres.

The Weekly Mail has been told by Natal MK sources that some of the gun-running is criminal, rather than political, and that jobless cadres back from exile are selling smuggled arms. The group of eight picked up in connection with the Swazi border arms haul, sources said, were linked to a crime syndicate operating in kwaMashu, Chester-ville and Lamontville, comprised of MK members with access to arms caches in Mozambique. One of the arrested men, Mandla Magoba, a

zonal chairman in the ANC's kwaMashu branch, is reported to have strong links with the gang. Gang members allegedly bring the weapons into the country and sell them to ANC self-defence units, or use the weapons themselves. The syndicate is also said to be involved in other illicit activities such as mandrax smuggling and armed robbery.

A Natal ANC official denied the men intended selling the smuggled arms, insisting they were loyal members of the movement. "They were acting on their interpretation of the defence of people," he said. He admitted, however, that some MK cadres did have unauthorised access to ANC arsenals in frontline states like Mozambique.

The ANC has so far denied any high-level involvement. However, two of the men arrested in connection with last week's arms smuggling operation hold key positions in the ANC's southern Natal region. Siphso Sithole is MK commissar in the region and Derek Ngobese is MK's chief of personnel. Another of the eight arrested, Siphso Magwaza, is on the local dispute resolution committee in Umlazi.

At a press conference this week, Mandela con-

fessed: "We must acknowledge that among the people caught are a number of ANC members. One of them is a highly placed official.

"One day I said to (President FW) De Klerk: 'You have no control over the security forces, the army and the police. They are killing our people. Control your men. He turned around and told me: 'That's your problem too'. I immediately withdrew my accusation."

The Weekly Mail learnt yesterday that at last week's bilateral meeting, the government and the ANC were within a hair's breadth of an agreement on multiparty control of the security forces, the control and dissolution of MK before elections, and an end to the recruitment and training of MK cadres outside the country. Reports have appeared recently that the ANC has accepted that MK and all other private armies will have to be disbanded prior to elections.

The government, for its part, is said to have accepted in principle that the security forces have to have credibility and legitimacy, particularly during the transitional process. Government sources said a deal on these lines was "very close".

But yesterday, the ANC's southern Natal Youth League issued a statement, entitled "No Question About MK's Disbandment", asking: "How can MK disband while Inkatha is silent about the trainings at Mandleni camp, Caprivi, Israel etc ..."

Local ANC members in Natal expressed dissatisfaction at a statement made by National Working Committee member Thabo Mbeki in Durban recently to the effect that MK would have to be dissolved before elections. Regional leaders have also stopped short of criticising the actions of the ANC members caught with ammunition.

Northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu said yesterday: "We haven't told them (ANC cadres) to go across the border. You don't have to tell that to people under siege. People try to lay their hands on anything they can get, even if it means going across the border to buy weapons."

Southern Natal chairman Jeff Hadebe said the ANC would not disown the arrested members, some of whom occupied key positions in the region. "The organisation has trust and confidence in them. Our view of that hasn't changed. We are

There is dissatisfaction among ANC officials that the government went public on the issue instead of dealing with the violations through the liaison committee set up in terms of the accord to deal with such issues.

The ANC is insisting that incidents such as these — and the uncovering of IFP arms caches this week — are proof of the urgent need for multiparty control of the security forces.

While the smuggling of weapons is a contravention of the DF Malan Accord between the government and ANC, one ANC source insisted the ANC had made no bones about the fact that people had the right to defend themselves against attacks from the IFP in Natal's war zones. "Some people interpret defence in different ways," he said.

There is dissatisfaction among ANC officials that the government went public on the issue instead of dealing with the violations through the liaison committee set up in terms of the accord to deal with such issues.

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There is dissatisfaction among ANC officials that the government went public on the issue instead of dealing with the violations through the liaison committee set up in terms of the accord to deal with such issues.

Deal on dissolving MK tantalisingly close — but rank and file won't buy it

Rift in ANC over arms cache fiasco

THE government and the African National Congress are tantalisingly close to a deal on the security forces — including dissolving Umkhonto weSizwe. But in the wake of the week's arms cache finds, winning support for the deal in Natal may prove a huge headache for Nelson Mandela.

There are signs of severe tension between a conciliatory ANC head office and the three militant Natal regions. Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been unrepentant about the arms finds, arguing that "in a flood you must climb on any devil's back".

Mandela has acknowledged that head office guidelines are being ignored by certain MK cadres. This week he confessed: "We must acknowledge that among the people caught are a number of ANC members."

See PAGE 2



Tell us what you think of The Weekly Mail

IT'S been nine months since *The Weekly Mail* joined up with *The Guardian Weekly*, and this week, we're asking readers: what do you think of the changed product?

Every two years, we ask readers their opinions of the paper. The results have always provided valuable feedback, with hundreds of readers respond-

How police swooped on ANC's deadly consignment

POLICE had been monitoring two arms-smuggling operations involving top ANC military figures since 1990 before pouncing and arresting 11 people in the past fortnight. *SITimes 14/2/93 (847)*

More arrests could follow in the arms-smuggling scandal that has strained negotiations between the government and the ANC. Sources close to the investigation claim there were, in fact, two related arms-smuggling operations which centred on the same distributor, who was killed in a shootout last year.

By CHARLENE SMITH and CARMEL RICKARD

The furore saw the ANC launch its own investigation. It has set back talks apparently near fruition on proposed sub-councils on law and order and defence which could see all armies and their weapons falling under joint control.

and a party of at least nine IFP members cross the Mozambique border and return with an equally lethal arms cache.

The ANC is resisting government pressure for MK to be disbanded and arms caches to be relinquished before this.

The ANC weapons seized by police at Swaziland's Golela border post were apparently being smuggled to ANC warlords in southern Natal. The areas around Amanzimtoti and Port Shepstone, in particular, have seen the worst conflict in Natal over the past year. More than 25 MK cadres have been killed in southern Natal since 1990.

Bedevilled

The government, on the other hand, has rejected an ANC demand for all armed formations, including the SADF, to submit lists of their arms and personnel for audit and joint control.

Tomorrow General Krappies Engelbrecht, head of intelligence management at police headquarters, who is overseeing the investigation, travels to Cape Town for government discussions on additional measures to curb gun-running.

The arrest of senior ANC and IFP officials this week has also bedevilled relations on the Umlazi Local Dispute Resolution Committee.

Confiscated

Mr Sipho Thomas Magwaza, ANC representative on the committee, was picked up by police last Saturday in connection with arms-smuggling from Swaziland.

While General Engelbrecht is in Cape Town, ANC officials will travel to Middelburg in the Transvaal, where three senior members allegedly involved in arms-smuggling will appear in court.

He is one of a number of suspects, among them several ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, being held after the discovery of an arms cache.

This week police confiscated an arms cache at the IFP-supporting Dube hostel in Soweto. Fifteen AK-47s, three Makarov pistols and several 9mm pistols were seized.

Then the chairman of Inkatha's Emanguzi branch in northern Natal, Mr Isaac Ntsele, was arrested after police watched him

Four suspects were arrested and more arrests were expected, police said.

News in k

'Shun Apla' call

84A

THE Organisation of African Unity should be asked not to give any assistance to The Azanian People's Liberation Army and to pressure the Pan Africanist Congress to end its policy of violence, a lawyer for the police argued on Friday. *Sowetan 15/2/93*

Lawyer Mr Francois van Zyl was addressing a sitting of the Goldstone Commission in Port Elizabeth. The commission is investigating activities by Apla, the PAC armed wing.

Appeals to pressure the PAC and Apla should also be directed to the United Nations, Van Zyl said.

Police launch probe into Sara's existence

84A

~~227~~

Sowetan 16/2/93.

Police say bodies claim credit where none is due:

A POLICE investigation to establish whether the so-called South African Republican Army in fact exists is continuing, SAP spokeswoman Captain Nina Barkhuizen said yesterday.

Barkhuizen was reacting to claims by Sara - purportedly consisting of returned exiles opposed to the African National Congress - that it had taken into custody an Azanian People's Liberation Army operative involved in attacks around the country.

Sara spokesman Mr Douglas Ndlovu reportedly said his organisation's "high command" would decide

on February 27 if the Apla operative, codenamed "Painter", should be handed over to the Government.

This was, however, subject to demands, including that the ANC should surrender all its arms caches to the Government.

Police last week cautiously noted Sara claims of being responsible for the assassination of ANC supporters, including that of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said until such time as the existence of Sara was confirmed, it had to be borne in mind that some organisations claimed responsibility for massacres for propaganda purposes.

Captain Kotze sounded a warning against propaganda ploys, citing claims by Apla that it had been responsible for incidents in which it had not been involved. - Sapa.

6 8 3 7 0 1 4

News in

84A 228

13 nabbed for arms

TWELVE men and a woman have been arrested in connection with an arms cache found in Tembisa.

Police said the cache included an AK-47 rifle, a Makarov pistol, a home-made 12-bore shotgun and numerous rounds for various fire-arms. Those arrested are being held on allegations of murder, attempted murder, unlawful possession of fire-arms and ammunition, the possession of stolen goods and dealing in dagga and theft.

16/2/93

News ii

84A 251

13 nabbed for arms

TWELVE men and a woman have been arrested in connection with an arms cache found in Tembisa.

Police said the cache included an AK-47 rifle, a Makarov pistol, a home-made 12-bore shotgun and numerous rounds for various fire-arms. Those arrested are being held on allegations of murder, attempted murder, unlawful possession of fire-arms and ammunition, the possession of stolen goods and dealing in dagga and theft.

so wefen
16/2/93

Star 16/2/93
Arms: ANC

men in court

Three ANC members held in connection with alleged arms smuggling between Swaziland and South Africa appeared briefly in the Bethal Magistrate's Court yesterday (S4A) (S4A)

The three accused include Natal Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Vusimusi Derek Ngobesi, Mandlenkosi Clifford Mokhoba and Siphso Sithole.

The case was postponed until March 1. — Sapa.

Star 16/2/93
Arms smuggling: 3 in court

Three ANC members, including the Natal Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, appeared briefly in court in Bethal yesterday in connection with alleged arms smuggling. (S) (S4A) ● Page 6

No rent, so civics leader evicted

SA NATIONAL Civics Organisation (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso has been evicted from his Plein Street, Johannesburg flat for the second time in six months for refusing to pay rent.

Mayekiso said last night the move by JH Isaacs had come "out of the blue" as he had been under the impression the company understood and accepted his stand against rent and bond payments.

Numsa said yesterday the move was an attempt by JH Isaacs to scuttle rent boycott negotiations.

It threatened to review its relationship with the group and persuade other organisations to do the same.

Mayekiso said: "I did not default on payments until the boycott call was made. While the call is still on, I cannot pay." He added that his furniture had been removed without the company giving him notice of

GRETA STEYN and LLOYD COUTTS

its intention to act.

Mayekiso was evicted in August soon after calling for a national bond boycott.

He said his lawyers then took up the matter with JHI to "explain my position in terms of the national call". Critics had accused him of continuing to pay rent while promoting a boycott.

Numsa said: "Mayekiso's refusal to pay rent is not an individual act, but is part of attempts... to highlight problems of housing and corrupt black government practises in black communities."

While Numsa called on JH Isaacs to review its "irresponsible act", Mayekiso said he did not believe the company's action would jeopardise negotiations between Sanco and financial institutions on issues affecting black housing.

B10M 17/2/93

AK-47 man keen to visit

ABU DHABI — The designer of the legendary AK-47 assault rifle which has become a symbol of liberation among SA blacks, Mikhail Kalashnikov, will visit SA if he is invited.

Kalashnikov, who is now 70, was interviewed while attending the arms fair in Abu Dhabi this week.

He was pleased, he said, to hear of the high regard for the AK-47 among South Africans. It would be "a great pleasure" to visit SA, he added. (S4A) (S4A)

"Liberation is always a positive thing." B10M

The AK-47 is possibly the world's most robust and popular rifle, operating under virtually all conditions. It has earned the respect of the SA security forces' arms experts. 17/2/93

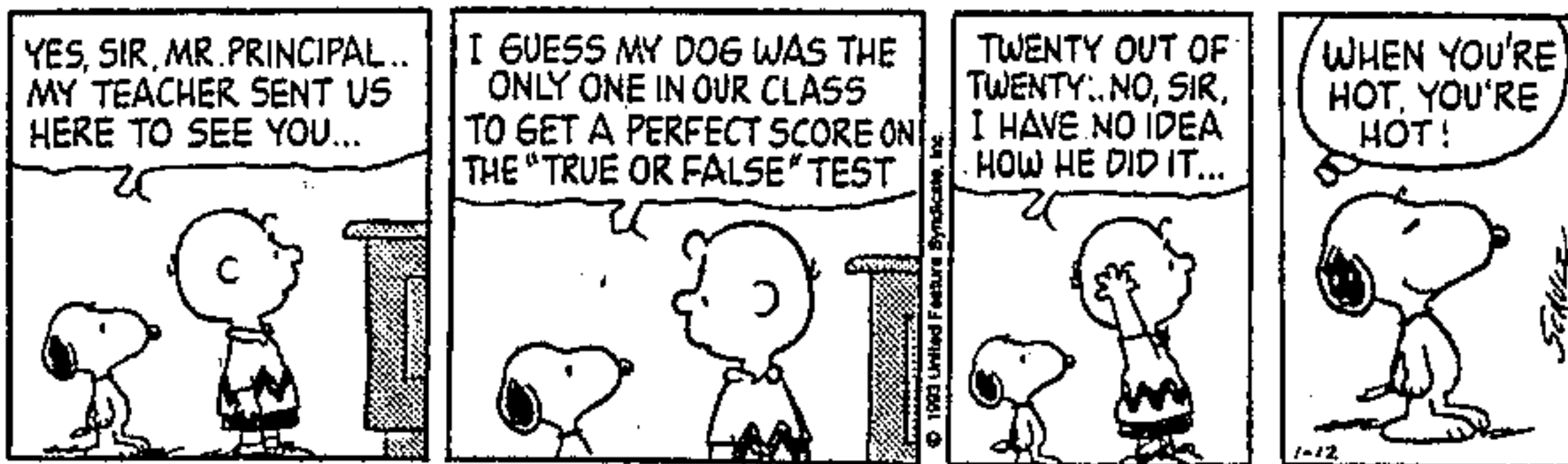
But a number of AK-47s have fallen into criminal hands and are used in attacks and robberies.

Kalashnikov said he believed all infantry arms designers "should work for peace". — Sapa.

in w h b b R C H R b h p h d v e m t h c g t n o M W

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



OF
CHAIRMAN TRENOR LTD
CHAIRMAN MOBILE INDUSTRIES LTD
Y 1993

ADPLAN INTERNATI



Cosag, Govt Star 17/2/93 seek blitz on illegal arms

CAPE TOWN A Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) delegation met Government representatives in Cape Town yesterday to talk about security and related matters, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in a statement.

The parties discussed violence as well as paramilitary structures such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Azanian People's Liberation Army, self-defence units, Wenkommandos and the Ystergarde.

"It was agreed that it was of vital and urgent importance that a solution to this problem be found as rapidly as possible," Kriel said.

The parties also expressed their deep concern about the availability of illegal firearms, arms caches, and alleged programmes of violence by certain organisations.

Kriel said the Government had expressed its grave concern about the recent seizure of a large consignment of arms from ANC and MK members, as well as arms smuggling by alleged IFP members.

A Cosag proposal for a joint Government-Cosag permanent committee on security matters was still being examined. — Sapa.

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to maintain the Constitution as it is until it is replaced by a negotiated transitional constitution, which will certainly not be based on a tricameral system. Most parties involved in the negotiation process agree with this.

Mr A RAJBANSI: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does he have any proof that most of the negotiating partners agree with this? An erstwhile Minister of Constitutional Development stated that the only place in which apartheid remains is within the confines of the tricameral Parliament. Is it not correct that the three Chambers should be converted into one Chamber to remove this apartheid?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I would really like to enter into a debate with the hon member, but this is not part of my portfolio. I am just standing in for the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development. If the hon member reads the reply I read out, I think he will be quite satisfied.

Mr M F CASSIM: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, inasmuch as I regret that the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development is not here, I nevertheless wish to state that events in Parliament have overtaken the initial provisions in the Constitution. With regard to the present circumstances, there is a compelling need for that change to be recognised in the Constitution as it stands.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the reason the hon the Minister is not here is that he is, in fact, negotiating with the hon member's new party. [Interjections.] I must apologise for his not being present here. I am not in a position to debate this issue any further as it is not part of my portfolio.

I would suggest that if hon members feel very strongly about it, they should perhaps request an interpellation with either the hon the State President or the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development so that they may debate their question with them.

Seva Samaj Temple: bomb blast (844)
*4. Mr M RAJBANSI asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police are investigating the recent bomb blast at the

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Seva Samaj Temple in Laudium; if not, why not; if so,

- (2) whether this investigation has been completed; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what type of explosive was used in the blast;

- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D12E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes. (844)

- (2) No.

The search is continuing for possible clues and the persons responsible for the explosion.

- (a) Falls away.

(b) The Forensic Division of the South African Police could not determine what type of explosives was involved, but the investigation is continuing.

- (3) No.

Mr P NAIDOO: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to inquire of him why the SA Police have not offered a reward for information that may lead to the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators of this crime.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, we normally do give rewards to people who furnish us with information and this particular request is one that could be considered. At present, however, the investigations are continuing and we sincerely hope that we will be able to make a breakthrough fairly soon.

Mr A RAJBANSI: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, in the light of the fact that he has stated that such a request could be considered, could he state that in other cases in which his Department acted immediately to offer rewards, they acted upon request?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, could I just have the latter part of the hon member's question?

Mr A RAJBANSI: Did the hon the Deputy Minister in those circumstances...

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I want to inform hon members that we are coming to the end of our allotted time. I should like to deal with the final question, Question 5. (844)

Islamic organization: report

*5. Mr M RAJBANSI asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether a report by the Office for Serious Economic Offences on an investigation into the affairs of a certain Islamic organization, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, has been handed to his Department; if so, (a) when, (b) what is the name of this organization and (c) what are the findings contained in the report;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D13E

The MINISTER OF THE BUDGET AND AUXILIARY SERVICES (for the Minister of Justice):

- (1) Yes, in terms of section 5(12) of the Investigation of Serious Economic Offences, 1991 (Act 117 of 1991), a report was submitted to me.

- (a) On 4 February 1993.

(b) and (c) The Director of the Office for Serious Economic Offences recommended that the matter be referred to the Attorney-General of Natal for his decision whether a prosecution should be instituted or not. As a matter of policy the name of the organisation is not disclosed.

- (2) A statement is not necessary.

Precedence given to interpellations on general affairs on Wednesdays pursuant to the resolution adopted by the House on Friday, 29 January 1993.

INTERPELLATIONS

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

Own Affairs:

Conditions at schools

1. Mr M RAJBANSI asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether she has addressed the conditions allegedly obtaining at schools under the control of her Department that were recently highlighted in a series of articles in an editorial of a certain newspaper, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of her reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) how and (b) when?

D11E.JNT

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the answer to (a) and (b) is as follows. The Deputy Director-General of the Department of Education and Culture responded to the issues raised in the editorial of *The Natal Mercury* of 19 January 1993 in a letter to the editor dated 20 January 1993. For the edification of the hon member for Springfield, I shall read the letter:

Your editorial comment under the caption, "HOD dust-up" of 19 January 1993 is not only unjustified but, regrettably, a sad reflection of your biased reporting. Your hitherto widely respected newspaper is, for some months now, conducting a vendetta against the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates. The relentless denigration of educators and pupils through highly sensational reporting of a few isolated cases of alleged child abuse is ample evidence of your hostile stand against this department.

Bearing in mind that this department has under its control over 500 educational institutions located Republic-wide with a pupil population of over a quarter million and approximately 12 000 educators, an apparent problem involving a tiny fraction of pupils, personnel or resources certainly does not entitle you to proclaim self-righteously that "education under this authority... is in a mess."

On the contrary, our education has since 1989 developed a fine track record of achievement, despite the ever-increasing financial cutbacks. It offers free and compulsory education to all, regardless of race, colour or sex. Its matriculation results of 94,74% are one of the best in

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Store bomb, 5 charged

THREE members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and two other men this week pleaded not guilty in the Port Elizabeth regional court to charges of contravening the Explosives Act and car theft. (S/4)

The five are charged with the January 3 bombing of an eastern Cape farm store belonging to Patensie's only white ANC member, Malcolm Hepburn. (S/3)

The five also entered not guilty pleas to alternative charges relating to the incident. The three AWB members are Barend Mostert, Petrus Lombard and Abraham Young. The other two are Andre Vorster and Frans van der Walt. — Pen

W/m and 19/2 - 25/2/93.



NEWS Prelude to multiparty planning ● No deal to

SA's security chiefs to meet Apla in Namibia

Sowetan 25/2/93
■ High-powered delegations from PAC and Government:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

A MEETING between the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) high command and South Africa's security chiefs will be held in Windhoek, Namibia, next Monday.

Apla, together with the South African Defence Force and police representatives, will be part of the high-powered delegations of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government respectively.

The one-day meeting comes before a multiparty planning conference to be held in Johannesburg next Friday.

Apla chief commander and PAC secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phama, and Apla political commissar Mr Romero Daniels, will lead their delegation from Tanzania, it was confirmed yesterday. PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander will lead the organisation's negotiating team. Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the Government delegation would be led by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel. The Government's team would comprise Kriel, Minister of Jus-

tice and of Defence Kobie Coetsee, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman, and constitutional adviser Mr SS van der Merwe. The PAC delegation will include foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim, political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke, legal affairs secretary Mr Willie Seriti and national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemasivhanani. Last night Kriel said that the talks would "concentrate on the issue of the PAC and Apla's armed struggle and terrorism".

84A 254 255 256



Apla terror attacks on talks agenda

Political Staff

STAR 257493

CAPE TOWN — Terror attacks by the PAC's armed wing, Apla, top the agenda for talks between SA Government and PAC/Apla delegations in Windhoek on Monday.

The Government is anxious to include the PAC in the multi-party talks process, which is now gaining momentum.

Much will depend on the outcome of Monday's engagement.

The talks in the Namibian capital will focus purely on the continuance of the PAC's armed struggle and what a Government statement described as Apla's terror campaign.

The Government team will be led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and will include the Deputy Ministers of Justice and of Constitutional Development, Danie Schutte and Fanus Schoeman, as well as senior officials from various Government departments.

Focus on APLA

STAR 27/2/93.

Eastern Cape attacks top Gaborone agenda

THE Pan Africanist Congress's armed struggle and the attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) on whites in the eastern Cape last year will be the main items on the agenda when the PAC and the Government meet in Gaborone, Botswana on Monday, both parties have confirmed.

The meeting, which comes after three months of "cold war" between the PAC and the Government following APLA's attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown in December, will be chaired by Botswana Foreign Affairs Minister Dr G K Chiepe.

The last high-level public meeting between Pretoria and the Africanist organisation, also held in Botswana and chaired by Chiepe, took place at the end of November.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who led the Government delegation, later told journalists the PAC undertook at that meeting to suspend its armed struggle after the decision had been ratified by its annual congress in April.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, who was part of the PAC delegation, dismissed Botha's claim as a misunderstanding of his organisation's position that the issue would be discussed at congress.

Generals

Monday's meeting differs from any others held so far between the Government and the PAC because, for the first time, it will bring the APLA leadership and South African Police and SA Defence Force generals face to face.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, who will lead the Government delegation, has made it clear that his delegation has no mandate to discuss constitutional matters. Instead, it will want to focus on the PAC's armed struggle and security matters, especially APLA.

The PAC delegation is

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Reporter

ready for the Government's arguments, and is understood to have prepared a position document which it will make available to Kriel's delegation.

PAC sources said the organisation would again say it was prepared to enter into "a mutual cessation of hostilities", and would even have its guerillas placed under joint multiparty control in the form of the transitional executive council.

However, the sources said, the PAC would not unilaterally suspend its armed struggle or even disband APLA.

Negotiations

Although PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander will lead the political arm of his organisation to the talks, the military wing will send its own delegation from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which will be led by PAC defence secretary and APLA commander Sabelo Phama.

The Government angrily suspended talks with the PAC after attacks on whites in the eastern Cape in December, demanding that the PAC leadership condemn APLA's attacks and distance itself from the guerilla army.

However, Alexander went on television and said APLA was "operationally independent from the PAC", adding that "the hullabaloo was because five whites had died" during the attacks.

The PAC is committed to returning to negotiations, and sources this week said the organisation would attend next week's multiparty negotiations planning conference at the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park even if the Government insisted it should not do so.

Here the organisation will have the support of its rival the ANC, which would like both the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation to be involved in negotiations.

An ANC source told Saturday Star yesterday that his organisation had made it clear to the Government that it wanted the PAC to attend the planning conference and the multiparty negotiations conference proper once negotiations were on track again.

terror

The matter was adjourned to March 19.

We can stop Apla - PAC

CIPRESS
28/2/93 (117) (84A)

THE PAC is ready to announce the immediate suspension of the armed struggle when it meets with senior government officials in Gaborone, Botswana, tomorrow.

This is on condition that the Pretoria delegation agrees to the PAC's proposal on the mutual cessation of hostilities.

This was announced by PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke on the eve of their departure for the Botswana capital.

Agreement on this issue would clear the way for the PAC to take part in the multiparty planning conference which takes place at

the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport on Friday.

The armed struggle and violence will top the agenda of the one-day meeting which will be chaired by Botswana Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe.

Seroke said there was a likelihood of reaching agreement with the government on crucial issues, though the composition of the Pretoria delegation did not inspire too much confidence.

"We expect serious verbal combat with the government's delegation. Their delegation is made up of well known hardliners like Kriel

(Minister of Law and Order), Coetsee (Minister of Defence and Justice), members of NIS (National Intelligence Service) and army and police generals."

Seroke maintains that once agreement is reached on the cessation of hostilities, Apla, which takes its orders from the PAC leadership, would be told to stop any military activities. "They would abide by what we tell them."

Other issues that will be discussed are preparatory talks for full-blown multiparty negotiations; foreign involvement in the negotiations and a new negotiating forum.

Apla chief to meet ministers

S/ Times 28/2/93. (847)

MINISTER of Law and Order Hernus Kriel and Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer will meet Apla chief commander Sabelo Victor Phama tomorrow.

Mr Phama, who is also PAC secretary for defence, will travel from his exile headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam with two of his aides as part of the PAC/government bilateral talks in Gaborone under the chairmanship of a Botswana government minister.

The names of Mr Phama's aides have not been disclosed.

Tomorrow's bilateral talks were initiated by the South African government, but the venue and chairman were dictated by PAC/Apla.

This is because many of PAC's Apla comrades are still persona non grata in South Africa as PAC/Apla members have refused to apply for indemnity and could, therefore, engage the government in talks only outside South Africa.

It was learnt yesterday that PAC secretary-general Bennie Alexander will not be part of PAC negotiation team.

The team will comprise secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim; secretary for legal and constitutional affairs, Willie Sereti; secretary for politi-

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

cal affairs, Jaki Seroke; secretary for publicity and information, Barney Desai; and secretary for local government and civics, Molefi Litheko, a Free State attorney based in Botshabelo.

The government called off talks with the PAC in December after Apla forces struck in King William's Town and Queenstown. Five whites were killed in the King William's Town golf party massacre. Scores were injured in the two attacks.

Mr Phama has admitted Apla forces were involved in the King William's Town massacre.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES

1993

MARCH — ~~JUNE~~ Dec.

ANC and MPLA among clients - report

Star 1/3/93

'Destitute' MI men for hire

~~MI~~

(84A)

By Jacques Pauw

The ANC — like Angola's MPLA government and Unita — has turned to former operatives of Military Intelligence's controversial Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC). The operatives have claimed that the ANC has sought to buy information, while the Angolans have been secretly recruiting mercenaries.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, former DCC handler and Special Forces officer Rich Verster said the men were considering all offers. "They are destitute, jobless and have been cast out by their Defence Force superiors. They may accept any offer in an effort to find work and get money."

Verster said the former second-in-command of the DCC, Colonel At Nel, was recently approached by ANC intelligence personnel with an offer to buy information.

The agents claimed to be acting on behalf of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma who was the organisation's former chief of intelligence.

Verster said the ANC's invitation was extended to all former Military Intelligence (MI) operatives and included an offer of payment.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday she had no knowledge of the ANC's offer, but that the organisation may have approached operatives for information to help clean up the security forces. She said the ANC would not have offered them jobs or money.

Marcus said the ANC had a policy of not paying people such as DCC operatives as it undermined the credibility of their information.

Verster and Nel were among a host of MI operatives sacked late last year by



M for miracle . . . Shyama and Jayant Ooka with daughter Mena, the rose among t

GIFT from God - parents of 4

By Michael Sparks

Jayant and Shyama Ooka faced the bitter prospect of remaining childless. Then,

chance of having a baby naturally since Jayant had a low sperm count and Shyama was facing menopause at the early age of 27.

prepared to do that was the Garden City Clinic in Johannesburg, where Shyama was rushed on February 7 to give birth by Caesarean section.

... have been secretly re-
 cruiting mercenaries.
 In an interview with The
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 fered them jobs or money.
 Marcus said the ANC had
 a policy of not paying people
 such as DCC operatives as it
 undermined the credibility
 of their information.
 Verster and Nel were
 among a host of MI opera-
 tives sacked last year by
 President de Klerk in his
 purge of the security forces.
 The sacked operatives in-
 cluded two generals as well
 as brigadiers, colonels,
 handlers and agents.
 Verster spoke yesterday
 about the extreme bitterness
 among the operatives, who
 now felt they were outcasts.
 "Each and every project we
 executed had the full know-
 ledge and approval of our su-
 periors. They knew exactly
 what we were doing."
 "Now we are treated like
 criminals and are probably
 going to face criminal char-
 ges. The men are bitter and
 their former loyalty towards
 the SADF has changed. That
 is why some are seriously
 contemplating working for
 the MPLA, Unita, companies
 and even the ANC."
 Verster said he was aware
 of a group of men who left
 for Angola on Thursday and
 another group that left on
 Friday. He said, however,
 that none of the men he re-
 presented - including most
 of the civilians fired by De
 Klerk - was on the flights.
 He said the men were of-
 fered \$5 000 (about R15 700)
 a month by the Angolans,
 which was, "under the cur-
 rent circumstances, not
 an amount to be scoffed
 at".

Destitute, former MF men for hire

From Page 1

about 14 men have al-
 ready left the country to
 join MPLA forces for an
 assault on Unita.

Former DCC opera-
 tive Leon Flores, sacked
 by the SADF after alleg-
 edly trying to arrange
 the assassination of for-
 mer police captain Dirk
 Coetzee, told The Star
 yesterday that he had re-
 cently been approached
 by MPLA recruiters to
 fight against Unita.
 He declined the offer.
 He said he had not
 been approached by the
 ANC, but would seriously
 consider an offer to work
 for the organisation.

Verster said this was
 the attitude of the people
 he represented. They in-
 cluded, besides Nel, for-
 mer members of the Spe-
 cial Forces who had
 joined the DCC as
 agents.
 He said the men had
 discussed the possibility
 of accepting offers from
 the ANC and Unita as
 they were having diffi-

culty finding new jobs.
 Verster said most of
 the men had no objection
 to working for an ANC-
 controlled defence force.

He said the ANC want-
 ed information about the
 current situation in the
 SADF and sought opera-
 tives to gather further
 intelligence.
 Verster said the inter-
 nal investigation about
 the DCC's activities had
 been completed.
 The probe followed De
 Klerk's undertaking that
 the alleged criminal ac-
 tions of DCC operatives
 could lead to prosecu-
 tion.

The Sunday Times said
 yesterday that mercen-
 aries would be registered
 as employees of major
 oil companies operating
 in Angola. According to
 the report, the recruit-
 ment was happening
 with the full compliance
 of American and French
 oil companies.
 It claimed that on
 February 24 seven mer-

cenaries left Jan Smuts
 Airport to travel to An-
 gola via Windhoek. These
 men are said to be: V
 van Reenen, Baks Buys,
 W J Bosman, G Mylle,
 J P Potgieter, Christo
 Olivier and Deon Gerber.

According to the Sun-
 day Times six members
 of 32 Battalion, led by a
 Sergeant Tshaka Ernes-
 to, were temporarily
 housed at the home of
 the Angolan ambassador
 in Botswana before leav-
 ing for Luanda.

The soon-to-be dis-
 banded 32 Battalion is
 made up of Angolan sol-
 diers who fought for Hol-
 den Roberto's FNLA in
 the independence strug-
 gle against Portugal.
 When the MPLA took
 power in 1975, these sol-
 diers fled to the south of
 Angola where they were
 absorbed into the SADF.
 When hostilities ended on
 the Namibian border in
 1989, the battalion was
 moved to Pomfired in the
 northern Cape.

To Page 3

Bungled travel plans delay Apla delegates

84A
HBS

BIDAY 2/3/93
BILLY PADDOCK

PAC bungling of travel arrangements for its military wing representatives delayed crucial talks with government yesterday.

The meeting, due to start at 10am in Gaborone, is now expected to get under way only this morning after Apla delegates stranded in Harare were forced to charter a plane to get to the talks.

The PAC's Johannesburg office booked the Apla members' plane tickets in Pretoria. But officials failed to note the stopover in Johannesburg for the trip between Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Gaborone.

When the three Apla members, led by

chief political commissar Romero Daniels, realised they would have to set foot on SA soil, they refused to go further than Harare. They feared they might be arrested at Jan Smuts as Apla and the PAC have rejected indemnity for political crimes.

When the Apla men failed to arrive, the PAC team, led by foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, asked the government team, led by Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel, to discuss constitutional issues. This was refused. A Law and Order spoke-

man said only the PAC's armed struggle and the general violence were on the agenda.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said his organisation had been keen to discuss issues other than Apla. These could have included the multiparty planning conference, a new multiparty forum and transitional arrangements.

Ebrahim gave clear indications the PAC was preparing to suspend its armed struggle and said the Gaborone talks would revolve around "a mutual cessation of hostilities, as outlined in the UN declaration".

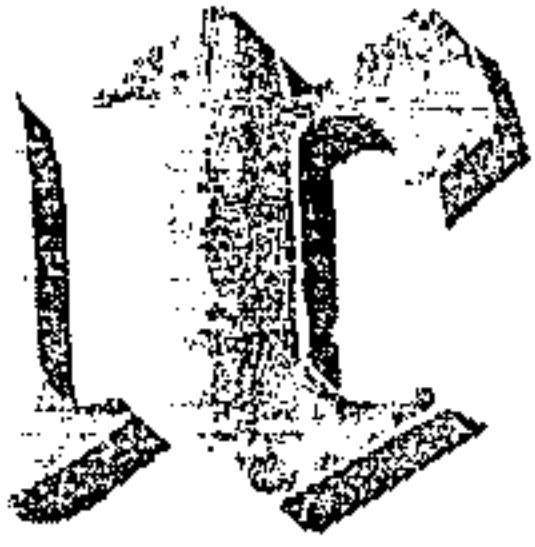
Star 2/3/93
**69 held at arms
smuggling trial**

Staff Reporter and Sapa

Police arrested 69 people outside a court where three ANC members and a fourth man appeared yesterday on charges of smuggling arms into South Africa from Swaziland. (S4A)

Police said the trial in the Bethal Magistrate's Court was disrupted when demonstrators stormed the courtroom.

The accused — Mandlenkosi Makhoba, Vusimuzi Ngobese, Sipho Sithole and a fourth man — were remanded until March 29 for the completion of investigations. (S4A)



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AUSTRIAN TRODAT printy 1619S

Star 2/3/93
Mob hacks policeman to death

DURBAN — Two KwaZulu policemen investigating a charge of murder at Clermont, near Durban, were attacked by a mob and one was hacked to death. The other was seriously wounded.

A man apprehended by the mob and accused of murder was also killed during the incident, which took place on Saturday.

Detective-Sergeant Temba Mbuthuma died when he was chased into a flat and hacked to death, and Sergeant Martin Makwaza was shot in the head.

A third policeman, Sergeant Moses Dladla, escaped. The policemen had responded to a report that a man who had attacked another person had been caught by residents. — Sapa.

Star 2/3/93
Apla's late arrival holds up meeting

By Kaizer Nyatumba
 Political Reporter

GABORONE — The PAC's meeting with the Government begins this morning after the arrival late last night of the three-man Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) delegation led by Romero Daniels.

Yesterday's planned meeting had to be postponed to today after the Government delegation, led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, refused to talk to the PAC leadership without the Apla high command being present.

The Apla delegation is made up of Daniels, Raymond Martin and Willy Williams, all of whom are commanders in the guerilla army.

Confusion over travel ar-

rangements yesterday led to the postponement of the talks.

The Apla delegation had plane tickets to fly from Harare to Johannesburg and onwards to Gaborone, but feared they would be arrested if they touched down at Jan Smuts Airport.

Kriel said the men could not be arrested as long as they remained in the airport's transit lounge.

After a frustrating day of constant consultations and informal discussions with the PAC leadership, Kriel said his delegation had decided to stay over and begin discussions at 8.30 am today.

At a press conference the PAC leader — legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti — insisted that the armed struggle was not the only item on the agenda.

PAC refuses to halt armed struggle ^(84A)

GABORONE — The political schism between government and the PAC widened last night when the PAC refused to end its armed struggle unilaterally.

At the same time, government said it would not support any move by the PAC to attend a multiparty conference once a date had been set by the multiparty planning conference this week. The PAC said while it would assess the question of attending a future multiparty forum, it would attend the planning conference regardless of government and NP feelings.

^(84A) At the end of a day of formal talks, government delegation leader Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said all parties except the PAC had laid down their weapons and agreed to a multiparty conference. "We firmly believe the PAC has an important role to play in SA's political restructuring. We have gone out of our way to bring them to the negotiation table." Kriel said the government delegation had proposed a phased approach to end the PAC's armed struggle: that Apla declare

To Page 2

PAC ^{BIDM}

3/3/93

an immediate moratorium, to be reviewed by the PAC's national congress, and that priority talks on the future of all the armed forces be held at a multiparty forum.

"The PAC/Apla delegation was not prepared to accept this," said Kriel. But he felt there was a ray of hope as the PAC had promised to submit the proposal to its national executive council.

At a later news conference, the PAC's Willie Seriti said the organisation would attend the planning conference. "The majority of the people of this country have the right to be represented at something that could lead to a constituent assembly."

PAC member Gora Ebrahim said the organisation had full control over Apla.

^(84A) "The PAC pledges to enter into a mutual cessation of hostilities. But we told the regime we have no mandate to declare a moratorium here at this meeting... We state categorically that the PAC has never said it would suspend the armed struggle and then allow its members to start killing people like other organisations."

Ebrahim said the PAC wanted an end to all violence, "including state-sponsored violence through units such as Koevoet, 31 Battalion and 32 Battalion, the Selous Scouts from the former Rhodesia and the Askaris (turned MK cadres)".

He envisaged the PAC NEC meeting before the end of March to discuss government's proposals. — Sapa.

From Page 1

What goes on WOWS PAFAC

84A
~~84A~~

Sovetan
3/3/93

By Themba Molefe

GABORONE — Talks in Gaborone, Botswana, between the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government deadlocked yesterday over the issue of suspending the PAC's

armed struggle. The PAC reiterated its stance on the continuation of the armed struggle while the Government said it would arrest any members of Apla, the PAC's military wing, on sight. Addressing separate Press conferences, the opposing delegations emphasised souring relations. The Government said it would not support the PAC's

participation in Friday's multiparty planning conference aimed at restarting full-blown constitutional negotiations. The PAC, however, said it would attend the conference in spite of the Government's decision. Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel told journalists the Government was disappointed that it did not get a commitment from the PAC to at least de-

clare a moratorium on its armed incursions or a phased suspension of hostilities. Kriel said the PAC was not prepared to stop killing what he termed innocent citizens and that the Government had "gone out of our way to get the PAC to the negotiating table". He said the PAC had rejected all their proposals, especially declaring a mora-

torium on its offensive. The PAC's Gora Ebrahim accused the Government of reneging on agreements regarding the armed struggle the two parties had reached at a meeting in Gaborone last October. This was that there should be a suspension of hostilities on both sides. This also meant the expulsion of mercenary forces such as Koevoet and Battalions 31 and 32.

Star 4/3/93
'Apla armed
struggle
will go on'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army will continue with its armed struggle until a political solution was found to the country's problems, Apla commander Romero Daniels has said.

In an interview in Gaborone, Botswana, on Tuesday — after talks between the Government and the PAC had deadlocked on the question of the armed struggle — Daniels (37) said his cadres would continue to hit "enemy targets" in South Africa until a political solution had been found.

He said it would be for the PAC leadership to determine the nature of that solution.

Daniels, who led an Apla delegation at the talks, said Apla was "a loyal army" of the PAC which would abide by any agreements reached by PAC leadership in negotiations.

Daniels, effectively number two in the Apla hierarchy, said its highest-ranking figure was PAC defence secretary and Apla commander Sabelo Phama. He dismissed statements by anonymous callers to the media claiming to be Apla cadres expressing unhappiness about the leadership's involvement in negotiations.

He said statements made to the press by a person claiming to be "Karl Zimbiri" speaking on behalf of Apla had to be dismissed.

He defended Apla's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape and said cadres in the region had evidence that senior SADF personnel were at the targeted places.

He denied Apla had training bases in Transkei, but said its cadres were "operating anywhere in Azania, including in Transkei".

Fist fights as Apla cadres sent to prison

BLOEMFONTEIN — Fighting erupted in the Bloemfontein Regional Court yesterday when police and Pan Africanist Congress members clashed minutes after two Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres were each jailed for 11 years.

The fist fights started when police tried to take John May (24) and Velile Mxhosana (20) to the cells as PAC supporters sang and chanted.

A PAC supporter lashed out with his fists at a policeman, who responded by kicking and hitting. The fighting was

run concurrently with the seven-year terms.

(84 A)
May and Mxhosana were also sentenced to four years for possession of two AK-47 rifles and a 9 mm Scorpion pistol, four years for possession of nine hand grenades and two years for pos-

stopped by defence counsel Molefi Ditheko, who ordered May and Mxhosana to leave the court.

The two Apla members, both from Mangaung, were each sentenced to seven years for attempted murder and two years for malicious damage to property, to

session of ammunition, to run concurrently with the four years for possessing weapons.

The court found they had caused an explosion at the Batho police station in Mangaung on December 14 1991. — Own Correspondent.

NEWS Fist fight in Bloemfontein court • Natal killers still at large

Fists fly as PAC pair go to jail

By Mphahlele Duma

Black cops leave courtroom as white officers exchange blows with angry supporters:

A FIST fight broke out in the Bloemfontein Regional Court yesterday when police and Pan Africanist Congress members clashed minutes after two Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres were each jailed for 11 years.

The fight started as the Pan Africanist Congress Unit ordered policemen in court to take John May (24) and Veltie Mxhosana (20) to the cells as Pan Africanist Congress supporters were singing and chanting slogans.

A PAC supporter lashed out with his fists at a member of the Riot Unit, who responded by kicking and hitting indiscriminately at some of the court spectators as Erasmus shouted: "Stop it, stop it. This can't be allowed in court."

Black members of the SAP left the courtroom as their white colleagues exchanged blows with PAC supporters. The fighting was stopped by defence counsel Mr Molefi Dihleko, who ordered May and Mxhosana to leave the court.

The two Apla members, both from Mangaung near Bloemfontein, were each sentenced to seven years imprisonment for attempted murder and two years for malicious damage to property to run concurrently with the seven-year sentence.

May and Mxhosana were also each sentenced to 11 years jail for possession of two AK-47 rifles and a 9mm Scorpion pistol, possession of hand grenades and ammunition, which will run concurrently with the four years for possessing the weapons.

844

Sowetan 5/3/93



Star 6/15/93
(84A)

APLA sits down with 'murderers'

ROMERO Daniels stands up from his chair in his colleague's hotel room and offers his hand as PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke introduces us.

The formalities having been disposed of, he sits down again. Dressed in a grey suit, he looks somewhat tired. It has been a long day for him. He has been locked in long and frustrating discussions with the Government over the PAC's armed struggle and the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and has already given a number of interviews.

It is about 10.15 pm when my chance to talk to him finally comes, and he has been subjected to a 30-minute grilling from the SABC's Leslie Mashokwe. When I ask him whether he is tired, he concedes it has been a long day, and that he is indeed exhausted. But he has a few more interviews to go.

Although he is not the highest authority in APLA, Daniels (37), as chief commissar, is one of the top leaders of the guerilla army. Not only is he a member of the APLA high command, but he also serves in the organisation's military commission, which decides on APLA's operations and gives instructions to cadres.

Daniels makes it plain there are things he will not talk about: himself — the only personal detail he will give is his age — and the three-man APLA delegation's contributions in the meeting with the Government. He reiterates the view expressed earlier by PAC delegation leader Willie Seriti that there was only one PAC delegation at the

THE Government and the Pan Africanist Congress failed to reach agreement in Botswana this week on the PAC's armed struggle. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA spoke to APLA commander and chief commissar Romero Daniels, who attended the meeting.

talks, not two — political and military.

Daniels proceeds to pronounce on APLA's relationship with the PAC leadership, on the controversial Karl Jibrili, who often calls the press to make statements on behalf of APLA, and on Congo Jibril, who claimed in December that APLA would launch indiscriminate attacks against whites. First, however, he wants to put permanently to rest the widespread belief that APLA is opposed to the PAC leadership's involvement in negotiations, and staged last year's attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown to scupper the negotiations which were going on then.

APLA leaders and cadres, he says, are fully behind the PAC leadership's involvement in negotiations, are loyal to the PAC leaders and would like to see a political solution to South Africa's problems. APLA would, therefore, abide by any agreement

the organisation might enter into.

"The whole thing is political; it is not war for the sake of war. If an agreement is reached, the armed struggle will just have to go. We are not warmongers."

On Jibril's statement that APLA would target whites indiscriminately, Daniels says the PAC and APLA are "not fighting a racial war"

Statements made by Jibrili since about June last year have to be taken with a grain of salt, according to Daniels. He says APLA leaders gave instructions to cadres that no one was to telephone the press on APLA's behalf and use the *nom de guerre* Karl Jibrili any more. Daniels also denies that APLA has, or once had, bases in Transkei, but says it is operating "everywhere in Azania, including in Transkei".

And the armed struggle is far from over, warns Daniels. APLA will continue "to hit the enemy" until an agreement is reached. APLA is a formidable force to be reckoned with, and the fact that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel led a delegation to Gaborone to discuss APLA confirmed this.

How did he feel sitting opposite Kriel, SAP chief General Johann van der Merwe and the SADF's General Jan Erasmus? He replies: "It was quite interesting to sit down with murderers and criminals, people who basically slaughtered our people. But there is a need, regardless of our different backgrounds, to sit down and talk. Whether we like it or not, in the final analysis we will have to work together."



OLD DAYS . . . MK soldiers receiving firearms training at the ANC's Mgagawa camp in Tanzania in 1991. Many MK men have returned – minus their weapons which have been stashed in the north.

MK wants Savimbi to send its cache elsewhere

By **JOHANNES NGCOBO**

HOPE springs eternal for Umkhonto we-Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

He has suggested that "anyone who comes to power" in Angola better not mess with the ANC's arms stash.

Modise said this in an interview with City Press at MK's military headquarters in Johannesburg this week.

The MK leader went further, saying that any "new ruler" must send the ANC's possessions to wherever the ANC wished them to go.

If he's referring to Unita leader Jonas

Savimbi, Modise might be deluding himself. *City Press 7/13/93*

Indeed, Modise and former MK chief Chris Hani's comments last week were an indication that the MK leadership has doubts as to whether the MPLA will be able to stave off Unita's push for power in the war-ravaged country.

(84A) Return to sender

Modise added: "If anyone who comes to power has a problem with the ANC arms, they are at liberty to dispatch them – but to a destination requested by the ANC."

He said that those who meddled with

ANC property would have to explain their actions.

Earlier this week, Hani said on Radio Transkei that the ANC's arms in Angola would have to be retrieved as they would be of use to security forces in the new SA.

Modise said MK would fetch its Angolan cache "when the time is ripe".

Before the unbanning of the liberation movements in 1990, the ANC ran training camps in Angola.

In terms of a peace agreement entered into between the ANC and the government, the ANC suspended its warfare.

Gqozo speech gets blasted

POLICE are still investigating the explosion that rocked a substation in Bisho yesterday, causing extensive damage and a blackout in the capital.

Ciskei Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Fikile Zibi said no arrests had been made and police were still investigating. *C/Press 7/13/93*

The mini-limpet mine exploded minutes before the homeland's military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo delivered a "state of the nation" speech at the Bisho Independence stadium.

Ciskei military authorities blamed the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe and the PAC's Apla. *(84A) (105)*

However, the ANC claimed Gqozo wanted to justify poor attendance at the rally, and the PAC said "the homelands will disappear all by themselves".

Star 8/21/93
Arms seized

after crash at roadblock

By Clyde Johnson (84A)
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Police arrested four men and seized a large quantity of arms and ammunition near a roadblock on the Nelspruit-Komatipoort road.

Police said a vehicle approaching a roadblock about 15 km from Nelspruit on Friday afternoon stopped, did a hasty U-turn and collided with a truck. Four men ran from the damaged car but were arrested soon after.

Members of Nelspruit's Prohibited Immigration Unit later found six bags containing 14 AK-47 rifles, 630 rounds of Tokarev and 640 rounds of Makarov ammunition, 15 AK-47 loaded magazines, a .32 pistol and a .22 pistol.

The arrested men are aged 42, 30, 23 and 22. One is being treated in Nelspruit's Rob Ferreira Hospital for injuries from the collision.

Swazi cops confirm death ⁽³¹²⁾

SWAZILAND police on Monday unofficially confirmed a *Times of Swaziland* report that a Swazi national, Sipho Sibandze, died at an African National Congress camp in Cuba while undergoing military training. *Sowetan* 10/3/93

The newspaper report quoted a Swaziland police source as saying Sibandze joined Cosatu while working as a migrant miner at a South African mine before joining the ANC. ^(84A)



Star 16/3/93

Arms cache found in Tokoza

Six AK-47 rifles, five magazines and 60 rounds of ammunition were found by East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad detectives at Madala Hostel in Tokoza at the weekend. One man was arrested. A Scorpion machine gun, a magazine and 20 rounds were found at a house in Kumalo Street and another man was arrested.

(84A)

... of the offence and identity of the offending ... their judgment until tomorrow. Judges P Bleiden and D Levy reserved

SAP's mercenary probe 'bogged down'

BIOM 16/3/93
PRETORIA - The police investigation into SA mercenaries fighting in Angola was struggling to make any progress, a government source said yesterday.

ADRIAN HADLAND

working as a mercenary was illegal, up to 100 SA citizens are reportedly involved in the Angolan war, possibly on both sides. The SAP probe showed suspects had excellent ali-

bis and cover, the source said. "These people have jobs at a security company to protect Angolan oil fields. How are we to prove they are mercenaries?"

An additional difficulty was that the alleged mercenaries were in Angola and inaccessible for questioning while those who had been injured were treated in Namibia and not SA, the source said.

Sapa-Reuter reported from Luanda yesterday the Angolan government denied rebel claims that they had captured the key garrison town of Cubal in the central highlands.

It also said key oil installations in the northern town of Soyo, retaken by government forces at the weekend, were intact.

Offshore rigs near Soyo produce 40% of Angola's 550 000 barrel a day oil output.

"Cubal remains under the control of government forces although there was some fighting nearby at the weekend," said defence ministry spokesman Brig Jose Manuel Jota.

Unita radio continued to claim Unita had on Saturday captured Cubal, the forward base of government forces pushing into the highlands.

The government newspaper Jornal de Angola said yesterday Unita had blown up a diesel tank at Texaco's Kwanda base near Soyo and had burned down its warehouses and electricity generators.

Jota reported a standstill in the military situation in the rest of Angola and refused to comment on reports the government began a weekend offensive to dislodge Unita from Caxito.

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Robbers

Star 16/3/93
Mandela's
guards held

DURBAN — Three bodyguards of ANC president Nelson Mandela were arrested at Umlazi on Friday and have been charged with possession of an AK-47 rifle and three full magazines. (84A)

Sifiso Masikane, Chris Lushaba and Mondli Zumia were granted bail of R1 500 each at a special court sitting on Sunday. — Own Correspondent.

Star 17/3/93

MK cadres entitled to pensions – Modise

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Military pensions for Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were a top priority in bilateral discussions between the ANC and Government, MK commander Joe Modise said yesterday.

The ANC was unable to alleviate the social and economic problems of returned MK cadres because of a lack of resources – and MK cadres were entitled to military pensions.

However, the Government was "dodging" the issue by pointing out that SADF officers were receiving pensions because they had contributed to a pension fund, said Modise.

"Those (in the SADF) benefited from the pension scheme and received salaries (which MK members did not receive) because of taxes, not only paid by the white man.

"The Government is shouting the loudest about democratic change – change brought about by MK fellows who have nothing."

Modise said still-exiled MK members would return to



Joe Modise . . . Government "dodging" MK issue.

camps in South Africa once a transitional executive had been installed, when armed formations would be under multiparty control.

The ANC would begin negotiations for pensions when a government of national unity had been established.

Duration of service in MK should be taken into account when pensions were determined.

After Modise's meeting earlier this year with SADF second-in-command General Pierre Steyn, follow-up meetings were held between MK, led by its chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda, and the SADF.

Star 18/3/93

Private armies, security firms to be probed

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The Goldstone Commission is to investigate the possible involvement of private security firms and private armies — including Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Boere-Republikeinse Leër — in public violence and intimidation, commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced yesterday.

Goldstone said the United Na-

tions had adopted recommendations on curbing violence in South Africa made by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in August.

The recommendations included that the commission investigate the functioning and operations of several agencies, including the SADF, SAP, MK, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the KwaZulu Police and private security firms.

Goldstone said violence could

not be curbed until all public and private armies and security companies had been probed.

A committee investigating the activities of Apla — the PAC's military wing — had completed its preliminary inquiry and the findings would be made public soon.

The commission had been given access to information regarding intelligence functions of the SADF, and the commission was investigating allega-

tions of the involvement in violence of the SAP and KwaZulu Police, Goldstone said.

He asked people with relevant information on public and private armies or security firms to furnish details to the commission. Information could be given anonymously by telephone on (012) 320-4640.

The commission would consider the submissions and decide what action was appropriate, the judge said.

Police discover 'gun factory'

BIDAM 19/3/93
DURBAN — Three men appeared briefly in the Durban Magistrate's Court yesterday afternoon after police discovered a "gun factory" at a Telkom workshop in Rossburgh earlier in the day.

Nicholaas Johannes Visser, 29, of Umbilo; Wayne Nel, 28, of Queensburgh; and Lucas Joseph Ngcobo, 60, of Umlazi were charged with possession of illegal weaponry. Visser and Nel pleaded guilty to some of the charges, while Ngcobo pleaded not guilty.

SAP spokesman Maj Hamilton Ngidi said police had raided the premises after a tip-off and seized two state-of-the-art homemade firearms and ammunition.

Police believed weapons had been manufactured there for some time, and that more would be recovered. Ngidi said: "According to our information these deadly homemade weapons were freely available

to whoever wanted them. The guns were very similar to the real thing." 84A

Police regarded the find "as a big breakthrough, if one takes into account the number of homemade weapons used in the current wave of violence and the increasing number of armed robberies".

Meanwhile, in unrest-related incidents in Natal, at least four people were injured and one shack was razed in a clash yesterday between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the Malukazi settlement, near Umlazi, Durban. Ngidi said police found cartridges from AK-47 rifles, 9mm pistols and shotguns at the scene.

On Wednesday, two people were shot dead in separate incidents south of Durban, while on Tuesday a bus was ambushed near Port Shepstone. Four people, including the driver, were injured in the hail of AK-47 fire, Ngidi said. — Sapa.

Star 19/3/93

SAP uncover 'gun factory'

(20) (84A)
The South African Police in Durban made a major breakthrough in the fight against illicit arms in violence-ravaged Natal this week and uncovered a "gun factory" operating at the Telkom workshop in Rosburgh. They seized two homemade firearms manufactured on Telkom workshop machinery, as well as ammunition.

Star 20/3/93

Kriel: PAC must say if it was responsible

(84A)

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and the National Party have demanded that the Pan Africanist Congress state whether or not it was responsible for the Walkerville terror attack.

This follows reports

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

that a member of the PAC's military wing, APLA, claimed responsibility for the atrocity.

"The PAC must now confirm or deny that this is so," Kriel said yesterday, announcing a reward of R200 000 for information leading to conviction of the killers.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said the PAC could not comment on the alleged involvement of APLA in the attack yesterday until it had received information from its structures.

"We are busy with an NEC meeting. It is difficult for us to comment because we don't know the motive for the attack ... it could just as well have been the AWB trying to discredit us."



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R200 000 bounty on AK-47 killers

LOUISE MARSLAND

A R200 000 reward has been offered for information leading to the arrest of the killers of a Wal-kerville mother and her 14-year-old son, who were shot by AK-47 gunmen in a seemingly racially motivated attack yesterday.

A second child is in a critical condition in the Johannesburg Hospital, where she underwent emergency brain surgery last night.

Claimed responsibility

The woman's husband and a third youngster — all involved in a school lift-club — are in hospital in a serious condition.

Yesterday afternoon, a man claiming to be a commander in the Azanian People's Liberation Army — the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — phoned the South African Press Association to claim responsibility for the attack.

The man — who refused to give his name — said the incident was in line with APLA's programme for this year, dubbed the "Year of the Great Storm".

Neither PAC nor APLA leaders, who are meeting this weekend in the Transkei capital Umtata to discuss commitment to the armed struggle and participation in next month's constitutional negotiations, have been available for comment on the attack. The PAC is currently engaged in negotiations with the Government and other parties.

The purported APLA commander said whites "can expect more such activities this year".

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel offered the R200 000 reward, saying the killings "are made all the more reprehensible by the fact that innocent children were involved".

Arrested

A man was arrested within hours of the attack when a police helicopter located the gunmen's car at the Orange Farm squatter camp after an intense search. An AK-47 rifle magazine was found in the car. Police sealed off the camp and conducted a thorough search — without finding any trace of the gunmen.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman said the arrested man claimed he was hijacked in his car — a green BMW 5-series — and forced to drive the gunmen from place to place, including the

We must take action, says dad

CAROLINE HURRY

MALCOLM Lamprecht, the father of Craig Lamprecht, one of the victims in yesterday's horror ambush, said he felt angry at the shootings. "I'm sick and tired of it. This kind of thing goes on every day ... and it's time we took some kind of action."

He said he was at work about 5 km away from the shooting when he noticed the SAP helicopter. "The next thing the phone rang and it was my wife to say our little boy had been shot and taken to Baragwanath Hospital. My wife is especially upset as she lost her dad fairly recently. We arranged for Craig to be transferred to Sunninghill Hospital."

A spokesman for the hospital said Craig was recovering in the intensive care unit and described his condition as "not too good."

Clare Silberbauer, who is in Johannesburg Hospital, is still in a critical condition. She was undergoing emergency surgery at the time of going to press. "The doctors are doing everything they can," a spokesman said.



VICTIM: Sean Mitchley (far left) playing with friends. He was described as a quiet, shy boy.



GRIEVING: Maude de Beer (left), mother of Sandra Mitchley, with her other daughter, Veronica Bushney. Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER.



HAPPIER TIMES: Sandra Mitchley poses with her husband, Norman, at a family gathering. Mr Mitchley was seriously injured in the shooting.

'Why should APLA want to shoot innocent people?'

RELATIVES of the Mitchleys expressed their grief and anger at a family gathering in Kensington last night.

"We feel really bitter. Why should APLA want to shoot innocent people?" asked Veronica Bushney, younger sister of Sandra Mitchley, who was killed in the attack.

"We hear about all this terrible violence in the country all the time, but it's hard to believe it can happen to your own family. My sister and I were very close. My father has taken this very hard."

According to Veronica, the family also have another son, Lee, who is in Std 9. Lee is apparently in a state of shock. His mother and brother have been killed and his father Norman is lying in hospital after being shot three times in the back.

He does not want to speak to anyone. "Sandra's husband Norman is in hospital. We went to see him. He seems calm, but I think it is because he is under a lot of sedation," said Veronica.

"Sandra was a good friend to every one. She was always laughing and joking and people loved her. Sean, her son, was a quiet little boy who was very creative with his hands. We are going to miss them terribly," she said.

Sandra Mitchley's mother, Maud de Beer, said she was very angry about the killings. "What is the point of all this aggression against innocent people? I'm very worried about my husband. He is terribly upset."

CAROLINE HURRY



Tutu abhors racist killings

CAPE TOWN — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday condemned the ambush saying that the church "regards racist murders such as these as deeply abhorrent". "I express the church's condolences to the bereaved and assure the injured of our prayers for their recovery." — Sapa.

Killers

STAR 20/3/93 (84A) where he was in a satisfactory condition.

● FROM PAGE 1.

scene of the attack.

Witnesses said the gunmen sprayed motorists with AK-47 gunfire at the intersection of the N27 and Daan Pienaar Drive, on the Old Vereeniging Road, south of Johannesburg. Despite being hit by five bullets during the attack, Norman Mitchley managed to drive about 1 km to a service station for help.

However, his heroic actions came too late to help his wife Sandra (35), who was dead when help arrived at the garage. Mrs Mitchley's son Sean Nell (14) died shortly afterwards on the forecourt of the garage. The two other children in the car — Clare Silberbauer (13) and Craig Lamprecht (16) — were schoolfriends of Shaun and members of a school lift-club. They were on their way to school when the attack occurred.

Mitchley and Clare were airlifted to the Johannesburg Hospital in a critical condition. Clare underwent emergency surgery last night. Craig was treated at Baragwanath Hospital and later transferred to Sunninghill Park Hospital,

where he was in a satisfactory condition.

Apart from the Mitchley car, at least two other motorists narrowly escaped injury when their cars were hit by the automatic gunfire.

Erica Leukemans escaped death by millimetres when she ducked down on to the passenger seat after seeing gun barrels pointing out of the BMW shortly before the shooting began.

According to the pump attendant at the service station, Solomon Letlape, Mitchley's car screeched into the garage at high speed, despite having a punctured rear wheel and all the windows except the windscreen shot out.

"We thought he had a puncture, as one wheel was flat," Letlape said. "Then he asked me if he could use the phone. I phoned the ambulance for him and then the police."

Policemen swarmed around the bullet-riddled car at the garage. Mrs Mitchley's body lay across the front passenger seat, and her son's body lay covered by a blanket next to the vehicle. His grey school pants protruded from the blanket, and his white school shirt was soaked with blood.

SADF talks strike snags

SITimes 21/3/93

THE control of the country's armed forces in the lead up to elections has become a sticking point in talks between the government and the ANC.

This week, the subcommittees on defence matters reported to "the channel" — the term given to chief negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa — that it had made no progress, despite more than two years of wrangling over the existence of private armies and the role of the SADF. (S/A)

ANC negotiators now want the issue to be publicly debated in a multi-party forum.

The ANC has already agreed to stop recruiting for MK; provide lists of its arms, inside and outside the country; disclose all its troops and open its camps for inspection.

It also concedes that the existence of private armies and the proliferation of armed formations in the

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

country is a serious problem that should be halted.

But in return for MK's disbandment and demobilisation, the ANC wants the SADF, the homeland governments and the police to be subject to the same conditions. This position was put to government negotiators in talks two weeks ago.

Last Thursday, Law and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh informed the ANC that the government could not agree to this. As the ANC had extended its conditions to include "all armed formations", all affected parties would have to be included in the talks, he said.



Big hunt for killers after

terror attacks

8/10/93 22/3/93

POLICE are working round the clock to find the killers in two terrorist attacks in which a woman and two teenagers died — at Walkerville south of Johannesburg on Friday and at Fort Beaufort in the eastern Cape on Saturday night.

In other incidents, two policemen were killed on the Witwatersrand — one in central Johannesburg — and an attempt was made to burn a young man in his car on the Alberton-Meyerton road. He escaped from the blazing vehicle and was then shot at before being rescued.

A total of R300 000 has been offered for information leading to convictions in the terror attacks — R200 000 in the Walkerville case, in which the victims were Sandra Mitchell, 35, and her son Sean Nel, 14, and R100 000 for the eastern Cape shooting, in which Port Elizabeth Technikon student Frederick Johannes Jerling, 18, was killed. There had been no arrests by late yesterday and no motives had been established.

Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was trying to establish yesterday whether Apla was responsible for the attacks. Kriel will visit the Walkerville scene today.

Spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the Minister had informed PAC leaders to find out whether its military wing was responsible for the attacks, but PAC officials had refused to speak to him.

"Because this tragedy apparently bears the hallmarks of an Apla terrorist attack, the silence from the PAC... is all the more deafening," said Kotze. Chief of the SAP internal stability divi-

8447 Business Day Reporter

sion Lt Gen Johan Swart appealed to anyone with information to contact the nearest police station, or use the toll-free Crime Stop number, 0800-11-12-13.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said at a rally yesterday he had not received word from Apla high command about whether Apla was responsible for Friday's killings.

Sapa reports that at the PAC's Sharpeville Day commemoration in the Vaal township, thousands chanted Apla slogans and called for the PAC military wing to increase its attacks.

Makwetu said the PAC would never unilaterally suspend its armed struggle, although it was ready for a mutual cessation of hostilities. If government wished to discuss Apla's activities, the PAC would sit at the table as long as the existence of all armed formations was on the agenda, he said.

Meanwhile, Clare Silberbauer, 13, an epileptic who was among the injured in the Walkerville attack, was still in a critical condition in intensive care yesterday after brain surgery. Craig Lamprecht, 16, was in a satisfactory condition in hospital. Norman Mitchell, 47, has been discharged from hospital.

Police have promised increased security for school buses south of Johannesburg.

The attack in which Jerling died was at the Yellowwood hotel 20km from Fort Beaufort on Saturday night. Witnesses said a man walked into the

To Page 2

Terror attacks

8/10/93 22/3/93

bar and opened fire on the group of people inside. Jerling was killed.

The rest of the group ran into a nearby diningroom after the lights were abruptly turned off. A second man entered the hotel from a back door and also opened fire on the fleeing people.

The attackers then ran away.

Captain Lisbe Vermeulen said the eight people who took cover had not been injured.

In the Vaal Triangle, motorist Bernard Buys, 23, escaped possible death when he wriggled out of his blazing car after being tied up by gunmen.

Police spokesman Lt Eugene Henning said Buys was driving on the old Alberton-Meyerton road on Saturday night when he was forced off the road by three men armed with AK-47s. After demanding money, they tried to tie him up with his seat belt before setting his car on fire. His assailants fled when another car appeared.

From Page 1

Buys escaped and flagged down Charles Pitout and his wife. The two men waited at the roadside while Pitout's wife drove to Meyerton to call the police. Shots were then fired at them "from an unknown direction", Henning said. Nobody was injured.

The killing of two policemen in separate incidents at the weekend brought the number of policemen killed this year to 40.

Early yesterday a gunman opened fire on two policemen on foot patrol in central Johannesburg, killing one and seriously wounding the other.

On Saturday afternoon, off-duty policeman W/O Morgan Zwane, his wife and a colleague were attacked by two armed men in the driveway of the Zwane's Voorus house. His colleague gave chase and caught the attackers. Two Makarov pistols and ammunition were confiscated. Zwane died later in hospital.

Comment Page 4



Star 22/3/93

PAC to continue armed struggle

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

UMTATA — The Pan Africanist Congress national executive council has decided not to suspend armed activities as requested by the Government, national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said yesterday.

"Our view is that as long as the regime is armed to the teeth, there is no reason for us to

place a moratorium on the armed struggle," he said after a three-day meeting in Umtata.

He said the PAC did not know whether its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for attacks on whites near Walkerville on Friday and in Fort Beaufort on Saturday.

However, it was not PAC policy to kill children.

Nemadzivhanani said the NEC would send representatives to April 1 and 2 multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, in spite of Pretoria's objections.

The Government has said only organisations that have suspended armed action should take part.

Nemadzivhanani said the PAC leadership had also decided to attend the Patriotic Front (PF)

conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, on Saturday and Sunday.

However, it had reservations about the way in which the ANC had "unilaterally organised" the summit and would express its "annoyance" in writing to the ANC.

ANC sources say more than 120 organisations have been invited to the conference, and at least 100 are expected to attend.

to grandchildren and three the grass?"

● Anger as deaths mount ● Demand for school bus security

AWB blocks ambush road

Staff Reporters

84A

Star 22/3/93

The Government last night vowed to track down the killers of four whites in two attacks at the weekend, saying the "terrorist" murders appeared to be the cowardly action of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The death toll in Friday's attack near Walkerville, outside Johannesburg, rose to three last night when Clare Silberbauer (13) died of head injuries in the Johannesburg Hospital. Sandra Mitchley (35) and her son Sean Nel (14) died at the scene when gunmen with automatic weapons fired on a vehicle carrying children to school.

And in the eastern Cape, Port Elizabeth Technical College student Johan Jerling (18) died on Saturday night when gunmen attacked a motel bar near Fort Beaufort. Police said the attack was similar to others in the area for which Apla had claimed responsibility.

This morning, about 400 angry placard-carrying members of the AWB blocked the Vereeniging-Johannesburg road south of the city — only metres away from the scene of Friday's ambush of the school lift scheme car.

Hundreds of Johannesburg-bound motorists were forced to turn back and use alternate routes to work. No traffic was allowed through.

Watched by a large contingent of police, the right-wingers lashed out at Government incompetence to halt the string of recent unprovoked killings by Apla.

The AWB's Colonel Findlay said the Government had done nothing to make arrests "or even find out what Apla or the PAC were doing within their own ranks to apprehend the killers".

Placards reading: "One settler one taxi", "One white child one squatter camp", "Gatvol, Gatvol, Gatvol", "Apla your days are numbered" and "SAP let us exterminate Apla, PAC rats" were paraded at the impromptu roadblock.

● To Page 3

Ambush road block

● From Page 1

One poster-carrying woman insisted that The Star mention that many of the AWB supporters were English-speaking.

As tensions ran high the AWB faced police from behind the roadblock. They said: "We want patrols on the Grasmere road every day".

Findlay insisted it was a peaceful demonstration to indicate deep-seated anger.

Police spokesman Colonel W J van Heerden said the roads had been regularly policed by SAP patrols which had been stepped up since Friday.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel was expected to visit the scene later today.

Last night, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig

Kotze told Sapa: "Because this tragedy apparently bears the hallmarks of an Apla terrorist attack, the silence from the PAC on whether its military wing was responsible or not for this (Saturday's) attack and the Walkerville attack is all the more deafening."

But after a day of refusals from the PAC and Apla to claim or deny responsibility, PAC information head Barney Desai said last night Apla was not responsible for the Walkerville attack. He did not comment on the Fort Beaufort attack.

He said a race war against whites was counter-productive and not PAC policy.

He conveyed his condolences to those who had died in the Walkerville attack.

22/3/93

Blocked by AWB

84A

30x8

Desai said the movement was outraged by calls to the media in which people claimed responsibility on behalf of Apla, adding that it was not PAC policy to kill children.

Earlier yesterday PAC president Clarence Makwetu said Apla had not yet informed the PAC leadership whether its members had carried out the attacks.

Police have offered a R200 000 reward for information on the Walkerville killings and a R100 000 reward for information on the Fort Beaufort attack.

Kotze said Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had consistently tried to contact PAC leaders, but they had refused to speak to him.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman said po-

lice would take steps to ensure that school buses, particularly those in the Walkerville area, received the best protection.

Commenting on the Fort Beaufort attack, police communications division head Major-General Leon Mellet said the gunmen had followed the same modus operandi as in attacks last year for which Apla had claimed responsibility.

Jerling, a first-year student on a weekend visit to his mother, was hit in the head when gunmen peppered the bar with bullets.

● In an angry response to the two attacks, the Conservative Party said yesterday there could be no proper constitutional negotiations until the armed wings of the PAC and the ANC stopped terrorising South Africa.

Massive search for Vaal Triangle killers

VANDERBIJLPARK police launched a massive ground and air search for the killers of an Iscor employee yesterday after a third AK-47 attack on whites in the Vaal Triangle in four days.

Tony Concer, 55, was shot in the chest in Donges Road, near Boipatong, by gunmen who ambushed his car early yesterday.

The driver of the car, Daan de Bruin, 52, escaped a hail of bullets and rushed Concer to hospital, but Concer was declared dead on arrival.

De Bruin and Concer were driving to work when the attack occurred less than

1km from De Bruin's home.

"There is a sharp bend in Donges Road near the squatter camp. I saw some blacks standing on the corner but I see them every day so I did not pay any attention to them.

"I slowed down and concentrated on the road and as we turned into the corner they started firing. I still didn't realise we were being shot at. Tony slumped down on the seat and I thought he had had a heart attack. I leaned as far forward as possible, put the car into a lower gear and raced

away. They continued shooting. About 700m down the road there was a police van and I reported the incident to them."

He said he realised Concer had been shot only when he got to the hospital.

"When I picked him up the seat was full of blood. His clothes were soaked in blood. Then I realised he had been shot."

Concer was married with three children. De Bruin, cut by flying glass, said his car was hit nine times. Police found 25 spent AK-47 cartridges at the scene.

A couple living nearby said they had

To Page 2

AK-47 attack

heard the shots and saw two black men carrying plastic bags running into the veld.

Police spokesman Maj Piet van Deventer said police had no evidence to connect the shooting to the PAC's armed wing Apla, which allegedly claimed responsibility for the Walkerville attack on Friday.

Apla would not confirm or deny responsibility for yesterday's attack. Spokesman Jackie Moila told Sapa from Dar es Salaam that Apla was waiting for its cadres to report. But PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said the PAC would continue its armed struggle while negotiating a political settlement.

The shooting came only hours before a visit by Law and Order Minister Henus Kriel to the scene of the Walkerville shooting, which claimed three lives.

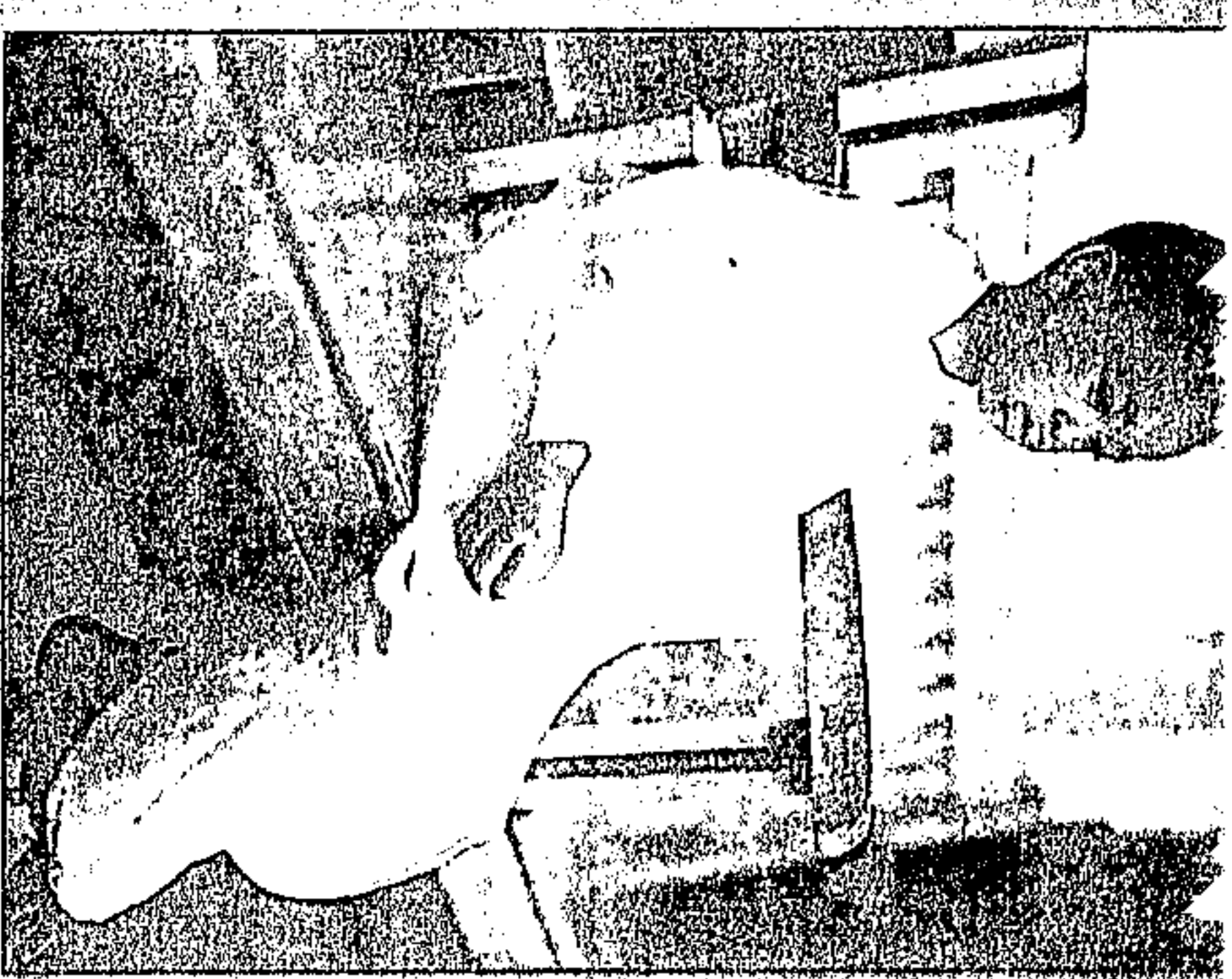
STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that police are investigating a claim by the right-wing Wit Wolwe that one of its "generals" had shot a five-year-old black girl in retaliation for the Walkerville attack.

A warning that similar attacks would take place if the killing of whites did not stop, was issued by the Wit Wolwe in a statement to Sapa yesterday.

The "general", arrested on Sunday, faces charges of attempted murder and drunken driving. He would appear in court today, East Rand police said.

Mzandile Morajane was wounded in her arm while walking with her father near Nigel on Sunday. She was shot from a moving car with a 9mm pistol. The gunman was arrested minutes later, after he almost knocked down two pedestrians.

From Page 1



Little Mzwandile John Mocalane (9) recovering from a bullet wound at Durnottar Hospital. PIC: SELLO MOITSEPE

3 shot in race attacks

Swelkn 23/3/93

844

A FIVE-YEAR-OLD BLACK BOY WAS SHOT and wounded, allegedly by a right-winger, in Blight on Sunday in apparent retaliation for the killing of whites by gunmen aimed with AK-47 rifles.

In another ambush, black men aimed with AK-47 rifles opened fire on a car in which two white men were travelling in the Vaal Triangle yesterday morning, killing the passenger, Mr Tony Conner (55), who was shot in the chest.

Conner died on the way to the Vanderbijlpark Hospital, bringing to four the number of whites ambushed in the Vaal in four days.

The driver, Mr Daniel de Ruiter (52), escaped unhurt. "Van Waver" secretary-general "Boetsch" Boetsch said the shooting of Mzwandile John Mocalane was to avenge the attack on white motorists on Friday at Kalkballe, which left three whites dead.

"Wit Wolf" Barandé's spokesman says he is a right-winged nationalist organisation from the shoot-out district of his organisation some time ago. The Ministry of Law and Order has also condemned the boy's shooting.

Morijaane, who lives on the farm Noyceville near Nigel, was shot in the right elbow. He is being treated at Durnottar Hospital. His condition was satisfactory yesterday, hospital superintendent Dr Elm Schmitz said.

Speaking from the hospital bed yesterday, Mzwandile said: "Why men told me the police have taken the people who shot me." Police confirmed that charges of attempted murder and drunken driving had been laid against a man.

Bosman warned yesterday: "If there is no real action from the authorities to stop Apia more incidents similar to this (Nigel) one will take place." Meanwhile, the Cabinet is to meet in the next

By Athey Makoe
Apia has declared war on whites. We accept the declaration and will fight them . . .

few days to discuss the attacks, Law and Order Minister Mr Hermans Kriel said while visiting the scene of last Friday's shooting near Weltevreden, outside Johannesburg, yesterday.

Kriel visited the area shortly after right-wingers staged a demonstration in the area, burning away black commuters on their way to work.

The death of last Friday's attack arose to three on Sunday night when Cleve Silberbauer (17) died of head injuries in the Johannesburg Hospital. Sandra Mkhachy (35) and her son Sean Mel (14) died at the scene when gunmen sprayed a vehicle carrying children to school with automatic gunfire.

A group of AWB members staged a protest on the M27 Johannesburg-Vereeniging road by blocking traffic.

The AWB member in charge of the operation, "Clanard" Tokam "Ragae" Thompson, said the protest was to bring it to the attention of whites that the Government was doing nothing to protect them in the face of Apia attacks.

He warned: "Apia has declared war on whites. We accept the declaration and will fight them with everything at our disposal." PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander yesterday said only Apia's high command could confirm or deny the activities of its members. He was replying to questions on whether Apia was responsible for the attacks.

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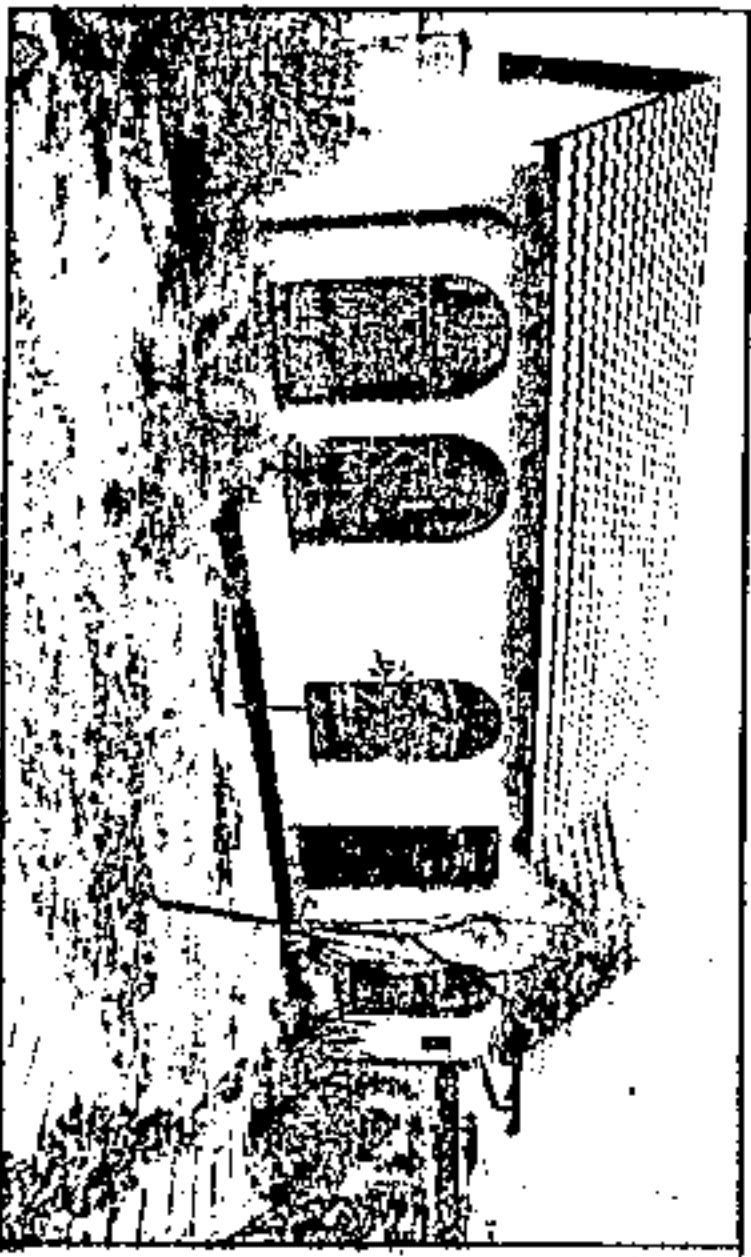
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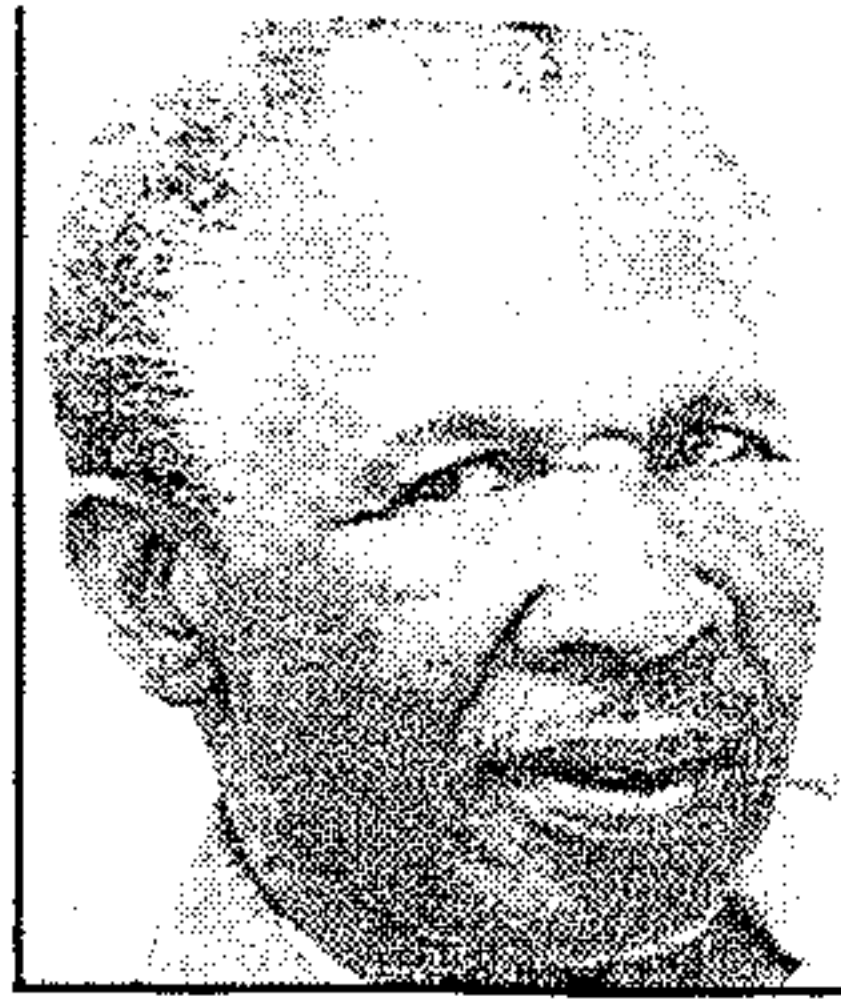
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Seroke . . . we can't say for sure it was not Apla.



Makwetu . . . PAC leaders haven't been told.



Alexander . . . only Apla high command can say.



Desai . . . Apla not responsible.

PAC's political egg-dance continues

By Mathatha Tsedu and Esther Waugh

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday continued its political egg-dance over whether its armed wing was responsible for the latest wave of attacks on white motorists near Johannesburg and the ruthless slaying of a student in an eastern Cape pub.

After a denial on Sunday by PAC information head Barney Desai that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had been responsible for Friday's attack in Eikenhof, PAC and Apla spokesmen yesterday repea-

tedly said they were still waiting for field commanders to report if they were responsible. (SUA)

According to the PAC the man who claimed responsibility on Friday for the Walkerville attack — the first of four attacks since the weekend, in which five whites have died — might have been a false caller.

PAC political secretary Jaki Seroke said the man who had telephoned Sapa apparently did not use a password which would have identified him as an Apla cadre.

Seroke said the Apla high command had stopped

claiming responsibility for attacks three weeks ago, and would only confirm in "special cases" if approached by the media. (SUA)

Field commanders had also been banned from communicating with the media about operations, he said. Asked whether this meant the call to Sapa was a hoax, Seroke said: "The decision to change tactics and policy of claiming responsibility was communicated to us by Apla high command just before our meeting with (Law and Order Minister Herman) Kriel in Botswana (three weeks ago).

"Whether these new operational rules have sufficiently filtered down to the ground forces is unclear, so we cannot say for sure that it was not an Apla operation because some of them may not know the new rules yet."

Seroka said the PAC had always refrained from claiming responsibility for attacks, but this had changed when operatives started phoning the media.

A man at Apla's high command in Dar es Salaam, who identified himself as "Bafana", yesterday said Apla

● To Page 3

Egg-dance continues

Star 23/3/93

● From Page 1

members allowed to speak to the media were out of town. (SUA)

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday only Apla's high command could confirm or deny the activities of its members. PAC president Clarence Makwetu on Sunday said Apla's high command had not yet informed the PAC leadership. (SUA)

The Law and Order Ministry and police spokesmen have implied Apla was responsible, and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said his efforts to contact the PAC had failed.

Responding to Kriel's call on Sunday for participants in the multiparty negotiations forum to consider the PAC's continued participation, senior ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said the PAC should be allowed to continue taking part.

Apla should not be allowed to become an insurmountable problem, he said.

The issue could be constructively addressed in multiparty discussions on all armed formations.

IFP man injured in handgrenade attack

Own Correspondent

84A

tween Mr Miya and Mrs Sokhela.

DURBAN — The Chairman of the IFP's Emshini section is in critical condition after a handgrenade was tossed into his shop in Estcourt yesterday.

Alfred Miya and shop assistant Zodwa Sokhela were taken to the Emhaus Hospital after the F1 anti-personnel handgrenade exploded between them as they stood behind the counter of the Zamokuhle General Dealer in the Estcourt Plaza.

STAR 24/3/93

Arrested

Estcourt detectives arrested two men in connection with the blast 30 minutes after the explosion and said they expected to make further arrests.

A witness said the explosion occurred at 10am when a group of men threw the grenade into the shop.

"The grenade landed behind the counter be-

"When it exploded it sent slivers of shrapnel in all directions. There were about six customers in the shop but the counter shielded them from the explosion and they were not injured," he said.

"Mr Miya's left leg was badly damaged and there was a trail of blood where he crawled out of the store. Mrs Sekhela had cuts all over her body."

KwaZulu deputy Minister of Works Velaphi Ndlovu said the IFP was outraged by the unprovoked attack.

He also called on Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala to "demonstrate his sincerity and commitment to his recently belated conciliatory peace overtures by publicly condemning this attack".

He said it was ironic Miya was targeted as he had played a leading role in mediating in strife-torn Wembezi.

FW to

act on

Apla

Sowetan
24/3/93.
84A

ALO

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK IS expected to make major announcements today, one of which may include tough measures against the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

This follows recent attacks on white civilians, allegedly by members of Apla.

Consensus is growing among political parties that the PAC should be excluded from negotiations unless it distances itself from the attacks.

De Klerk's office announced last night that he would address a special joint session of Parliament and a "major international Press conference" today.

Wide range of issues

The announcement is in the wake of an unannounced meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk in Cape Town on Monday. They were joined by their respective key constitutional negotiators, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer.

An ANC spokesperson said the meeting had been planned prior to the recent attacks.

De Klerk's statement, however, gave no hint of what he would announce but spokesmen said it would cover "a wide range of issues" and would be "a news maker".

Political and security sources last night said it was likely De Klerk would tackle the Apla issue as the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, had already announced that this would be discussed at today's Cabinet meeting.

Today's address will also coincide with the release of the Goldstone Commission's report on the activities of Apla.

Sowetan Correspondents

Sources believe De Klerk will announce tough measures to try to frustrate further Apla attacks, although the possibility of a ban on Apla is generally being ruled out.

Pressure has been mounting on the Government since the weekend, even from within National Party ranks, to take stronger action against Apla.

Both the Democratic Party and Conservative Party issued strong statements yesterday, saying that if Apla was found to be responsible for armed attacks, with the blessing of the PAC, the PAC should be cast out of the negotiation process.

The flurry of statements in Parliament on the attacks increased pressure on the Government to adopt a more forceful strategy.

Forestall a race war

High among the demands on the Cabinet today, and specifically on De Klerk, will be calls from his own MPs to end the moratorium on executions.

MP Mr Ray Radue, who survived an Apla attack on a club in King William's Town last year, said: "Something must be done if we want to forestall a race war, or the possibility of people taking the law into their own hands."

Radue issued a joint statement with Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker, calling on De Klerk to review the moratorium on hangings.

DP spokesman General Bob Rogers said "no decent citizen can countenance the continuation of such barbarism".

FWW to get tough with Apla

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Scathing attack on Transkei leaders expected

President de Klerk is expected today to launch a scathing attack on the Transkei government which is reported to have been implicated by the Goldstone Commission for providing support for terror attacks attributed to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla)

De Klerk is to address a joint session of Parliament and then a press conference to make a statement which Government sources say will be "very important".

It will include tough security measures against Apla and possibly some political action to deal with its political wing the Pan Africanist Congress.

According to some speculation, De Klerk may announce that the Government will refuse to continue negotiating with PAC until it denounces its position on Apla's armed struggle.

It is not clear what action, if any, De Klerk will take against Transkei although the Government has in the past not ruled out the possibility of hot pursuit raids and financial sanctions against the homeland which is dependent upon South Africa for most of its budget.

De Klerk is coming under increasing pressure from his MPs and constituency to take firm action to prevent further attacks.

FWW to get tough with Apla

From Page 1

has been mounting for stronger action against armed attackers, to bar the PAC from talks if it failed to distance itself from Apla attacks, and to bring back the death penalty.

Both the Democratic and Conservative parties issued strong statements yesterday saying that if Apla was found to be responsible for armed attacks — with the blessing of the PAC — the PAC should be cast out of negotiations.

De Klerk has also been receiving feedback that supporters are enraged.

King William's Town MP Ray Radue, who survived an Apla attack last

year, said: "This is the most fearsome I have felt the heat of the public's response to be for a long time. MPs are picking it up throughout the country. Something must be done if we want to forestall a race war, or the possibility of people taking the law into their own hands."

DP defence spokesman General Bob Rogers said "no decent citizen can countenance... such barbarism".

And CP Uitenhage MP Willem Botha warned whites in the eastern Cape would take the law into their own hands if the Government failed to take strong action.

Sapa reports from Ventersdorp that a group

of AWB members, including policemen and SADF personnel, have formed an underground unit to carry out reprisal attacks for the murder of innocent civilians.

Reacting yesterday, Eugene TerreBlanche said he and his general staff were not responsible for the formation of the "retribution unit" and would not accept responsibility for any of its actions.

A document giving details of the unit said it comprises AWB and commando members who had received specialist training in the SADF and police. All were acquainted with guerilla warfare and tracking terrorists.

Star 24/3/93

Star 24/3/93

To Page 3

Don't help Appla, urges Goldstone report

Star 25/3/93

(84A)

All nations should withhold assistance to Appla which, like the Pan Africanist Congress, propagated the armed struggle, a committee of the Goldstone Commission said in a report yesterday.

The committee, under chairman Gert Steyn, said there was a direct relationship between the Azanian People's Liberation Army and the PAC, which was responsible for ensuring that Appla was supplied with arms, equipment and money.

Appla made no secret that its policy was to kill policemen, white farmers and whites in general.

The committee also found that Appla's internal High Command for South Africa was

based in Transkei, which was being used as a springboard for attacks into South Africa.

Furthermore, the SAP had informed the committee it had received information that Appla planned further attacks.

The committee recommended that all parties engaged in the effort to reach a negotiated settlement should pressure the PAC and Appla to suspend the armed struggle and to join the search for a peaceful negotiated settlement.

The PAC controlled Appla's budget, the committee found.

The international community should also ascertain from the Tanzanian government its response to allegations that Appla members were being trained at a formal base in the country.

The committee also requested the South African Government and all political groups in South Africa to ascertain from Transkei authorities their response to allegations that Appla members were being trained there and that the territory was used as a springboard for attacks.

The SAP said Appla had about 120 members in South Africa who had undergone military training abroad. The number of recruits locally was not known.

The SAP estimated that Appla had about 2 700 members abroad, most of whom were in Tanzania. This included women, children and people working on agricultural projects.

The committee said much of the submissions were hearsay

but that it was careful to have regard only to hearsay that could be regarded as reliable.

While all interested parties were publicly invited to make submissions, only the police and the South African Defence Force had responded.

Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in a covering letter the commission hoped that the Transkei authorities, the PAC and Appla would reconsider their attitude, in which case the proceedings would reopen.

If no response was forthcoming, these parties could not be heard to complain that the provisional findings were regarded as conclusive by local and international communities.

Documents before the com-

mittee showed that Appla was responsible for the execution of the PAC's military policy as decided by the Military Commission.

It was believed that at least three members of the Military Commission were also members of the PAC's National Executive Council. They were Johnson Mlambo, Joe Mkhwanazi and Thobile Gola.

It was further alleged that PAC president Clarence Makwetu, and the first deputy president, Johnson Mlambo, served on the Appla High Command.

It was also alleged that apart from in Tanzania, Appla members received training in other African countries, eastern Europe and Asia. — Sapa.

Star 25/3/93
(84A)
'Apla should be banned'

CAPE TOWN — The Government should take full responsibility for the blood of innocent victims and policemen and for the damage to personal property emanating from the present wave of terrorism, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

"The State President's refusal to stop negotiating and take action against the PAC's Apla and the ANC's MK shows it has become a hostage to these organisations," he said in a statement.

He should at least immediately have stopped negotiating

with "terrorist organisations" and stopped negotiations altogether until a climate for negotiations had been established.

Apla and MK should have been banned and the security forces should have been ordered to continue overt and covert intelligence actions against these two organisations.

"His actions can be described as too little too late.

"Instead of taking essential preventive measures, the President has done nothing to stop terrorism." — Sapa.

Thursday, March 25 1993

Transkei govt taken to task over Apla

BIDAY 25/3/93
84A
ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The Goldstone commission has called on the Transkei government to answer allegations that it had supplied Apla guerillas with arms and allowed the organisation to operate freely within its territory.

In the report of the preliminary Goldstone investigation into the activities of Apla, committee chairman Gert Steyn said the organisation had used the Transkei for launching attacks on SA citizens.

Arms and ammunition were stored in Transkei for use by Apla units, the Transkei police knew of the existence of Apla members and the Transkei government had even supplied Apla with arms, the report contended.

Steyn called on the SA government and all political parties to press Transkei into prohibiting "the use of any part of their territory as a springboard for attacks against SA citizens".

The committee also requested the international community to withhold assistance to Apla and to put pressure on the PAC to join negotiations, reject violence and participate in the national peace accord.

It was intolerable that an organisation should "commit acts of violence and wanton killings in order to promote its own political aims," Steyn said of the PAC.

Experience had proved that acts of violence invited retaliation until a never ending cycle of violence had been established, the report said.

Tanzania's government should also be approached to answer allegations that it had allowed the training of Apla members at a formal base in that country.

The findings of the investigation, which took place in Pretoria and Port Elizabeth earlier this year, were only provisional as the PAC, Apla and Transkeian representatives had refused to participate.

The commission expressed the hope that these groups would reconsider their attitude.

"If no response is forthcoming, however, those parties cannot be heard to complain if these provisional findings are regarded as conclusive by the local and international communities."

According to SAP evidence, Apla had about 120 members who had undergone training abroad with 2 700 members still residing outside SA.

The SAP, which said 16 people had so far been killed in Apla attacks, had informed the committee that it expected further attacks on the SAP, the SADF and white civilians in general.

Report is ¹⁰⁰² one-sided ^{guf} — Holomisa

THE Transkei has rejected preliminary findings of the Goldstone commission into activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and denied its territory had been used as an Apla springboard. ^{B/DAY}

Military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa denied the finding that Apla members were receiving training in the Transkei. He said the report, in which only the SADF and SA Police accepted invitations to make submissions, was a "one-sided story". ²⁵¹³¹⁹³

Asked about the commission's finding that Apla's internal command was based in Transkei, he said the PAC and other liberation organisations were free to go where they wanted.

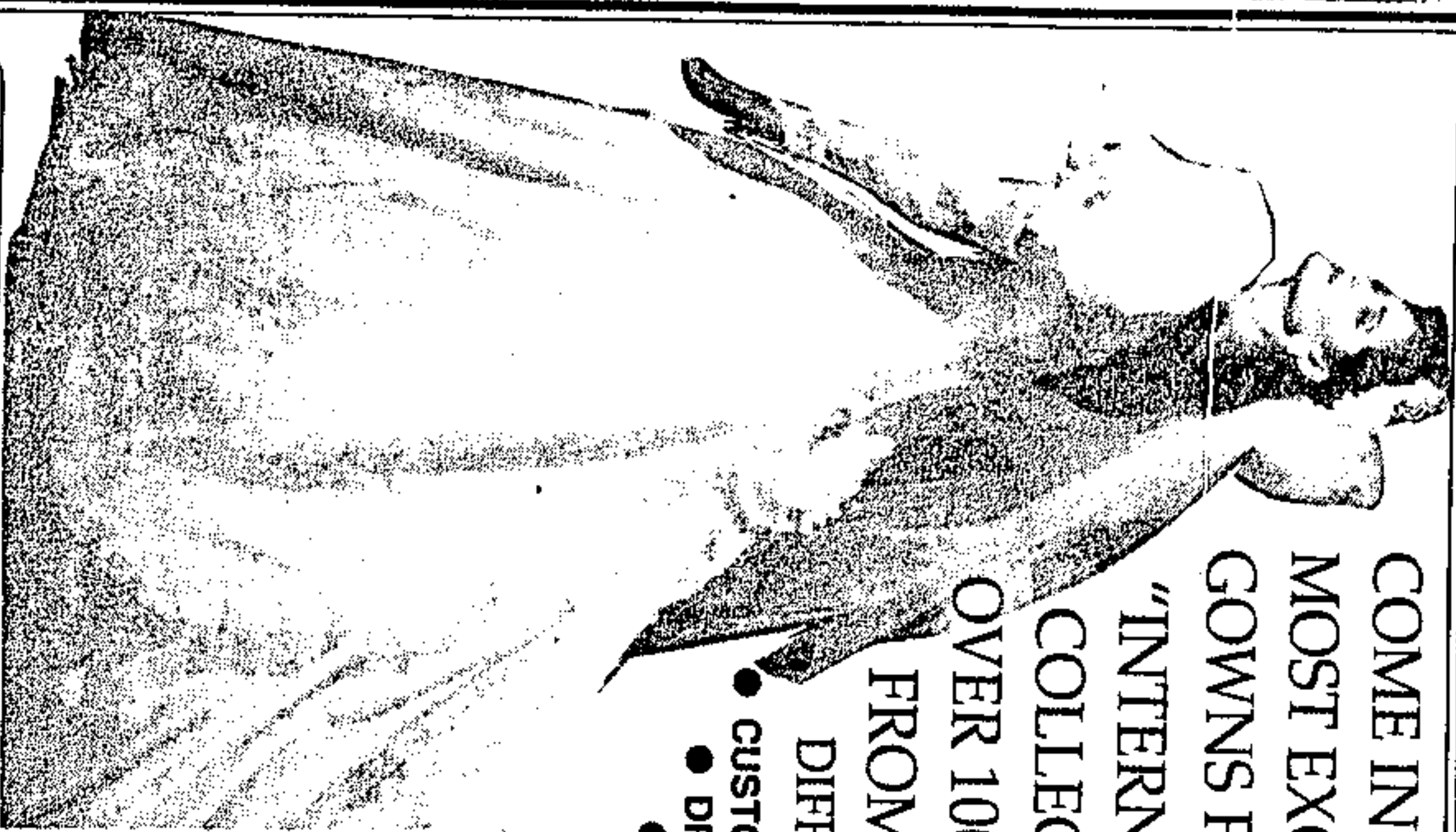
KATHRYN STRACHAN reports Holomisa warned that if SA was to raid Transkei in search of Apla bases it should evacuate all whites because he did not have the manpower to protect them from racial retaliation which would inevitably follow.

If SA acted against his country, it would put an end to multiparty talks because "the ANC will never be allowed to negotiate with the Boers while they are at war with us".

Holomisa said his government would not participate in the inquiry because SA had refused his request for a judge to preside over Transkei's internal inquiry.

"We are still adamant there are no Apla bases in Transkei and we still uphold the non-aggression pact with SA," — Sapa.

Swoop on Apla



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18 held

Sowetan 25/3/93

EIGHTEEN MEMBERS of the Azanian People's Liberation Army were arrested this week for alleged violent attacks on whites, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

In an address to Parliament, De Klerk said the Government had decided on a major Defence Force call-up as part of a comprehensive action plan for areas affected by terror attacks.

He said violence would be at the top of the agenda when multiparty negotiations resume on April 1.

De Klerk said 18 identified Apla members had been arrested since Tuesday and were being held for questioning.

Parliament would be asked to consider whether the moratorium on hangings should be scrapped, he added.

The Government would urgently ask for the Transkei government's reaction to the Goldstone Commission's initial report on Apla, De Klerk said.

He said the Government broadly accepted the Commission's recommendations.

Given the serious allegations that certain official Transkeian institutions were engaged in Apla activities, the commission's chairman had specifically invited the Transkei to take part in the commission's activities.

The commission's initial findings gave rise to serious concern and the Government considered these in an extremely serious light, he said. The commission had found that Apla used

the Transkei as a springboard for attacks on South Africa and that Apla's internal South African command was based in Transkei.

The commission also found that the territory was used to stockpile arms and ammunition for Apla units. The SAP was aware that Apla units were present in Transkei and being trained there, and that arms and explosives were being smuggled into South Africa for Apla's use.

"It has been decided that the Transkei government's reaction to the report will be urgently called for, as requested by the commission.

"It has to be stressed that it is no longer just the South African Government that wants the Transkei government's reaction, but the commission itself."

The Government's actions would depend on the reaction of the Transkei government.

The Transkei yesterday rejected the preliminary findings and denied its territory had been used as an Apla springboard.

Military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa also denied that Apla members were receiving training in the Transkei.

"The Transkei is not being used as an Apla springboard," Holomisa said in a telephonic interview from Umhata yesterday.

He said the Goldstone Commission report, in which only the SADF and SAP accepted invitations to make submissions, was a "one-sided story". — Sapa.

SA's nukes

President FW de Klerk has confirmed that South Africa had developed nuclear bombs.

He said the nuclear devices had been dismantled and the programme ended. ● See page 3.

See page 2.

Kriel, Kotze must resign - SACP

Star 25/3/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(841) ~~117~~ ~~345~~

The ANC and SACP have condemned the new cycle of racial killings, and the ANC has appealed to people to remain calm.

The SACP further called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

The ANC slammed the Government for its "racially biased response" to the killings, saying that it was not showing equal concern for murders in black areas.

In separate statements, the organisations yesterday called for immediate multiparty supervision and control of all armed formations.

Both black and white citizens were the victims, and such racially motivated attacks affected everyone in the country, but the Government had yet to demonstrate an equal concern for the murders in black areas.

The ANC commended Kriel for visiting Eikenhof and Walkerville, where four whites have been killed. But, the organisa-

tion said, the SAP took no action to stop "blatant acts of racist intimidation" by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging demonstrators along the Johannesburg-Vereeniging highway, where "black commuters were being harassed and threatened with violence" on Monday.

The SACP said Kriel had consistently shown his incompetence in restoring peace and security: "Both Kriel and Captain Kotze constantly succumb to the temptations of politicising, and premature finger-pointing, when even their own SAP investigating officers are more cautious about attributing premature blame."

The ANC noted that it was still uncertain whether Apla was involved in the ambushes on whites.

It was opposed to calls for the PAC to be excluded from negotiations: "Pandering to emotional calls for the PAC's exclusion is counter-productive and will only add to polarisation and lack of communication."

A negotiated settlement was the best guarantee of an end to the violence. This would involve multiparty control of all armed formations, said the ANC.

Wide-ranging responses to FW, Goldstone

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The PAC came under heavy fire yesterday — in the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings on Apla and President F W de Klerk's address to Parliament — but its leaders would not comment on the charges last night.

PAC sources said the organisation would hold a press conference today after studying the commission's report and De Klerk's speech.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa last night rejected the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings on Apla which implicated his government.

In its response to De Klerk's announcements, the ANC expressed concern over the Government's as yet undisclosed 10-point plan of action to stabilise "problem areas".

The organisation said the arrests of 18 unnamed Apla cadres raised concerns about detention without trial, and said they should be charged or released immediately.

The ANC called on the Government to give public guarantees that no coercive measures would be used to extract information. Their names should be released immediately and their families informed so that they could arrange proper defence for the Apla cadres.

It reiterated its principled opposition to the death penalty.

"President De Klerk could demonstrate his serious intent to make addressing the question of violence the major priority on the agenda by acting against those who were implicated. Despite the recent revelations (Military Intelligence chief) General Joffel van der Westhuizen and (Local Government Minister) Dr Tertius Delport remain in their posts," the ANC said.

Responding to the Goldstone Commission's report, Holomisa said: "The Transkei Government is adamant that there are no Apla bases in Transkei. Since South Africa refused the offer to send a judge to head the

(Transkei Government's proposed) Commission of Inquiry into Apla, we regard the matter as a closed affair."

Referring to 12 secret SADF files he has in his possession, Holomisa said they show that some covert activities have been executed since De Klerk came to power in 1989.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin said Parliament as it was presently constituted had no moral right to debate the death penalty and decide on it unilaterally.

"The (execution) of the death sentence in the circumstances will probably be more inflammatory than constructive," Currin said.

● 18 Apla members held ● Death penalty may be restored

Star 25/3/93

Call-up to combat terror

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Spurred by fears of a looming race war, President de Klerk yesterday took a wide range of strong measures against the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and others suspected of political violence.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament in the wake of a spate of political revenge murders of white and black children, he said that 18 Apla members had been arrested and that he had launched a major call-up of troops to stabilise hotspots.

And he is poised to reimpose the death penalty and to act against Transkei following the Goldstone Commission's findings that the Transkei government had armed Apla members who used the homeland as a springboard for "error attacks into South Africa."

**More reports -
Pages 3 and 5**

He said the SA Police would soon unveil a 10-point action plan to control the widespread violence.

The President also disclosed a political initiative which could lead to the expulsion of the Pan Africanist Congress — political head of Apla — from negotiations.

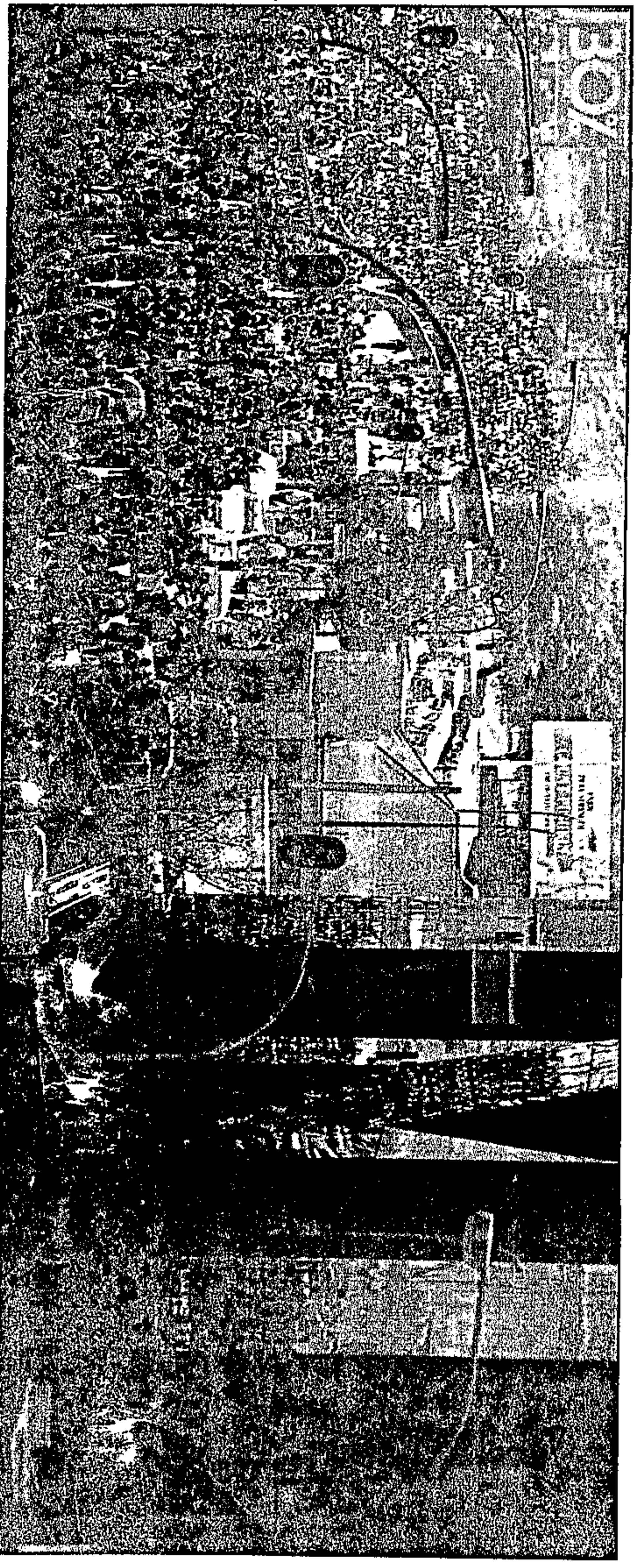
He said the Government would try to persuade other parties in the negotiation process that no party could take part in negotiations unless it signed the National Peace Accord and distanced itself from violence.

De Klerk was spurred into

(84A)

(84A)

(84A)



Unruly marchers ... close to 40 000 pupils paraded in the Johannesburg city centre yesterday in a one-day protest against exam fees. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

Pupils terrorise Jo'burg

Star 25/3/93

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

Nearly 40 000 pupils protesting against exam fees went on the rampage in Johannesburg yesterday after a march to the offices of the Department of Education and Training.

In the vicinity of Sauer Bree, President and Diagonal streets as pupils damaged cars, looted shops, stole goods from hawkers and smashed about 300 cases of cold drink (provided by a soft-drink company for the marchers' benefit).

photographer was assaulted. Police had to use teargas near the library. White motorists trapped in their cars were abused by pupils shouting "one settler one bullet" and spitting at their vehicles. The ANC condemned the actions of what it called a

“When an invitation reads, “Dress formal” I am never quite sure whether it means I must wear evening dress or whether a lounge suit is acceptable.”



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More reports — Pages 3 and 5

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He said the Government would try to persuade other parties in the negotiation process that no party could take part in negotiations unless it signed the National Peace Accord and distanced itself from violence.

De Klerk was spurred into action by the rising tide of public anger about the senseless killing of children.

Much of the anger among his own supporters has been fanned by the spate of murders of white civilians, allegedly by Apla.

But De Klerk was careful to avoid any accusation of bias. He mentioned several incidents involving both black and white victims, including the murder of six black schoolchildren in the Table Mountain area of Natal this month, the killing of two white schoolchildren and their mother at Eikenhof on March 19 and the so-called "revenge" wounding of a black child in Nigel.

He said these incidents showed the potential for polarisation between different race groups and some seemed to be the work of militant political organisations such as Apla and others.

He denied accusations that

● To Page 3 ■

Call-up to combat terror

● From Page 1

the Government was more concerned about white deaths than black deaths and said these accusations helped foster racial tensions.

His moves on curbing violence were generally backed by the Democratic Party but reservations were expressed on the reintroduction of the death penalty.

The ANC demanded that the arrested Apla members be charged or released immediately, regretted the reintroduction of the death penalty and expressed concern about the 10-point plan.

Various organisations today expressed opposition to any increase in citizen force call-ups, Michael Sparks reports.

End Conscription Campaign Johannesburg chairman Chris de Vil-

liars said he did not believe the call-up would in any way affect the levels of violence in the country and described it as pandering to De Klerk's constituency.

He added that since the military had been scaling down call-ups over the past few years, more people were likely to ignore the call-up.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation had always opposed forcing people to serve in a military capacity, protecting an undemocratic Government.

"If the attitude and credibility of the Defence Force is no different from in the past, the people in the townships are not likely to co-operate any more than before," he said.

The main measures De Klerk announced to curb

violence were:

● 18 "identified" members of Apla had been arrested and more arrests would follow.

● A comprehensive action plan to stabilise all problem areas, including a "reasonably drastic" increase in the manpower of the security forces. This would require the SADF to issue urgent call-ups.

● A motion calling for the reimposition of the death penalty would be put to Parliament as soon as possible. National Party MPs would be given a free vote on the motion — something the NP has not done for over 30 years.

● De Klerk said the PAC could not escape from its direct connection to Apla. Government would demand they focus on the ending of violence.

Help stop

Apla call ^(84A)

by judge ^{Sowetan} ^{25/3/93}

■ 'PAC in control of armed wing':

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

ALL nations should help stop the violent activities of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the Goldstone Commission said in a report released yesterday.

The commission said it had established that the PAC firmly controlled Apla's military activities in the country. It also found that three PAC officials, Mr Johnson Mlambo, Mr Joe Mkwanazi and Mr Tobile Gola, were members of the of Apla's high command.

The commission also established that all Apla's activities were controlled by its high command comprising "about 30 persons" under Mlambo, who is the commander-in-chief of the army.

A list of other Apla office bearers included Mr Sabelo Phama (commander and secretary of defence); Mr Barney Norman Hlatswayo Mzolo (chief of staff); "Skhulu" (director of operations); "Myombo"; Mr Mbulelo Raymond Fihla (military intelligence) and Mr Keith Nkomo (communications and signals).

FM 26/3/93

TERRORISM

Supping with the Devil

Some crimes are so awful that condemnation of them cannot be qualified in any way by a civilised society. We have had a few such crimes recently: the gunning down of children on their way to school in Natal; the ambush of a car on the Vereeniging road; the night attack on a bar in Fort Beaufort; and the shooting of a five-year-old girl at Nigel.

Children died in two of the shootings. To all the families whose lives have been ruined, the expressions of outrage from politicians must sound hollow and futile. But such expressions are important; they reveal to us where our leaders stand. And all too often these leaders cannot resist qualifying their condemnation with a political point from their own agendas. In doing so, they unconsciously reveal the special and seductive barbarism of moral relativism.

The SA Communist Party, for instance, condemns the Vereeniging attack — but then goes on to call for the resignation of Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel and talks of government passing “a Budget giving R3,7bn of taxpayers’ money to the SADF secret special defence account. The Apla question pales in significance against this huge secret fund for De Klerk’s own private army.” The implication is clear: government is also responsible.

The Wit Wolwe rightwing group denies responsibility for the shooting of a five-year-old black girl at Nigel, apparently in revenge for the Vereeniging shooting — yet admits that one of its members “lost his self-control” and allegedly shot the girl. While the Wit Wolwe had not “issued instructions” for the Nigel shooting, the group “has full understanding for the frustrations and anger of its members.” In other words, he needn’t feel too badly about it.

On Tuesday, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander

had the cheek to make an appeal to all political leaders “to remain calm and meticulous in working to find lasting solutions to the violence in the country.” He said he was “aware of the implication” that Apla, the acknowledged armed wing of the PAC, was involved in the killings on the Reef and in the eastern Cape — but he did not confirm or deny Apla involvement. Then came the inevitable moral evasion: Alexander accused other parties and government of being implicated in the violence — as if this somehow justified the murder of children.

The effect of these cleverly qualified condemnations is to excuse barbarism and, therefore, to encourage it.

Whether or not Apla is responsible for some of the attacks, the PAC is trying to ride several horses at once. There is an instinctive sympathy with the emotional call by a Conservative Party MP for the arrest of the PAC leaders on the grounds of conniving in murder — and for the return of the death penalty.

The PAC should certainly be excluded from all negotiations, as the Democratic Party’s Bob Rogers has demanded. There is no point in dealing with patently unreasonable people. The PAC has shown itself to be devious, nasty and untrustworthy, riding on the wave of slaughter for its own political ends. Will it ever stick to any agreements?

More to the point, surely it is now time for the ANC to break off relations with the PAC, to renounce the Patriotic Front and to demand that the PAC condemn the murders which Apla may or may not have committed. If the ANC cannot find the courage to do this, it must stand accused of the same vicious blend of feebleness and cynicism which makes the PAC so repulsive to South Africans. ■

TERRORISM FM 26/3/93.

~~84A~~ 84A ~~234~~

Speaking with forked tongue

A compelling reason for the swift establishment of an interim government of national unity is that it would immediately be vested with the legitimacy needed to crack down hard on those — like Apla and its political masters in the PAC — who are at best ambivalent about the murder of civilians, including children.

Until then, the NP government and security forces to some extent labour under political restraint dictated by the need to keep the precarious negotiations process on track.

We suspect that an ANC-dominated administration, faced with the kind of grotesque killings carried out at Eikenhof on the Johannesburg-Vereeniging road last Friday, would act ruthlessly — possibly invoking emergency powers — to stamp out such actions.

It seems the attackers at Eikenhof intended shooting up a schoolbus ferrying white children, but having missed the vehicle, opened fire on parents taking their children to school by car. Sandra Mitchley (35), her son Shaun Nel (14) and a friend, Claire Silberbauer (13), died as a result of the attack. Norman Mitchley (47) and Gary Lamprechts (16) were wounded when AK47-wielding gunmen fired repeatedly on their car.

Monday saw the third gun attack on whites in the Vaal Triangle, when an Iscor employee, Tony Concer (55), was shot dead near Boipatong after his car was ambushed. Vanderbijlpark police, who launched an air and ground search in the area, said they had no evidence of Apla involvement in the attacks.

Persons claiming to be Apla members have claimed responsibility in calls to newspaper offices. Among the attacks was one at a hotel near Fort Beaufort in the eastern Cape last Saturday night, in which a student, Frederick Jerling (18) was killed.

Police spokesmen are probably correct in pointing out, in response to calls from the CP and others for the banning of Apla (as well as MK), that banning was not an option since it would only drive the organisation underground.

According to police Captain Craig Kotze, the SAP "strongly suspect" Apla is behind the latest wave of racist attacks on whites. He said the PAC was "not interested" in repeated attempts by Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel to contact the organisation following the Eikenhof and other fatal shootings, which have provoked fears of a "race war". Apparently there has already been at least one counterattack by ultra-rightwing elements in which a five-year-old black girl was shot in Nigel.

Kriel warned against rightwing over-reac-

tion to the attacks on whites and appealed for cool heads during a visit to the Eikenhof/Walkerville area on Monday. He announced measures for greater police protection and the establishment soon of a police station there.



Kriel also says the Cabinet will meet this week to discuss the PAC's "dualism" — a reference to the organisation's reiterated policy of simultaneously negotiating and fighting the "armed struggle" — and indicated that "a clear undertaking" would be required of the PAC regarding the use of force.

The SAP's Kotze said that despite the wave of killings "the broad mass of people want peace, reconciliation and reconstruction" and that society had to unite to control this violence. He was echoing a theme in State President FW de Klerk's speech at a Sandton function this week, in which he called on all South Africans to stand united in an effort to bring the violence in the country to an end.

The PAC leadership, meanwhile, persists in trying to justify what is an untenable policy, not least because (themselves victims of an identity crisis) they are trying desperately to hold together what has always been a fractious little movement. There was Benny Alexander, PAC general secretary, disingenuously insisting that "only the Apla high command" in Tanzania could say whether or not Apla was behind the terror.

After a meeting of the PAC national executive committee in Transkei at the weekend, national organiser Maxwell Nematzivhanani, said that though all forms of violence must be ended, Apla "is still engaged in a revolutionary struggle for liberation."

Reiterating the stance of PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he explained: "The PAC would not lay down its arms until a new army incorporating all private armies had been established."

Wheeled out in preference to Alexander to face the press, PAC information chief Barney Desai, wriggling uncomfortably, as well he might, said that a race war against whites was counter-productive and not PAC policy. On its behalf, he even conveyed the PAC's "condolences" to those killed in the attacks. It was unedifying to watch this man shedding such crocodile tears. He said his movement was "outraged" by calls to the media, which "anyone" could make, claiming responsibility for the attacks on behalf of Apla.

"It is not our policy to conduct a race war against whites and we don't know who these guys are," said Desai in a call to Sapa. He seemed unaware of both the PAC's dangerous slogan "one settler, one bullet" as well as of the history of PAC men opportunistically calling in to claim responsibility.

Saying the PAC has no policy to murder women and children, Desai pointed out that Apla's high command "has been taking its time commenting on these instances (of callers claiming responsibility)." The PAC, he went on, wanted a constituent assembly with voters on a common voters' roll. "We will continue to project that position and when we have a positive move to democracy in this transitional phase, we will say bury the bullet, here is the ballot."

Desai added that a number of murders had been committed on the Golden Highway, south of Johannesburg, over the past 18 months, "and nobody has featured Apla in those killings." He implied that *agents provocateur* were hoping to pin the blame on Apla at a time when the PAC is about to enter into negotiations. If that's the case, why has the PAC not condemned outright the wave of senseless murders?

Desai gave it away when he stated on television: "If there's a transitional authority in June, you'll have the end of the armed struggle from the PAC." The statement is remarkable also for implying that a formal split between Apla and the PAC could well be on the cards once an interim government is set up. ■

EDUCATION FM 26/3/93

As fast as possible

Government's refusal to increase civil servants' salaries by more than 5% is upsetting black teachers. But spending on black education has leaped and the Department of Edu-

FW threatens to take action against Transkei

CAPE TOWN — The war of words between government and the Transkei administration escalated yesterday, with government poised to take action against the homeland.

Transkei military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday President F W de Klerk had ordered the elimination of Apla members in Transkei.

In a strongly worded diplomatic note to the SA government, Holomisa rejected the finding of the Goldstone commission, which implicated the administration in Apla activities.

De Klerk yesterday reacted furiously to Holomisa's allegations, saying the Transkei leader's response was "unsatisfactory and inadequate". He said the administration's reaction included allegations that were "completely untrue".

TIM COHEN

De Klerk said "firm action" would be taken if the Transkei administration failed to take adequate steps following the commission's report.

Government was preparing a detailed answer to Holomisa's note and would release it soon after informing the Transkei administration, a spokesman said.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Holomisa's formal note rejected the findings of the Goldstone commission and issued a veiled warning against a possible raid.

He said Transkei's intelligence service was aware of an operation to murder Apla operatives, and that the mobilisation of the Citizen Force was aimed at achieving this purpose. Security forces had met yesterday and finalised "ways and means of elimi-

nating innocent people".

"The grandstanding and political posturing which accompanied the release of the so-called findings of the Goldstone commission into Apla, and the singling out and painting of Transkei as a villain is totally unacceptable to the government and people of Transkei.

"I would like to alert you (De Klerk) to the fact that our intelligence is aware of the order personally given by you to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Apla members resident in Transkei be wiped out as a matter of extreme urgency," Holomisa said.

He further warned: "You have threatened to take action against Transkei. Please ensure you have taken precautionary measures so that the consequences of your actions do not boomerang in your face."

FW harvests world praise

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk appears to have scored an important public relations victory in the US and Australia with his dramatic disclosures about SA's now-discarded nuclear weapons.

The White House, the state department and Senator John Glenn — a leader of the US Senate's nuclear watchdog group — all welcomed the announcement.

SA ambassador Harry Schwarz said yesterday reaction from the Clinton administration had been extremely positive.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said the new-found willingness to provide full information on SA's nuclear activities was "a welcome step".

However, Sapa-AFP reports from Tokyo the Japanese government said yesterday Japan was disturbed that SA had made nuclear weapons, even though they were destroyed.

● Comment: Page 8

No investment 'unless SA markets itself'

FOREIGN investors and financiers did not consider SA an obvious market and vigorous top-level contact was necessary to change, SA Foundation director-general Kurt von Schirnding warned yesterday.

Addressing the foundation's annual meeting in Johannesburg, he said hopes raised by fundamental political reform in 1990 had all too often been dashed.

Negotiations had broken down, the violence continued, the economy stagnated

and unguarded political rhetoric with predictably damaging consequences for overseas perceptions had been all too evident.

This, coupled with the major Western powers' own domestic malaises, had raised the possibility of SA being marginalised.

"It is not obvious to foreign investors and financiers why SA should be an opportunity for them," said Von Schirnding.

There was no alternative to top-level contact worldwide. — Sapa.

Milk Board's financial 'disarray'

CAPE TOWN — A parliamentary report has recorded the disarray in the Milk Board's finances caused by court judgments against its levy collection procedure which meant that the collection of R362m was invalid.

The Auditor-General, in a report on the Milk Board tabled in Parliament yesterday, said he was unable to express an opinion on the results of the Board's activities during the 1991/92 financial year because of the "uncertainties" involved.

The report notes that on June 5 last year, the Cape provincial division of the Supreme Court rejected an application by the board for payments of levies of a certain distributor. The implication of the application was that levies of R362m collected since 1987 were invalid.

The board had appealed against the outcome of the application and at the time of compiling of the report, the appeal had not been heard.

As a result of this, the amendment of the dairy scheme, the promulgation of the valid levies procedure and the procurement of bridg-

ing finance, the report did not express an opinion on the results of the board's activities.

During the 1991/92 financial year examined by the report, the board recorded a loss on exports in terms of its stabilisation fund of R46m compared with about R31m for the previous year.

In terms of judgment handed down by the Appellate Division in September 1991, certain levy notices published by the board for the purpose of imposing special and ordinary levies were declared invalid.

The board therefore credited levies amounting to R8,8m plus interest amounting to R4,3m to the accounts of the individual purchasers of milk concerned, writing off the total amount against its stabilisation fund.

Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk was not prepared to approve this action by the board, which had consequently submitted a further application, the report noted.

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Suspects 'belong to PAC, not Apla'

(SUA) WILSON ZWANE (SUA)

THE PAC yesterday denied that the 18 people arrested this week in connection with attacks allegedly carried out by Apla, were members of its armed wing.

The PAC also reiterated that it would not allow anyone, including Judge Richard Goldstone, to probe Apla activities.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu told a news conference in Johannesburg that those police had arrested were PAC, not Apla, members. Seventeen were schoolboys. He said President F W de Klerk was "playing cheap political games by arresting schoolboys".

He said emotions were running high in Ficksburg, where 14 of the schoolboys were arrested. A rally protesting against the arrests was to be held yesterday.

Sapa reports Makwetu proposed the signing of "a mutual cessation of hostilities agreement by all parties with armed formations". But the PAC could not immediately consider abandoning the armed struggle. "The PAC can only consider abandoning the bullet in overthrowing the regime when the ballot is secure," he said in reaction to De Klerk's condemnation of the armed struggle's continuation.

At the news conference, Alexander stated the findings of the Goldstone commission's report on Apla's activities, saying it was "not a credible solution" as it was based solely on input by the "regime".

He stressed, however, that his organisa-

□ To Page 2

Suspects ^{810AM} 26/3/93

tion would not allow the commission, or anyone else, to probe Apla's activities.

Makwetu said there was no way his organisation would change its attitude towards the Goldstone commission. The PAC had never recognised the commission.

The organisation was evasive on several issues, including the funding of Apla. When asked if the PAC funded its armed wing, Makwetu said Apla was capable of raising its own funds.

Makwetu also criticised De Klerk, saying his statements to Parliament on Wednesday sought to isolate the PAC and Apla.

In a report of its preliminary investigation into Apla's activities, the commission asked the international community to withhold assistance to Apla and to put pressure on the PAC to join negotiations,

(SUA) (SUA) □ From Page 1

reject violence and participate in the national peace accord. The commission also expressed hope that the PAC, Apla and the Transke government would reconsider their attitudes to it.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has repeatedly said he did not recognise the commission, which he described as a creation of the peace accord. Transkei is not a signatory to the accord.

When asked what the PAC would do should government act against Transkei in the event of the homeland's failure to respond to a Goldstone commission report suggesting links between it and Apla, Makwetu said his organisation would consider "the situation as it develops".

● See Page 5

Star 26/3/93

'FW ordered that Appla cadres be wiped out'

By Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius



Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday claimed President de Klerk has personally ordered the elimination of Appla cadres in Transkei.

He charged that the Citizen Force was being mobilised to carry out the operation as part of the Government's 10-point plan.

But De Klerk last night denied the allegation, contained in a diplomatic note from Holomisa to the SA Government.

De Klerk gave no indication of what action the Government intended taking against Transkei. He said in a statement that

the Government was still preparing its official reaction and would release it once it had been sent to him.

He warned that Transkei should not underestimate the Government's seriousness.

Inadequate

De Klerk said Holomisa's reaction was "unsatisfactory and inadequate".

Observers are now waiting to see what action, if any, De Klerk will take against Transkei.

In the diplomatic note, Holomisa again rejected the preliminary findings of the Goldstone Commission and released details of a plan to "wipe out" the Appla cadres.

A report by the Goldstone Commission, released on Wednesday by De Klerk, implicated the Transkei government in Appla activities in the homeland.

In a speech to a special session of Parliament, De Klerk demanded an explanation from Holomisa about the Goldstone Commission's finding that Transkei was being used by Appla as a springboard for attacks into South Africa.

In the note, Holomisa said: "I would like to alert you to the fact that our Intelligence is aware of the order personally given by you to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Appla members resident in Transkei be wiped out as a matter of extreme urgency. "Part of the purpose of mobi-

lising the Citizen Force is to achieve this purpose."

He added: "We are reliably informed that as from Monday March 22 1993 the security forces in East London have started spray-painting cars and changing number plates to stage the operation as part of your 10-point plan.

"Luxury buses purporting to convey tourists to and from Transkei will be used to transport the would-be murderers."

Holomisa said the security forces met in East London on Wednesday to finalise "ways and means of eliminating innocent people."

"A certain Mr van Claren, driving a GSK 354 J (VIP Jeep) which has been resprayed as well, attended the meeting and

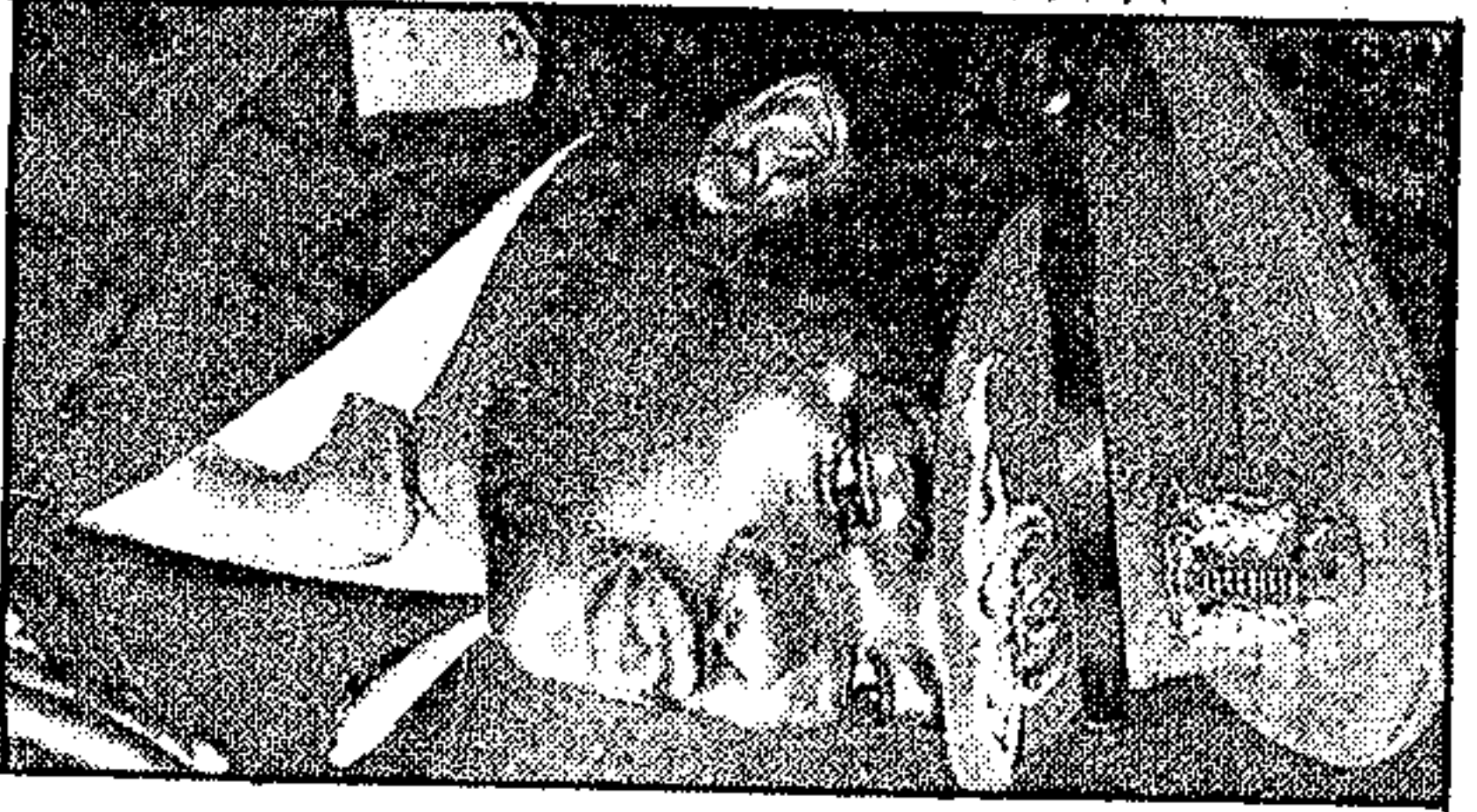
his car has already been loaded with weapons for use in the operation," he said.

Holomisa said in an interview that his government had received a tip-off indicating that a Colonel Venter was in charge of the operation.

Tricks

Since then, the operation had been monitored, he said.

In the diplomatic note, Holomisa said: "It is crystal clear that the Transkei government is well informed of the NP Government's dirty tricks campaigns and has a huge store of information (like the 12 files which, when released, would prove that the nefarious covert operations still do take place under your presidency)."



Holomisa... Transkei has a huge store of information.



Apla is 'public enemy number 1'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By **Lulama Luti**

THE Azanian Peoples Liberation Army was not engaged in a racial war but in a legitimate armed struggle for liberation, a senior member of the Pan Africanist Congress said last night.

Speaking during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show, PAC's national organiser Mr Maxwell Nenzadi-vhanani said it was not his organisation's policy to kill white women and children.

"It is unfortunate if they get caught in the crossfire. We have no policy to kill women and children. War is a crude situation and we know that in any war, women and children do die," he said.

Nenzadivhanani said the 20 people who were arrested by the police were

not confirmed members of Apla.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order Captain Craig Kotze said the Government regarded Apla as "public enemy number one".

He said it posed danger to the non-racial society currently being mooted.

Referring to Apla as war-mongers, Kotze said the organisation had the potential to start a racial war that could give rise to a spiral of violence.

"In view of Apla's previous modus operandi, we believe that the violence in this country is perpetrated by Apla," said Kotze.

Most of the callers accused the Government of applying double standards in dealing with violence.

"The primary source of violence in the country is the regime itself.

"Their hands are full of the blood of the African children."

Nenzadivhanani.

"I'm very worried if I'm going to be killed for crimes that I've not committed."

Neil, Johannesburg

"We will not allow the AWPB to

murder our citizens no matter what their colour. That goes for Apla too."

Kotze.

Hope, Berea

"The SAP are the last to condemn anyone for the violence in this country."

"The Government has been saying let bygones be bygones while our people in squatter camps continued to die."

Ricky, Actonville

"I think the SAP and the Government are hypocrites. I can't believe there's so much outcry over the death of a few whites."

John.

next Talkback topic

THE Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback on Monday will be an open line. Share your view by phoning Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

NEWS Holomisa tells of order to 'wipe out' Apla

'18 not Apla cadres'

Sowetan 26/3/93.

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ **TWENTY ARRESTED** PAC says the detained men are its members:

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said the police had arrested 20 of its members and not 18 cadres of the Azanian People's Liberation Army as announced by State President FW de Klerk.

And in another development, *Sapa* quotes Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa as saying that De Klerk personally gave an order that people identified as Apla members should be "wiped out" as a matter of urgency.

The report said Holomisa was reacting to a diplomatic note from the South African Government yesterday following the Goldstone Commission findings on Apla which point to alleged involvement of Transkei in Apla activities.

"I would like to alert you to the fact that our intelligence is aware of the order personally given by you to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Apla members resident in the Transkei be wiped out as a matter of extreme

urgency," Holomisa said in a six-page letter to De Klerk, reports *Sapa*.

Meanwhile, the PAC said the 20 members arrested were all aged between 17 and 24 years. Fourteen were schoolboys from Ficksburg.

Schoolteacher Mr Musa Msulundwana (24), of Sebokeng, is the son of PAC chief of protocol and former PAC United Nations representative Dr Count Pietersen.

One of the two members arrested in Bloemfontein was a construction worker and the other was a full-time PAC regional organiser, Mr C Mbelembele.

Two brothers who are high school pupils, Solomon and Joseph Masango, were arrested in Boipatong the same day as Azanian National Youth Unity member Buti Gilbert Ntuli.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said

it was clear that the 20 people arrested were not Apla members.

"Mr De Klerk is playing cheap political games by harassing schoolboys. We demand the immediate release of all arrested members of the PAC.

"Emotions are running high in Ficksburg in the Free State where the black community is demanding the release of the schoolboys."

In another development, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe announced an anti-violence plan costing about R10 million and involving at least 21 000 reservists.

This is part of the 10-point plan announced in Parliament by De Klerk on Wednesday.

● The PAC announced yesterday it would not attend the Patriotic Front conference at Lenasia tomorrow because it was a meeting of the ANC-Codesa allies.

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White victims, more than one target

WIM 26/3 - 1/4/93.

A power struggle among PAC leaders is a major factor in the recent upsurge of anti-white attacks.

By ENOCH MTHEMBU and EDDIE KOCH

BEHIND the recent attacks on white civilians — believed to be committed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — lies a bid by radical cadres to oust what they see as the "moderate" Pan Africanist Congress leadership. The shootings are part of a bitter struggle, supported by the Apla military leadership in exile, to stop the PAC leadership from taking part in negotiations.

Apla soldiers, supported by allies in the youth and student wings of the PAC, have devised a plan to oust PAC president Clarence Makwetu and other perceived moderates in the political leadership of the movement. PAC youth leader Ntsie Mohloai told *The Weekly Mail* a militant group of Africanists — made up of Apla supporters as well as activists in the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) and Azanian National Youth Union (Azanyu) — had formed a "steering committee" that would press for the PAC congress to elect new leaders.

The interview, together with information supplied by other sources close to the PAC, provide a rare glimpse into the internal workings of the organisation blamed for the recent upsurge of anti-white attacks. The internal militants — backed by Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo, defence secretary Sabelo Phama and other members of the PAC military leadership in exile — are involved in a bitter struggle with more pragmatic political leaders in the PAC



Vicious cycle ... Weeks of harsh security force action in the Vaal Triangle preceded the latest wave of attacks in the area

who are pushing the movement into negotiations. Armed operations launched and supported by the militant group are aimed as much at undermining plans by the moderate wing of the PAC to join multi-party talks as they are against the white regime.

The extent of the split is evidenced by the fact that Azanyu and Paso commemorated Sharpeville Day this week with a rally at Lethukuthula Hall in Katlehong on the East Rand, while the official PAC event took place at the cemetery in Sharpeville. Indications are that the wave of terror attacks against policemen and white targets are the work of small but highly motivated bands of Apla guerrillas who received professional training in Libya as part of a recent shake-up in Apla. They operate with logistical and other support from township

youth groups loyal to the militant bloc, who go by the name Revolutionary Watchdogs. There are also growing signs that militant youths in the townships, increasingly disillusioned by the involvement of their leadership in parleys with Pretoria, are gaining access to weapons and carrying out copycat attacks inspired by the Apla programme. Another PAC source, who asked not to be named, said the moderate wing of the movement was made up of internal figures as well as Africanists who have returned from exile. They include Clarence Makwetu, Patricia De Lille (PAC secretary for relief aid), Mark Shinnars (transport secretary), publicity secretary Barney Desai and general secretary Benny Alexander who, despite the militant rhetoric, believe armed struggle is no longer a

pragmatic path to power. This group is opposed by diehards in the external wing, formerly based in Dar-es-Salaam, who initially refused to return to South Africa because the government has not met Organisation of African Unity conditions. They include Johnson Mlambo, a survivor of the Pogo insurrection in the early 1960s, and exiled Apla high-command member Joe Mkhwanazi, acting with their militant allies inside the country. The source said Dikgang Mosenekes, the advocate who was the PAC's deputy president, resigned earlier this year because of conflicts with Mlambo, whose faction was making Mosenekes's position increasingly untenable. "The externals cling to the PAC's traditional Maoist perspective that fundamental change can only be achieved by revolutionary overthrow of the

state," he said. "Having passed through the camps, in which Mao was the approved reading, Apla cadres share the externals' ideological perspective. It is also shared by the PAC youth, notably Azanyu, and the student wing, Paso.

"The internals, as a result of being in the country longer and assessing the PAC's support levels of township consciousness and the balance of forces in the country, have come round to the view that there is no alternative to a negotiated settlement and no prospect of a successful armed struggle."

The moderates had refused to suspend the armed struggle and to distance themselves from the recent attacks because they feared widening the rift in the PAC and wanted to position themselves to the left of the African National Congress, he added. "Their aim is to go into talks and push for a sovereign constituent assembly, on which they consider the ANC has sold out. About half the 30-strong national executive committee are moderates, and the internal-external split closely mirrors the divisions over armed struggle and negotiations."

Though the radical youth-exile bloc controls the organisation's military operations, the moderates were able to put their candidates into most key NEC positions at the PAC national congress held in Transkei last year — to the chagrin of the Revolutionary Watchdogs. The source said the Mlambo-led faction launched Apla's eastern Cape terror campaign in December last year to strengthen its hand and undermine its opponents in the NEC, prompting Mosenekes to resign. "The eastern Cape attacks led to acrimonious debate within the NEC, as a result of which instructions went out to Apla cadres to cool it. Hence the fact

Whites are not the only target

W/maail 26/3 - 1/4/93

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● From PAGE 2

that there were no attacks for three months — until last weekend.”

The recent wave of attacks appears, however, to have taken on a new dimension: spontaneous attacks by youth and student groupings which have access to arms and are disillusioned by the negotiations, escalating violence in the townships and the continued education crisis.

Many of the recent attacks, particularly those in the Vaal townships, were probably not ordered by the Apla high command, as were the eastern Cape operations last year.

This would explain why Apla's external commanders have been unable to confirm or deny their members' involvement in these attacks.

“The latest attacks are a spontaneous eruption of grassroots militancy, which may or may not involve

Apla cadres,” the source said. “There may be a copycat element in the attacks: there are a lot angry young men around at the moment.”

The attacks by black gunmen on whites in the Vaal Triangle were also preceded by weeks of harsh security force action in the area.

CHRIS LOUW reports that Vaal township dwellers say they have been subjected to “harsh and brutal” treatment by mostly white policemen since the beginning of February.

According to the Human Rights Commission, a large number of township residents were arrested and injured during the security force operations.

Incidents were reported, for instance, where residents in Evaton and Sebokeng were assaulted, sexually harassed and given electric shocks by policemen.

A large number of ANC Youth League and self-defence units (SDU) members have allegedly been harassed for several months by police in connection with the deaths of policemen.

Asked to comment on this yesterday, the SAP's Major van Deventer rejected the claims as “absurd” and refused to respond to specific cases put to him. He said this was “possibly another incident” in which *The Weekly Mail* “and papers of like mind ... falsely accuse the SAP of various atrocities”.

The SDUs in most Vaal townships comprise members of both the ANC and PAC. Many of the ANC members in the SDUs are trained Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres with easy access to weapons, and whose renegade behaviour has thrust them into an internecine feud with the ANC's national leadership.

Fear and anger at Apla attacks

W/Man
By ALEX DODD 26/3-1/4/93
IN EIKENHOF, a territory of isolated farms and modest homes surrounded by wagon-wheel fences, the polarity between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Golden City Shooting Club is growing sharper by the day.

The question of whether to pray to the good Lord or blow the brains out of the next black taxi commuter has become crucial to the residents of the town, south of Johannesburg. They have witnessed three ambushes on their neighbours in the past week.

The slogan *Een boer, een taxi* is sprayed across the back of a signboard on the dust road leading to the poultry farm run by Anneline and Johan Jordaan. The Jordaan's have been driving their little girl to and from the nearby Danie Theron Junior School for the past week. She used to catch the bus that was the intended target of last Friday's ambush.

"This kind of thing just makes people more militant," says Anneline Jordaan. "It makes them want to prove that there can be a rightwing show of strength as well. Our Greek and Portuguese customers say: 'Why don't you people do something about it?' And I say: 'South Africans are so confused. We've had the wool pulled over our eyes for so long now, we just don't have the full story'."

She feels her husband's AWB training, in which he was taught "how to defend my family against car attackers and the like", was extremely valuable.

"We can't rely on the police. Either they haven't got a van or they haven't got enough staff," says Johan. "We're

so isolated here and there's no police station in our area."

The Jordaan's say the entire community is security-conscious. Apart from fences and dogs, they've got radios and alarms in their cars and huge security spray lights on their property. "But even that is not sufficient for what we're facing."

Johan Jordaan recalls how they used to sit on the stoep in the evenings looking at the stars and listening to the sheep bleating. "This used to be a lovely rural area. Now we lie in bed at three in the morning and hear shots ringing out all over."

"In the olden days, when a black broke into your house he'd be on his own with a knife. Now it's three or four of them with firearms. There have been 10 burglaries in our immediate area in the last month. Just recently, the watchboy next door was stabbed and killed."

The Jordaan's believe their problems began with the mushrooming of squatter communities at the nearby Orange Farm and Weilers Farm areas. "Terrorists can be absorbed into those communities without being detected. They just disappear among those shacks."

"Also the toll roads have diverted all the traffic through our area. It's like a bottleneck. Every second car is a kombi. Some taxi drivers buy chickens from us and they're very respectable, nice people. Not all of them are murderers."

Colin Shaw lives only a short drive away in his red four-by-four with desert dueller tyres. "I'll tell you my slogan," says Shaw. "One settler, one

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squatter camp." But then his bravado dissipates slightly. "No make that: One child, one squatter camp." Shaw ponders on that for a second or two and then bursts out. "No man ... Scrap the whole thing. You can't go around killing innocent people. It's just not Christian-like."

Shaw's nephew, Craig Lamprecht, survived the AK bullets that flew from the now notorious green BMW, but he is expected to be paralysed on one side of his body for life.

"The situation in this area has grown completely out of control. Violent racial incidents happen all the time around here and nothing gets reported," he says.

"The road is extremely volatile. Taxis are the main culprits. They often push cars off the road. They pull people out of their cars at stop streets and assault them. There are thieves and thugs and murderers living there at Orange Farm and they're allowed to do what they like."

"We will see to it personally that Apla pays the price for what it has done," says Shaw, and a moment later: "But who on earth is Apla? They hide behind their aliases and drive around in their cars shooting innocent people. Why don't they stand up and say: 'We are Apla,' so that we can come face to face in the streets?"

"Just when we thought that there was a light at the end of South Africa's tunnel, these Apla people come with their bad breath and blow it out."

LEVISION THIS SUNDAY. Details on page 10
The Golden City Shooting Club
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INSIDE APLA

W/Maul 26/3 - 1/4/93

~~BEHIND THE SHOOTING~~

How a radical plot to topple PAC leaders led to killing spree



Too moderate?
Embattled
PAC leader
Clarence
Makwetu

BEHIND the recent attacks on white civilians lies a bid by radicals in the Azanian People's Liberation Army to oust the "too moderate" Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leadership led by Clarence Makwetu.

The shootings are part of a bitter struggle, supported by the Apla military leadership in exile, to undermine the PAC leaders and stop them from taking part in multi-party talks.

A militant group of Africanists made up of Apla supporters as well as youth activists have formed a militant bloc called the "Revolutionary Watchdogs" which aims to elect a new leadership at the next PAC congress.

Indications are that the wave of terror attacks against policemen and white targets are the work of bands of Apla guerrillas who received training in Libya and operate with logistical support from township youth groups loyal to the "Revolutionary Watchdogs".

● Full details on **PAGE 2**

South Africa digs in for 'year of terror'

Guardian

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

in w/ Mail 26/3-1/4/93
 WHITE South Africa is being reduced to a state of explosive paranoia by a string of racial murders which continued this week with the random killing of a motorist near Johannesburg.

As the country braced itself for a revenge campaign by rightwing extremists, black gunmen using AK-47 assault rifles ambushed a car in the Vaal Triangle south of Johannesburg, killing a white man travelling to work with a friend.

Simultaneously the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) staged a roadblock at the scene of an attack on motorists last week, in which a mother and her two children were killed. Chanting racist slogans and brandishing placards, about 300 uniformed demonstrators forced traffic off the Vereeniging-Johannesburg road.

The first evidence of revenge attacks on blacks came in the form of a bizarre announcement from another extremist organisation, the White Wolves, claiming responsibility for the wounding of a five-year-old black girl near the town of Nigel, east of Johannesburg. Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, continued to be blamed for the attacks.

Pressure on the government to take action is fast mounting. Radio chat shows were inundated this week with calls from listeners de-

manding revenge. Anger was fuelled by the news of the death of the third of the victims of last week's attack, Clare Silberbauer, aged 13, who had been shot in the head.

The tragedy was hammered home by a poignant statement from the girl's parents. Referring to a brain injury she suffered when she fell off a horse at the age of six — from which she had seemed to be recovering after a series of operations — the statement said: "Men with guns, who wish to change this country with violence, you may have many reasons for anger as a result of this sad country's politics. Clare so many times in her short, young life had unfair blows to bear and reason for anger, but never would she take the road of violence, not even stand on an insect . . ."

White agitation over the killings is compounded by mounting insecurity caused by the high level of crime. The division between politically-motivated and "ordinary" crime is becoming increasingly blurred, in part because robbers seem to be justifying their crimes on political grounds.

But blacks also continue to die, as always with less fanfare. The latest included four people shot dead by a pedestrian who opened fire on the occupants of a pick-up truck which had stopped to give him a lift in Natal.

Wit Wolwe not holding APLA man - SAP

Star 27/2/93 (SAP)

POLICE said yesterday they had questioned Wit Wolwe (WW) leader Barend Strydom in connection with his claims that members of the ultra-right-wing organisation had taken an Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) member captive.

However, the police could find no evidence or information as to the credibility of the claims.

"Police yesterday afternoon questioned Barend Strydom on his claims that the Wit Wolwe were holding an APLA member captive, but

could find no evidence or information to the effect that the claims could even be reasonably true," SAP public liaison chief Major-General Leon Mellet said.

"It appears that Strydom's claims were nothing more than a ploy to gain publicity for his radical organisation," Mellet added. "He (Strydom), however, has been warned that his claims could be a breach of his parole conditions."

Strydom was released on parole last year after his conviction for the murder of

seven black people in Pretoria's Strydom square in 1987 and an earlier murder at a Vaal Triangle squatter camp.

The mass murderer yesterday said the purported APLA man, whom he identified only as Samuel, had been in Wit Wolwe captivity for more than a month and his captors had linked him to terror attacks on white soft targets in the eastern Cape.

Strydom said the man's captors were to "court-martial" him on April 15. He claimed the man was taken

captured by WW members on February 16 and that he was being held in a cave.

Strydom also said the captive had pointed out APLA arms caches to the WW.

The eastern Cape attacks were at the time attributed to APLA, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) military wing.

After Strydom first claimed WW members had taken the man captive, observers expressed their reservations about the veracity of his claims, but Law and Order Ministry spokesman

Captain Craig Kotze said police would nevertheless interview Strydom.

The PAC said it would also investigate Strydom's claims.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said no PAC or APLA member could possibly have pointed out such a large number of arms and ammunition.

Strydom said arms pointed out by the captive included 30 AK-47 rifles, about 34 000 rounds of ammunition, nine handgrenades, six mini-limpet mines, and a vast quantity of explosives.

Although his organisation had received no reports that a member named Samuel was missing, the PAC would contact the APLA high command about the issue, Seroke said.

"It is quite disturbing that the regime could allow such a mafiosi (the WW) to operate within the country."

His organisation would conduct an investigation into the matter, but would contact neither the Wit Wolwe nor Strydom, he said. — Sapa.

MK can serve in SANDF - Meirings

Star 27/3/93

Star 27/3/93

Shift on MK

FROM PAGE 1.

32 Battalion, an elite and highly controversial light infantry group disbanded by President F W de Klerk after intense pressure from the ANC.

Before Meiring took the podium to speak, a man whom informed sources said was a former South African soldier ran across the parade ground shouting: "This battalion is being disbanded against its will!" to applause from a contingent of those present.

The Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion was formed in 1976 from remnants of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola who had been chased from Angola by Cuban-backed government forces.

They were used from their base in Namibia to fight Angolan government forces and Namibian guerrillas in Angola, but were bedevilled by accusations of rape and assault, which followed them after they were transferred to South Africa following Namibian independence in 1989.

At the unit's final parade yesterday, Meiring paid tribute to the unit, saying that since its deployment in South Africa, it had done an excellent job. "Under very difficult circumstances, 32 Battalion distinguished itself on numerous occasions," he said.

The army chief reiterated that 32 Battalion members were not mercenaries, but fully attested members of the South African Army. He added that before the transfer of soldiers to other units, a programme had been introduced to give members and their families an insight into community life outside Pomfret.

Courses in both official languages would also be given to Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion members and their families. At present about 6 000 people are living at the Pomfret military base — a former northern Cape mining settlement.

Meiring said the Pomfret military base would not be closed. Planning for the utilisation of existing facilities had already reached "an advanced stage".

Further details would be announced at a later stage. — Sapa-AFP.

POMFRET — In a major concession to the African National Congress, South Africa's army chief said yesterday he was willing to accept conditionally the incorporation of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) into the army.

In an interview with Agence-France Presse, Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring said: "I am not saying they (MK members) must apply individually... we can take the whole lot, as long as they meet certain conditions."

The conditions were that they give up their political affiliations and membership of the MK and come up to army expectations physically, he said.

Appeal for change

The army had previously insisted that MK members apply individually if they wanted to enrol, a position the ANC condemned as unacceptable.

At the disbanding parade of a controversial battalion at an army base in this former mining town 600 km north-west of Johannesburg, Meiring also appealed for change among soldiers.

"I would like to make an urgent appeal to all soldiers to act in a disciplined and responsible manner," Meiring said. "We must accept the realities of the changes taking place in the country with responsibility. We cannot remain stagnated in the past."

On the subject of MK soldiers, he told AFP: "We can take the whole bunch of them. We can train them. He said he estimated MK's strength at 12 000 men, while the army had around 500 000 personnel. "There is no reason for us to be scared," he said. Discontent was visible at yesterday's parade for

Apla issue 'threatens' political talks

SOUTH 27/3-31/3/93

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By Quentin Wilson

THE ARREST of 18 suspected Apla operatives could be expected to impact on negotiations, President FW de Klerk said on Wednesday.

The PAC's dualistic approach to peace and its refusal to sign the Peace Accord threatened negotiations, he argued.

De Klerk also announced that a 10-point police plan and a stepped up call-up of SADF personnel to curb violence — particularly violence perpetrated by Apla and "other lunatic fringe elements".

"The PAC can no longer escape responsibility for the actions of Apla," the state president told a special session of parliament.

De Klerk's pressure on the PAC may, ironically, serve to unite the currently divided organisation — and increase its popular appeal.

And if the pressure leads to negotiations taking place without the PAC, the ANC will be unable to revive the Patriotic Front against the government.

A Goldstone commission report released on Wednesday said PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu and the organisation's first vice-president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, serve on Apla's high command.

The Goldstone report urged all nations to withhold assistance to the PAC and Apla and singled out the Transkei government for allowing the Bantustan to be used as an Apla springboard.

Transkei denied this, pointing out that only the SADF and SAP had given evidence for the report.

At the time of going to press, the PAC could not be reached for comment.

However, the ANC expressed concern at the "undisclosed 10-point plan and implicit increase in the powers of the police and army".

It called for the detained suspects to be charged or released, while also saying that the culprits of recent violence had to be brought to book.

"These murders are an act of provocation designed to derail the negotiations and peace processes."



STICKING TO ITS GUNS: PAC supporters were prominent at a march by pupils in Cape Town on Wednesday, demanding that exam fees — increased from R72 to R105 — be scrapped. The march was later marred by students who threw bricks, threatened people and damaged cars in Nyanga. The ANC said its leader Mr Tony Yengeni "was witness to a disgraceful incident when, after he stopped to try to restore order amongst the students, they surrounded his car and threatened him". The ANC, which had supplied marshalls for the march, condemned "hooligan behaviour" Photo: Yunus Mohamed

'Bok Tobias crash tackles council in building row

SOUTH 27/3-31/3/93

By Quentin Wilson

MR ERROL Tobias, the first coloured South African who played in a Springbok rugby jersey, has threatened to sell his Caledon plot to the ANC if the local authorities do not grant him permission to build a housing complex. Tobias, who in 1981 came under fire from anti-apartheid organisations for participating in a Springbok tour to New Zealand, is now trying to crash-tackle the town's white town council and coloured management committee. After they turned down his building plans earlier this month, Tobias said he would offer the half-acre to the ANC for use as a squatter camp

if they do not reverse their decision. "It could very well happen if they don't allow me to build," said Tobias. "I know the whites here don't want the ANC in Caledon, so they would have to choose between them or my building." Plans for the complex, which would accommodate 20 families, were initially rejected by the white Caledon municipality and the coloured management committee because the building covered too much of the plot. After redrawing his plans to suit their requirements, Tobias' scheme was still rejected. "They still have not given me any reason for refusing the redrawn plans. It does not make sense. The venture would provide employment for builders in the area, it would

improve the suburb of Bergsig, where I live, and it would help to address the housing shortage. As someone who was seen to legitimise apartheid sport in the early 1980s, Tobias has turned to fighting apartheid structures from the outside. Apart from his run-in with the authorities over his housing scheme, Tobias is furious that they have failed to provide the necessary services for Bergsig. "The park in Bergsig has been neglected over the years and so have the roads. When they tried to retar a road last year, they did not even flatten it beforehand — so it's useless. "We need to build a clinic in the area to put pressure on these people. In fact, the whole management

committee should resign. They do nothing to upgrade this area," he said. Caledon town clerk Mr J Huisamen said the municipality still had to decide on Tobias' plan. "I wish he would tell the whole truth. It is not the plan that is under dispute, but whether that area could be used for a housing complex. "There have been objections from neighbours to the idea, and we are waiting for Tobias' response to their objections before we finally decide," Huisamen said. Huisamen said he had "no problems" with Tobias' plan to sell the land to the ANC for use as a squatter camp. "He can do what he likes with the land, that is none of my business. It's his land," Huisamen said.

84A
56T

MK chief

rejects

Cross

army

offer

28/3/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe has no intention of being absorbed into the SADF.

This was the reaction of MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda following the statement by SADF chief George Meiring that he was willing to accept the conditional incorporation of MK into the SADF.

Nyanda said MK was not interested in absorption, but rather the creation of a new army composed of all military formations in the country.

According to Nyanda, all armed formations in the country - including MK, Apla, the Transkei and Venda Defence Forces - should decide on the formation of a new army.

Nyanda said it was not for Meiring alone to decide on this issue. However, the MK head acknowledged that members of the SADF may form the bulk of a new SA army.

Meiring made the offer this week at Pomfret in the Northern Cape at the disbanding parade of the notorious 32 Battalion, which is to be absorbed into other units, a move opposed by political and human rights organisations.

By **SEKOLA SELLO**

THE Sam Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into atrocities allegedly committed by the ANC at its camps in Angola and Tanzania is to open soon for submission of evidence.

The commission, headed by well known businessman Dr Sam Motsuenyane, is the third to be appointed by the ANC to investigate the conditions of former prisoners and detainees at the organisation's camps.

The first was headed by James Stuart and its findings were never made public and last year Advocate Zola Skweyiya headed a second one.

Motsuenyane to probe the ANC

(84A) (NA)
Two other independent commissions were carried out by Amnesty International and the Douglas Commission, headed by Justice Robert Stuart Douglas of Natal.

The Skweyiya commission was criticised by opponents of the ANC and those who alleged that they were tortured in the camps because two of its three members, Skweyiya and Bridgette Mabandla, are senior members of the organisation.

In spite of criticism of

ANC links, the Skweyiya Commission found that certain individuals still in the organisation were guilty of inhuman activities. It also found that grave abuses had been committed in the camps against suspected infiltrators and agents.

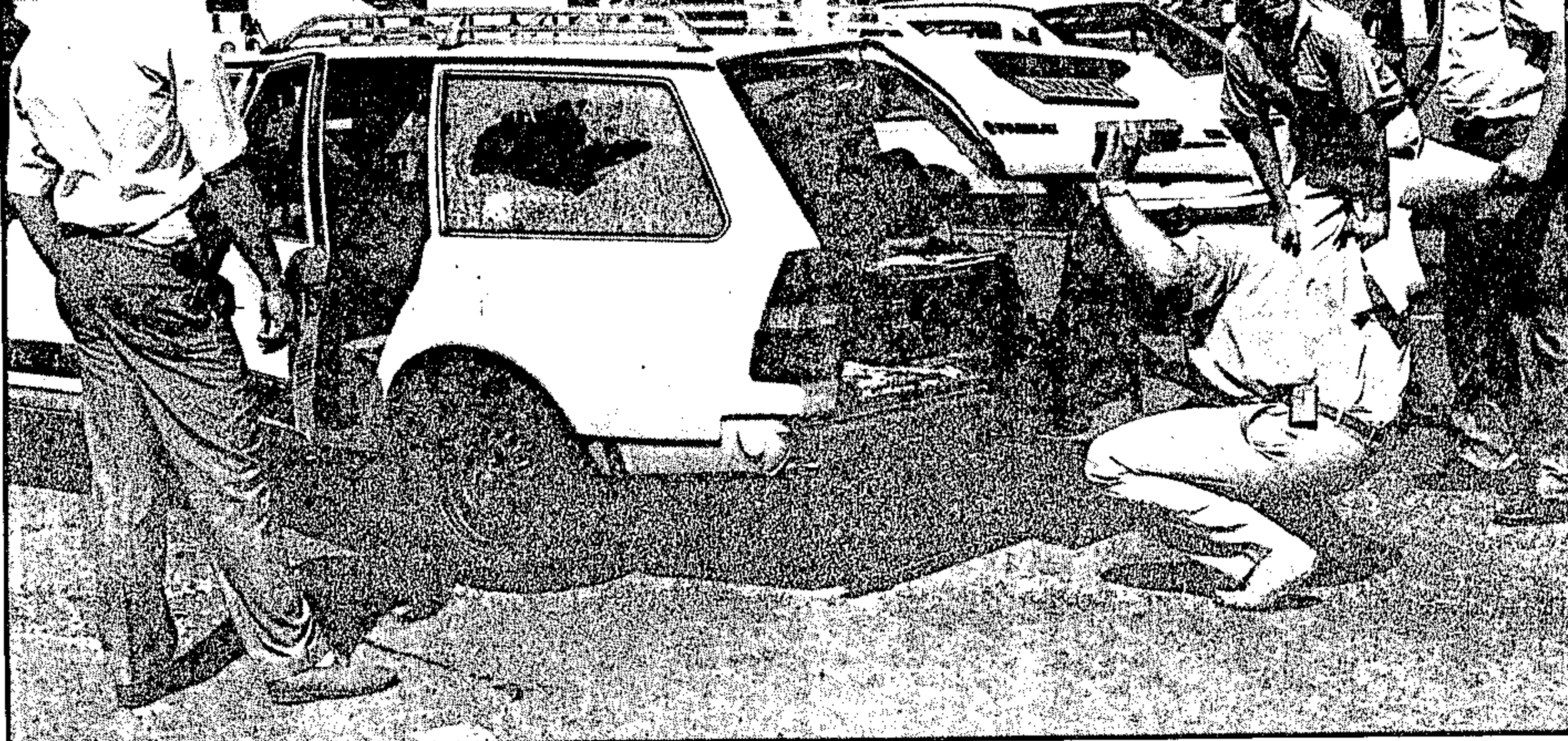
However, it failed to name those senior members who were suspected of having been responsible for the atrocities. Some of these officials still hold senior positions in the movement.

The Douglas Commission, appointed by the rightwing US-based Freedom Foundation, came under strong criticism from the ANC. The Foundation is known for its anti-ANC leanings.

The ANC refused to give evidence at this commission and later denounced its findings, saying they were a rehash of claims made by former members whom they described as dissidents.

The appointment of Motsuenyane who will be assisted by two prominent South African judges was undertaken by the ANC to avoid criticism of the impartiality of its members.

CIPress 28/2/75



APLA'S TARGET? . . . Police search the vehicle in which three whites died in an attack south of Johannesburg a week ago. Callers to the press claimed the attack was the work of Apla gunmen. Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

IS IT APLA OR A THIRD FORCE?

C/Press 28/3/93

(84A)

By SEKOLA SELLO

AT the conclusion of the two-day multiparty planning conference early this month, the PAC left a clear indication that they were to all practical purposes now part and parcel of the negotiating forum.

It was an impression felt by participants and the large contingent of local and foreign media.

As euphoria swept the country over news that the talks were as inclusive as possible (even the Conservative Party is part of them so far), the PAC suddenly dampened spirits by sending a different message.

Just two weeks after making a public pro-negotiation stance, and with PAC secretary general Benny Alexander still serving on the 26-man facilitating committee paving the way for full-blown negotiations, the PAC's military wing Apla is suspected of involvement in the recent killing of whites, including schoolchildren, in the Transvaal and eastern Cape.

The latest killings prompted political observers to question whether the PAC has a double agenda - having the political wing talk peace at the negotiations table while letting Apla pursue military activities.

Others argue the latest killings are the work of a third force aimed at scuttling negotiations.

Following the PAC and Apla's meeting in Botswana early this month with senior government officials, including the commissioner of police and top army generals, it was generally believed that Apla would cease its military operations.

Initially talk by the PAC that the armed struggle would continue until the government agreed to a cessation of hostilities and began the process of installing a transitional authority leading to a constituent assembly, was dismissed as nothing more than public rhetoric.

While the government has been

PAC sends out mixed signals on recent killings

quick to blame Apla for the recent killings of two schoolchildren and a woman in Eikenhof south of Johannesburg, it is also being asked in some quarters whether these killings were in fact carried out by the PAC's military wing.

One school of thought would have it that elements within the security forces opposed to any negotiated settlement are using Apla as a smokescreen for their dirty work.

Negotiations

Those subscribing to this view argue that the same forces which orchestrated black-on-black violence in attempts to torpedo negotiations, have now changed tack and are now using black on white violence to achieve similar goals.

SACP secretary general Chris Hani says similar tactics have been used with deadly effect in Latin America and elsewhere in Africa. He says this is part of what is now called "low intensity warfare".

The other aim, it is claimed, is to create a climate that makes it easy for hit squads to operate freely. In this scenario, leading activists will be the prime targets.

Supporting the theory that security elements are behind the recent killings, Hani said there seems to be tardiness by the security forces in apprehending those alleged to have been responsible for the murders.

A source close to the PAC has also cast doubts on the possibility of Apla being involved in the Eikenhof murders. He said Apla would not have chosen such a locality - close to a taxi rank used by blacks and also where black schoolchildren are always found in the morning. "Such an operation would expose blacks to swift reprisals by

rightwingers," explained the source. He also accepted that a third force could be behind the attacks.

If Apla is not involved in the latest killings, and they too could well be aware of the work of hostile elements, why is the PAC leadership reluctant to come out clearly and state their military wing is not involved?

So far only the organisation's publicity secretary, Barney Desai, has been forthright in condemning the killings when he was interviewed on television.

He described the Eikenhof killings - in which Sandra Mitchley and her son Shaun Nel died - as an outrage, and expressed condolences to the bereaved families.

More pertinently, he asked what political benefits would accrue to the organisation by murdering women and children. Desai is clearly aware of the battering the PAC took from international bodies and foreign embassies following the killing of whites in King William's Town and Queenstown last December.

While Desai was forthright in condemning the killings, other senior members like president Clarence Makwetu, national organiser Maxwell Nemaadzhivanani and secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke were ambivalent.

Makwetu would not condemn the killings, save to say the "PAC regrets any killings irrespective of colour".

These conflicting positions probably reflect the dilemma the PAC faces. If the organisation is seen to be more radical than the ANC - and alleged Apla activities reinforce this perception in the townships - the PAC, some say, gains more supporters.

What is clear is that graffiti in the Vaal triangle extolling the virtues of Apla is now as common as graffiti

praising MK. Several walls in Umtata are also daubed with pro-Apla slogans. Even in rural Centani in the Transkei, the small shopping centre is full of Apla slogans.

However, the effects of possible popular support must be weighed against diplomatic and international opposition. As Desai stated, the killing of children and women does not serve the interests of the PAC.

The PAC is also caught in a situation where it cannot publicly censure Apla without risking driving a wedge between the two. Even Pretoria never condemned its security forces whenever they were accused of atrocities.

Few people could have missed the timing of State President De Klerk's announcement that 18 Apla members had been arrested for violent attacks on whites. This was made at a special joint seating of the three houses of parliament.

Transkei

It coincided with the release of a preliminary report of the Goldstone Commission which said Apla launched its attacks on South African civilians and police from Transkeian soil.

The report also said arms smuggled through Botswana, Lesotho and SA to Transkei were stored with the knowledge of the Transkei authorities.

Claims that Apla operates from the Transkei with the knowledge of the homeland's authorities is intriguing. Transkei's Gen Bantu Holomisa is known to have closer relations with the ANC than the PAC.

If Apla operates out of the Transkei, it seems strange that Holomisa would give tacit backing to this - knowing full well Apla successes would undermine the support base of the ANC. He also knows that if Pretoria found out, he would be in serious trouble.

Trying to understand the unfolding Apla conundrum, it seems, is now becoming as complex as unravelling a Chinese puzzle.

Braamfontein tonight at 6 pm. City Press is co-sponsoring the event. See Page 24.

By ELIAS MALULEKE

MK, Apla, TDF 'to resist SA attack'

City Press

28/13/93

(84A)

A GOVERNMENT attack on Apla bases in the Transkei could be met with joint resistance from Apla, the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe, the Transkei Defence Force and, possibly, the Vanda army.

MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda yesterday told City Press that the furore over Apla's alleged bases in the Transkei could be a veiled attempt to attack MK in the area.

He said one of the alleged Apla bases identified by the government was a known MK place.

Nyanda's statement comes in the wake of Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa's belligerent talk this week that his forces were on full alert.

SA this week threatened to take strong action against Transkei following a war of words be-

tween the two countries over Apla activities.

The PAC has warned that it would hit "in the heart of Pretoria" should SA attack Transkei.

In the event of a Pretoria strike in Transkei, the Vanda military government - which has close ties with MK and recently met high-ranking Apla commanders in Tanzania - could also be sucked into the conflict.

Tension was high in the Transkei over the weekend, with roadblocks being set up throughout the homeland in anticipation of a possible attack by SA.

There is also concern among SA whites in the

capital that they could be targeted by Apla if Transkei is attacked.

SA's embassy spokesman in Transkei Chris Thirion said his staff had adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

"We are watching the situation and will act when the need arises."

The ANC said it was strongly opposed to any attack by SA, and that any "violent action" would not be tolerated.

Holomisa confirmed to City Press that his country was bracing itself for imminent military and covert attacks by Pretoria.

He accused SA of mobilising SADF's Citizen Force (reservists) to at-

tack and eliminate Apla cadres in Transkei.

"Transkeians will do anything to protect themselves from any attack (President FW) De Klerk launches against them.

"They (SA) will hit only the areas that we are not covering, and De Klerk will be held responsible for whatever happens," Holomisa said.

He warned De Klerk that any attack would be an exercise in "futility" as Transkei Military Forces, Apla and MK were capable of hitting inside SA.

"If De Klerk attacks us we are not going to retaliate in a conventional way, he must expect chaos because liberation forces

and our friends are not going to sit back and fold their arms. They will come in and cause mayhem in SA," he said.

In a personal address to De Klerk, Holomisa said he rejected the findings and called on the government to talk directly to the PAC and other organisations and mutually agree to cease hostilities.

The war talk follows the mass mobilisation of the SADF's Citizen Force and threats by De Klerk that he intended taking strong action against Transkei after Holomisa refused to accept the preliminary findings by the Goldstone Commission on Apla.

In his report on Apla activities, Judge Richard Goldstone singled out Transkei for providing Apla with arms, bases, arms-smuggling routes, training, and allowing its territory to be used as a launching pad for attacks.

Continued on page 24

Bomb rocks SLA luxury home

A bomb made from commercial explosives rocked a Johannesburg man's luxury home on Saturday. One person was slightly injured. STAR 29/3/93

Lieutenant Janine Smith of the Witwatersrand police said the case was "sensitive". It seemed the blast "had something to do with a business transaction" and the bomber wanted "revenge".

Damaged

Smith said the explosives went off next to the double garage of Brian Hosiosky's Sunningdale home. Two cars in the garage were damaged.

Hosiosky received a message on his pager minutes before the 1 am blast, saying he was about to receive his "wake-up call".

Joe Ragophla, passing by at the time of the explosion, was hurt in the eye by flying glass. He was treated at the scene.

Hosiosky testified last year at the trial of his close friend, Gary Beuthin, for the kidnapping and attempted murder of Gill Reeves. — Crime Reporter.

'Little doubt men are ANC members' 84A

POLICE said yesterday they had "little doubt" the two men arrested in the Free State last week in connection with the Eikenhof killings were ANC members.

Police spokesman Gen Leon Mellet said the investigating officers believed the men belonged to the ANC, but until they were absolutely certain there would not be an official statement on the issue.

The men had said they were ANC members, but the possibility still existed that they could be Apla guerrillas, Mellet said, adding that the case was very sensitive.

Speculation has focused on Apla being responsible for the unprovoked killing of a

KATHRYN STRACHAN 809

mother and two children following a call to Sapa from a man claiming responsibility in the name of the PAC's armed wing.

Police confirmed yesterday that two weapons had been recovered.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said earlier in the weekend that until the names of the men were known allegations about ANC membership were unsubstantiated.

Sandra Mitchley, her son Shaun Nel and Claire Silberbauer died in the ambush by gunmen on the Vereeniging highway south of Johannesburg on March 19.

S10AM 29/3/93

Star 29/3/93

11/11/93 11/11/93

Govt, ANC to focus on defence force

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter



A future defence force will be discussed today at a meeting between Government and ANC negotiators.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the major difference in views was that the Government wanted to deal with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in isolation while the ANC wanted a deal involving all armies.

The ANC plan, linked to the transition process, involves the SADF, SAP, MK, Azanian People's Liberation Army and all homeland security forces, including the Kwazulu police.

Before the formation of a transitional executive council (TEC), all armies are to present lists of arms and manpower, and subject them to audit.

During this period a moratorium would be placed on recruitment, said Ramaphosa. The TEC's subcommittees on

defence and law and order would exercise multiparty control over the security forces in the run-up to free elections.

A new defence force would be established under an interim government of national unity.

The ANC has rejected a Government proposal that MK members apply to join the SADF on an individual basis.

Sapa reports that the Conservative Party claims that the decision allowing members of MK to join the SADF contradicted what President de Klerk told Parliament two weeks ago.

CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman was reacting to army chief Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring's announcement on Friday that the SADF could accommodate MK's estimated 12 000 members, conditional on their giving up political affiliations and passing physical tests.

Snyman said De Klerk had assured Parliament that MK members would only conditionally, and as individuals, be considered for admission to the SADF.

SCH

Row over suspects' political links

Star 29/3/93

Net closes on ambush killers

By Peter Fabricius
Kaizer Nyatumba
and Charmeela Bhagwat

Police expect to make more arrests after taking two men into custody over the cold-blooded murder of a woman and two children south of Johannesburg while a new storm has erupted over the identification of the attackers.

Police had initially suggested that the killings were the work of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

But weekend reports said two suspects arrested over the murder of Sandra Mitchell (35), her son Shaun Nell (14) and Clare Silberbauer (13) on the Vereeniging-Johannesburg road 10 days ago had told police they were ANC members.

A source close to the investigation said the two arrested men claimed they were ANC members, but denied being members of the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad detectives went to Wesselbron in the Free State on Wednesday after receiving information that two of the killers were in Monyakenk township, said the source.

With help from detectives in the area, police swooped on a house in the township at about 10 pm on Wednesday and arrested the suspects, who were brought back to Johannesburg immediately for questioning.

The source said police expected more arrests soon and had worked around the clock since Wednesday to find two other suspects.



Shattering . . . American driver Michael Andretti in his McLaren is sent flying y retaining wall after the start of the Brazilian Formula One Grand Prix in Sao Paulo.

Prost spins, Senna wins

SAO PAULO — Heavy rain caused chaos and a series of accidents during the Brazilian Formula One Grand Prix yesterday as Ayrton Senna

chance of a second successive victory.

Prost, winner of the season's opening race in South Africa, was seen to start

on the first corner after the start of the race. He was flown to hospital by helicopter with back injuries.

organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad detectives went to Wessebron in the Free State on Wednesday after receiving information that two of the killers were in Monya-keng township, said the source.

With help from detectives in the area, police swooped on a house in the township at about 10 pm on Wednesday and arrested the suspects, who were brought back to Johannesburg immediately for questioning.

The source said police expected more arrests soon and had worked around the clock since Wednesday to find two other suspects.

Last night, SAP chief media liaison officer General Leon Mellet refused to comment on the suspects' political affiliations.

The ANC would not comment before the suspects' political membership had been proven conclusively.

At a press briefing in Hermanus at the weekend, ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC viewed the attacks as a sinister attempt to derail negotiations.

Those who stood to gain most by derailing negotiations were not the PAC and Apla, but people who wanted to delay or prevent democracy, he said.

Jordan would not specify exactly whom he suspected. "It could be any number of mischievous forces opposed to democracy."

Mellet would not say when or where the arrests were made, disclosing only that they were not part of a massive anti-crime operation on the Witwatersrand which ended at the weekend.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said that, as far as he knew, no PAC member had been apprehended in connection with the attacks. The 20 PAC members arrested in connection with several eastern Cape attacks had not yet been charged, he added.

"It is good if the perpetrators of the crime are brought to court because then the truth will out. The names of the PAC and Apla are used by others as a smokescreen to discredit us," he said.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday commended the police on their speedy investigations.

"The SAP is to be congratulated on the excellent detective work in connection with the Eikenhof murders.

"I once again urge the community, regardless of political affiliation, to give full support to the SAP in the fight against violence."

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Star 30/3/93

Kriel 'no' to SADF-MK

integration

Political Staff (84A) (84A)

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday firmly rejected demands for the integration of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe into the security forces.

In a hard-hitting speech in Parliament, Kriel said the Government was not interested in joint control over the "criminals" of MK.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was an urgent need for the armed forces to be integrated under joint control of the sub-councils of the Transitional Executive Council.

Kriel said the Government could not deliberate intellectually about power-sharing, regional government and a Bill of Rights before the problem of violence was solved.

He slammed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend assertion that Government forces opposed to negotiations were behind the violence.

Star 30/3/93

Two held on arms charge

Crime Reporter (84A) ~~201~~

Two men, one of whom allegedly told police he was an Apla member, were arrested at Witbank in the eastern Transvaal yesterday for possessing illegal weapons.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Captain Theo du Bruyn said detectives received information that illegal weapons were being smuggled to a

plot at Jackaroo smallholdings.

They staked out the plot and at about 1.30 am yesterday saw two men approaching with a bag. The Internal Stability Unit was called in and the men were arrested. Du Bruyn said one of the men said he was an Apla member.

Police confiscated two AK-47 rifles, a Chinese stick-bomb, a Beretta pistol, three AK-47 magazines and ammunition.

It is alleged Beuthin abducted her from her Melrose flat and held her captive for 12 days before giving himself up to the police. Beuthin allegedly attributed Reeves' depression partly to the loss of amenities, coordination and independence she had suffered as a

Direct

INTE

The unaudited results of POI

ANC asks to see held men

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC has asked police for access to the alleged killers of a mother and two children who, it is claimed, are members of an Umkhonto we Sizwe trained township defence unit. *84A* *B10AM* *31/3/93*

Police are investigating the possibility that two suspects arrested in the Free State in connection with the March 19 shooting may be members of a self-defence unit which received training inside SA.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman yesterday declined to comment, saying police had not established the political affiliations of the men. The men are being held in terms of the Internal Security Act.

An ANC PWV spokesman said the organisation had asked for permission to talk to the two men to establish the truth of claims that one was a lapsed ANC member and the other a supporter. Police had not yet responded to the request.

It was previously claimed that the men who shot and killed the three people while they were travelling by car in Walkerville on the Vereeniging-Johannesburg road were members of the PAC's armed wing Apla.

However, police recently said they had no evidence to link the men to Apla. The claim that they were Apla members was made by an anonymous telephone caller.

FINANCIAL

Capital Employed
Share Capital and Reserves
Long Term Liabilities

EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL

Current Assets

Less: Current Liabilities

Fixed Assets

Other Assets

PROFITS

Turnover

Net income before tax
and interest

Interest

Net Income/(Loss) before

'Armies pose greatest threat to elections'

GERALD REILLY

SA ~~SA~~
PRETORIA — The activities of the armed forces of government, the homelands and liberation movements had to be placed under strict control during the election process, the Human Science Research Council's head of constitutional analysis, Bertus de Villiers, said in a study released yesterday.

He said the political atmosphere was loaded with tension and conflict. Uncontrolled security and armed forces would pose one of the most serious threats to the entire election. *SDM 31/3/93*

De Villiers' research, based on election experiences in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Kenya and Angola, showed the need for an electoral commission and a timetable for the election; equal access to the monitoring of public media; correct registration of voters and political parties; an election code of conduct; and a formula for funding political parties.

De Villiers said SA had the administrative capability to manage an election involving 22,5-million voters. But there would be a need for international involvement to supervise, monitor and verify the election.

An electoral commission with high public standing and acceptability would play a vital role in preparing the country for elections.

Government departments would have to continue to render public services without furthering the interests of a specific political party.

Political parties should have no problems getting access to voters. Political "no-go" areas such as certain townships, farms, homelands and traditional areas, would have to be opened up.

Experience in neighbouring countries had shown the election should take place over two or three days, and mobile polling stations could be used.

The PAC's ambivalence on racist terror attacks harms itself . . . and the country

Star 2/12/93

(84A)

It's time to get off the fence



Kaizer Nyatsumba

MORE than a week after the latest spate of attacks on whites in Eindhoven, south of Johannesburg, the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress continues to equivocate on the issue. Except for publicity secretary Barney Desai, the PAC's leaders have yet to condemn such attacks, or those responsible for them.

The organisation's explanation until now has been that it does not have sufficient information to make authoritative comment possible, and that the high command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army has also not commented.

Reports have Apia chief spokesman Johnny Majozl saying the guerilla army's cadres inside South Africa had not yet contacted Apia's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam to claim responsibility for the terror attacks. It is pointed out that all there is to link Apia to the apparently racially motivated acts, at this stage, is a telephone call to the South African Press Association from an anonymous caller claiming to be an Apia cadre. However, the situation remains

murky, because although PAC leaders insist anybody could have telephoned the press to claim responsibility on Apia's behalf, they have not ruled out the possibility that Apia might in fact have been responsible. Indeed, the PAC has tactically left the door wide open for this possibility, and as a direct consequence has flatly refused to condemn the murders and their perpetrators.

The furthest it has gone is to say that the PAC adhered to no policy which involved killing women and children. But that, as the PAC leaders should know, is cold comfort to the families of those whom faceless gunmen have mown down in cold blood in the past two weeks.

At a media conference, PAC president Clarence Makwehu was twice asked if he condemned the attacks. Twice he evaded the question, saying only: "We regret any killing, irrespective of colour." Told by the journalist who had posed the question that he had not answered it, Makwehu replied acidly: "Unfortunately we are not here to be tried by the media." Ah, the media. The PAC leader

— like most of his colleagues in the PAC leadership — has an aversion to the media matched by few of his counterparts in the country. The average PAC leader and member believes the organisation has had a raw deal from the press over the years. As a consequence, they say repeatedly that the Africanist organisation was "not built by the press" and therefore "will not be destroyed by it". Instead of cultivating good relations with the press, some PAC leaders have regarded the institution with scepticism, and have not made themselves readily available for interviews or briefings. Because of the PAC leadership's prevarication on the recent attacks, theories have abounded. There are those who say the attacks were staged by a disgruntled wing of Apia, which is intent on getting the PAC leadership to

quit negotiations.

Others, including people in the ANC, say Apia is not responsible for the barbaric murders, and lay the blame on a nebulous "third force" which seeks to sow racial hatred and in the process derail negotiations.

Whatever the truth is, the PAC leadership must now state categorically and unequivocally where it stands on the attacks. Could it be that it knows Apia is not responsible, but does not want to admit this because the perception that it is "a defender of the people" would be jeopardised?

Does it perhaps know that Apia carried out the heinous deeds, but will not say so publicly because of the local and international pressure which will inevitably follow? Or could it be that Makwehu and his colleagues really do not know, and are reluctant to admit their ignorance? We do not know, because of the organisation's ambivalence.

Let us consider what the attacks mean for the PAC. Undeniably, the attacks do have some grisly short-term benefit for the organisation, especially while

violence continues in the country. PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander is not alone in his belief that the Government has not done enough to stop the spiral of violence in the country, and that this is because most of the victims are black.

There are many in the black community who, while they might not say so publicly, hold the view that Pretoria would take the violence seriously and embark on effective initiatives to end it if whites were also primary victims. Unfortunately, the Government's reaction so far has merely reinforced the widespread perception that it indeed values white life more than it does black life. This is a view that ANC president Nelson Mandela has expressed a number of times, both here and abroad.

Moreover, PAC leaders say more than 20 000 people have joined their organisation since the eastern Cape attacks — for which Apia claimed responsibility — in December last year.

But the acts of terror have also brought local and international condemnation of the PAC, and

have severely embarrassed many PAC leaders. Whatever support the organisation gains in the short-term as a result of the attacks has to be weighed against the embarrassment they cause to it.

There is another disturbing dimension to these racial killings, and that is that they further polarise South Africans along racial lines, and trigger retaliatory attacks on blacks by rightwingers. This is a chilling prospect, and one which could make eventual reconciliation well-nigh impossible if the situation runs out of control.

The PAC leadership could play its part in staving off this doom-day scenario by categorically and unequivocally distancing itself from the murders, and strongly denouncing those who perpetrate the acts of terror.

To this end, it might also remove the poster at its head office's boardroom, where it holds its press conferences, which seems to condone Apia's alleged attacks. The poster reads: "Each bullet takes us forward. Viva Apia. Year of Great Storm. Apia by day, Apia by night." □

Security

Star 31/3/93

noose rings

Transkei

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has thrown a security noose around Transkei, saying this is to protect South African citizens against cross-border attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Government spokesman Dave Steward announced last night that the police and Defence Force would man all border points on all roads leading to Transkei.

All people and vehicles entering South Africa from Transkei would be thoroughly searched and border patrols would be intensified.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa last night said the move was "bellicose".

South Africa was free to deploy its forces within its jurisdiction, he said. Tension between the two countries would only end when people started "speaking the truth to one another".

Holomisa and President de Klerk will meet on April 5 to discuss the crisis between the two governments.

The decisions are the latest moves in the stand-off between Transkei and South Africa following Government and Goldstone Commission allegations that Apla had used Transkei as a springboard for attacks into South Africa.

In a note to the Government, Holomisa strongly rejected the allegations, called the Goldstone Commission a "kangaroo court" and has alleged that the South African Government had launched plans to assassinate Apla members in Transkei.

Holomisa yesterday responded to the Goldstone Commission's April 8 deadline to testify on the Apla issue by telling the country's prime violence mediator to "go and jump in the lake".

The terse response follows Mr Justice Goldstone's nonsense deadline to the PAC and Transkei.

Steward said that the South African Government's reply to Holomisa's note would be conveyed to the Transkei government today.

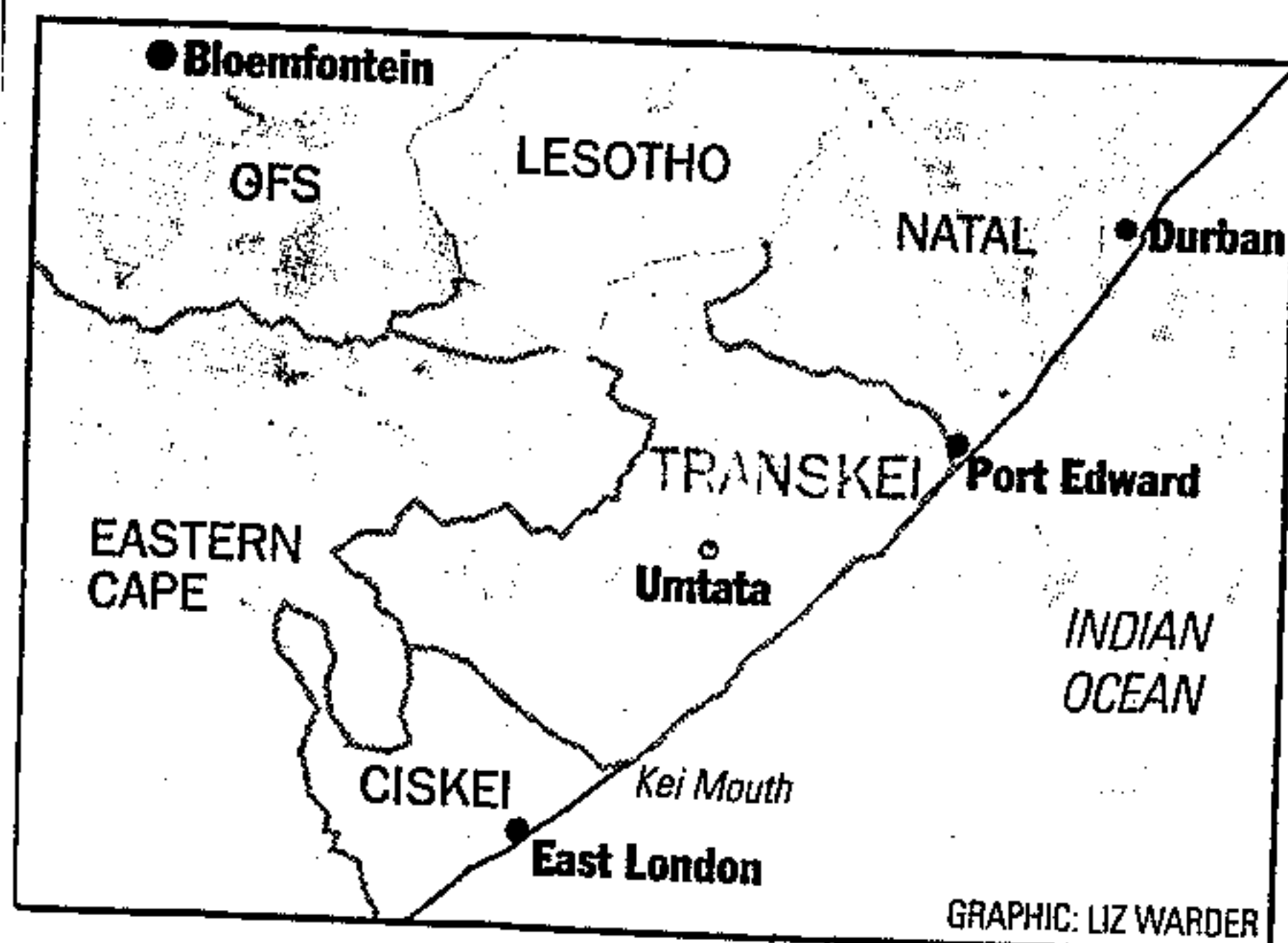
Last night, Holomisa said the South African Government had taken a high-handed attitude and he was no longer prepared to co-operate.

Government sources denied any suggestion that the security blanket slapped on Transkei was a punitive or sanctions measure.

Observers have raised the possibility that the security measures might be a repetition of the clampdown on Lesotho in 1986 when South Africa effectively blocked the inflow of supplies through security checks on vehicles at the border.

The blockade, imposed on January 1, followed repeated accusations by the Government that Lesotho was allowing the ANC to use its territory as a springboard for attacks into South Africa.

Sixteen days later, then Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan's government was overthrown by Major-General Justin Lekhanye.



MORE THAN A WEEK after the attacks on whites in Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress continues to equivocate on the issue.

Except for publicity secretary Barney Desai, the PAC's leaders have yet to condemn such attacks, or those responsible for them.

The organisation's explanation until now has been that it does not have sufficient information to make authoritative comment possible — and that the high command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army has also not commented.

Reports have Apla spokesman Johnny Majozi saying the guerilla army's cadres inside South Africa had not yet contacted Apla's headquarters to claim responsibility for the terror attacks.

It is pointed out that all there is to link Apla to the apparently racially motivated acts at this stage is a telephone call to the *South African Press Association* from an anonymous caller claiming to be an Apla cadre.

However, the situation remains very murky — because although PAC leaders insist that anybody could have telephoned the Press to claim responsibility on Apla's behalf, they have not ruled out the possibility that Apla might in fact have been responsible.

Attacks not condemned

Indeed, the PAC has tactically left the door wide open for this possibility and as a direct consequence has refused to condemn the murders and their perpetrators.

The furthest it has gone is to say that the PAC adhered to no policy which involved killing women and children.

But that, as the PAC leaders should know, is cold comfort to the families of those whom faceless gunmen have mown down in cold blood in the past two weeks.

At a media conference PAC president Clarence Makwetu was twice asked if he condemned the attacks. Twice he evaded the question, saying only: "We regret any killing, irrespective of colour." Told by the journalist who had posed the question that he had not answered it, Makwetu replied acidly: "Unfortunately we are not here to be tried by the media."

Ah, the media! The PAC leader — like most of his colleagues in the PAC leadership — has an aversion to the media matched by few of his counterparts in the country.

The average PAC leader and member believes the organisation has had a raw deal from the Press over the years. As a consequence they say repeatedly that the Africanist organisation was "not built by the Press" and therefore "will not be destroyed by it".

Instead of cultivating good relations with the Press, some PAC leaders have regarded the institution with scepticism and have not made

The Pan Africanist Congress has so far sat on the fence regarding recent killings allegedly committed by its armed wing, Azanian Peoples Liberation Army **Kaizer**

Nyatsumba argues that PAC leaders should condemn the racist attacks:

~~84A~~ 84A Sowefer 31/3/93.

themselves readily available for interviews or briefings.

Because of the PAC leadership's prevarication on the recent attacks, theories have abounded. There are those who say the attacks were staged by a disgruntled wing of Apla, which is intent on getting the PAC leadership to quit negotiations.

Whatever the truth is, I believe the PAC must now state categorically and unequivocally where it stands on the attacks. Could it be that it knows Apla is not responsible but does not want to admit this because the perception that it is 'a defender of the people' would be jeopardised?

Others, including people in the ANC, say Apla is not responsible for the barbaric murders and lay the blame on a nebulous "third force" which seeks to sow race-hate and in the process derail negotiations.

Whatever the truth is, I believe the PAC leadership must now state categorically and unequivocally where it stands on the attacks. Could it be that it knows Apla is not responsible but does not want to admit this because the perception that it is "a defender of the people" would be jeopardised?

Does it perhaps know that Apla had carried out the heinous deeds but will not say so publicly because of the local and international censure which will inevitably follow?

Or could it be that Makwetu and his colleagues do not know and are reluctant to admit their ignorance? We do not know, because of the organisation's ambivalence.

Let us consider what the attacks mean for the PAC.

Undeniably, the attacks do have some grisly short-term benefit for the organisation, especially while violence continues in the country. PAC secretary general Benny Alexander is not alone in his belief that the Government has not done enough to stop the spiral of violence in the country because most of the victims are black.

There are many in the black community who hold the view that Pretoria would take the violence seriously and embark on effective initiatives to end it if whites were primary victims.

White life valuable

Unfortunately, the Government's reaction so far has merely reinforced the widespread perception that it values white life more than it does black life. This is a view ANC president Nelson Mandela has expressed a number of times, both here and abroad.

Moreover, PAC leaders say more than 20 000 people have joined their organisation since the Eastern Cape attacks in December last year.

But the acts of terror have also brought local and international condemnation of the PAC and have severely embarrassed many PAC leaders. Whatever support the organisation gains in the short-term has to be weighed against the embarrassment they cause to it.

Another disturbing dimension to these racial killings is that they further polarise South Africans along racial lines and trigger retaliatory attacks by rightwingers. This is a chilling prospect and could make eventual reconciliation impossible if the situation runs out of control.

The PAC leadership could play its part in staving off this doomsday scenario by categorically and unequivocally distancing itself from the murders and strongly denouncing those who perpetrate the acts of terror.

To this end, it might remove the poster at its head office's boardroom which seems to condone Apla's alleged attacks. The poster reads: "Each bullet takes us forward. Viva Apla. Year of Great Storm. Apla by day, Apla by night."

Apla denies killings

Sowetan 11/4/93
■ Women, children and aged 'not our targets':

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE AZANIAN People's Liberation Army was not responsible for the killing of white civilians, including children, in the Eikenhof area two weeks ago, Apla's second-in-command Mr Romero Daniels said yesterday.

He dismissed the SADF's sealing off of the Transkei as "silly".

"They are trying to pretend Apla's incursion is orchestrated from beyond the country's borders, whereas they know it is right inside Azania."

Turning to the Eikenhof attack Daniels said: "We did not hit the white woman and two children there. It is not our policy to hit women, children and the aged," he said.

Star. 11/4/93

CP to urge ~~ban~~ banning of MK, Apla

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party and its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group would demand the banning of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army at the forthcoming constitutional talks, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during first reading debate on the Budget, he said organisations which openly advocated violence and terrorism, and accepted responsibility for such acts, had to be banned.

There was no place at the ne-

gotiation table for terrorists.

The CP would not take part in negotiations aimed at giving the ANC joint control over the security forces by incorporating the movement into an interim government of national unity.

Once the political principals of MK and Apla became part of the government, they would acquire joint control over the security forces.

It was one thing to debate the issue of violence intellectually, but it was totally out of the question to give criminals joint control over the security forces.

(84A)

Treurnicht said the Government had already decided on the need for a government of national unity within a unitary state, before the future constitutional model had been finalised at the negotiation table.

The CP would not take part in "this exercise of abdicating power".

Attempts by the Government to blackmail the TBVC states into surrendering their independence and being reincorporated into South Africa were a violation of their rights to self-determination, he added. — Sapa.

deadline for elections will be met — if there is agreement on the role of the security forces.

PAC/APLA (SLA) (S)

Playing hard to get

FM 2/4/93
Findings of the Goldstone Commission on Apla, the PAC's armed wing, were made provisional "in the hope of a positive response from Transkei, the PAC and Apla." The commission warned, however, that if no response was forthcoming those parties "cannot be heard to complain if the findings are regarded as conclusive by the local and international communities."

Judge Goldstone this week set a deadline — next Thursday — for those parties to contest the findings, after which they would indeed be deemed conclusive. It seems a safe bet that they will not respond.

The report, accepted by Judge Goldstone and forwarded to the State President on March 15, made nine provisional findings. These were released by President FW de Klerk in his wide-ranging speech to the joint

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 2/4/93

(SLA) (S)

session of parliament last week:

- Both the PAC and Apla still propagate the armed struggle;
- Apla is the military wing of the PAC;
- Apla uses Transkei as a springboard for attacks into SA. Arms and ammunition are stored in Transkei for use by Apla units and the presence of armed Apla members in Transkei is known to members of the Transkei police;
- The Transkei government has supplied Apla with arms, allegedly to protect VIPs;
- Apla's operational activities are aimed at members of the SAP, SADF and white civilians in general;
- The PAC controls Apla's budget;
- Apla members have received training in Transkei;
- Arms and explosives are being smuggled into SA and Transkei for use by Apla members; and
- Apla's internal high command for SA is based in Transkei.

In the prelude to its recommendations, the committee says that the vast majority of South Africans are committed to a peaceful political transformation to democracy. "It cannot therefore be tolerated that an organisation should commit acts of violence and wanton killings in order to promote its own political aims. Bitter experience has proved that acts of violence invite retaliation that causes a never-ending cycle of violence that it would be very difficult to contain once it gained momentum."

It therefore recommended that the security forces protect SA citizens to the best of their ability and arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of violence in terms of the common law.

The Goldstone Commission, it goes on, should ask the international community to request all countries to withhold assistance to Apla, press the PAC to cease condoning and supporting acts of violence by Apla and to join the multi-party negotiations process. Further, Goldstone should ask the Tanzanian government for its response to police and SADF allegations concerning the training of Apla in that country and the existence of an Apla base there.

Government and SA political groups should ascertain from Transkei authorities their response to the allegations of the police and SADF "and if they are confirmed or not denied" to pressurise Umtata to prohibit the use of that territory as a springboard for attacks on SA citizens.

All parties in the negotiations should bring pressure on the PAC and Apla to "suspend" the armed struggle and join the talks and, through negotiations, get the PAC and others to sign the National Peace Accord and take part in its structures.

The committee emphasised the provisional nature of its report, saying all parties were still free and are again invited to give evidence to the commission at any time regarding any matter in its report. Its brief was to investigate the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition, personnel and operational ac-

tivities.

The committee was chaired by Goldstone Commission member Gert Steyn (a retired president of a regional court), Fikile Bam (a Port Elizabeth advocate) and Nico Coetzer (a Hoopstad attorney). In addition, the proceedings were observed by a UN appointee, Prof Kwame Frimpong of the University of Botswana. Hearings kicked off in PE on January 4 and wrapped up on February 12.

Though all interested parties were publicly invited to make submissions, only the SA Police and SADF responded — asking that copies which they had presented be forwarded to the Transkei consulate in PE and to the PAC. Both parties failed to take part in spite of repeated requests. Apla made no contact with the committee whatsoever.

The attitude of Transkei's military leader Bantu Holomisa is perplexing, observes UCT's Robert Schrire. First, the whole episode must be acutely embarrassing to the ANC — partly because it sours the negotiations environment and partly because the PAC and ANC are sworn enemies. Holomisa has often openly claimed to be pro-ANC and has hitherto acted as such, not least by appearing to want to lead the anti-Buthelezi homelander.

Another suggestion is that Holomisa has grown ambivalent about rejoining SA along with the other homelands, which it has been assumed will occur. Is he deliberately clouding the situation in the hope of increasing his leverage for a greater role in future? On the other hand, Holomisa (in his ANC colours) would be a strong candidate for some top defence job — unless he figures the ANC may feel it is already too heavily Xhosa and could lose out as result.

Is Holomisa, like KwaZulu's Buthelezi before him, starting to fall back on his homeland base as a prelude to declaring his hand in favour of greater regional autonomy in a federal set-up? Stranger things have happened.

Tough gun law proposed

DRAFT legislation providing for compulsory imposition of a minimum five-year sentence on anyone convicted of illegal possession of AK-47s, machineguns and explosive devices would be introduced today, Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh said in Pretoria last night.

Meanwhile, new procedures for firearm licences came into effect, police said yesterday. Licences would no longer be carried in ID but would be on a laminated card.

REPORTS: Business Day Reporters, Sapa.

BIDAY 2/4/93

84

Anger at MK swipe

w/mail 2/4-7/4/93
By STEPHEN LAUFER

(10/3) (SCA)
CLEARLY angered by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's parliamentary broadside against Umkhonto weSizwe, senior African National Congress members fear the issue of joint control over the security forces during the transition period could seriously affect the negotiations.

MK commanders believe government intransigence could in fact derail the talks, pointing to the potential for disruption available to the government in the run-up to elections if the security forces are not under joint command. This, says Calvin Khan, personal assistant to MK chief Joe Modise, could involve an outside chief of the joint command, possibly appointed by the United Nations.

Sources close to the negotiations, while confirming the central importance of the issue, indicate that an acceptable compromise is likely once the grandstanding is over.

Says Jeremy Cronin, ANC national executive committee member: "The issue is crucial in the run-up to elections, because a fair and free vote hinges on the impartiality of the security forces. But the alternative to a compromise is a war of attrition lasting years."

Informed sources say the South African Defence Force has, indeed, moved preparations for the assimilation of other armed formations into high gear. Forms have been printed and inducting officers briefed.

Holomisa agrees to Goldstone probe

Star 2/4/93

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The crisis in Transkei/South African relations was largely defused yesterday when Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa agreed that the Goldstone Commission could play a part in probing claims of Apla military activities in the homeland.

After a "straight-talking" two-hour meeting in Cape Town, in which President de Klerk gave Holomisa a dressing down, a compromise seems to be on the cards.

De Klerk warned Holomisa that the moment of truth had arrived in dealing with violence. The Government would not hesitate to take "appropriate action" when its citizens were threatened.

Holomisa announced to the press afterwards that he had decided to appoint Transkei's Chief Justice to probe the Apla allegations.

But, in an important concession, Holomisa — who has so far refused to acknowledge the

Goldstone Commission — said the Chief Justice would work with other structures, including the Goldstone Commission.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha welcomed Holomisa's move as "very hopeful" although he indicated that at the meeting Holomisa had not spelt out his readiness to co-operate with the commission.

But Holomisa said afterwards that complete agreement had been reached and the crisis had been defused.

De Klerk kicked off yesterday's meeting by severely dressing down Holomisa.

Transkei's failure to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission would create "a very serious situation," he told him.

Holomisa's accusations against the SA Government had nothing to do with the Goldstone Commission's findings on Apla. "The only rational response" was for Transkei to co-operate with the commission and put before it all the evidence at its disposal.

De Klerk said Holomisa "ought to know" that he, De Klerk, had not given orders for certain Apla members in Transkei to be "wiped out" as Holo-

misa claimed.

"And to make matters worse, you threatened the South African Government and the South African people. You said that we will have to man each and every white home inside and outside Transkei, because you won't be responsible if the people related.

"Let me make it clear that if South African citizens inside or outside Transkei are harmed or their property is damaged or destroyed as a result of the actions or omissions of Transkei Government, I will hold you and your government responsible.

"It cannot be in the interest of the people of Transkei to imply that if you do not get your way, whites will be murdered."

De Klerk said he was disturbed by Holomisa's description of the Goldstone Commission as a "kangaroo court" and rejected his attack on its integrity, objectivity and fairness.

De Klerk stressed that Mr Justice Goldstone himself and not the Government, had taken the initiative to investigate Apla, on the UN Security Council's recommendation.

(84A)

CIPress 215193

Police warn on more would-be assassins

By DESMOND BLOW

POLICE believe there are several more would-be assassins involved in a conspiracy to kill Nelson Mandela and seven other people on the "hit list" found in the possession of suspected Hani assassin Janusz Walus.

They believe detained senior CP member Clive Derby-Lewis could identify the would-be killers.

This emerged from documents before the Pretoria Supreme Court this week when the police applied to extend Derby-Lewis's detention.

In granting the extension Judge DJ Curlewis

said it appeared from Derby-Lewis's own affidavit that he was withholding information.

According to the documents, Walus - who has been charged with Hani's murder together with Derby-Lewis's 54-year-old wife, Gabrielle (Gaye) Derby-Lewis - told police after his arrest that more people would be assassinated despite his arrest.

Col Adriaan van Niekerk of the SA Police said in an affidavit he suspected there were more people and more firearms involved in the conspiracy.

Police Capt Nic Deetlefs said in an affidavit Walus told him that Clive Derby-Lewis - whom he had known since 1984 - had given him a gun and silencer and had told him to shoot Hani over Easter. Walus said he had made five reconnaissance

trips to Hani's Dawn Park, Boksburg, home before seeing him there on April 10 and seizing the opportunity to kill him.

Deetlefs said Walus alleged the "hit list" had been given to him by Derby-Lewis. However, the judge pointed out that Derby-Lewis had hotly denied that Hani should be murdered.

Late on Friday afternoon Gabrielle (Gaye) Mavourna Derby-Lewis - looking like a mild middle-class grandmother - was charged as a second accused (after Walus) with the murder of Hani before Magistrate JWZ Vivier in "C" court, Boksburg.

Heavily armed plain-clothed policemen guarded the court.

She was remanded to the Pretoria Central Prison until May 12 when she will appear with Walus.



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MK lashes Kriel over security control

By Quentin Wilson

MR SIPHERWE Nyanda, chief-of-staff of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), this week refused to take Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel seriously when he bluntly refused to accept multi-party control of security forces.

In parliament on Monday Kriel rejected the ANC's pivotal demand, saying existing security forces would deal exclusively with the country's violence "come hell or high water".

Dismissing MK members as "criminals", Kriel said the government was not interested in joint control of ill-trained, ineffectual and out-of-control MK criminals or weapons.

The ANC demands that during the run-up to a democratic election, all armies in South Africa (including those in the bantustans) be placed under multi-party control.

Negotiations on the issue have been held on the issue for the past two years

South 3/4-7/14/93

and will again be a crucial point in this week's multi-party talks.

In his response to Kriel, Nyanda dismissed the minister's parliamentary outburst as "nothing more than hollow government propaganda".

Said Nyanda: "I refuse to believe he really means what he said in parliament. At meetings with the ANC, he and his colleagues keep very quiet and avoid this issue like the plague, but they seem to have a markedly different approach when they speak in public.

"It is quite inconceivable that a senior government minister could really seriously contemplate a situation where- by the SADF and SAP remain under their control right up to an election.

"What ever happened to levelling the playing fields? Or committing themselves to free political activity?"

"If he did not hold such a senior post, his remarks would be laughable."

Nyanda said that "deep down" the government knew only too well the

inevitability of multi-party security control and the integration of all armed forces after an election.

"The regime realise they cannot cling to their military instrument indefinitely, but at the same time they are finding it difficult to accept the reality that their private fighting forces are being taken away from their sole control.

"The revelations about their nuclear programme being scrapped is a sure sign that the government is eliminating all its embarrassments before an interim authority takes over," Nyanda said.

Nyanda added he did not want to trade insults with Kriel by talking about the "long list of criminal acts perpetrated by the SADF" as such talk "is not conducive to the spirit of negotiations".

"It has to be said, however, that no security forces must be left in limbo during South Africa's transition period. As we have said all along, the regime cannot be player and referee of the entire process," he said.



51 Times 4493

SDUs turning into monsters

IN THE early 90s the ANC looked to self-defence units to protect communities — today they are mostly renegade bands of criminals who barricade roads, rape women and hold up shop-owners.

The typical SDU member in the PWV area is either a disgruntled returned Umkhonto we Sizwe member who has no money, no status and years of accumulated grudges, an ANC-organised East Rand peace summit heard this weekend.

Or he may be a youth who through demonstra-

By CHARLENE SMITH

tions and striking teachers has had little education, cannot find a job and carries a Makarov.

● Daveyton, near Benoni, has a renegade SDU which is in the middle of a bloody feud with the ANC Youth League.

● Katlehong, the ANC's biggest branch with 25 000 paid-up members, experiences attacks from a PAC anti-negotiations faction which calls itself the Revolutionary Watchdogs.

● Vosloorus has an SDU that regularly engages in

gun battles with the police.

While ANC organisers insist there are some "good SDUs" the bad SDUs are in the majority. (S4A)

This weekend's Peace Summit explored ways to bring SDUs under control. But it did not have its task made easier by receiving conflicting leadership opinions. (S4A)

Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said the ANC's inability to defend people in violent communities affected its standing. He supported the deepening of SDUs and underground ANC structures, saying these were a necessary back-up to peace agreements.

SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani called for SDUs to be transformed into a peace corps. He suggested a paid or voluntary civic service where "say 500 people from a township could do a two-year stint assisting with crime control, clean-up campaigns and service to their township".

He criticised SDUs for not being non-partisan and said undisciplined elements should be expelled.

In truth, the ANC has discovered that SDUs have become uncontrollable monsters that, aside from their criminal activities, will also dampen ANC election chances.

PAC flee

homes

City Press
in OFS

444/93

shanty

(84A)

town

By MOSES MAMAILA

FEARFUL things are happening in Ficksburg.

Virtually the entire membership of the PAC in Meqheleng township outside Ficksburg has fled – probably into the Lesotho mountains.

Two weeks ago, in a crackdown on "Apla", the government detained 18 Meqheleng youths. The PAC says it grabbed pupils who were members of the Pan African Students' Organisation (Paso), and not Apla.

City Press visited the beleaguered township and heard about a ruthless security force campaign to wipe out any trace of the PAC.

Tshepiso Mohautse, probably the only "above-ground" PAC member still in the area, told us: "The police arrest pupils who are members of Paso, claiming they are trained Apla guerrillas.

"Most of those detained were high school pupils who were on holiday."

His younger brother, Tefo, was on the run after police had raided his home several times searching for him.

Mohautse said the area was very tense.

He said the police harrassment would only drive youths into Apla's arms.

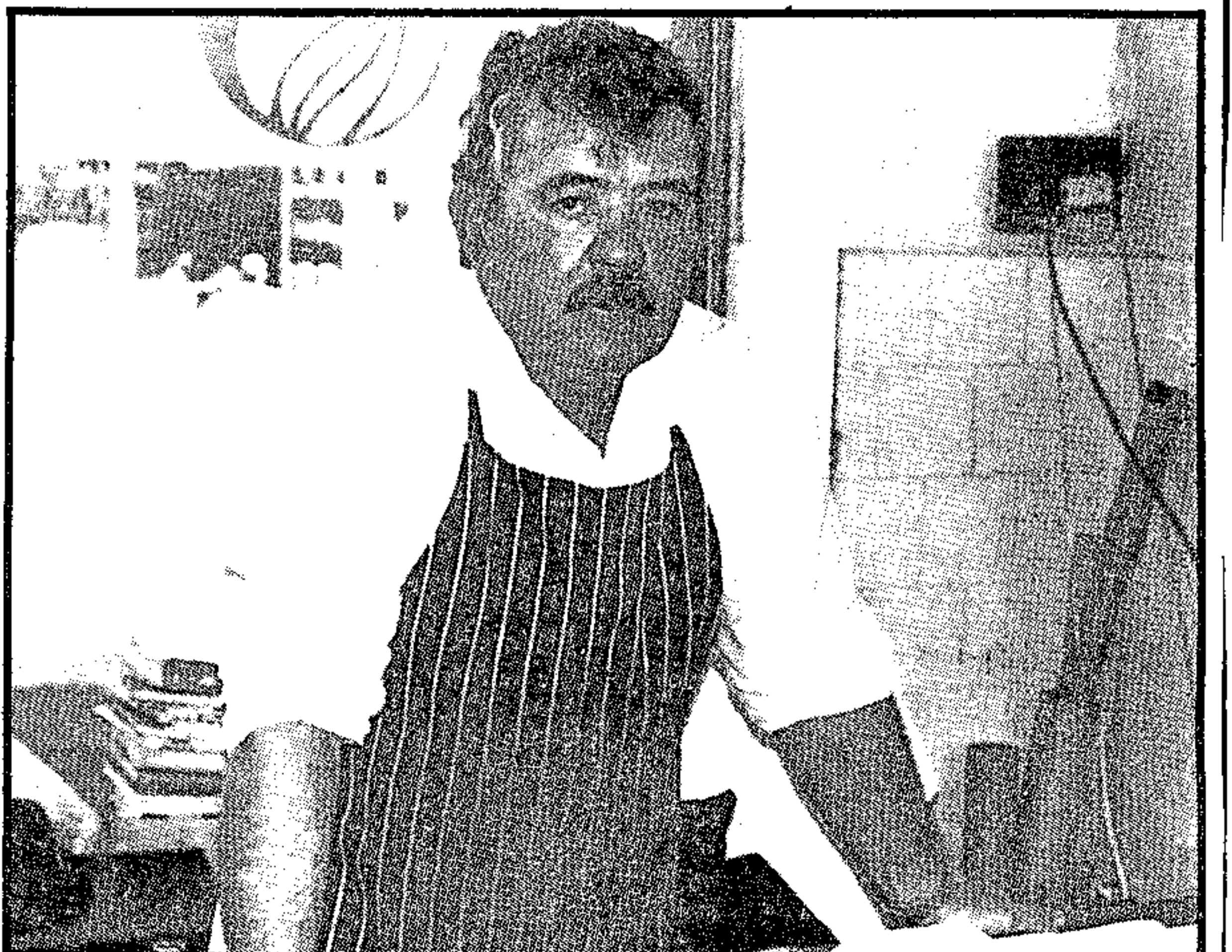
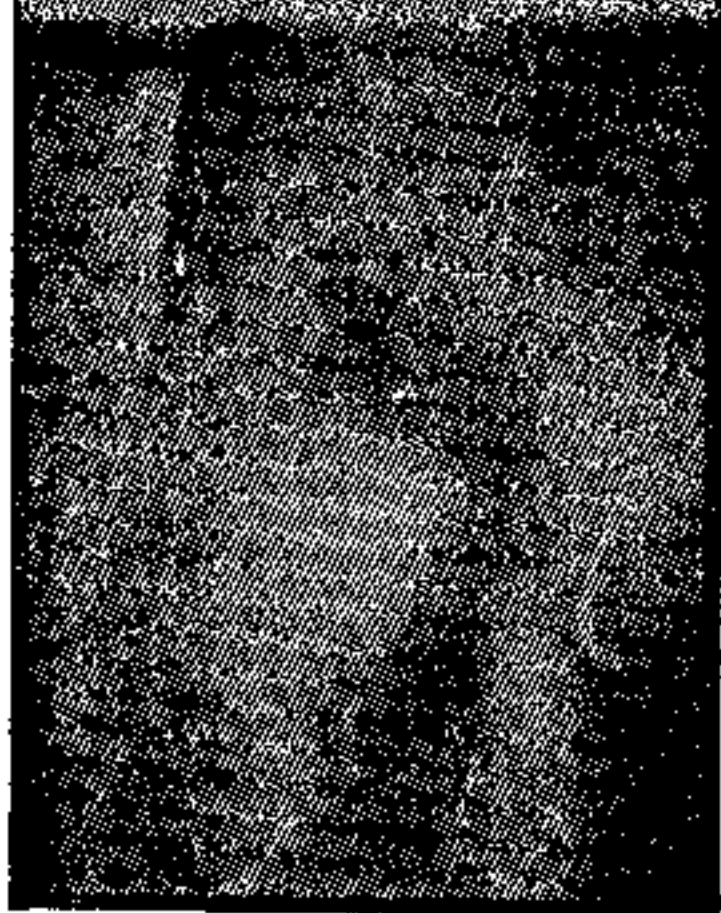
Community leader Sabata Moyane said the 18 youths had been arrested previously in October following a series of blasts in Ficksburg.

The Paso members were arrested after a house in town was bombed and were released without being charged in November.

However, Moyane suggested the attacks on whites in the area could be the work of Lesotho peasants furious with alleged assaults on their women and children by white Free State farmers.

He claimed the farmers assaulted Lesotho people who gathered wood in SA.

Parents of the youths expressed fury over the incarceration of their kids.



PERSECUTED ...
The PAC's Tshepiso Mohautse (above) won't abandon his township home, while Johannes Koen (right), had his home in town bombed last year. His four kids were traumatised by the blast. Koen says Ficksburg's whites are arming themselves to the hilt.

■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

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Impartiality pledge ~~(S)~~
AN ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into alleged human rights abuses in the organisation's camps in Africa is confident its findings will be impartial. Chairman Sam Motsuenyane said at the weekend the commission would try to establish "who did what". Former Zimbabwe Supreme Court judge David Zamchiya and former US judge Margaret Burnham would assist him. ~~(S)~~

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NEWS No arms found after blockade of Transkei, says ruler

Holomisa to mediate between Apla and SA

Sowetan 5/4/93

TRANSKEI ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa and Azanian Peoples Liberation Army commanders are to hold talks later this month aimed at ending hostilities between Pretoria and Apla.

Holomisa and Apla have confirmed the meeting, scheduled for Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where the PAC military wing has its headquarters.

The meeting follows a series of other meetings between the two since last year.

Holomisa held talks last month with Apla's high command in the homeland's capital Umtata, where mass rallies followed.

Apla's chief Sabelo Phama is said to have also briefed senior officers of the Transkei Defence Force on issues relating to a joint armed force comprising Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SA Defence Force.

■ **FORGETFUL GENERALS** Liebenberg and

Van der Merwe did not investigate Apla:

"I have been talking to Apla about joining the multiparty talks for some time now and this is a process all South Africans have nothing to be afraid of," Holomisa said yesterday.

He said although the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress had been unbanned, members of the SA security forces still regarded PAC and ANC as the enemy.

Holomisa also blamed SA's General Kat Liebenberg and General Johan van der Merwe for the present strained relationships between Transkei and SA.

"I told President FW de Klerk last week that

when rumours of Apla bases in Transkei first surfaced last year, I invited Liebenberg and Van der Merwe to investigate the allegations with impunity from my government.

"The two generals failed to convey my invitation to the SA Government or to undertake such investigations. De Klerk asked them (the generals) at our meeting last week if this was true and they confirmed it," said Holomisa.

Holomisa said the border control posts did not "even yield one bullet, let alone a firearm," being smuggled in and out of Transkei. — Sapa. See Page 7.

ANALYSIS *SAP with red face after 'Apla' debacle and siege of Transkei*

Seeing the wood for the trees

■ HIGHWAY AMBUSH *Don't point a*

finger before you have all the facts:

By Mathatha Tsedu

THE announcement at the weekend that two men arrested for the Eikenhof killings 16 days ago were linked to the ANC raises many questions about previous police statements.

What had started as a simple criminal action in which several men hijacked a car and went on a shooting spree, leaving three people dead, was turned into a political outrage that led to Transkei being placed under siege.

Typical of this kind of attack, no motive was initially identified. Then came the news that a schoolbus carrying white children had been the initial target and all hell broke loose.

It started with the attack being "probably" the work of "terrorists" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the PAC.

Within a day, when PAC leaders said they could not comment on the matter, and following a telephone call to a news agency, the PAC leadership was under siege.

Police spokesmen said the attack bore "the hallmarks" of Apla attacks. And as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging manned its roadblock on a national road in the presence of police, Law and Order

Minister Hermus Kriel flew into Eikenhof, firing from the hip.

The PAC leadership should account for the death of the three people, he said. If they did not distance themselves from the attack, they should then be kicked out of talks.

President FW de Klerk convened an emergency special sitting of all houses of Parliament and let go at the PAC for its "terroristic" attacks.

The Goldstone Commission's report on Apla activities, prompted by another

attack on whites in Queenstown, was released on the same day, reinforcing the State President's attack on the PAC and Transkei.

Goldstone, in a report based largely on police and military witnesses, had found that the Transkei was the nerve centre of Apla activities.

The commission also found that Transkei helped Apla. Transkei and PAC leaders, as well as Apla commanders, refused to testify.

The PAC said its military activities could not be the subject of a commission appointed by an illegitimate regime against whom its operations were directed.

As days went by, the noise about PAC involvement in the attack became deafening. The PAC leadership must come clean, Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, thundered.

But the PAC said it could not confirm nor deny. It however said it was not its policy to attack women and children. This was seen as an egg dance by the media, which, in the heat of the moment, also took the police cue that the attack bore the hallmarks of Apla strategies.

South African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani got on to the bandwagon and called on the PAC to stop attacks on civilians, adding that this form of attack was not military action but cowardice.

De Klerk then made his move. Saying Transkei was a haven for terrorists, he descended on Transkei with a ring of iron, blockading the bantustan.

The action, in which vehicles to and from Transkei were thoroughly searched, brought memories of the Lesotho blockade which led to a coup and the downfall of Leabua Jonathan.

Then came the arrests of the two suspects and initial police refusal to confirm rumours that the men were linked to the ANC and not the PAC.

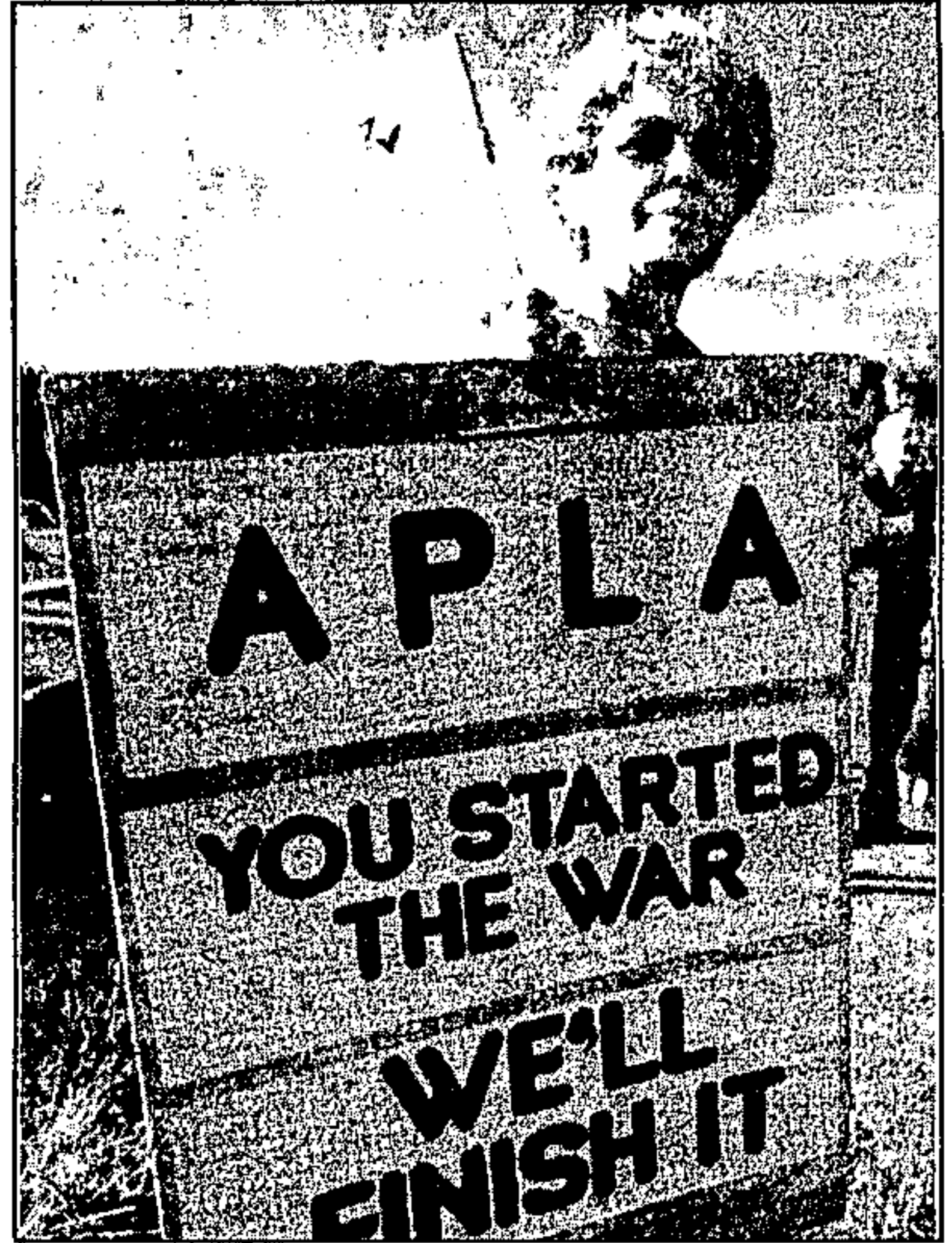
Until this weekend, when police eventually confirmed. And now there is talk that the "Casspir diplomacy" at the river Kei may end.

What happened to the Apla hallmarks in this attack as police saw them? The same police force testified before the Goldstone Commission and their evidence was used to reach its conclusions. Conclusions which themselves prompted the gunboat diplomacy in the Eastern Cape.

How reliable was that evidence? There must be a lesson here for everyone, especially the police and media. And that lesson could be that, until you know who did anything, do not go about accusing people and demanding denunciations.

Because if you do and you are wrong, as police were in this case, you end up with a lot of egg on your face.

But more seriously, you create hardships for innocent people, such as those in Transkei, who suddenly found themselves faced with a border post where none had ever existed before since the birth of the banana republic in 1976.



An AWB protester at the scene of the Eikenhof shootings.

Star 5/4/93

No truth in breakaway army, says Hani

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani has proposed that the Goldstone Commission investigate allegations that he and Winnie Mandela were considering forming a "Black Peoples' Army".

The allegations were published yesterday in an Afrikaans newspaper. It also said Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla representatives had met twice this year to establish co-operation.

Hani said: "Any insinuation that I am forming a new army goes against the grain of the National Peace Accord and should be investigated by the

Goldstone Commission."

He denied attending an alleged meeting between Apla and MK in Transkei.

Referring to speculation in the report that he and Mandela wanted to lead a breakaway group from the ANC, Hani said: "I am very happy in the ANC and the party. There is not a single reason for me to form a black peoples' army."

MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda denied meetings took place between MK and Apla in Transkei in January and Secunda in February. He denied being at the Transkei meeting.

But he said he met his Apla counterpart, Sabelo Phama, at a seminar in Transkei on March

25 organised by the Transkei and Venda governments.

Transkei military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa last night confirmed he had met Phama in the homeland when Phama was attending a PAC national executive committee meeting.

Holomisa said he was asked in his meeting last Thursday with De Klerk whether Phama had been in Transkei. "I replied that Apla was unbanned, it is his home, and he is free to visit unconditionally."

He might meet Phama in Dar es Salaam as part of their ongoing talks but the meeting had not yet been confirmed, Holomisa said.

'Ring of steel' to remain in place

By Philip Zoio



Tough security measures around the Transkei border are to continue until the Government is satisfied that there are no Apla cadres operating from Transkei, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

The Transkei border has been tightly controlled for nearly a week by the SAP and SADF following the publication of a preliminary report by the Goldstone Commission, which found that Apla had been using Transkei as a springboard for attacks in South Africa.

Kotze said Major-General

Bantu Holomisa should ensure that there were no Apla guerillas based in the homeland.

Transkei has denied that their territory has been used as a base for Apla attacks. Holomisa said yesterday that the Government's "ring of steel" had backfired because it was causing inconvenience to South Africans. (S4A)

Kotze said the SAP was conducting searches at every primary and secondary road border post.

In addition, the SADF was intensively patrolling the countryside between border posts.

Head of the Eastern Cape SAP public relations division,

Colonel Louis Botha, said the SAP and SADF would continue to conduct searches until the Government gave the order to discontinue. (S4A)

In the last three days ending at 6 am yesterday, the security forces had stopped 7 136 vehicles and searched over 19 000 people on the eastern Cape/Transkei border, Botha said.

He said there had been no major disturbances since Friday, when a group of taxi drivers blockaded a bridge and threatened to set a petrol tanker on fire if the SAP and SADF did not ease the controls.

Nobody had been arrested for attempting to smuggle arms across the border, Botha said.



**Illegal
weapons**

(SAP)
(SAP)

Sowetan 7/4/73

THE South African Police have submitted a document to a committee of the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town on ways of preventing the illegal importation, distribution and use of weapons, ammunition and explosives.

The SAP, South African Defence Force, Inkatha Freedom Party, African National Congress and other organisations and individuals will testify before the committee which meets again today

Apla chief speaks on 'racist war'

AZANIAN Peoples Liberation Army chief Mr Sabelo Phama denied in a TV interview that Apla was engaged in a racist war against whites.

Phama, however, said Apla did not believe in the concept of "hard or soft" targets.

Speaking on CCV's *Newsline* last night, Phama said the political situation in South Africa had to be seen in what he termed its right perspective.

"Apla is targeting any force or any person who wields a gun or weapon of oppression against the oppressed. So, the whole aspect must not be looked at from a racialistic point of view.

"When you take Askaris and Koevoet, they are Africans, but they go on killing our people. Don't look at any reactionary act with racialistic spectacles."

On the question of killing white women and children, Mr Phama blamed the media.

"The media is owned by whites. So, if any aspect of the shaking of the tree is directed at some colour aspect, then a black/white type of situation comes in.

"The media is pushing that line because the South African Government wants any straw to cling to in order to get complete, uncritical support of the Western countries on the basis that white people are being destroyed in South Africa."

He refused to confirm or deny that Apla was involved in recent racist attacks against whites.

■ 1993 'The Year of the Great Storm':

"I don't think it is necessary to deny or accept certain aspects of a war situation because people were killed in the Natal Table Mountain area and none was called to deny or accept responsibility."

Asked whether Apla's activities placed the PAC leadership in a difficult position at the negotiating table, he said: "That situation (negotiations) is not easy, it is being complicated every day.

"We cannot accept the regime's arrogance (a reference to a Government statement that it would not talk constitutional matters with the PAC unless it clarified its stance towards Apla).

"Who is calling the shots here? Is it the African majority or the Boers? We cannot have a situation where the Boers are going to continue having anarchy and also calling the shots in our own country, in our own land."

He said there was no conflict between Apla and the PAC leadership.

"The PAC congress in Umtata last year took a decision on negotiations and the pursuit of the armed struggle," said Phama.

He added 1993 had been declared "The Year of the Great Storm — a great storm of pushing the revolution forward". Apla would only stop when a satisfactory political solution that met the aspirations of the African majority was found, he said. - Sapa.

Chief of Apla denies race war

Star 8/4/93

AZANIAN People's Liberation Army chief Sabelo Phama denied in his first full television interview broadcast in South Africa that Apla was engaged in a racist war against whites, but said his military force did not believe in the concept of "hard" or "soft" targets.

Speaking on CCV-TV's news actuality programme, Newsline, broadcast last night without any indication where the interview was conducted, Phama said the political situation in South Africa had to be seen in what he termed its right perspective.

"In racist South Africa, we have two forces at play — the oppressed and the oppressor, the dispossessed and the dispossessor. You have a situation where guns and licences were given to the white community to the disadvantage of the oppressed.

"Can we now, in terms of those who say there are 'hard' and 'soft' targets, say whites are 'soft' targets and Africans are 'hard' targets?" he asked.

"If you look at it from the point of view of the enemy itself, with its Koevoet and Askaris (former Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla cadres who are now policemen), it will hit people on the trains. Now are our

Apla says that it can't distinguish between 'hard' and 'soft' targets in the struggle.

mothers, fathers, brothers and our sisters on the trains 'soft' targets? That is where the confusion is.

"But when the enemy for instance attacks the whites, then it says the issue of 'hard' and 'soft' targets must come in."

Phama further denied that whites were specific targets of his military force.

(84A) **Blame** (84A)

On the question of killing white women and children, Phama blamed the media, saying it did not report that Apla believed in attacking armed structures.

"The media is owned by whites. So, if any aspect of the shaking of the tree is directed at some colour aspect, then a black/white type of situation comes in. The media is pushing that line because the South African Government wants any straw to cling in order to get the complete, uncritical support of Western countries."

He refused to confirm or deny that Apla was involved in recent racist attacks against whites.

"I don't think it is necessary to deny or accept certain aspects of a war situation because people were killed in the Natal Table Mountain area (earlier this year) and no one was called to deny or accept responsibility."

Asked whether Apla's activities placed the PAC leadership in a difficult position at the negotiating table, Phama replied: "That situation (negotiations) is not easy, it is being complicated every day.

"We cannot accept the regime's arrogance (a reference to a Government statement that it would not talk constitutional matters with the PAC unless it clarified its stance towards Apla). Who is calling the shots here? Is it the African majority or the Boers?"

"If South Africa says PAC cannot go to the negotiating table if Apla does this, did PAC say Koevoet and the SADF are not disbanded, therefore we will not talk to you? We cannot have a situation where the Boers are going to continue having anarchy and also calling the shots in our own country, in our own land." — Sapa. □

Massacre prompts police reward offer

BIDAY 8/4/93

DURBAN — Police are offering a R50 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the killers of 10 ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, on Monday.

Durban police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo announced the reward offer yesterday. He said informants could telephone Crime Stop on 0800-111213 or investigator W/O Frik Breedt on (0391) 22524.

The violence-related toll in Murchison this week has climbed to 12 with two more killings early yesterday. Police spokesman Lt Dawood Kader said three suspects had been arrested.

The two latest victims, aged 19 and 25, were hacked and stabbed to death while sleeping in a house in Mtengwane.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi condemned Monday's Murchison massacre saying: "Violence is not in the interests of anyone." He was speaking on his return from Britain yesterday.

He said he had no preconditions for a summit conference with ANC president Nelson Mandela and would like such a meeting as soon as possible. "I can see him tomorrow," Buthelezi said.

He also "rejected with contempt" Monday's statement by ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande that the Concerned South Africans Group, of which Inkatha was a principal member, might stage a "Unita option" — rejecting election results if they lost.

Meanwhile, unidentified gunmen on Tuesday night shot and wounded senior IFP member Manuel Mdunge on his way home in Umlazi, Durban, party spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday.

Tillet said the car in which Mdunge was travelling was riddled with bullets and at

least 20 spent cartridges were found at the scene. It was the second attack on senior IFP officials in Umlazi in the past week, he said.

"There is a systematic campaign to eliminate IFP leaders, to destroy the IFP and to sabotage peace initiatives in Umlazi," Tillet claimed.

Another two people were shot dead and a woman seriously injured in an attack on a squatter camp at Esikhaweni near Empangeni on the Natal North Coast, it was reported yesterday.

At Nkelabantwana near Bulwer in the Natal Midlands a man was shot dead yesterday and another wounded in an attack. A police spokesman said five people fired on a group, killing Ndoneni Bunenizizi.

In Khayelitsha near Cape Town yesterday, a policeman was shot and two wounded men arrested when police were attacked and involved in a 40-minute gunfight, according to police.

Sgt I Isaacs, Const S Ntongona and Const M Mbolekawa went to the scene in an armour-plated vehicle. Sgt Isaacs was shot in the leg.

The robbers fled with the police in pursuit. The heavy police vehicle became stuck in deep sand, however, and its occupants stepped out to try and calm an angry crowd, which, according to police reports, were being egged on to set the vehicle alight.

The SAP members were attacked and in the ensuing gun fight, Isaacs was shot. Two men were later arrested trying to have their bullet wounds treated at a hospital.

Police said members of the Internal Stability Unit prevented the crowd from setting the armoured vehicle alight. — Sapa.

ANC proposes tough arms laws

CAPE TOWN — The failure of the security forces to protect people from attack was a major cause of the spiralling demand for firearms, the ANC told a committee of the Goldstone commission investigating illegal arms yesterday.

The ANC told the committee in Cape Town both self-defence units and hostel residents' associations demanded firearms because they had little or no faith in the security forces' willingness and ability to protect them.

"For as long as the security forces are perceived as partisan or ineffective, there is little prospect of any statutory intervention (affecting) the proliferation of illegal firearms in our country."

The ANC said firearms should be confined to sporting activities and to securing a livelihood.

Statutory amendments proposed by the ANC included:

- Raising the age limit for the issue of firearm licences from 16 to 21 years;
- That applicants for licences undergo psychometric testing to assess their suitability to possess a firearm;

Individuals be restricted to one firearm; and

That anyone found in possession of more than two illegal firearms be presumed to have been dealing illegally in such arms.

Weapons such as semi-automatic and automatic arms and large-calibre weapons should be statutorily restricted to a much greater extent, the ANC submitted.

Meanwhile, committee chairman M N S Sithole ruled yesterday that the terms of reference of the Goldstone commission committee investigating the illegal importation, distribution and use of arms and ammunition will remain unchanged.

His ruling followed a complaint by counsel for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Louis Visser, SC, that the committee's mandate did not extend to the illegal possession of firearms.

Visser said the committee could not fulfil its task properly without also investigating the illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Sithole said the committee would proceed with its inquiry as mandated.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa.

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

APLA defence chief Sabelo Phama had already returned to the safety of his Tanzanian lair when he appeared on TV this week to tell South Africans that he would aim his guns at children — to hurt whites where it hurts most.

Earlier he had slipped into the Transkei to grant the SABC a rare interview.

As Phama was unlikely to talk to "white settlers," the SABC sent a black television team and crew to film the interview.

But getting the full version of the interview screened on TV3's Newline on Wednesday night — 16 days after it had been taped — was not without intrigue.

Apla security aides confiscated the cassette, apparently by mutual agreement, and said it would be released at the "appropriate" time for "security reasons".

Twelve days later the tape was given back to the SABC by an Eastern Cape office of the Pan Africanist Congress, giving the Apla commander enough time to return to Dar es Salaam.

The interview gave some insight into the mind of the man who claims to be engaged in guerrilla warfare against the "regime and its agents".

Phama said that it was Apla policy to kill policemen, white farmers in rural areas and whites in general.

He disclosed that he had ordered the murder of innocent people at a private party in a restaurant in the Eastern Cape last December.

When Apla struck at King William's Town Golf Club on December 8, "Apla forces were in pursuit of specific enemy agents", Phama claimed.

Not much is known about Sabelo Phama. As PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander put it: "We only give out biographical details of Apla members after their death."

Sabelo Victor Phama is in his early 40s. He was born in the Transkei, is married and has three-year-old twin sons, Sandile and Andile, who live with him in Dar es Salaam.

Normally after unsolved terrorist attacks on policeman or members of the public in SA, Apla's field operative, Carl Zimbiri, takes it upon himself to telephone news agencies claiming the deaths to be "Apla successes".

Apla chief bolts home after TV talk

These statements — true or false — are endorsed by Phama, who condones the attacks with the rationale that "cops are a key part of Pretoria's settler-colonial oppressive establishment".

"We will continue striking until the regime is forced to hand over power to the indigenous African majority.

"The SAP and SADF are armed enemy organs and, because the regime relies on them for its perpetual stay in power, they should be wiped out of existence," Phama declares.

Whereas the ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Siswe, prefers AK47s, Apla cadres use mostly Scorpion machineguns.

Apla literature claims there are at least six regional commanders based inside SA and who form an integral part of the high command.

Apla/PAC's military strategy is theoretically based on Mao Tse-Tung's protracted war in China, with three main stages:

- Liberation movement strategically defends during the period of "enemy offensive";

- Preparation of the liberation movement's strategic offensive during the "enemy's" strategic consolidation; and

- The liberation movement's counter-offensive during the enemy's strategic retreat in the period of "total war".

According to evidence before the Goldstone Commission, Apla's high command (external) is in overall command of all Apla's operations inside and outside SA.

According to Goldstone, Apla consists of 30 persons, with the first deputy president of the PAC, Johnson Phillip Malambo, as commander-in-chief.

This week, Benny Alexander denied Mr Mlambo was in any way involved with Apla. He said Apla reported directly to the PAC's central committee.

He said Phama, who was PAC defence secretary until the second national congress in 1990, was the sole chief commander of Apla.

According to evidence the SAP gave the Goldstone Commission, Apla has about 120 members in SA who had received training abroad. The number of recruits trained locally is not known.

The SAP estimates that Apla has approximately 2 700 members abroad, the majority of whom are in Tanzania, and who include women, children and people working on agricultural projects.

Azapo's deep anguish: Are we in

CIPress 11/4/93

THE Azanian People's Organisation, which repeatedly describes the present constitutional talks as a venture aimed at betraying the black masses, is simultaneously trying to convince its rank and file that negotiations are the only viable form of struggle.

Azapo's leaders went to council in Bloemfontein last weekend hoping that the council — the second-highest decision-making body, would endorse a plan to engage the government in talks.

A week before Azapo held a strategising confer-

ence attended by about 100 influential Azapo delegates. Shortly afterwards, Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala told a press conference that the conference had taken "key decisions" regarding negotiations, but these would only be made public after ratification by council.

However, insiders maintain that the "key decisions" were a face-saving plan to enter into the multiparty talks. The main question to be answered at council was about how to join talks and not whether the organisation should join, ob-

servers claim.

City Press learned that when the debate went to council — attended by Azapo's rank and file members — it was greeted with chants from radicals of "Down with those intending to go to Kempton Park" — referring to the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park where the negotiations are taking place.

It was clear that while the Azapo leadership was divided on the question of talks, the rank and file was as united as ever to stay out of talks.

Radical members had stood by the organisa-

When the South African negotiations re-opened in Kempton Park recently, Azapo, the organisation bearing the torch of Steve Biko's black consciousness movement, was conspicuous by its absence. This in no way meant the organisation was ignoring the changing times. On the contrary, argues MOSES MAMMALA who has followed a debate which strikes at the core of the movement.

tion's initial position — that the sections of the liberation movement who engaged in talks were "selling out the struggle of the oppressed" as there could be "no meaningful negotiations between unequal partners".

Azapo leaders have repeatedly asserted that the product of the negotiations would be a Muzorewa-type of settlement in which some black lead-

ers are co-opted but the white minority retains power.

The message to the leadership was clear and unambiguous: "If you go to Kempton Park, you do not represent Azapo."

Delegates at council called on the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) to intensify the armed struggle through its military wing, the Azanian

National Liberation Army (Azanla).

But critics say Azanla does not have the military might or resources to translate the slogans into reality.

Even if Azanla could recruit more personnel, where would they get the material resources that are crucial to waging the armed struggle? The BCMA, unlike the PAC and the ANC, is not re-

cognised by the UN and the OAU who have been the main financial backers of the ANC and PAC. However, an Azanla cadre dismissed claims that Azanla cannot sustain a guerrilla campaign as "a defeatist attitude".

He was confident that "the Azanian chimurenga (war of struggle)" could still be waged.

Questioned on Azanla's military operations, the cadre blandly stated: "Your problem as civilians is that you are unable to distinguish armed struggle from armed activities."

He explained that armed struggle involved

mobilisation and recruitment.

He said Azanla had intensified mass mobilisation in the country. "The time to strike is not far away," he said.

However, developments this week indicated some confusion between Azapo and the BCMA.

Azapo's Mosala issued a statement saying a meeting between Azapo, BCMA and the government this week in Botswana had been put on hold pending the announcement of Azapo's final stance on negotiations. He said a special congress had been called to discuss the issue.

Meanwhile, the BCMA refuted any plans of a Botswana meeting.

Although Azapo in the past maintained that it would only participate in talks with Pretoria if these were held at a neutral venue under a neutral convenor, it now seems that many in the leadership have come to terms with the reality that the negotiations' process will continue with or without the movement.

They feel the process has the blessing of the international community and the product of the talks will be recognised internationally. They have a case, as all

major organisations in the country are taking part in the talks.

Opponents — the majority of Azapo — do not seem to have come up with a viable option. The slogans of the past have not been borne out.

Will Azapo start talking to the government in the same vein as the PAC?

This remains to be seen.

However, it seems that some senior leaders in the movement are working very hard on designing an acceptable route which will take Azapo into the talks.

Decisions, decisions...

OR ARE WE OUT?

Court clamps down on gun runners

By SIPHO KHUMALO

THE AK-47 assault rifle has become synonymous with violent crimes in the country, a Durban magistrate said this week as he slapped a severe 12-year sentence on six men found guilty of smuggling arms into Natal. *C Press*

Magistrate JE Howse jailed Manguzi Inkatha branch chairman Isaac Godi Nsele, his son Mgadi Nsele, two Inkatha members, Peter Jabulani Ntuli and Harry Zikhali, and two Mozambicans, Vasco Parafino and Mandla Ernest Gumedede. (84A) (S)

The six men were found guilty of smuggling 13 AK-47 assault-rifles, two Mauser rifles and 499 rounds of ammunition into KwaZulu from Mozambique.

The court said the "inescapable conclusion was that the arms in question were to be used illegally and with devastating effect".

The accused were apprehended by police at Mahlungulu near the Mozambique border on February 6.

Defence counsel MJ Lasich told the court that in Mozambique AK-47 assault rifles were being sold to pay for food.

Lasich said the situation in SA "amounted to state of war" and the state was inadequate in protecting average citizens against violence.

However, Howse ruled this did not justify bringing arms into the country.

ANC sharpens its spear for peace-time push on SANDF

AT A time of massive budget cuts and staff reductions in the SA Defence Force, the ANC is raising an army of thousands in exile.

From senior staff officers and jet pilots to infantrymen, the ANC army is slowly taking shape in training bases throughout the world.

The purpose of these ANC foreign legions? One day soon, say ANC officials, they will return to become part of a new South African army.

According to South African intelligence sources, there are more than 12,000 members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, training in camps — mainly in Uganda and Tanzania.

This figure represents a third of the SANDF permanent force staff of between 30,000 and 40,000.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoope confirmed this week that MK recruits were being trained in Uganda, Tanzania and India, but would not comment on how many of them were there.

However, intelligence sources place 8,146 ANC members — of whom 6,885 are under military training — in Uganda and 5,035 in Tanzania, where 3,985 MK cadres are undergoing conventional-warfare training.

More than 100 MK members are also in India for conventional military training in the navy and air force as well as for staff and officer courses.

Training

In Libya the ANC presence has been scaled down "dramatically", according to intelligence sources, and of the 60 members still in that country 10 are working as administrative per-

By DE WET POTGIETER

Intelligence sources also claim that MK is thinking of sending recruits to Iraq for specialised training.

Ironically, the intensive training would be of little use to MK members once integrated into the SANDF. "I cannot see what value training in Uganda or Tanzania could have to the future SANDF," said Mr Paul-Boleke Mertz, co-director of the Institute for Defence Policy.

"Neither country has what one could regard as a sophisticated military ability. In fact, both Uganda and Tanzania have low-level, low-intensity armies.

"Training given to MK recruits would be based on the Soviet doctrine, which is not compatible with the SANDF's Western doctrine, so cadres returning from camps in these African states would almost certainly have to undergo

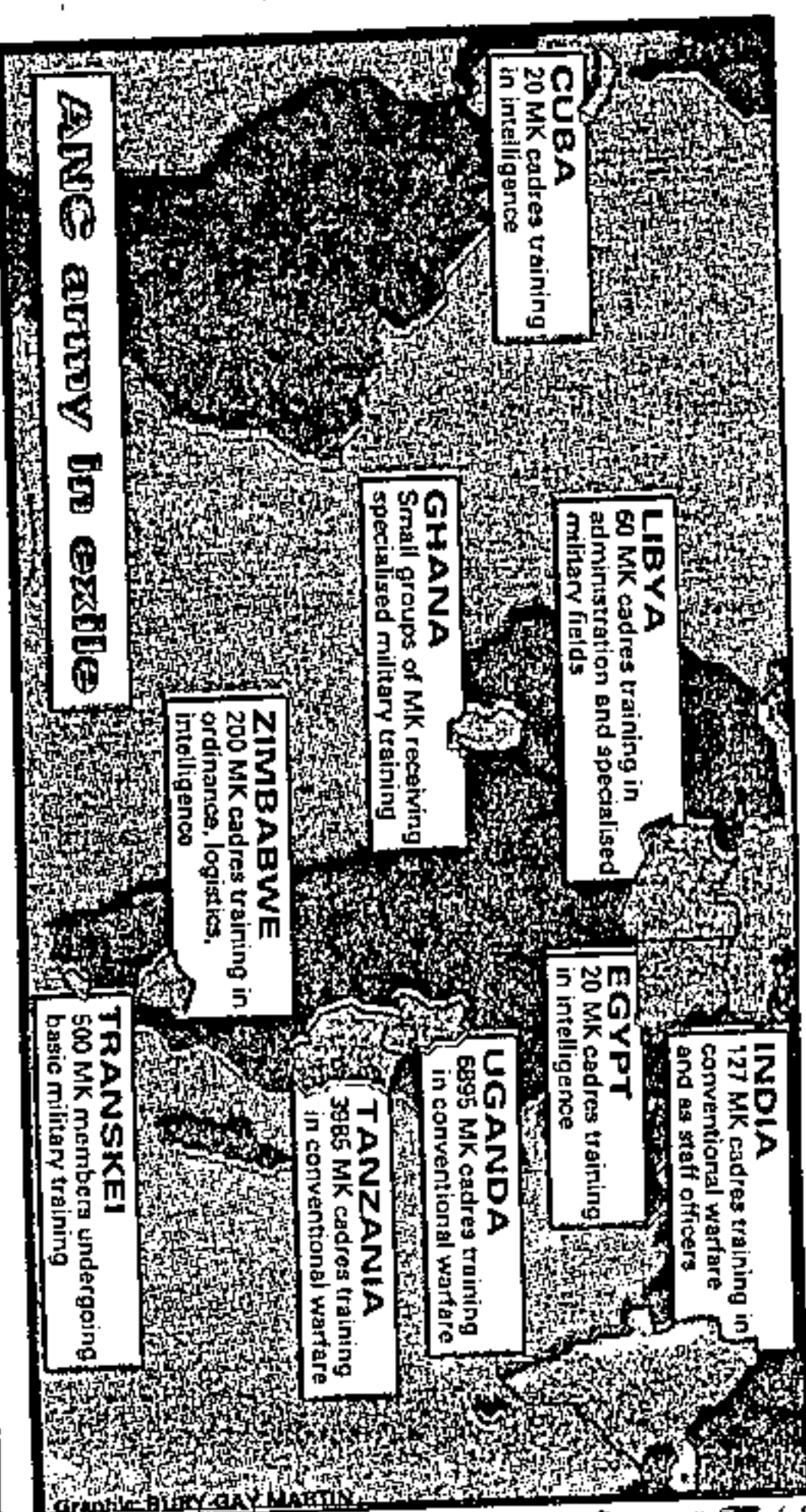
MK in Parliament recently, intelligence sources also claim that about 500 MK recruits are receiving basic military training at a secret camp in Transkei.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus denied that training takes place in Transkei, saying there were no facilities for recruitment or training of MK "inside South Africa."

However, security sources told the Sunday Times the recruits were picked up early in January at Whema, near Mwerbank, Durban, and transported to Port St Johns before being moved to a "heavily fortified" camp outside Umhata on the Umzimvubu river for three months' training starting on January 11.

Fortified

On arrival at the camp, the sources said, the recruits were met by a guard in a brown uniform and



GETTING READY: A happy group of MK recruits at a training camp in Tanzania in December

When there are more legends in the audience than there are on the stage, expect something special.

At a time of massive budget cuts and staff reductions in the SA Defence Force, the ANC is raising an army of thousands in exile.

From senior staff officers and jet pilots to infantrymen, the ANC army is slowly taking shape in training bases throughout the world.

The purpose of these ANC foreign legions? One day soon, say ANC officials, they will return to become part of a new South African army.

According to South African intelligence sources, there are more than 12 000 members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, training in camps — mainly in Uganda and Tanzania.

This figure represents a third of the SADF permanent force staff of between 30 000 and 40 000.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed this week that MK recruits were being trained in Uganda, Tanzania and India, but would not comment on how many of them were there.

However, intelligence sources place 8 146 ANC members — of whom 6 895 are under military training — in Uganda and 5 035 in Tanzania, where 3 985 MK cadres are undergoing conventional-warfare training.

More than 100 MK members are also in India for conventional military training in the navy and air force as well as for staff and officer courses.

Training

In Libya the ANC presence has been scaled down "dramatically", according to intelligence sources, and of the 60 members still in that country 10 are working as administrative personnel, while the rest are receiving specialised military training.

A "small group" of recruits are also undergoing specialist training in Ghana, while 20 MK cadres are reported to be training in intelligence in Cuba.

An estimated 200 of the 600 remaining ANC members in Zambia are receiving ordinance, logistic and intelligence training.

In Uganda MK cadres are being trained by the armed forces in radar and aircraft maintenance, military and combat work, artillery, armoured vehicles, engineering, landmine warfare and anti-aircraft protection. They are also being trained as instructors and staff officers by Tanzanians, Nigerians, Ethiopians, North Koreans, Libyans and East Europeans.

A group of MK recruits are being trained as pilots on MiG-15 fighter planes at the Ugandan air force base at Nakasangola. Their instructors are Libyan and Ethiopian.

By DE WET POTGIETER

Intelligence sources also claim that MK is thinking of sending recruits to Iraq for specialised training.

Ironically, the intensive training would be of little use to MK members once integrated into the SADF.

"I cannot see what value training in Uganda or Tanzania could have to the future SADF," said Mr Paul-Bolcke Mertz, co-director of the Institute for Defence Policy.

"Neither country has what one could regard as a sophisticated military ability. In fact, both Uganda and Tanzania have low-level, low-intensity armies.

"Training given to MK recruits would be based on the Soviet doctrine, which is not compatible with the SADF's Western doctrine, so cadres returning from camps in these African states would almost certainly have to undergo retraining in South Africa before they can be absorbed into the SADF," Mr Mertz said.

Pathetic

He pointed out that MK cadres trained in weaponry and military hardware originating from the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries would have to be retrained in the use of "sophisticated Western armaments" as well.

"What we have seen of MK's conventional capabilities is pathetic. They may be capable of waging guerrilla warfare, but it would require retraining on a huge scale for them to meet the internationally respected standards of the SADF," Mr Mertz said.

Training received in India would be "more acceptable", as that country's armed forces had a doctrine based on accepted Western standards.

In the wake of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's scathing attack on

MK in Parliament recently, intelligence sources also claim that about 500 MK recruits are receiving basic military training at a secret camp in Transkei.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus denied that training takes place in Transkei, saying there were no facilities for recruitment or training of MK "inside South Africa".

However, security sources told the Sunday Times the recruits were picked up early in January at Whema, near Merebank, Durban, and transported to Port St Johns before being moved to a "heavily fortified" camp outside Umtata on the Umzimvubu river for three months' training starting on January 11.

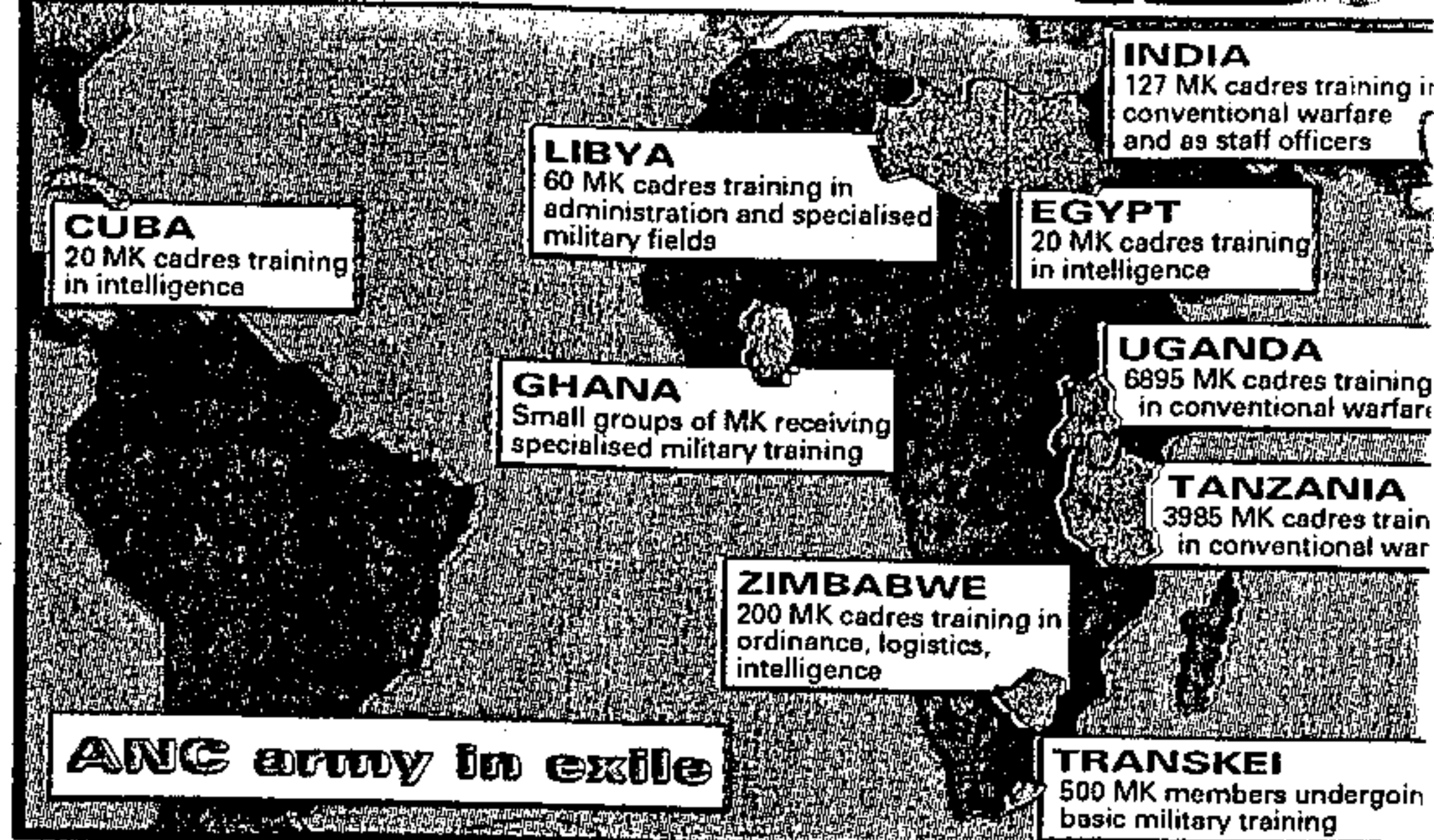
Fortified

On arrival at the camp, the sources said, the recruits were met by a guard in a brown uniform and green beret. A kilometre down the road, a man and two women — both wearing brown uniforms and armed with pistols — took charge of the group.

The camp is well guarded, with fortified lookout posts in trenches, each manned by two armed men. Additional surveillance is conducted from a "high tree, in which a guard perches during daylight to warn of approaching aircraft", the sources said.

Recruits are trained in the use of grenades, limpet mines and demolition charges. They are also taught how to make petrol bombs and other explosive devices using chemicals that can be bought from pharmacies.

The sources said that a senior member of the ANC told recruits during a January 19 visit to Port St Johns that everything possible was being done to smuggle weapons stockpiled in neighbouring states into South Africa.



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Shocked Star 12/4/93 reaction to killing floods in

Staff Reporters

Shocked reaction to the assassination of South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani continued to pour in yesterday, with most appealing for calm from South Africans.

But Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa took the opportunity to attack President de Klerk, Sapa reports, accusing him of "adopting a cheaper method of killing his political antagonists than his predecessors".

He also announced the scrapping of a judicial investigation of Apla activities in Transkei.

The West Rand ANC branch said it had suspended its participation in the local dispute resolution committee in protest against the killing.

Thousands of ANC supporters from Bekkersdal and Westonaria marched to the Westonaria police station to present a memorandum, saying participation would be suspended until all the "facts are uncovered", and expressed support for the suspension of talks with the Government.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army, in a faxed statement on Saturday night from Apla headquarters in Dar es Salaam, said the assassination justified continued guerilla attacks by Apla.

The Johannesburg branch of the Polish Association of South Africa has condemned the assassination.

Chairman Waldemar Wojtowicz said he was shocked to hear the arrested suspect was probably of Polish origin.

Afrikaner Volksunie law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz also condemned the killing.

"Politically motivated murders such as this country has experienced are contra-productive and only bring grief to all sectors of the party-political spectrum," he said.

'Piet Skiet' warns of tit for tat retaliation

WHITES who felt threatened by certain political organisations would feel a need for retribution and this could lead to more retaliatory acts, Orde van die Boerevolk leader Piet Rudolph said yesterday.

Rudolph was reacting to the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani on Saturday. Police say Hani was killed with a weapon allegedly stolen from SA Air Force headquarters in April 1990 by Rudolph.

"That the acts of terror by the ANC, PAC and SACP should lead to a reaction from white people who felt threatened is a fact and there could necessarily be more targets to satisfy such an urge for retribution," said Rudolph, known as "Piet Skiet", in a statement.

And an Apla statement from Dar es Salaam said the assassination justified continued Apla guerilla attacks.

Rudolph said he viewed himself as a freedom fighter, just as Hani had.

"One then lives with the consequences of your convictions," he said. "This includes death."

Rudolph said the weapons he had stolen in 1990 had been distributed to "the volk (nation) which had been unarmed and still stood defenceless against the onslaught of those who wanted to take our land".

He said he had not kept any of the weapons for himself.

"I was arrested and charged for the crime and, like Mr Hani and other members of the ANC, PAC and SACP, received indemnity from the President."

Rudolph said he was committed to a peaceful resolution of SA's problems. — Sapa.

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Star 13/4/93

'Chris could say: Apla, you are wrong'

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The untimely death of SACP leader Chris Hani has left the ANC leadership in a "difficult position", according to ANC PWV regional chairman and one of Hani's closest friends, Tokyo Sexwale.

"He so fought for peace. How are we going to convince our people that it is right to fight for his ideals of peace," said Sexwale.

He met Hani for the first

time when he fetched the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from exile in 1990. Since then, a very close bond had grown between them.

Sexwale said Hani was a fighter for peace.

"He was involved in an uncompromising fight when it came to principled matters. He was true to his beliefs. He was controversial. He was polemical, very comradely and charismatic."

Sexwale said Hani was always ready to accept views different from his own.

"Chris could, without seeking favour, congratulate people in the movement, just as he was able to criticise them."

Hani was therefore the only leader who could publicly point to problems in the self-defence units. "Chris could stand up and say 'Apla, you are wrong'."

"People wanted Chris as a deadly man of war. The danger with Chris was that he was a man of peace."

Star 14/4/93

Torture inquiry ~~1111~~ kicks off ~~84A~~

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The second ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in the organisation's prison camps in exile has started gathering evidence in the form of affidavits and will hold hearings next month, according to commission head Dr Sam Motsuenyane.

Motsuenyane said the commission, whose appointment by ANC president Nelson Mandela followed recommendations of the organisation's first commission headed by ANC advocate Louis Skweyiya, had made progress so far.

Advocates Vincent Maleka and Richard Moleko had been gathering evidence.

The former National African Federated Chamber of Commerce leader said the probe — comprising himself, former UK judge Margaret Burnham and Zimbabwe advocate David Zamthiya — would begin holding hearings to test evidence from May 10.

He called on people with any information which might be helpful to his commission to contact him at Khotso House in Johannesburg.

Motsuenyane said that unlike the three others before it, his commission would give people accused of human rights violations an opportunity to respond to the allegations against them.

Motsuenyane said he and his fellow commissioners would visit Tanzania towards the end of May to try to trace missing people who had not yet been accounted for.

The commission would compile its report and submit it to the ANC around the middle of June.

Star 15/4/93
(84A)

MK calls for peaceful transition

Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the ANC, yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations and added its voice to calls for the speedy establishment of a transitional executive council (TEC) and the holding of elections as soon as possible.

In its first official comment since the assassination of SA Communist Party and ANC leader Chris Hani, MK said Hani's murder was a "callous deed aimed at undermining negotiations and the process of establishing democracy".

Hani resigned as MK chief of staff when he was elected as SACP general-secretary about 18 months ago. Sphiwe Nyanda took his place.

MK said in a statement that Hani was "the embodiment of the noblest ideals of democracy and liberation", and had stood for both peace and negotiations in the country.

"Umkhonto we Sizwe has always been, and is, guided by the directives of its political leadership. MK has committed itself to ensuring peace and democracy in our country and will continue to conduct itself in a manner which will contribute to the establishment of peace and democracy.

"This is what Chris Hani fought and died for, this is what he would expect of us. MK reiterates the ANC's call on our people to continue with the

peace process and further strengthen it by conducting ourselves in a calm and collected manner," MK said.

The organisation demanded the establishment of a TEC and joint control of all security forces "with all deliberate speed, and that an election date be set without any further delay in order to move speedily to a democratic future".

MK warned, however, that although it remained committed to the negotiations process it would not continue to do so "at the expense of the lives of our people". It added that the murder was part of a greater conspiracy to undermine democracy. — Sapa-Reuter.

Silencing of voice of compromise opens way for radical youths to exploit

Hani's death raises US

Star 16/4/93

(84A)

(84A)

(84A)

GIVEN the rich diet of conspiracy theories on which Americans have been fed since the killings of such leaders as President John Kennedy and the Rev Martin Luther King, it is not surprising that the most persistent question they have asked in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination is whether or not it was part of a conspiracy.

Their question has facilitated a thoughtful answer, provided in one way or another by the leaders of all major parties and extensively quoted in the US media — insofar as there may have been a conspiracy, its objective would have been to disrupt negotiations, and, by quickly reaffirming their commitment to talks, South African leaders have ensured that whatever conspiracy there might have been was a failure.

But many influential Americans are not so sure. They believe that the decision to press on with negotiations notwithstanding the assassination of Hani may have fundamentally changed the nature of the negotiating process and that

even with the best intentions none of the negotiating parties will be able to ignore the fact.

They argue, for instance, that the extent to which Hani's murder has roused the passions of the radical Left may greatly diminish the capacity of the ANC leadership to make major compromises in negotiations. This is not only because compromises would risk alienating the ANC's radical young supporters, but because the man most capable of persuading them to accept compromise is no more.

Many Americans also fear that Hani's death will greatly enhance the influence of radical youths in the townships, who until now have been kept relatively calm by Hani's leadership and his presence at the negotiating table. An incident screened on American television this week was cited as evidence.

An unidentified youth, wearing the uniform of Umkhonto we Sizwe and speaking with the ANC's banner behind him, de-

Hugh Robertson



clared to wild cheers: "It is time we told the leadership that enough is enough and now is the time to hit back so that Chris Hani will not have died in vain." Minutes earlier, Nelson Mandela had appeared on television to appeal for calm.

Whether or not radical youths heed the leadership's appeals this week, and beyond, the vacuum left by Hani's assassination opens the way for the PAC and Apla to strengthen their support at a grassroots level, which in itself is likely to impinge on negotiations. This raises many fears in Washington, chief among them the fear of conspiracy.

It is argued, for instance, that as negotiations proceed those rad-

ical parties which have excluded themselves from the process — radicals of both the Left and the Right, white and black — will be left increasingly with no way of expressing their political presence, or furthering their political goals, except through violence and conspiracy. Chris Hani was in large measure a bulwark against this process and his assassination thus exposes the negotiations to all manner of challenges that were not there before.

While the challenges to negotiations will tend to unify the parties involved in them, some Americans argue that the same unifying process is likely to emerge among the radicals who share an interest in seeing the negotiations fail. Thus among the strange bedfellows of politics, they do not exclude Apla and the AWB either conspiring to defeat the process, or at least capitalising on one another's actions.

The stirring calls from inside the ANC to "hit back" this week are seen as portents of the trouble facing the leadership. There were

other statements from inside the ANC which greatly disturbed Americans and which some pointed to as evidence of how radicals apparently opposed to negotiations could quickly capitalise on the actions by radicals of an entirely different political stripe.

Harry Gwala of the ANC, for example, was quoted in the US media as demanding a cessation of negotiations following Hani's murder — which, as the elder statesman of the Communist Party, Joe Slovo, pointed out, was precisely what the perpetrators of the killing wanted.

Likewise, Tokyo Sexwale of the ANC's national executive told prime-time television viewers in the US that there was "a clear and direct link between the Government and the murderers". If this were true, it would greatly compromise Mandela and other leaders who have insisted on pursuing negotiations with the Government. But since there appears to be no evidence whatsoever that it is true, Americans ask what Sexwale's motives were in making

such a statement and using Hani's death to apparently undermine the negotiations. It is not only the negotiating process which is seen in Washington to have been profoundly changed by Hani's death; it is also the viability of shared power in a government of national unity after the country's first fully democratic elections. Such a government would have to have the support of an overwhelming majority of South Africans to deliver the goods — a tall order without Hani's talent for winning over the radical young. What, then, is the wisest course to follow to ameliorate the huge injury which has been inflicted on South Africa by this assassination? From an American perspective, it is Archbishop Desmond Tutu who has come up with the solution — the conclusion of negotiations in the quickest possible time, which would indicate not only results from the years of talking, but also prove the commitment of all the parties to the process and to real change. □

Fears

the vacuum

Smoking — active or passive — a hot issue

87 APR 16 1973
ANDREA WEISS

Health Reporter

SMOKING is a burning issue judging by the amount of editorial space it is getting around the world.

In Australia a federal court has accepted scientific evidence that passive smoking causes cancer.

The ruling has resulted in widespread prohibition of smoking at work, according to an issue of Employment Law.

In the United States, President Bill Clinton's decision to ban smoking in the White House has been put into per-

spective by a Reader's Digest article, which claims that American tobacco companies' business is booming abroad.

According to the article, Philip Morris International's income has risen by 200 per cent in four years, largely because of marketing aimed at young people in Third World countries.

The article says American companies are using advertising tactics which would not be tolerated in their own country.

In Malaysia, for instance, a comic book aimed at primary school children carries a smok-

ing advertisement, and in a Taipei video arcade, free cigarettes are available, claims the article.

The article suggests that the US government bears some responsibility for the situation because it pressured foreign governments to open markets to tobacco companies.

In Britain a New Scientist article suggested that making nicotine patches available over the counter does nothing to help smokers kick the habit.

Patches should be used in conjunction with counselling programmes as tobacco addiction is a "complex behaviour"

including a physical addiction to nicotine and a psycho-social component, says the article.

By contrast, the Food and Drug Administration in the United States insists the patches be used only under medical supervision.

Trials have shown that if the patches are used in conjunction with counselling programmes, quitting rates double.

The New Scientist says there is "no independent evidence that the patch offers any help at all to people who do not join a programme, but choose to go it alone".

Arms smuggling counter-plan 'useless'

BLOM 16/4/83
CAPE TOWN — A police covert operation to infiltrate arms smuggling networks had been exposed and was now useless, police counsel told a committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating the illegal importation, distribution and use of firearms in Cape Town yesterday.

Luther Wepener said a close corporation named Honeybadger had been established as a front for an SAP covert operation to track down gun smugglers.

Honeybadger had no premises, was not licensed to deal in firearms, and had not yet started functioning effectively when it was exposed after attacks and accusations against the SAP's covert operations. "The sole purpose of this operation was to find the gun smugglers and infiltrate their ranks in order to arrest and prosecute them," Wepener said.

Referring to Press reports that there were about 200 licensed AK-47 rifles in SA, he said the Commissioner of Police had ordered a full-scale investigation into the licensing of such weapons and the conditions under which they were kept.

Licences for AK-47 rifles had been issued only in the case of rifles converted so they could operate only as semi-automatics. It was illegal to import fully automatic rifles and no licences were issued for them.

Wepener emphasised that the police had never sold AK-47s or any other semi-automatic rifles to any of its members or the public.

Policemen who lived in dangerous areas could, however, be issued with weapons for protection.

He said most of the legal AK-47s were confiscated as bounty during the Rhodesian and Namibian conflicts, while others were acquired through donations, bequests and licence transfers. They were generally kept only as collectors' items.

There was no record of any crime having been committed with any of these licensed semi-automatic AK-47s. The SAP was able to account for the whereabouts of each of these weapons, he said.

Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, said under no circumstances had the SADF sold or provided weapons to anyone.

84A
He said the SADF possessed a vast array of weaponry and the potential for theft was always present.

The committee was told the ANC's possession of arms caches was a political problem for which a political solution had to be sought.

Richard Spoor, for the ANC, said the question of the movement's armed wing, Unkhonto we Sizwe, and its possession of arms had to be resolved expeditiously by placing all armed forces under the joint control of a transitional administration.

The ANC accepted that its possession of firearms was unlawful in terms of existing legislation, but the historical reasons for the armed struggle had to be considered.

Louis Visser SC, for the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government, said there was no indication of public violence and intimidation committed by the security forces, while clear evidence had been put before the Goldstone commission on the role of ANC-supporting self-defence units in fostering violence.

The hearing ended yesterday. — Sapa.

Mandela, Pik on 'hit list'

By Christelle Terreblanche

NELSON Mandela, president of the African National Congress, and Pik Botha, minister of Foreign Affairs, are among the names found on a so-called hit list in the flat of the man who shot Communist Party leader, Chris Hani, on Saturday.

According to sources close to the ANC, the organisation was given some of the names. The police have been tightlipped about the rest of the list.

The names the ANC are aware of include ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC executive members Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Joe Modise, Cosatu leader Mr Jay Naidoo and Foreign Affairs minister Mr Pik Botha.

But despite some similarities and the SACP's claim that Chris Hani's murder is part of a larger rightwing conspiracy, it does not appear to be the same hit list that a spokesperson for the militant white supremacist Wit Wolwe's leadership in the Cape revealed on Tuesday.

The group claimed that Janusz Walus, Hani's alleged assassin, was one of their supporters.

Wit Wolwe spokesperson Mr Johan Steyn warned: "The following people have to watch out they don't act wrongly: Winnie Mandela, Joe Slovo, Louis Skweyiya (known as Zola), Nelson Mandela and Jay



TARGET: PIK BOTHA



TARGET: JOE MODISE

Naidoo". Steyn also delivered a so-called hit list to a Sapa reporter and said Mr Slovo, chairperson of the South African Communist Party, was next on the list.

"I'm telling you Joe Slovo is the next person we are going to murder. His name is first on the list of the Wit Wolwe of the Cape. He is our next target," Steyn said.

Other names on the Wit Wolwe hit list include those of ANC Natal Midlands chairperson Harry Gwala; Thembisile Hani; Johannes Modise (probably referring to ANC national executive committee member Joe Modise); ANC executive member John Nkadimeng; Mmabatho Hlanhla; Siphwe Nyanda; ANC

executive member Alfred Nzo; Ishmael Aboobaker; ANC deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma; ANC Woman's League president Gertrude Shope; executive member Steve Tshwete; former ANC president Oliver Tambo; and Thabo Mbeki, Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils and Louis Skweyiya, all of the ANC's executive.

Steyn added that a person named Samuel, who was being held captive by his organisation, "will only now be used to speak".

Wit Wolwe leader Barend Strydom on Tuesday night confirmed Steyn was a member of his organisation.

Apart from Pik Botha, two more Afrikaans-speaking persons are on

the hit list found in the flat, according to the sources.

They are journalists Karin Brynard and Tim du Plessis. Du Plessis is the constitutional reporter for Transvaal daily, "Beeld", while Brynard works for "Rapport". She was the writer of a front page story on Hani in Rapport less than a week before his assassination.

The story claimed strong rumours were rife in security circles that Hani and Mrs Winnie Mandela might create a "Black Peoples' Army" if they break away from the ANC.

The story and rumours that have now been rejected by all sides, said Hani and Mandela had organised two meetings between the military wings of the ANC and PAC since the beginning of the year to create "a kind of co-operation". The idea behind the co-operation was allegedly to disrupt the negotiation process, Rapport stated.

According to the sources the inclusion of the journalists made it clear that the compilers of the hit list were not well informed and probably only read the conservative Afrikaans press.

The ANC's PWV region has rejected the existence or authenticity of the original hit list found in the flat and speculated that it was part of an assassination plan supported by the security forces.

Sault 17/4-21/4/93.

844

Appeal to torture victims

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE fifth commission of inquiry into alleged torture in ANC camps in Angola has appealed to any victims to come forward and give evidence. (SUA)

Dr Sam Motsuenyane, chairman of the commission, said that he, a Canadian associate justice, Margaret Burnham, and Zimbabwean David Zamchiya would try to find out what abuses were perpetrated in ANC camps and what action should be taken against either those who perpetrated abuses or those who failed to take action to stop torture.

The commission was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela as a follow-on to the ANC's last commission in August last year, which was accused of not being impartial because two of the three members belonged to the ANC.

The Motsuenyane commission has its offices at the SA Council of Churches, Khotso House, Johannesburg. Dr Motsuneyane has appealed to those who wish to give evidence to visit the offices, phone 832-1182 or fax 832-1236.

ST JAMES 18/4/93



Petrol bomb: ²⁸

Ten arrests ^{84A}

TEN youths were arrested yesterday in connection with a petrol-bomb attack on a motorist and his son near Delmas.

Mr Chris Genus and his son Chris, 15, were badly burnt when the youths allegedly stoned and threw a petrol bomb into their car kilometre from the Beaufort West airfield on Thursday. *Times*

Police spokesman Captain Wilkus Weber said the youths are residents of Botleng township aged between 11 and 15.

Mr Genus and his son are recovering in the HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria. *18/4/73*

White doves for a former guerilla

Star 20/4/93.

THE YOUNG white woman asked incredulously: "Are you going to watch the little devils?" Her mother intoned a prayer to protect us.

We had interrupted their stroll yesterday in Elspark, Germiston, to ask for directions to South Park cemetery, where murdered communist leader Chris Hani was due to be buried a few hours later.

They were proselytising Christians who saw Hani and the thousands of blacks who were descending on their suburb to pay their respects to him as men possessed by the devil.

They at least were friendly, concerned to ensure that our bodies and souls were protected from evil. The white men glowering behind a garden wall closer to the cemetery were hostile and suspicious.

"What do you want?" one man snarled when I tried to talk to him. He glared sullenly when I identified myself and explained that I wanted to talk to him about the funeral. His friend, however, replied when my colleague asked how they felt.

"We are prepared at

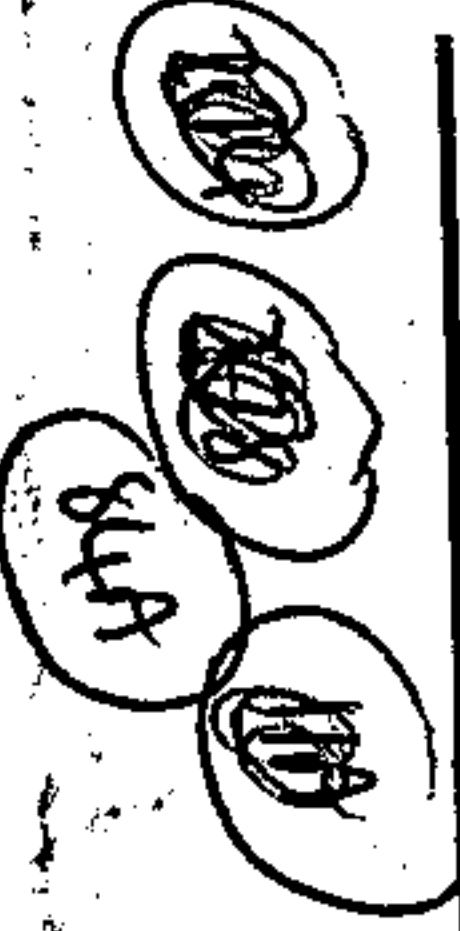
least," he said. He did not elaborate. But he left the impression that they were armed.

Three men sat on the roof of the house next door. The silhouette of a rifle was visible from the street.

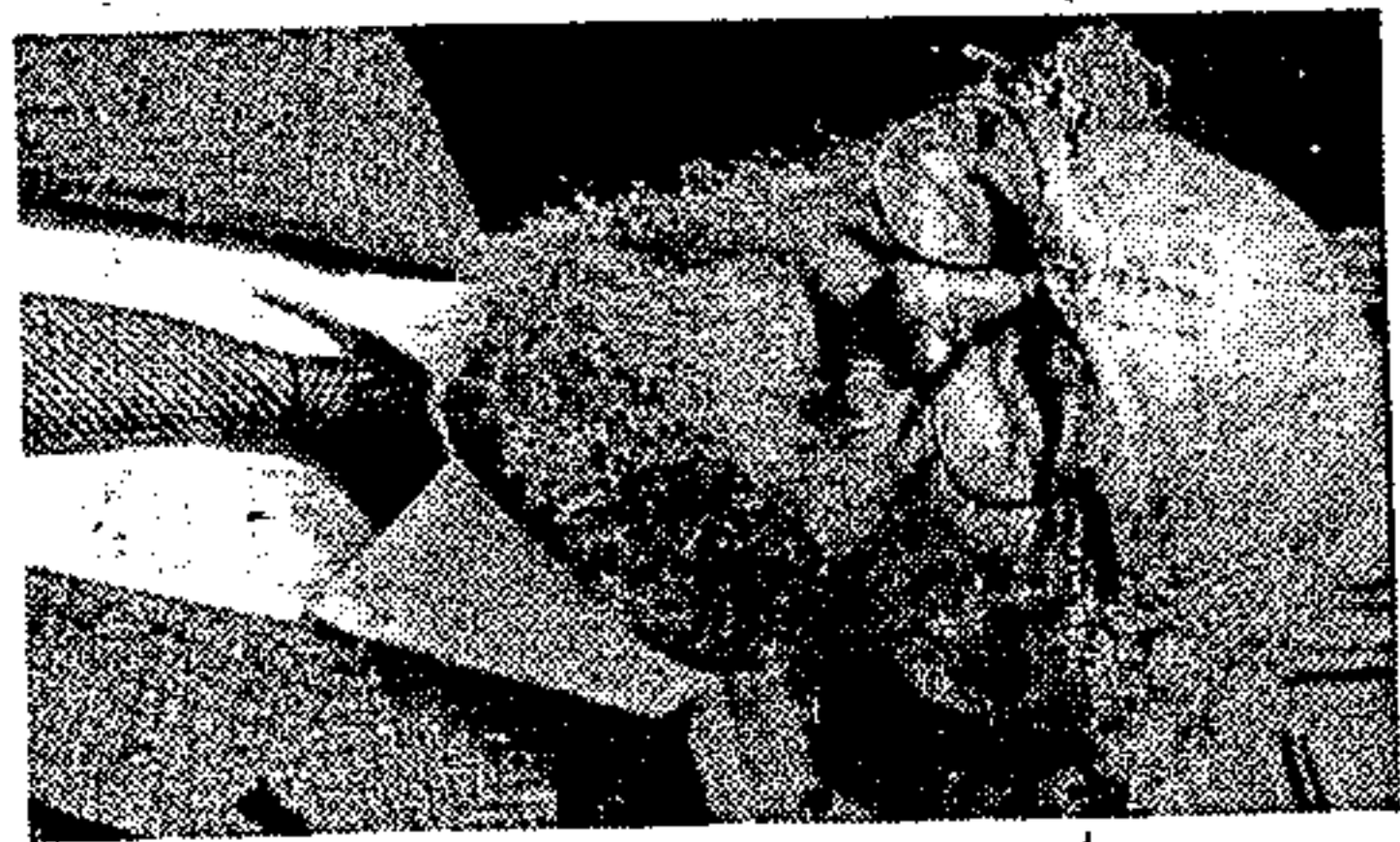
Another man, wearing a felt hunting hat and a cartridge belt filled with ammunition, walked down the road carrying a shotgun. "We are not here to make trouble," he said. "We are here to defend our people."

Soldiers, presumably part of the reserve forces called up by President F W de Klerk, were aloof. They stared ahead, pretending not to notice us when we approached the armoured vehicle on which they were perched.

"Say as little as possible," a soldier advised his comrades in Afrikaans when we attempted to draw them into conversation. On the road a few metres away, people from the townships were marching to the cemetery, wave after a wave of them, like phalanxes of soldiers. They sang and chanted as they tramped rhythmically down the road and into the cemetery.



PATRICK LAURENCE (right), who attended the funeral of slain SACP leader Chris Hani, describes the worlds apart which were drawn together by the funeral of a guerilla-turned soldier of peace: armed right-wing whites, sullen white soldiers and militant black youths who shouted, "one settler, one bullet".



Inside the cemetery grounds, African National Congress marshals — men and women — lined the way to the graveside. An empty grave waited to receive Hani's body. A mound of red-dish coloured sand was next to it, a red flag flew over it, marking it as Hani's grave.

At the entrance gate, small armies of men and women, carrying banners proclaim-

ing where they came from, ran into the cemetery grounds. They had come to bury Hani but at the same time wanted to demonstrate their power.

Many came from the squatter camps on the East Rand, where repeated battles have been fought in the past 18 months, mainly between ANC members and loyalists of the Inkatha Freedom

Party.

Even if squatter camp mourners had not carried banners they would have been easy to identify: they wielded an awesome array of weapons — battle axes, spears, sharpened rods of iron and knobkerries — as they surged forward into the cemetery.

Even ANC bands chanted the Pan Africanist Congress shibboleth: "One settler, one bullet." In some cases, however, it was shortened to: "Bullet! Bullet! Settler! Settler!"

The same militancy was shown earlier at the funeral ceremony at the soccer stadium near Soweto. There bands of angry youths fought running battles with police and soldiers and set fire to some houses near the stadium.

When we arrived at the stadium black smoke was billowing into the air. Flames were clearly visible, even in the bright morning sun, as they consumed wooden doors, window frames and roof beams and licked menacingly at nearby gum trees.

A black photographer warned: "Be careful. Those people there have gone mad."

Repeated thuds, sounding like gunfire, came from the burning houses. It was the sound of the iron roofs expanding in the extreme heat.

The smell of smoke mixed with the whiff of teargas — caused by soldiers firing teargas canisters to repel young blacks trying to get into the nearby show grounds — to create an acrid smell.

Later we drove past the scene of an earlier battle en route to Elspark cemetery.

A member of the Peace Secretariat warned: "Be careful. PAC youths are making petrol bombs. God knows how they will control it today."

We were waved through by marshals, who signalled us to wind up our windows. But no stones or petrol bombs were hurled at us.

When Hani's body was lowered into the grave, shots were fired into the air by soldiers of the ANC army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as four white doves were released into the air by his wife and daughters.

The symbolism was appropriate. It evoked memories of two aspects of Hani's life: the guerilla who fought against apartheid and, later, the soldier of peace. □

Hani, Sexwale deny ordering bank heists

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The ANC PWV region and the SA Communist Party have backed a call by the Inkatha Freedom Party for the Goldstone Commission to investigate allegations of the ANC and SACP in armed robberies.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and SACP general secretary Chris Hani have denied allegations that they had ordered armed robberies that netted R1 million.

This follows allegations made in a statement to the Rand Supreme Court last week by Solomon Mnqanqeni on trial for

armed robbery and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. He escaped from Diepkloof prison last week.

In a statement the SACP said yesterday: "These are obviously very serious claims, yet the SAP never once visited, phoned or in any way questioned either Chris Hani or Tokyo Sexwale in this regard."

The ANC and SACP said they feared for Mnqanqeni's safety after his "convenient court appearance and the alleged escape".

They linked Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's attack on Umkhonto we Sizwe in Parliament on Monday to the allegations.

R75 000 reward offered for information on Amanzimtoti

Bombers

DURBAN — Police are offering a R75 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for yesterday's bomb blast at Amanzimtoti on Natal's south coast.

The powerful car bomb exploded in a parking bay underneath the 25-storey Sanlam Park block at about 11am, injuring nine people.

Pieces of a Toyota Conquest, which police said was stolen in East London on Friday, were hurled across the Sanlam Park lot. Its engine demolished a brick wall. Eight parked cars were damaged.

Windows up to the 24th floor of the building were shattered, as were plate glass windows in shops 300m away.

Dazed residents — many of whom had been through the same ordeal when a bomb killed five people in nearby Sanlam Centre in 1985 — were evacuated from the building as hundreds of policemen, paramedics, firemen and soldiers arrived on the scene.

By last night no one had claimed responsibility and no arrests had been made.

Among the injured was security guard Benedict Mazibuko, who was just 10m

Own Correspondent

from the car when the bomb exploded. He said: "I was standing in the car park behind the flats when I heard a huge bang. Something hit my leg and when I saw it was bleeding I started running away. A woman stopped me and gave me first aid."

The woman was former nurse Elizabeth Margentis, who said she was knocked off her feet by the blast.

Sapa reports that Carole Swart, a ninth-floor resident of Sanlam Park, said: "I had just finished watching Egoli on TV when I felt this blast, which lifted me off my chair."

I just saw glass and smoke ... It was literally raining glass."

Twentieth-floor resident Estelle Marais said the bomb immediately reminded her of the 1985 blast. "I thought the whole building was going to collapse."

Our political staff reports that government, the ANC and Inkatha have condemned the blast.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the aim was clearly to disrupt negotiations. "This sort of thing plays right into the hands of the right wing ... It does not benefit the ANC or any other section of the

democratic movement ... but only those who fear democratic elections."

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said the blast was the work of "forces which were becoming increasingly desperate in their attempts to scuttle any hopes of a peaceful and negotiated future."

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett blamed the act on revolutionary forces intent on committing acts of violence.

Sanlam Properties spokesman Gerrit Boonstra said damage to Sanlam Park was superficial, amounting to about R50 000.

(231) (24A)
**Cape homes
bombed** (235)

Southern 22/4/93

THE houses of two policemen were petrol-bombed in Grahams-town's coloured township on Tuesday night.

Eastern Cape police liaison officer Captain Lisbe Vermeulen said one of the houses was slightly damaged but she had no further details yesterday morning.

In other violence in the area last night, an old building, described by police as business premises, was petrol-bombed but not damaged, according to Vermeulen.

Police have also reported several overnight incidents in Grahams-town's black townships. Vermeulen said a house and two police vehicles were attacked, one with a petrol bomb.

Huge bomb found on rails

CT 22/4/93

~~214~~

84A

~~214~~

Staff Reporter

A SPECIAL police unit is investigating the placing of a crude but powerful bomb on the Cape Town to Reef railway line.

Police removed 30kg of unstable commercial explosives from railway tracks on Tuesday morning on the line between Bloemfontein and Brandfort, spokeswoman Captain Johlene van der Merwe said.

An attempt to detonate the crude explosive device had been made, she said.

Three trains carrying mourners returning from SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani's funeral passed the area on Monday night.

One was carrying 200 people, another 500 and a third 800, said Spornet Free State regional manager Mr Willem Kuys.

The special Cape Town train would not have been affected because it had passed through Kimberly, he said.

'Very unstable'

Mr Kuys said the explosives, placed under a road bridge 35km from Bloemfontein, could have brought the bridge down on to the train.

A police bomb disposal unit had destroyed the explosives close by as they were so "unstable", Captain Van der Merwe said.

The device was not sophisticated and detonation was to have been carried out by a lighted fuse. The explosives had been placed on the Johannesburg-bound line, which was four metres from the other track, she said.

Police were investigating all possibilities, including that the target was returning funeral mourners. No arrests have been made.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the attempt was "sick".

Car bomb rocks Amanzimtoti

■ STUNNED RESIDENTS 'Miracle that no one has been killed':

Sawetan 22/4/93

218 8411

A POWERFUL car bomb exploded in a parking bay underneath a 25-storey apartment block in Amanzimtoti on the Natal South Coast yesterday, injuring nine people including a pregnant woman.

The bomb exploded underneath the Sanlam Park block at about 11 am and police were on the scene in the popular holiday resort within minutes. They evacuated residents from the building and paramedics treated most of the injured on the site.

The pregnant woman was taken to the nearby Kingsway Hospital, treated and discharged.

"She's okay," said police spokesman Colonel Bill Dennis.

He said a Toyota Conquest carrying "lots of explosives" had been stolen in East London on Friday April 16 and parked under the huge apartment block. "But we're not sure when."

The police have still to determine the type of explosives used.

Dennis said the blast injured three black men, two black women and four white women.

Among the injured was a security guard at the block, whose leg was broken.

Another senior policeman at the scene remarked: "It's a miracle that no one has been killed."

"Hundreds of windows have been shattered and we are not sure if there's been any structural damage to the building," said Dennis.

Nearby hotels and shops also had broken windows.

Yesterday's explosion occurred about 200m from where a limpet mine exploded in a packed shopping mall on December 23 1985, killing five and injuring 50.

Yesterday, stunned residents and holiday-makers were treated for shock at a mobile clinic after being evacuated from the block. Troops and policemen cordoned off the area and searched for further explosives.

"I thought the whole building was going to collapse and I immediately remembered the '85 bomb blast. Police then came up and told us to walk down the stairs and not use the lift." — Sapa.

NEWS 'Defend yourselves'

Mandela's call to Vaal youths

Sowetan 23/4/93
■ Pupils urged to go back to school: *84A*

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called on youths in the Vaal Triangle to join Umkhonto we Sizwe in order to defend themselves following a spate of violent acts in the area in the past month.

Addressing a huge crowd at a stadium in Sebokeng after visiting families and survivors of last week's Sebokeng massacre, Mandela said the residents had the right to defend themselves against their enemies.

Mandela, however, warned that those who intended joining MK should first acquire an education, at least a matric certificate, in order to be able to understand modern technology.

"We need a disciplined army that will be trained in Africa and abroad. We will not give up until we have achieved our liberation," he said.

Mandela had earlier visited survivors of last Sunday's massacre at the Sebokeng Hospital.

Meanwhile, major roads in the Vaal Triangle have been barricaded with stones and rocks.

er explains meaning of chant

War song is part of MK culture of resistance

Sowetan 23/4/93
 "KILL the Boer, kill the farmer," as chanted by ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, was an old song of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, he told journalists yesterday.

It had been sung on many occasions, such as after the massacres last year at Boipatong and Bisho, and it had not driven people to attack whites or farmers.

Mokaba said while the chant had never been officially coined as a slogan, it was an integral part of "MK culture".

The chant merely called for the over-

■ Peter Mokaba refuses to apologise:

throw of the "white supremacist system". He has been widely criticised for chanting it last Saturday and said on Wednesday that the Government could "go to hell" if it wanted to charge him for inciting violence.

If the chant was wrong, Mokaba said, then so were Xhosa songs sung at Monday's funeral service for slain SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani. — *Sapa*.



SOLIDARITY ... an ANC Youth League member flies the flag during Chris Hani's funeral this week

Picture: JOE SEFALE

IN a country riven by racial fear since the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani, the song chanted by Peter Mokaba, ANC youth leader, chilled many white South Africans.

"Kill the boer, kill the farmer," intoned the leader of the 490 000-strong ANC Youth League, at a rally in Cape Town last weekend.

It was, he later claimed, a time-honoured Umkhonto we Sizwe chant and was not meant maliciously. He failed to impress. White farmers went on to a war footing and the ANC leadership hastily distanced itself from his statement.

The incident proved how far the ANC leadership, in the main, have come since their January 8 1986 policy speech, which contained the exhortation: "Rise up against the blood-sucking white soldier-farmers ... give the enemy no quarter, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

It also showed the distance which has now opened between them and a vast, febrile and disenchanted youth.

If Peter Mokaba had delivered his speech at Mr Hani's funeral on Monday — organisers said constraints of time prevented this — he would have given the same Old Testament and, in political terms, archaic exhortation: "We must return a blow for a blow, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and peace for peace ... Better die to a man than let the enemy pass!"

And therein lies part of the problem. The Youth League has become toothless within the ANC; it looks to a past where it was infinitely more powerful.

Every ANC policy document of the 80s paid tribute to the youth. In 1987, Oliver Tambo, then ANC president, said "Hail to the young lions ... who have united in combat groups and confronted the enemy".

However, by the following year the ANC began realising its progress was not on the battlefield with MK troops, but through sanctions, boycotts and the new Congress of SA Trade Unions.

It began changing its approach and a year later had begun tentative talks with the government.

Young people, however, had already lost years of an already inadequate schooling since 1976 and dreams of military glory seemed more glorious than the impossible task of finding a job with no skills.

ANCYL deputy president Lulu Johnson says the youth form the core of the 56 per cent of the population that is unemployed and the 64 per cent that is illiterate.

The "young lions" were not mentioned at all in this year's ANC policy document. They have become an embarrassing footnote and, in some areas, a dangerous problem.

The government has the resources to help alleviate the crisis of the "lost generation", which is rooted less in education but a chronic lack of work opportunities.

However, no movement is seen with the R1-billion set aside for job creation.

President FW de Klerk, showing no evidence of the urgency of ameliorating the crisis of youth who hang around street corners, mug pedestrians and are in the vanguard of mobs, said this

week that he would appoint a committee to examine the problem.

But it is a crisis that, coupled with far right-wing militancy, is imperilling the authority of those at the negotiations table.

As Peter Mokaba has noted: "Three years of negotiations have seen no improvement in people's lives. Things are worse. The trouble is that negotiations have become the property of a committee.

"The real danger is that these people feel their lives are worthless. They have foregone opportunities because we said the best life will come with democracy and liberation. Some who have come from exile are not proud returned soldiers, they are reduced to beggars.

"It is dangerous for peace," he added. "No one is creating jobs, not even those in the Patriotic Front who head bantustans and have limited resources to do that. We have good slogans about unity and how we should hug each other, but the youth see no future.

"Before the death of Chris Hani, we were battling to keep membership figures up. Some of the youth say we have sold out and chant PAC slogans. They no longer believe negotiations will benefit them.

"But the actions around his death have reinvigorated them," he noted.

"What have negotiations created that people are proud of? That will urge them to sing about? Nothing at all ..."

He criticised the fact that the slowest committee to become operational — but possibly the most crucial — in the Peace Accord structures was that devoted to social reconstruction. So far

only one committee of this type has been set up, in Port Shepstone with a R700 000 budget.

The furore about the MK chant has focused again on the growing split in the ANC between a leadership desperately trying to get movement on negotiations and growing militancy in its ranks among those who would rather stand eye-to-eye with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and shoot it out.

Mrs Winnie Mandela has called for "the youth to take over the struggle of this country".

She has been supported by Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala, who says that as people get older they become more cautious and "sometimes miss the mark".

Radical

Northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu has been quoted as saying the ANC should form "retaliation squads" to hit back at assassins and their organisations.

Western Cape chairman Tony Yengeni, in whose constituency the most bloody and destructive march took place after Mr Hani's death, is also towing a militant line, scornful of negotiations.

Mr Yengeni has asked Mr Mokaba and Mrs Mandela to address people in his region again this weekend, the Natal Midlands has also invited them.

The voice of the radical is louder than the shuffling of papers at the negotiations table.

Mr Mokaba says: "We have to create projects for our young people, where they value their lives and society and have the responsibility to build the country and community."

Core

S/Times 25/4/93

84A

ARMS RACKET MAN HAS DISAPPEARED

By JOCELYN MAKER

POLICE have taken possession of an Uzi machine-gun — allegedly one of a consignment smuggled into the country for sale to the AWB by a Cape Town businessman.

The businessman, who openly boasted to at least one acquaintance that he had supplied the AWB with a shipment of automatic Uzi machineguns, has skipped the country.

Shortly before Robert Hargie, 42, of Hout Bay, disappeared at the end of February, leaving behind a trail of debt, he arrived at the home of a Woodstock business acquaintance where he allegedly dropped off an Uzi and 20 rounds of ammunition as a gift.

DEAL

The day before, Mr Hargie had told the businessman, who does not want to be named, that he was "busy with a big deal smuggling weapons which were made in Israel for the AWB" and that the "crate" had arrived and he was on his way to Johannesburg.

He has not been seen in Cape Town since.

The weapon was handed to the police yesterday.

This week, the businessman told of his involvement with Mr Hargie which led to the bizarre gift.

After the two men renewed an old acquaintance this year, they struck a deal whereby Mr Hargie would invest money in his company in exchange for a false invoice.

Instead, Mr Hargie apparently used the invoice



ILLEGAL ... an Uzi confiscated by the police

to milk his own company of R58 000.

He then disappeared from the scene, emerging only to drop off the weapon on February 27.

"When I went to look for him before he disappeared I saw a number of crates at his deserted house. I later phoned him at work and asked him if he was leaving the country," the Woodstock businessman said.

"He said he was not, but that his daughter was going to London. I became suspicious, as everything in the house had been crated.

"A few days later he told me he was running guns for the AWB. He also said the AWB was 'highly connected' and the deal had been easy.

"I never saw him again. The next day he dropped the gun off at my house and disappeared," he said.

Mr Hargie's company in the industrial suburb of Paardeneiland, which he bought 11 months ago, was liquidated on March 5 after surprised staff discovered he had secretly milked it of over R450 000.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Reg Crewe said the Uzi machinegun

was only used by security forces and was not available on the open market.

He added that the importation and possession of the weapon was illegal.

According to those who worked for Mr Hargie, after he vanished it became clear he had bought the waterproofing business as a "front company" and that during the past 11 months he had been waiting for "something big" to happen.

BROTHER

One of his employees, who also did not want to be named as he feared reprisal from the right-wing, said there had been talk that Mr Hargie was "running guns for the AWB".

The man, who has worked for the company for a number of years, said Mr Hargie was "well connected" with the Ulster Defence Force in Northern Ireland and that his brother was in Belfast with the group.

Commandant Nic Prinsloo of the AWB, Ventersdorp, said the organisation had "never heard of Hargie" and he declined to comment further.

Call
SITIMESCC/Mem
for MK
25/4/93
conscripts

ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar has called on "all those capable" to join the organisation's military wing, umKhonto we Sizwe. (84A) (HB)

Mr Omar, a "dove" in the ANC's leadership, was speaking yesterday at the funeral in Nyanga of MK member Mr Khaya Malungisa Simani, who was shot dead by a policeman on April 9.

"The first thing we must do is to learn to defend ourselves. This can't be done in a disorganised way," Mr Omar told mourners.

The second task was to form the nucleus of a democratic army for the new South Africa, he said.

On negotiations, he said: "For us in the alliance, negotiations do not mean making compromises with the regime.

"Negotiations must lead to the end of the apartheid system and the undemocratic regime."

The ANC's vice-chairman for the Western Cape, Mr Lerumo Kalako, said marches should be planned for white areas.

Wits students held over bomb blast at CP office

Sowetan 27/4/93.
By Sipho Mthembu

TWO Wits University students have been arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with handgrenade attacks on Conservative Party offices in Roodepoort last week.

The arrests, which were carried out on campus without any notification to the administration, drew strong criticism from the university community.

Speaking at a Press conference yesterday, SRC President Mrs Linda Vilakazi-Tselane named the students as BA Sociology student Mr Tefo Kelebonye (25) and BA Honours student Mr Heinrick Bohmke (22).

South African Students Congress Wits branch chairman Mr Makhukhu Mampuru said the two were registered members.

West Rand police yesterday confirmed that two

■ Anger at campus arrest by cops:

students had been arrested last week in connection with the handgrenade attack on the CP offices last week.

Police liaison officer Major Henriette Bester said the students, both members of the ANC Youth League, were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Vilakazi-Tselane said they were particularly worried by the police silence on the detentions and expressed fears that their colleagues may disappear like many other detainees in recent months.

She said it took the SRC almost the whole day on Friday to trace the two to the Krugersdorp police station.

Mr Kenneth Creamer of the SRC condemned the police for failing to identify themselves to security staff.

Sowetan 27/4/93

Handgrenade attack

SLIGHT damage was caused when handgrenades were thrown at a police station and an army base at Nyanga, near Cape Town, at the weekend.

Police said yesterday vehicles and a corrugated iron shack were damaged. There were also 13 incidents of stone-throwing in the Western Cape over the weekend. - Sowetan Reporters and

Sapa

(84A)

(285)

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba is in hot water. And all because of English. The fiery speaker and leader of the chanting and stomping young lions, Mokaba committed the ultimate sin: singing a freedom song in English and being understood by whites. *Sowetan 28/4/93*

It started in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, when television cameras captured the king of the young lions in full cry, swaying the crowd to the tune of "Kill the Boer, the farmer".

And a white community, scared to death over the violence sweeping the country after Chris Hani's death, saw red. Mokaba should be investigated, they cried.

But an unrepentant Mokaba went to Soshanguve, outside Pretoria, where he told the worried whites and their Government to "go to hell".

"I will continue to say kill the Boer, the farmer", Mokaba said to thunderous chanting by his followers.

And so the trouble took a new turn. Mokaba was called to appear on national television to give an account. A rather timid Mokaba was ruffled by Lester Venter, who told him his explanation was "rather long and tortuous".

Songs of war

But why did Mokaba get into trouble for a song and chant that is as old as the toyi toyi?

The answer could be found in the experience of the PAC over the slogan "One settler, one bullet".

Songs of struggle, sung by the ANC, PAC and BCM cadres, are songs of war. They talk of the hardships of the oppressed black majority at the hands of the white minority.

Liberation songs

All liberation songs blame the white minority for the problems. But many of them do so in the black languages. And so whites never get to know what is being said because only a negligible number of them can even greet in any of the nine black languages.

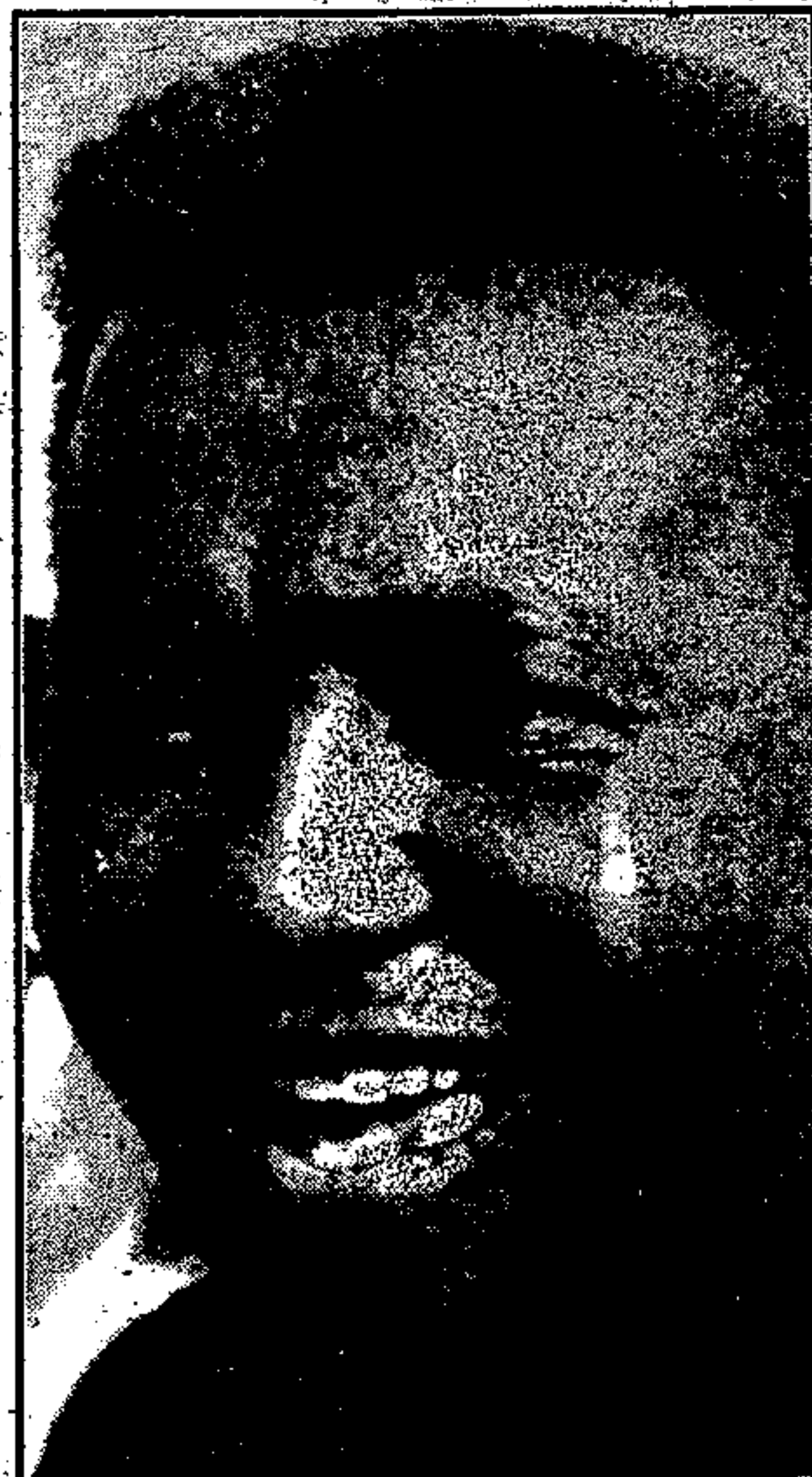
Another factor is that the SABC has for a long time ignored mass meetings of black organisations, and where they did cover such meetings, they censored the singing, thus sheltering whites from the songs and chants.

When Cosatu assistant secretary general Mr Sam Shilowa led the singing at the Hani funeral of the sorrowful song *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto*, nobody said anything.

This despite the fact that the song says in part: "We the people of Mkhonto are determined to kill all the Boers."

Other songs of struggle sung by the ANC include *Umama uyjabula umang' shay' ibhunu* (Mother gets happy when I beat a Boer) and

The words of the chant that has focused a lot of attention on leading young lion Peter Mokaba are not new — in fact they form the foundation of freedom songs which have been sung for generations. Investigations Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** explains:



The ANC's "young lion" Peter Mokaba ... In hot water.

Shaya Mabunu, Shaya Mabunu, Hoyahoyaho Mkhonto we Sizwe (Beat the Boers Mkhonto we Sizwe).

These songs are sung by, among others, Gill Marcus, Carl Niehaus, Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils, who are white and refer to mabunu.

Marcus said she had never felt threatened by the songs because they were a mere expression of the mood of the time but never "an order to kill".

Watching Mokaba trying to explain that these are old songs rooted in the struggle of "the people" and that they should be understood in the context of standing ANC policy and practice, and how Venter cut him short, brought back

memories of the PAC dilemma over its own slogans.

To mind comes PAC president Clarence Makwetu with John Bishop, with Makwetu saying it was a Zimbabwean slogan and not a PAC one. Then deputy president Dikgang Moseneke versus Adrian Steed, and a host of other PAC officials who all tried to say what Mokaba was also saying last week: It is a simple slogan.

Do those who sing these songs and chant the slogans mean them literally?

All indications are that this is not so. For, indeed, if the ANC meant the killing of whites in the *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* song, there would be no one left to complain by now, Marcus said.

The PAC said then that they would not apologise for the slogans. Mokaba said the same but the ANC issued a statement saying they were reviewing the slogans.

Discussions

Marcus said the ANC felt the song was "inappropriate now, although it evolved from a particular period in our history". Discussions would be held over the matter but the leadership would not dictate to its members about what to sing because the "songs do not reflect policy", she said.

All because Mokaba sang an old song and recited an old chant in English and in front of television cameras.

But then white people, who control the media and decide what to emphasise and what to criminalise, do not want to hear this and are determined to ensure that even the chant, however meaningless it may be, is stopped.

Mokaba has several choices facing him.

He could ride roughshod over the protests and continue to eulogise the armed struggle that allegedly brought President FW de Klerk to the table.

Or he could give in and sing about the as yet unfruitful negotiations?

Or he could just switch over to the black languages, sing the same things or worse, and none of the vociferous complainants of today will understand what he is saying.

Which one will it be? Mokaba's next address to the young lions will show.

in former MK cadres case

MK pair found guilty of Addo farmer's murder

Sowetan 29/11/93
■ No evidence to suggest killing politically motivated:

TWO men were yesterday found guilty of murdering Addo farmer and businessman Mr André de Villiers.

Tamsanqa Mali (23), a former member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and Mr Lindile Stemele (25) were also convicted of attempting to murder De Villier's wife Susan and son Louis and robbery with aggravating circumstances.

Mr Justice van Rensburg said not a single shred of evidence had been given

to indicate the killing was a political setup. *(S.A. 86A)*

De Villiers was murdered with a Makarov pistol on his farm Athelstone on August 17 last year. *(S.A. 86A)*

Van Rensburg said though the actual shooting was done by a third accused who died while awaiting trial and a man known as Kenneth, the pair before court should have known shots could be fired to execute the robbery.

The case is continuing. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

MK unit to keep order at funeral

610 (M) 30/4/93
DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE ANC will try to avoid a repeat of the Chris Hani funeral chaos by deploying a large unit of MK cadres and additional marshals at the funeral of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo on Sunday. (84A)

At a media conference yesterday, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan called on mourners to pay tribute to Tambo by ensuring there was no loss of life, no damage to property and no undignified behaviour. He said the fact that there would not be an all-night vigil would make it easier for the marshals to maintain control.

Tambo's body would lie in state in St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg from noon to 6pm tomorrow. A funeral service at the FNB stadium in Soweto would start at 9am and he would be buried in Benoni.

Speakers at the funeral service would include ANC president Nelson Mandela and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

At another media conference ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba called on the youth to intensify their struggle against apartheid — saying Hani's assassination had played a role in Tambo's "untimely death", Sapa reports.

Mokaba also called for strong discipline from mourners at the funeral.

Police spokesman Maj Ida van Zweek said police in Benoni fired rubber bullets at 30 youths who damaged four cars and stoned a police vehicle after attending a memorial service for Tambo yesterday. No one was injured.

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Derby-Lewis aware of a plot ~~(S4A)~~ police ~~(S4A)~~

~~(S4A)~~ ADRIAN HADLAND ~~(S4A)~~

PRETORIA — Police interrogators were convinced CP member Clive Derby-Lewis was withholding information concerning a wide right-wing conspiracy to assassinate political leaders, the Supreme Court in Pretoria heard yesterday.

Police thus sought to extend his detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for a further 10 days.

In papers before the court, it was alleged that Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus, a suspect in the murder of SACP leader Chris Hani, had become concerned by the direction of SA politics since February 1990. People who opposed their political aims were identified and it was decided to eliminate them, the court heard.

SAP counsel Mac van der Merwe said Walus's certainty — even after his arrest — that further political murders would be carried out pointed to a wider conspiracy which threatened the security of the state and the current political process.

Information being collected by SAP investigators, including that supplied by Keith Darrel (released after questioning on Wednesday), would be put to Derby-Lewis over the next 10 days to ascertain the scale of the conspiracy, Van der Merwe said.

Judge T J Curlewis, who adjourned the police application until today, stressed that Derby-Lewis had categorically denied he had had anything to do with the murder. He said he was astounded and horrified by

To Page 2

Derby-Lewis ~~(S4A)~~ ~~(S4A)~~ ~~(S4A)~~

Derby-Lewis's trial by media. ~~(S4A)~~ ~~(S4A)~~ ~~(S4A)~~

Derby-Lewis was in a very difficult situation; he had been deprived of the right to remain silent and yet an extension was being sought by police on the grounds that he was withholding information.

"Here is a person against whom there are serious allegations, but how does he deal with it?"

The judge said he was puzzled that no application to hold the hearing in camera

From Page 1 ~~(S4A)~~ ~~(S4A)~~ ~~(S4A)~~

had been requested. It was very upsetting that information contained in court documents would go out to the public.

The court was told that an extension of Gaye Derby-Lewis's detention order would not be sought and that she would be released by tomorrow.

Two urgent interdicts, brought by Derby-Lewis's stepson Andre Glaser for their release, were postponed until today.

NELSON MANDELA had to visit and give pep talks to various African National Congress departments this week in order to boost morale. The combined effect of the deaths of two senior leaders, Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani, the violence of the past fortnight and the slowness of negotiations were taking their toll.

It was a tribute to the standing of ANC national chairman and former president Tambo that his death was still felt so acutely by the organisation, despite his having been precluded by ill health from the hurly-burly of politics for four years.

This was partly because Tambo's death represented the end of an era. The gentlemanly, old-school arch-diplomat was the living embodiment of the ANC-in-exile. Tambo's personal style combined firm principal, unbending determination and an old-worldly grace that came to characterise the ANC as a whole — and is inevitably changing as the ANC prepares to take part in government.

The shock in the ANC can also be attributed to the man's popularity. From battle-seasoned Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) guerrillas, through jail-hardened cadres to the grey-suited negotiations team, one struggles to find ANC members who do not express heartfelt respect for the man who led the organisation during 30 years of difficult and bitter exile.

This should come as a surprise, because he was better known as a diplomat than a military leader. It was in the field of diplomacy — gaining international acceptance for the ANC and isolating the Pretoria government — that his achievements were enormous. He will be remembered most of all for his meetings with world leaders, his protégé Thabo Mbeki almost always at his side, slowly and graciously working to undermine Western resistance to the ANC's links with the Communist Party.

And it was this manner — and his unquestioned integrity — that won over arch-critics in white South Africa during the first contacts with the establishment in the critical years of 1985 to 1990.

However, MK leaders, like Ronnie Kasrils, say that Tambo was loved by MK cadres because he showed unwavering commitment to their role and skilfully managed the delicate balance between military and political struggle. He often visited the camps and kept track of the details of military strategy.

But it is his political leadership and strategic planning that stand out. He was the person who, when the black consciousness upsurge of the 1970s threatened the ANC, convinced the organisation it must adapt and reach out to these people, rather than see them as political competitors.

And it was he who, foreseeing the need to prepare for negotiations and ensure that the ANC set its own agenda for the process, began the planning that led to the Harare Declaration of 1989.

And it was he who campaigned, in crucial meetings in the late 1980s with United States secretary of state George Schultz and Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev, to take the South

A great thinker who laid fertile grounds

W/MAIL 30/4 - 6/5/93

Oliver Tambo's death represented the end of an era — but among his enormous achievements was preparing the ANC for its new role.

By **ANTON HARBER**



Though better known as a diplomat than a military leader, Tambo was loved by MK guerrillas because of his unwavering commitment to their role

African struggle outside the context of the Cold War, which had deadlocked talks over Namibia and Angola.

Tambo's greatest achievement was in ensuring that during the long and traumatic years of exile, when progress was hard to demonstrate, the ANC never suffered from the kinds of debilitating splits that characterised most other liberation movements.

There were periods in which his leadership, style and policy faced serious challenges from below. The first was in the late 1960s, after the failure of the Wankie campaign, the ANC's first major military push.

It was a mark of Tambo's hands-on style that he travelled to the Zambian border with his troops to bid them farewell as they crossed into the then-Rhodesia and headed south for home in 1967.

And when the campaign failed dismally, bringing to a head frustration and discontent within the ANC, he summoned the Morogoro conference of 1969 to try to keep the organisation united. That conference led to the formation of the ANC's revolutionary council, which brought together political and military leadership to plan future strategy, and opened the doors of the ANC to non-blacks.

That was followed by the breakaway of what

became known as the "group of eight", a core of nationalists that challenged the Morogoro decisions. Tambo summoned what became known as the "conference in the bush", which brought all the key ANC leaders together in the Zambian countryside to thrash out the problem and keep the organisation in one piece.

At both these meetings, Tambo and his associates faced harsh criticism from below and direct challenges to their leadership. At both, he heard out his opponents, responded and held on to the reins of authority.

That was his style: to listen a lot, to seek conciliation, to understand his critics and to accommodate them.

It was also his weakness. He kept the organisation together because of his consensus-seeking style of leadership, but it also meant he had enormous tolerance and seldom cracked the organisational whip.

"If someone misbehaved or broke the rules, Tambo would always try to talk them round and rehabilitate them. Sometimes we wondered why he never came down harder on them," one of his closest colleagues said this week.

That was why anyone who visited the ANC in Lusaka during the 1980s found an amiable and friendly organisation, marred by elements of gross inefficiency.

And it accounts for the great black mark in Tambo's leadership history: his failure to stop the abuses in ANC camps in Angola. There is now little doubt that even when he knew about the conditions in the camps, he did not use the authority he enjoyed to make sure that they came to an end and the culprits were punished — a major error that is still plaguing the ANC.

He has also been criticised for the fact that Operation Vula, the major attempt to re-establish an ANC underground after the Nkomati Accord drove the organisation out of neighbouring states, came so late. In the end, it was his political work that counted, but a stronger military position and a stronger underground could have changed the balance of power before the 1990 unbanning of the ANC.

He was often slow to decide and was given to careful consideration, detailed planning and lengthy discussion rather than swift action. Mbeki, who was almost always at Tambo's side during the 1980s, describes him spending many hours thinking through problems, making extensive notes and ensuring he came to meetings with carefully prepared positions and strategies.

"He was not that good at reading prepared speeches, but he was excellent when he spoke off the cuff. People often wondered how he was able to speak so fluently and so carefully when he cast aside his notes. But then they didn't know that he would have spent three days writing the speech, so he knew exactly what and how he wanted to say it," Mbeki says.

Tambo's style stands in marked contrast to Mandela's stronger, more direct leadership. Where Tambo sought consensus, Mandela seeks support for decisions he has already made.

Tambo was, Kasrils says, a workaholic and expected the same of those around him.

He also had an element of the purist. Tambo never drank — except during a visit to Cuba in 1987, when Fidel Castro insisted he toast the revolution with rum. He closed his eyes, threw it back and later remarked: "That was very nice."

He also often told a story of the first time he ever wore shoes, as a Transkei child. At the age of nine, he found a pair of shoes which he put on to walk the great distance to his home. He found it difficult, but put this down to inexperience. It was only when he got home, blistered and sore, that his mother pointed out they were high-heeled women's shoes.

The picture that emerges is of drive and determination that saw him through a difficult childhood and the many sacrifices of exile.

This came partly from a driving sense of mission: his closest friend, Mandela, had gone to prison for the cause and it was only luck that had Tambo selected as the organisation's external representative, enabling him to avoid prison — something that plagued him over all those years. Says close associate Frene Ginwala: "He would often say in difficult times, 'I have been given a task and nothing is going to stop me from fulfilling it.'" Tambo died last week, aged 75, knowing that that task — the achievement of non-racial democracy — was nearly, but not quite, complete.

MK man ^{Star 30/4/93} 'shot in self defence'

Police shot dead Umkhonto we Sizwe member Itumeleng Samuel Padi because they believed that the MK soldier was about to attack them with a hand grenade, a Johannesburg inquest was told yesterday.

P F Louw, counsel for the Ministry of Law and Order, said police could not be held responsible for the death of Padi and his girlfriend Nokulola Ncalo in Phiri, Soweto.

Both were shot during a pre-dawn operation by Captain Herman Havenga, Warrant-Officer Marthinus Johannes Schoeman and Warrant-Officer Daniel Knoester on May 19 1991.

Gys Rautenbach, counsel for the family of Padi and Ncalo, questioned the policemen's claim that Padi had had a hand grenade.

Their description of the positions of Padi and Ncalo when they were shot clashed with the evidence of blood stains on the wall and bed.
— Court Reporter.

East London hotel raiders may have struck twice before

'Carbon copy' killers mumm

Star 3/5/93

guards with a to lie smashes took je John M
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Police believe Saturday's terror attack on an East London hotel — in which five whites were killed by black gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles — was executed by the same armed gang that mowed down five whites in two similar attacks in the Border region recently.

The toll may have been higher if it were not for the heroism of a former Rhodesian bush fighter who opened fire on the attackers.

In a further turn today, a telephone caller to Sapa claimed responsibility in the name of the Azanian National Liberation Army. Azanla is the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the sister organisation of the Azanian People's Organisation.

The caller, who refused to name himself, said the attack had been carried out by three cadres. A driver had waited in the car.

Shocked witnesses described how three men wearing balacavas burst into the Highgate Hotel's public bar, ladies' bar and snooker room at 10.15 pm, attacking with AK-47 rifles, a grenade and teargas canisters.

Four men died in the main bar of the cream-and-orange painted hotel in the Cambridge area of East London, and another man was slain in the snooker room. Seven people were injured, three of them seriously.

Eastern Cape police said the military-style attack on the hotel resembled two attacks — one on the King William's Town golf club in November and the other on a Fort Beaufort hotel in March — which have been linked to the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Apla claimed responsibility for the King William's Town attack in which four people had died.

Police said two men — Thembelani Xundu and Lun gisa Ntintili — were wanted for questioning in connection with Saturday's attack.

R150 000 reward

And as a massive search for up to five men got under way yesterday, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe offered a R150 000 reward for information leading to the identification of the assailants.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw said: "We are pretty sure these are the attackers of the King William's Town golf club and the Yellowwood Hotel. This attack was very similar in execution and we could be looking for the same attackers."

Eastern Cape regional police commissioner Major-General Daan Huggett also said police had linked the

Massive hunt for 'carbon copy' killers

From Page 1

shootings to King William's Town and Fort Beaufort.

"We call on the public, especially the managers of hotels and restaurants to have door control at their establishments," he said.

Police were hunting a gang of four or five, one of whom might be injured.

The former Rhodesian, who did not want to be identified for fear of retaliation, had jumped over the bar counter, pushed a bartender to the floor and returned fire with a .38 Special revolver. Police believe this action may have saved lives.

Police yesterday sent a team of ballistics experts from Pretoria to investigate the attack.

The dead men have been identified as Derek Whitfield, Dave Wheeler, Stan Hacking, Deon Harris and Douglas Gates. The Star learnt last night that Gates, a divorced SPCA employee, lived in Johannesburg.

The injured people are being treated at Frere Hospital. Police identified them as Megan Boucher, Doreen Roussseau, barman Alfred Gontshi, Charles



Bar-room chaos... the scene in East London on Saturday night after masked men burst into a bar and opened fire on customers with AK-47 rifles. Five people were killed. Picture: AP

Boddington, Karl Weber, Neville Belling and Billy Baling. Weber (37), a senior SPCA senior inspector, was wounded in both arms and may have to have one amputated.

In a statement last night, President de Klerk said he had learnt of the attack with shock and outrage. "Their deaths

come at the end of a dark period — a period marred by the indiscriminate killing of people of all races."

ANC Border spokesman Mcebisi Bata said the attack was intended "to whip up the emotions of the white community" and urged restraint on all sides. — Staff Reporters, Ecga.

To Page 3

South 115 - 5/5/93

'One nation, one army'

Rockland Williams

JOINT control over the security forces is desirable for two reasons. The first is the fact that South Africa possesses at present no less than seven different armed forces (MK, the SADF, the TBVC armies and APLA).

This is a highly unfavourable and fragmented situation in a country desirous of attaining a degree of national unity and nationhood.

The second reason pertains to the immense problems of command and control over seven disparate armed formations.

Each of these armies has a particular political affinity, military identity and institutional past.

Unless grouped under an appropriate joint command structure, these armed forces can and have been used in the pursuit of partisan and party political agendas.

In the interests of a non-violent electoral campaign it remains imperative, therefore, to ensure that these forces are deployed in a neutral and non-partisan manner.

There are two different forms of control which can be exerted over the armed forces. The first is political control and the second is military control.

Political control over the armed forces refers to the supreme control exerted by both the political and civilian authorities.

In the transitional scenario in South Africa such control will be vested in a sub-council on defence and will be concerned with the principles, guidelines and policy framework within which the armed forces are deployed before the elections.

However, joint political control can only

be effective to the extent that it translates itself into practical operational measures on the ground.

Joint military control over the different armed forces would require control exercised over the deployment, training and discipline of the different armies by their commanders.

This provides the commanders with the authority to ensure the deployment of the armed forces takes place according to the guidelines agreed to by the political authorities.

It is best effected by a joint high command upon which senior officers of all the armed forces are represented. This will have authority over the different areas of military activity of all the armies — joint inspection teams to inspect facilities; joint operations committees to co-ordinate and oversee joint operations; joint intelligence committees to share information and joint training committees to standardise training requirements.

The institution of a joint high command makes both political and military sense. No major military actor in the present transition can claim a monopoly over the skills, expertise and experience required to constitute a new defence force.

While some armed forces possess technical advantages over their counterparts, others enjoy greater levels of legitimacy than their technocratic rivals.

South Africa can neither afford the real or potential divisiveness inherent in the maintenance of seven different armies, nor the inequalities entailed in the dominance of one military structure over another.

(Rocky Williams is the coordinator of the Military Research Group).

IN THE coming weeks the demand for joint control over the security forces will resonate in ANC-led mass campaigns. One party cannot control the security forces in the transitional period. It would be unwise, for example, to allow the government — as one player in the negotiation process — to have absolute control over the SADF and SAP during the period leading to elections.

To level the playing fields it is up to the multi-party forum to establish organs that can neutralise any force which can upset the creation of a democratic South Africa.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will have to curtail any military activity which threatens the route to democracy.

We are not saying the TEC's sub-council on defence should actively manage all armed formations during the interim period. But they should be accountable to this multi-party structure and accept it as their legitimate short-term authority.

In our meetings with the government, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC have tabled proposals for political and operational control of the security forces.

It spells out how we envisage the implementation of multi-party control of security including defence, police and intelligence.

We are awaiting a government response. The ANC proposes a TEC sub-council on defence which will:

- Require participants in the TEC to submit all decisions related to military developments for its consideration and approval;
- Require participants not to proceed with any military development which will undermine or prejudice the transition;
- Propose legislation on defence; restructuring military formations; formulating budgets; the appointment of officers to the gener-

CROSS TALK

Armed forces: *Souter* 115-515193 Who will hold

the reins?

The violence of the crisis week following Chris Hanis' death has amplified the ANC's call for multiparty control of the South African security forces.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff **SIPHWE NYANDA** explains why the ANC has made this demand and how it will be implemented.

Military analysts **ROCKLAND WILLIAMS** and **LAURIE NATHAN** disagree on the viability of the plan:



Monitoring Committees (MC).

- Have the power to review and suspend existing legislation related to defence and military formations.
- Ensure that the SADF's role be confined to protecting the borders of South Africa against foreign aggression.
- Advise the TEC on the circumstances under which a military formation may be deployed in an operational capacity.
- Formulate a Code of Conduct which shall be binding on all members of military formations of participants in the TEC;
- Have unrestricted access to all information which concerns defence and military formations of TEC participants;
- Have the power to hear complaints concerning military formations from the Independent Electoral Commission, the Goldstone Commission, National Peace Accord structures and the TEC;
- Have the power to begin the process of formulating policy for the integration of armed forces;
- Have the power to establish a Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee, comprised of representatives of military formations of TEC participants, to oversee the implementation of its decisions and instructions.

al staff; the manufacture and procurement of Security Council (SSC) and all structures weaponry; strategic planning; training; flowing from the National Security Management System (NSMS), including the Joint

Star 115193 (304A) (84A)

Role of security forces a thorny issue

ALTHOUGH there is almost common cause among most of the organisations and parties negotiating at the World Trade Centre about the need for a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) to be established as soon as possible, there is as yet no consensus about the powers of the TEC and its sub-councils.

The ANC and its allies would like a TEC set up as soon as possible, and want it and its sub-councils to have "effective, thorough-going and binding powers".

They envisage a situation where the TEC would be a supreme body, running the country on some issues and with absolute say on matters relating to "the levelling of the playing field" with regard to the forthcoming elections.

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Pretoria agrees that the TEC and its sub-councils would have power over matters related to the elections but sees it as a body with advisory powers. As President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town this week, the Government considers itself the legitimate ruler of the country, and says it will surrender power only to an elected government of national unity.

Another potentially divisive issue, which has yet to come up in the multiparty negotiations forum, is the exact role and powers of the TEC sub-council on the security forces.

The ANC would like the security forces "and all other armed formations" to come under joint control by the TEC.

The organisation refuses to have its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe discussed separately in negotiations under the question of violence - as Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose tried to do yesterday.

And by "all armed formations" the ANC has in mind not only the police and the SADF - which it describes as "private armies of the regime" - but the KwaZulu Police (KZP), right-wing organisations' "military commandos" and the "independent" homelands' defence forces.

The IFP and KwaZulu - they have separate delegations in the negotiations - do not see the controversial KZP as a "private army", and object vehemently to this description.

Unlike the Government and

the ANC, the IFP and KwaZulu are also opposed to the establishment of a TEC, as well as to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly to write the country's new constitution.

Instead, they would like to see the multiparty negotiations forum as currently constituted write the constitution and present it to the public for approval in a referendum. Only then, they argue, can elections be held.

The IFP and some of its allies in the Concerned Southern Africans Group do not envisage an interim phase during the transition, and are opposed to the installation of a TEC and a government of national unity which would emerge after elections for a constituent assembly.

IFP CLAIM ON VIOLENCE

Top page 9.

Schoolboys save scores of lives

(Times [C/Metro])

84A
~~84A~~

2/5/93

By PETA KROST

TWO young Guguletu schoolboys have saved scores of commuters' lives by alerting the police to a limpet mine on the railway line close to the Nyanga station.

The boys, aged 12 and 14, each received a R2 000 reward on Friday from the deputy District Commissioner General Nick Snyman for "their heroic deed".

The boys were crossing the tracks 800m from the Nyanga station to visit a friend late in the

afternoon of April 14 when they spotted the mine.

"I recognised it immediately because I had seen one on the post office wall," said the 12-year-old.

"We started running towards the police station when we saw a police van and told the men inside that we had found a bomb," he said.

After informing the police the children ran to tell their friends not to go there because "it was dangerous".

The two boys were excited about their reward, with which they intend to further their education, but said "we only did it to stop the bomb hurting people".

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Raymond Dowd said: "It is actions like these that give us hope for the future of this country."

"These boys saved hundreds of lives by recognising the mine and reporting it to the police."

CHAMBERS RAITS PITCHOT

S1 Times 215193

New law nails

SA tax dodger

Who split the

beans on Mafia

Italian engineer who skipped South Africa after defrauding Kwazulu and the taxman in a multi-million-rand racket, been forced by a new law to settle with his creditors. Mario Fargion now lives in fear of the Mafia for revealing their in his illegal international money-running deals. The tough line taken by the Receiver of Revenue in the case of Dr Fargion is a clear signal to the country of a new determination to hit men who try to hide their wealth and then skip the country to keep out of the taxman's hands.

Fargion fled to England late last year to escape his creditors, adding the taxman when he owes R8,6-million.

er prolonged discussions in London with representatives of his creditors. Fargion last week had to pay R1-million of the owed — although six months ago he said oath that he had no money at all.

By CARMEL RICKARD

able assets, the Receiver decided to sequester his estate — the first time that the South African taxman has declared someone insolvent to recover income tax.

Three days before his estate was sequestered, Dr Fargion cashed a conveyancer's cheque for R360 000 for a bond over property owned by a family trust.

A shocked Monica Seles is assisted after the assailant had stabbed her in the back



White-
milch-
knife

PLANS for a right-wing power bloc led by retired police and army generals will be disclosed at a mass meeting in Potchefstroom on Thursday.

The generals were asked by Conservative Party politicians to forge an alliance between the squabbling right-wing splinter groups to oppose a future ANC government.

One of their first objectives is the formation of a "White People's Army" drawn from traditionally conservative white quarters — farmers, miners and railway workers.

The "army" is part of a renewed stirring of the right-wing forces after the tensions caused by the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hanu and a burst of spirited attacks on white farmers.

The death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht has also created a vacuum in right-wing politics.

Spokesmen for the "Committee of Generals" said yesterday that the right-wing power bloc would negotiate for a white homeland. Failing that, armed action would be considered.

The Committee of Generals was formed during a four-hour meeting at the Silverton, Pretoria, headquarters of the Transvaal Agricultural Union on April 21.

Splinter

It includes four of the most senior securocrats who served former State President PW Botha during the height of his iron rule.

They are former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen; former army chief of operations and the man in charge of the Conservative Party's mobilisation programme, Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff.

By JOCELYN MAKER, DE WET POTGETER and CHARIS PERKINS

representatives of more than 100 right-wing political and splinter groups — were retired Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Mike Geldenhuys and former SAP forensics laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling.

General Geldenhuys' is not one of the committee members, and General Neethling has subsequently withdrawn from the organisation.

The initiative for the White People's Army came from within the ranks of the CP, the 14 000-strong Transvaal Agricultural Union and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

To Page 2



66 I'm a little unwell
send official inv

PLOT RIGHT

SI Times 215193

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They are former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen; former army chief of operations and the man in charge of the Conservative Party's mobilisation programme, Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff; former CID chief Lieutenant-General Cobus Visser; and former military intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Tienie Groenewald.

The fifth member is retired SAP colonel Servaas de Wet, commander of the AWB's military wing, the Wenkommando.

Also at the meeting — convened less than 24 hours earlier and attended by

By JOCELYN MAKER,
DE WET POTGIETER
and CHARIS PERKINS

representatives of more than 100 right-wing political and splinter groups — were retired Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Mike Geldenhuys and former SAP forensics laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling.

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General Groenewald said yesterday that the intention was not to wrest "the leadership initiative" from the politicians, but rather to forge the right-wing into a coherent power bloc.

□ To Page 2

PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK
There were 73 winners with each collecting a payout of R14 268,20.
Numbers: 7, 15; 8; 3, 7; 7; 1, 8; 6.

CLAIRWOOD
65 winners each received a dividend of R7 894,20. Selections: 1, 3, 13; 2; 1; 2; 1; 12.

MILNERTON
Only one lucky punter received a payout of R226 915,20. Combinations: 4; 10; 7; 1, 3, 9; 7; 1.

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Generals plot with right

□ From Page 1

"The generals were asked by the politicians to establish right-wing unity," he said.

General Groenewald said the committee was the culmination of "months" of behind-the-scenes lobbying.

It will hold a press conference this week to spell out its plans for mobilisation.

Yesterday AWB Commandant-General de Wet confirmed that the intention was to form a White People's Army.

"We have no other choice. Too many people are being murdered and the government has lost control. The right-wing, which was divided, is now standing together as one with a single goal — an Afrikaner volkstaat."

The white Mine Workers' Union, the Iron and Metal Union and Spoor-net's white union, Salstaff, have all pledged their support for the committee.

General Groenewald said: "One of our first objectives will be a show of force, but the generals are not in command — we are there to plan, co-ordinate, advise and suggest what action should be taken."

"Our people have to defend themselves. The government can no longer guarantee law and order in this country."

"The People's Army is 500 000-strong and they have all had military training. We have the capacity

to enforce law and order."

CP information officer Pieter Mulder said the right-wing was moving into "second- and third-stage mobilisation".

"We will begin to act on fronts other than the political terrain. Up to now we have been strong on elections, but FW de Klerk has blocked us and we have no way to vent our frustration."

"I personally don't want war, but our people have their backs against the wall. We are mobilising to defend ourselves," said Dr Mulder, who will take time out from his parliamentary duties to attend the Potchefstroom meeting.

84A

United force a priority

S Times 21/5/93

LAURIE NATHAN argues that the proposed sub-council on defence must exercise executive control over SA's armed forces

SOUTH Africa is in the extraordinary position of having a total of eight armed formations, each responsible to a different political authority: the SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla, the AWB commandos and the Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana armies.

The situation is patently unstable and dangerous. None of these forces is subject to adequate control; none enjoys widespread legitimacy; all are politically partisan; and each is contributing, in different ways, to conflict.

The danger is heightened by the fact that the future status of the various armies remains uncertain after three years of negotiations, with the result that soldiers on all sides are becoming increasingly insecure.

In response to this problem and concern about the maintenance of peace and stability during elections, Working Group 3 of Codesa proposed, in May 1992, the establishment of a sub-council on defence under the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

In terms of the proposal, the sub-council would have the following mandate:

● To acquaint itself with developments concerning defence and the military forma-

tions of government and other participants in the TEC;

● To promote all developments in this field which may have a favourable impact on the levelling of the playing fields, free political participation and the creation of a climate of peace and stability; and

● To prevent all developments in this field which may adversely affect the transition to democracy.

Since Codesa ended its deliberations last year, little progress has been made.

The status and terms of reference of the sub-council have yet to be determined. A key point of contention is whether it should have executive authority or merely be an advisory body.

The argument for executive authority is compelling. The sub-council requires real power if it is to fulfill the above mandate and ensure that the armed forces do not interfere in the elections.

Executive authority is also essential to the application of a principle of defence which is absent in our country, but fundamental to a stable democracy and a stable transition: armed forces should be subject to civilian control and multi-party oversight.

In democratic societies,

this principle is upheld through a civilian ministry of defence, a parliamentary review committee, the constitution and relevant legislation.

In South Africa now, the only viable mechanism, albeit an imperfect one, would be the sub-council on defence with executive authority.

Executive authority would entail, in particular, the power to order any army to take action which promotes free political participation and the creation of a climate of peace and stability, and the power to order any army to refrain from action which undermines these goals.

The following additional powers would also be required: to review and suspend existing defence legislation; to draw up a code of conduct binding on all soldiers; to investigate alleged contraventions of the code; and to take disciplinary action where necessary.

The sub-council, comprising representatives of political parties, will need a number of ancillary bodies in exercising these powers:

● A committee of civilian and military experts to provide policy and technical advice;

● A Joint Military Command, consisting of senior of-

icers from all the armed forces, to ensure that executive decisions are implemented; and

● Investigative, administrative and financial structures.

As a matter of priority, the sub-council should design a process for integrating government and guerrilla armies and establishing a unified defence force. This process is essential for promoting national reconciliation and ensuring that the post-settlement military enjoys widespread legitimacy.

Integration will undoubtedly be a complex undertaking. Important lessons could be learnt from the merger of armed forces after independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe, as well as from the incorporation of British and Boer armies into the Union Defence Force.

The key point here is that integration, and military matters generally, should be determined on the basis of sound planning and policy development, rather than expedient and adversarial bargaining.

□ Laurie Nathan is director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town.

TAMBO FUNERAL *They came in their thousands and from all corners to pay homage to OR*

Fitting, solemn tributes for ANC stalwart

Sowetan 3/5/93

■ **SOMBRE AFFAIR** *Religious hymns inspire*

Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to sing and dance.

By Ruth Bhengu

THE REMARKABLE THING about Mr Oliver Tambo's funeral was that it was so ordinary. Unlike that of South African Communist Party leader Mr Martin Thembisile Hani two weeks ago, yesterday's was a sombre affair.

There were no fiery speeches, no unruly youths and no incidents of violence at the FNB Stadium where the funeral service for the African National Congress national chairman was held.

The tension that gripped the country after Hani's assassination was absent after Tambo's death.

Instead, there were religious services and the singing of hymns, inspiring Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to sing and dance.

Commitment to the struggle

This was fitting tribute to OR. It reflected the kind of man he was. Speakers from many parts of the world spoke about his commitment to the struggle for freedom. They also spoke about his gentleness.

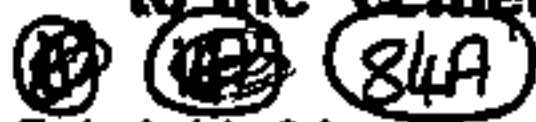
Even those who did not know him personally got a clear picture of who Oliver Reginald Tambo was.

The FNB Stadium was not as packed as it was two weeks ago when his charismatic comrade, Hani, was buried. But that was what the ANC leadership wanted.

A colleague said the ANC had made sure that there would be no "vuil poppe" at the funeral to tarnish Tambo's name.

As his body lay in state at St Mary's

Hordes of people waving ANC flags filled the streets of Wattville as they made their way to the cemetery



Cathedral in Johannesburg on Saturday, the cordoned off area around the church was uncharacteristically quiet.

When the cortege arrived in Wattville, Benoni (unofficially renamed Tamboville after the squatter camp that has sprung up nearby), thousands lined the streets to get a glimpse of the hearse. Others were on rooftops singing freedom songs.

Full military regalia

Senior members of MK in full military regalia stood to attention hours before the cortege arrived.

When, at around 3pm, the first car drove through the human cordon of ANC marshals, the huge crowd which had now swelled to thousands sang and danced the toyi-toyi.

Long after the marshals had closed the gates to the cemetery, hordes of people waving ANC flags filled the streets of Wattville as they made their way to the cemetery.

This East Rand township had not seen anything like this before.

They had come in their thousands to bury their leader — and they did it in style.



Forward march

Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers marching at the FNB Stadium during Mr Oliver Tambo's funeral service yesterday. Tambo died after suffering a severe stroke at the age of 75.



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Star 4/5/93

Youths on terrorism rap

Two University of the Witwatersrand students and members of the ANC Youth League were charged with terrorism in the Roodepoort Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with a handgrenade attack on Conservative Party offices at Roodepoort two weeks ago, police said. They were granted bail. — Sapa.

(84A)

445/93
BCMA doubts claim

A SPOKESMAN for the Harare-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday cast doubt on a claim that the organisation's military wing, Azanla, had carried out the weekend attack on the Highgate Hotel in which five people were killed.

He said the Harare office "has no information about this". They would expect to have been informed of the attack. — Sapa-AFP (84A) (392)

ion abuzz after killings • Sowetan photographers' work goes to Europe

Police expect second attack

ARMED GANG An intensive search is under way:

POLICE have stepped up security patrols in the Border region and an intensive search is under way for the armed gang responsible for Saturday night's terror attack at the Highgate Hotel in East London in which five customers died.

Border police spokesman Lieutenant Christo Louw said police had been placed on alert for a possible second attack but stressed that it was impossible to have police guarding every place. Policemen had been sent to hotels and

clubs in the region warning management to take extra security precautions. No arrests have been made in connection with the attack but Louw confirmed the pattern was "more or less the same" as earlier attacks in King William's Town and Fort Beaufort and police suspected they were linked. He said the Azanian People's Liberation Army had not claimed responsibility for the Highgate attack and police

investigations so far had not revealed anything to prove Apla was responsible. "We are investigating a gang attacking innocent people," he said. A ballistics expert from Pretoria was in East London conducting tests at the scene. He said searching of vehicles at Transkei's border had been tightened following the attack. Louw said shortly after midnight on Saturday a man en-

tered the immigration control offices on the South African side of the Kei bridge border post from Transkei. He pretended he was blowing his nose and dropped what looked like a handkerchief in a dustbin. After he drove off into South Africa, a member of the immigration staff checked the dustbin to empty it and found the handgrenade wrapped in a tissue. — *Eena*. See picture on 17.

Sowetan 4/5/93

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SA's ministers 'among the WaBenzi'

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet ministers have 251 luxury German cars at their disposal and, according to an opposition MP, have turned SA into a "WaBenzi" nation.

Political Staff

cils and other VIPs. The purchase price varied from approximately R19 500 to R196 700 between 1982 and 1992.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister André Fourie said yesterday there were 251 Mercedes Benz and BMW vehicles available at government garages.

The policy regarding the purchase and selling of vehicles was determined by the Transport Department, Fourie told Parliament in reply to a question tabled by MP Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg).

These cars were available for use by cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, administrators, members of the executive committee, judges, commissioners-general, members of the ministers' coun-

"It is very sad indeed to find out that like most other countries in Africa, SA has become a WaBenzi nation," Soal said yesterday.

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Wide support for arms Bill

CAPE TOWN — Spurred by the weekend massacre in East London, parliamentary parties yesterday unanimously backed stringent new legislation on the illegal possession of firearms.

TIM COHEN

ty to combat the illegal importation, use and distribution of firearms, he said.

The Arms and Ammunition Amendment Bill provides for a five-year minimum jail term for the illegal possession of machine guns, grenades, limpet mines and similar weapons.

CP MP for Potgietersrus Schalk Pienaar said that in the present climate of violence it was inconceivable that anyone could object to the proposed legislation which provides for a maximum 25-year jail term.

Deputy Law and Order minister Gert Myburgh said in Parliament anyone in possession of an AK-47 posed such a serious danger to the public that he had to be removed from society for a relatively long period. Myburgh said that during 1992, 495 people, including 30 policemen, were killed and a further 574 injured.

DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon said the Bill was particularly timely in view of the weekend massacre, but he too questioned whether this would be enough.

During 1992 alone, the SAP seized 891 AK-47 assault rifles. During the same period hand grenades caused the deaths of 69 people and injured 269.

It had to be asked whether the Bill was enough and whether drastic security action should also be taken.

The SAP had also devised a national firearms plan in order to improve its abili-

Sapa reports that AVU MP Moolman Mentz said the Bill missed its purpose if the longer sentence could be suspended entirely, and it should be referred back to the standing committee.

If the lawmaker intended a mandatory minimum sentence — in this case five years — it should be stated clearly.

Continuing subject of the cap.

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Black militants claim credit for hotel attack

THE Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania) yesterday claimed responsibility, in a phone call to Sapa, for Saturday's attack on East London's Highgate Hotel which left five men dead and seven people injured.

A man claiming to be an Azania cadre said he had co-ordinated Saturday's strike and warned there would be more attacks.

The caller, who would not identify himself, said the attack had been carried out by three cadres. A driver had waited in the car.

But a spokesman for the Harare-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) cast doubt on the claim.

The spokesman, who would not give his name, told AFP that the Harare office "has no information about this". He said he would expect to have been informed if the attack had been carried out by members of the movement's military wing.

One of the suspects named by police on Sunday was briefly detained by police in February — reportedly as a suspect in the King William's Town Golf Club attack.

PAC member Lungisa Ntintili was arrested in East London while driving from Butterworth in Transkei to Alice in Ciskei. The other suspect was

BTO my 45193

named as Thembelani Xundu. Ntintili, a former Zwelitsha teacher, was detained for two days on suspicion of being an accomplice to a murder, but was freed later.

Police declined to comment. Our East London correspondent reports that the PAC said in King William's Town it did not know who was responsible for the attack.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nematzivhanani confirmed that one of the two suspects, Ntintili, was a PAC member. He did not know the other man. Ntintili was a PAC member, but had no links with Apla.

He said that on the day of the attack Ntintili was in Butterworth where a southern Transkei branch of the PAC was launched. There was no way he could have been at the shooting on Saturday evening as he had only left after 8pm. He said the police were trying to put the PAC and Ntintili in a bad light.

In King William's Town yesterday, about 500 PAC supporters, some wearing empty holsters, marched to the town's police station demanding gun licences to enable members to protect themselves and their leaders.

In other incidents yesterday, a security force member was killed when about 250 youths went on the rampage in Mhlabeng outside Randfontein and in Kagiso near Krugersdorp.

Several cars, trucks and a motorbike were petrol bombed and several people were injured, police said.

In one of the incidents police gave chase when they saw a group of youths carrying petrol bombs.

The youths were cornered and one of the boys tried to steal a policeman's pistol. In the struggle a shot went off, killing an SADF member.

A woman was seriously injured when she and her husband tried to enter Mhlabeng to trade in the township. Their bakkie was set alight.

Randfontein building contractor Fanie Scheepers was seriously injured and his car gutted by youths.

Police reinforcements were called and police appealed to businesses to avoid the townships.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that the charred body was found at a Germiston railway station on Saturday night.

Benoni resident Jacques Loots was shot and wounded in an attack on Sunday. He returned fire and wounded two of his attackers, police said.

In the Heidelberg township of Rantanda on Sunday morning, two policemen were attacked when they tried to help a man who had been stabbed.

Gunmen wounded one of the policemen and took their weapons.

84A 410 775



Attack bears

The perpetrators of the attack on an East London hotel may have come from Ciskei, a political ally of the Government, rather than from Transkei, reports
PATRICK GOODENOUGH.

SATURDAY night's Highgate Hotel assault occurred just days after South African and Ciskei security officials confirmed concerns about a stepped-up presence of Apla cadres in Ciskei — some believed to be members of a newly deployed "task force" in the Border region.

The police have stopped short of attributing the attack to Apla; the Border ANC has suggested right-wing or security force participation; the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania's (BMCA) Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) purportedly claimed responsibility; but Apla's involvement remains the most likely.

Strategic analyst and South African correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, Helmoed Römer-Heitman, said the attackers' modus operandi pointed clearly to Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Intelligence sources in the Border area say Azanla has been a non-existent force and attributed its alleged claim to have carried out the Highgate attack to an attempt by Apla to create a smokescreen — or by Azanla to make propaganda mileage.

The waters have since been further muddied by the Harare-based BCMA, which indicated it had no information on Azanla involvement.

Police in the eastern Cape have linked the Highgate attack to previous attacks at the King William's Town golf club in November and at a hotel near Fort Beaufort in March, for which Apla claimed credit.

Apla-linked attacks in the Border area have been characterised by:

- The deployment of small, closely knit teams of four or five masked men operating in civilian dress.
- The use of vehicles stolen shortly before a mission, and then dumped afterwards.
- The use of AK-47 assault

rifles and 9 mm pistols.

- The use of hand grenades and petrol bombs.

- The use of pieces of PVC pipe driven through with long nails, as a simple yet effective means of slowing down pursuers.

- The speedy escape across borders into homelands.

Shortly after the attack, police said they did not believe that the attackers had fled into Transkei. (To drive to the nearest Transkeian border crossing point would take almost an hour — more than enough time for police to warn the sizeable security force contingent deployed there).

Whatever the veracity of evidence pointing to Transkei's giving shelter to Apla cadres, the perpetrators of the King William's Town, Fort Beaufort and East London attacks are far more likely to have come from, and returned to, Ciskei.

Violence monitors and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) have reported a marked increase in the carrying and use of sophisticated weapons in attacks in Ciskei — some against government figures, others against ANC members.

Training

Township and village residents have noted more frequent use of pro-Apla and PAC rhetoric among youth.

A senior SADF source in East London last week confirmed an increased presence of Apla cadres in Ciskei and the Border region, and said "crash courses" and "refresher" training were under way in some areas.

A CDF source said he believed that at least four suspects in the Highgate attack enjoyed support from Ciskeian residents.

It is unlikely, however, that Ciskei will become a safe haven for Apla. The homeland's government does not have friendly relations with either the PAC or ANC, as in the case with Transkei. Ciskeian police and the CDF are co-operating with their South African counterparts in trying to apprehend the Highgate attackers and other Apla members. — Ecna. □

84A
S... 1983
hallmark of Apla

Azapo to vote on multiparty talks

Sowetan 5/5/93

By Joe Mdhlela

■ **NAIVE VIEW** The Government initiatives to liberate South Africa's black majority are doomed to failure: ~~HO~~ ~~84A~~

THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S Organisation is not against negotiations but has serious misgivings about organisations of the liberation movement sitting on the same side of the table as the Government as is happening with the present multiparty talks.

Such a state of affairs was unacceptable and would render the movements impotent, Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said this week.

This, and other crucial issues, will form part of Azapo's agenda in the special congress scheduled for the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, near Roodepoort, on Saturday and Sunday.

Azapo decided at its council meeting in Bloemfontein last month to hold an extraordinary congress at which it would decide whether or not to join the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre.

The emergency congress is also going to give delegates a chance to debate views about the armed struggle and the role this strategy plays in forcing the Government to surrender political power to majority rule. Azapo believes the transfer of power to the majority is not negotiable and should not be left to the Government to decide.

No right

The notion that negotiations cannot happen at the same time as the armed struggle is flawed, said Nefolovhodwe.

"That belief is not only naive, it also fails to recognise that the Government has no right to determine the course of our liberation," he said.

He said the Government pretended it had the sole right to arm itself, while it expected the liberation movement to disarm its armies. Nefolovhodwe said the issue of the armed struggle, and the role the military wing of Azapo, the



Pandelani Nefolovhodwe ... Azapo will discuss the role of the armed struggle.

Azanian National Liberation Army, would play now and in the future, would be thoroughly discussed at the congress. In the same way that the Government makes a lot of noise about the unattractiveness of the armed struggle, it should be told its security forces need to be quarantined "and kept in the barracks" until a political settlement had been reached. The liberation movement should unite against the "oppressor" and its allies, Nefolovhodwe suggested, saying that was the quickest way of ending the "illegitimate rule of the white minority."

He suggested initiatives aimed at liberating blacks would be doomed

to failure if they were allowed to be controlled by the Government.

"And that is precisely what is happening at the World Trade Centre.

"I do not think it is possible for the Government to determine its own political demise and therefore its funeral. Only an eternal optimist and the naive are capable of harbouring such thoughts.

"We at Azapo think it might be over-ambitious for the liberation movement to think the World Trade Centre will provide solutions to the country's political problems," he said.

For as long as the Government propped up bantustans therefore giving them legitimacy, there was no earthly reasons why they should not be regarded as lepers, he said.

"The leaders of these bantustans must be treated as Government puppets, even though some pretend to have had their sins of apartheid purged.

The demand for the removal of bantustans from talks led to Azapo being kicked out of the plenary session of the Patriotic Front in 1991. Chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania Mr Mosibudi Mangena this week said his organisation would follow events at Azapo's deliberations with great interest.

"Azapo is our sister organisation and we are in agreement with them on many issues, including the refusal to attend multiparty talks. There will be no change as far as that stand goes. We think Azapo is right and will support them fully on this courageous standpoint," Mangena said.

Were the liberation movement to unite and "put their heads together" so as to form a united front, the liberation of the black people would be hastened, said Mangena.

"The toppling of the ruling class would be in sight."

He said once the Government had been defeated, the various liberation forces would be free to go their separate ways and follow programmes of their choice.



Mosibudi Mangena ... waiting for Azapo's decision.

3 killers told widow: 'One bullet, one Boer'

Star 6/5/93

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

84A

LAB

An Alberton woman whose husband was stabbed to death said the three attackers had claimed they were members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The men broke into Anna and Cornelius Schoeman's home in Susanna Street, Florentia, at 3 am yesterday, pulled them out of bed and stabbed Schoeman (36) in the heart with a breadknife.

It was Anna Schoeman's 20th birthday.

The visibly shaken woman said that afterwards, as she held her 17-month-old son, the three men told her: "We are from Apla. One bullet, one Boer. If you don't shut up, we will kill you." She said the men smiled at her.

They then pushed the couple into the lounge and switched on the lights.

"They were in their early twenties and very aggressive. I saw them stab my husband in the heart."

The attackers tied the woman, who was holding her child in her arms, to her husband with wire coat-hangers.

"My baby was screaming and I asked them to get his bottle, which they did."

"Cornelius was lying very still and I felt very frightened," Schoeman said.

The killers stole a pistol,



Victims . . . Anna Schoeman with her baby. Inset: Cornelius Schoeman, who was stabbed to death.

two hi-fi sets, a TV, a microwave oven and the couple's 1984 blue Ford Bantam bakkie, registration KKD458T.

Schoeman said after they had left, she felt her husband's wrists but there was no pulse.

A neighbour, Shirley Wessels, said she and her husband Louis woke up at about 3.30 am after hearing the Schoemans' burglar alarm. "Louis grabbed his shotgun and went outside. We saw Anna crying, with her hands still tied and holding her baby, running across the street towards us."

Wessels called an ambulance and the police.

East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad detectives found the bakkie abandoned

in Alberton North's industrial area, about 2 km from the scene, at 11.45 am.

The stolen goods, the bakkie keys and the radio were missing.

Police confirmed late yesterday they were investigating a possible Apla link in the killing.

A substantial reward has been offered for the arrest and conviction of the killers. Anyone with information can contact Major Johan Rens at (011) 845-2820 all hours.

The PAC, of which Apla is the military wing, could not be reached for comment.

The ANC said yesterday it "unequivocally condemned such blatant racial attacks involving criminal activities".

Star 6/5/93

Azapo to finalise stance on talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

has refused to engage in talks with Pretoria.

Movement of Azania, has an armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla).

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold its all-important special congress at the weekend to finalise its position on negotiations, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokoena said yesterday.

(84A)
The meeting, to take place at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort on Saturday and Sunday, will review Azapo's stance on negotiations.

So far the organisation

With the PAC now represented in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, Azapo is the only well-known organisation on the Left not involved in negotiations.

Also to be discussed at the weekend congress is the armed struggle and the role it could play to force the Government to surrender power.

Although Azapo has no armed wing of its own, its sister organisation, the Zimbabwe-based Black Consciousness

Someone claiming to be an Azanla cadre this week claimed responsibility on behalf of the guerilla army for the latest attack on whites in the eastern Cape. At least five people died in the attack, with many others injured.

However, a daily this week reported that a man who described himself as a cadre of the PAC's Apla had also claimed responsibility.

Suspect 'asked to inform on Apla

POLICE offered one of the Highgate Hotel terror attack suspects money two months ago to inform on Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) activities, according to his lawyer.

Butterworth attorney Nothemba Mlonzi told Ecn this week her client, Lungisa Ntintili — whom police have linked to the Highgate killings and at least two previous attacks for which Apla claimed responsibility — turned down the offer.

At the time Ntintili was being held by East London police and questioned about last November's King William's Town golf club attack.

"He told me he was enticed, but he didn't co-operate. They offered him money, a better job and so on — but he knew nothing about the whole issue. After questioning him they said he was free to go."

Police have named Ntintili and Thembelani Xundu as suspects in the Highgate attack and in previous Apla-linked attacks. Border police official Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw said Ntintili had under questioning given names of people allegedly involved in the golf club assault. He declined to respond to the allegation that police tried to recruit Ntintili as an informant.

On February 18, Ntintili was escorted to the Kei Bridge border post and released. He was subsequently picked up by Transkei police and charged with motor vehicle theft. An arrest warrant was issued after he failed to appear in court in early March.

Pan Africanist Congress members besieged the South African Embassy in Umtata on February 26, accusing the South African and Transkei police of colluding in his arrest — a charge denied by both police forces.

Later, South African Police came into possession of information indicating Ntintili may have been more deeply involved than initially thought, Louw said.

Mlonzi described Ntintili as an "ordinary PAC member, far from his organisation's military activities". Asked whether she would advise him to hand himself over to the police, she said that would depend on police providing "sufficient and clear information as to what the actual bone of contention is".

W/mail 7/5 - 13/5/93 - (84A) (222)
One of the suspects in last weekend's attack on an East London hotel was allegedly approached by police to inform on Apla, reports

PATRICK GOODENOUGH

By Wednesday this week, the police had not yet contacted her.

Mlonzi said Ntintili had apparently been at a PAC May Day rally in Idutywa on Saturday evening, and from there took part in a workshop which had continued late into the night. Earlier this week police claimed Ntintili and Xundu were spotted during the day on Saturday in the vicinity of the Highgate Hotel.

Mlonzi did not know where Ntintili was this week. "He said he will contact me again in about two months' time."

Mlonzi said Ntintili had sustained "serious neck injuries" when he was allegedly tortured by the police while in custody in February, and that he was considering legal action for illegal detention and assault. The police have denied assaulting him.

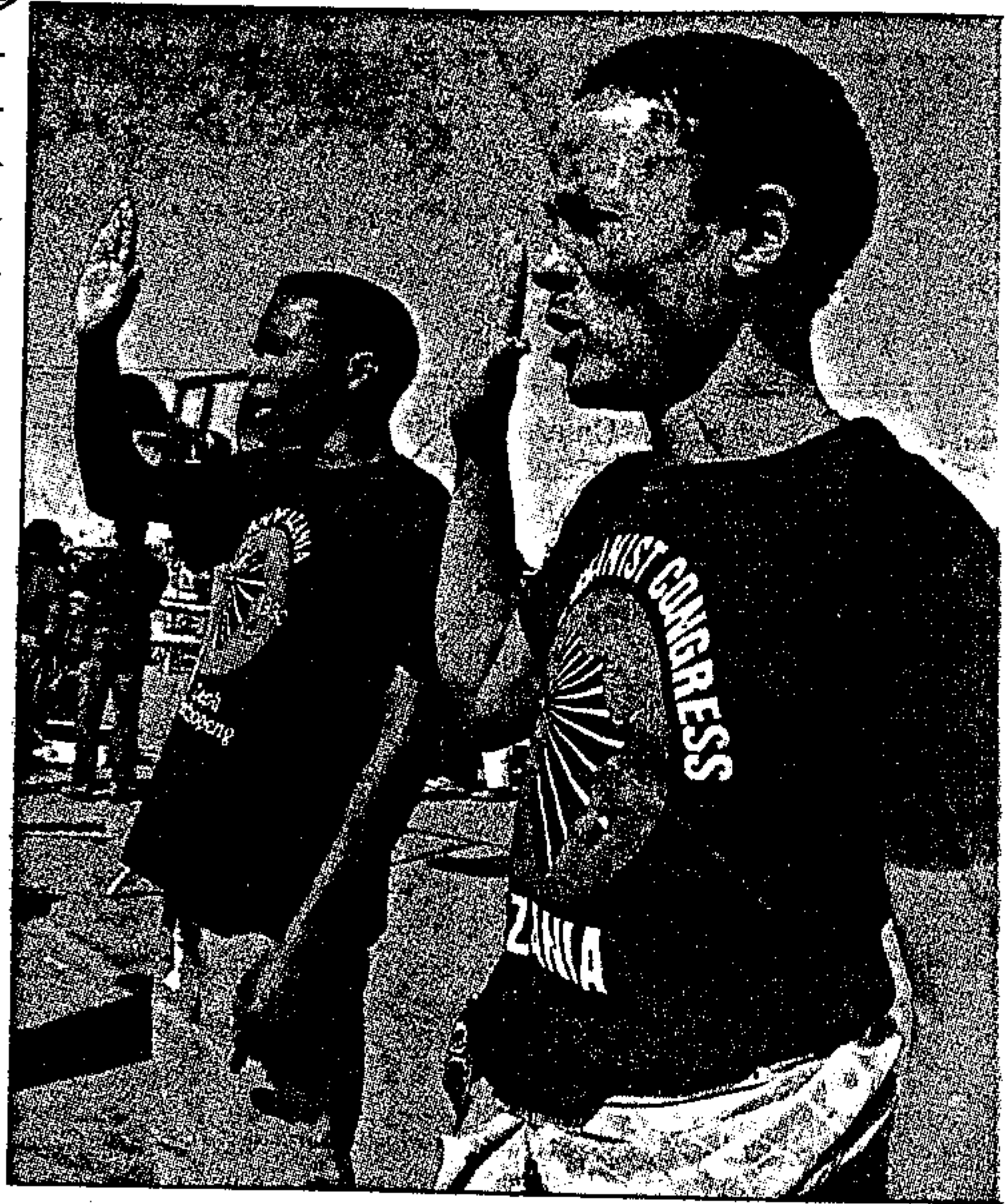
Meanwhile the police assertion that all four major Border terror attacks since November are believed to have been carried out by the same small gang casts doubt on the notion of an omnipresent, increasingly effective "people's army" operating in the region.

Ciskei security forces have been searching for Xundu to help their investigations into an attack in Fort Beaufort on March 20, apparently launched from Alice in Ciskei, in which a man died.

Information relating to four suspected Apla cadres — including Xundu — was recently distributed to Ciskei police and soldiers and to forces manning roadblocks.

A Ciskei Defence Force officer familiar with the Apla investigation said the four, and others on a "short-list" of suspects, "enjoy the support and assistance from family and friends" in Ciskei.

He said Xundu was spotted and followed by Ciskei undercover agents at a PAC May Day rally in Phakamisa in the homeland on Saturday. They later lost track of him. — Ecn



One settler ... Members of the PAC's military wing chant Apla slogan in Sebokeng
Photo: GUY ADA

German neo-Nazi gets funds from SA

By STEPHEN LAUFER

A GERMAN neo-Nazi with links to the organisation paying the legal costs of Chris Hani's alleged assassin, Janus Waluz, has told undercover investigators that he is receiving major funding from South Africa.

The man, Manfred Roeder, has convictions for violent crimes against foreigners in Germany. His name appears on a list of international connections of the World Apartheid Movement, which is picking up the tab for Waluz's lawyers. Roeder visited South Africa early this year.

According to Shimon Samuels, a director of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Roeder told journalist Yaron Svoray that he received "between \$30 000 and \$60 000 monthly from sympathisers in South Africa".

The centre tracks Nazis and neo-Nazis worldwide. Samuels was in South Africa this week on a lecture tour. He described Svoray's six-month "sting operation" which exposed links between neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and other countries.

Roeder was sentenced to 13

years' imprisonment in 1982 for his leading role in the bombing of refugee hostels in which two Vietnamese died. He was released in 1990, and soon returned to active neo-Nazi politics.

Roeder arrived in South Africa on January 30 last year for his first visit in 18 years. In an article on his trip which appeared in *Scheinwerfer (Spotlight)*, an ultra-rightist organ published in Bavaria, he reported having met "two of the leading Boer generals" organising opposition to a negotiated settlement.

In his article, Roeder attacked the negotiations process and hailed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha as a "strong force, much stronger than the ANC and Nelson Mandela". He also lavished praise on Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Roeder reports having seen Mandela at Jan Smuts airport: "He was dragging himself along, an old and sick man. He has cancer and can hardly walk. The airport was humming with crowds of people, but not one person would take notice of Mandela, nobody looked at him. He has outlived his time."

W/m asl 7/15-13/5/93

About-turn on control of armed forces

Contradicting earlier demands, the ANC is now ready to drop its demand for joint control of the armed forces before elections.

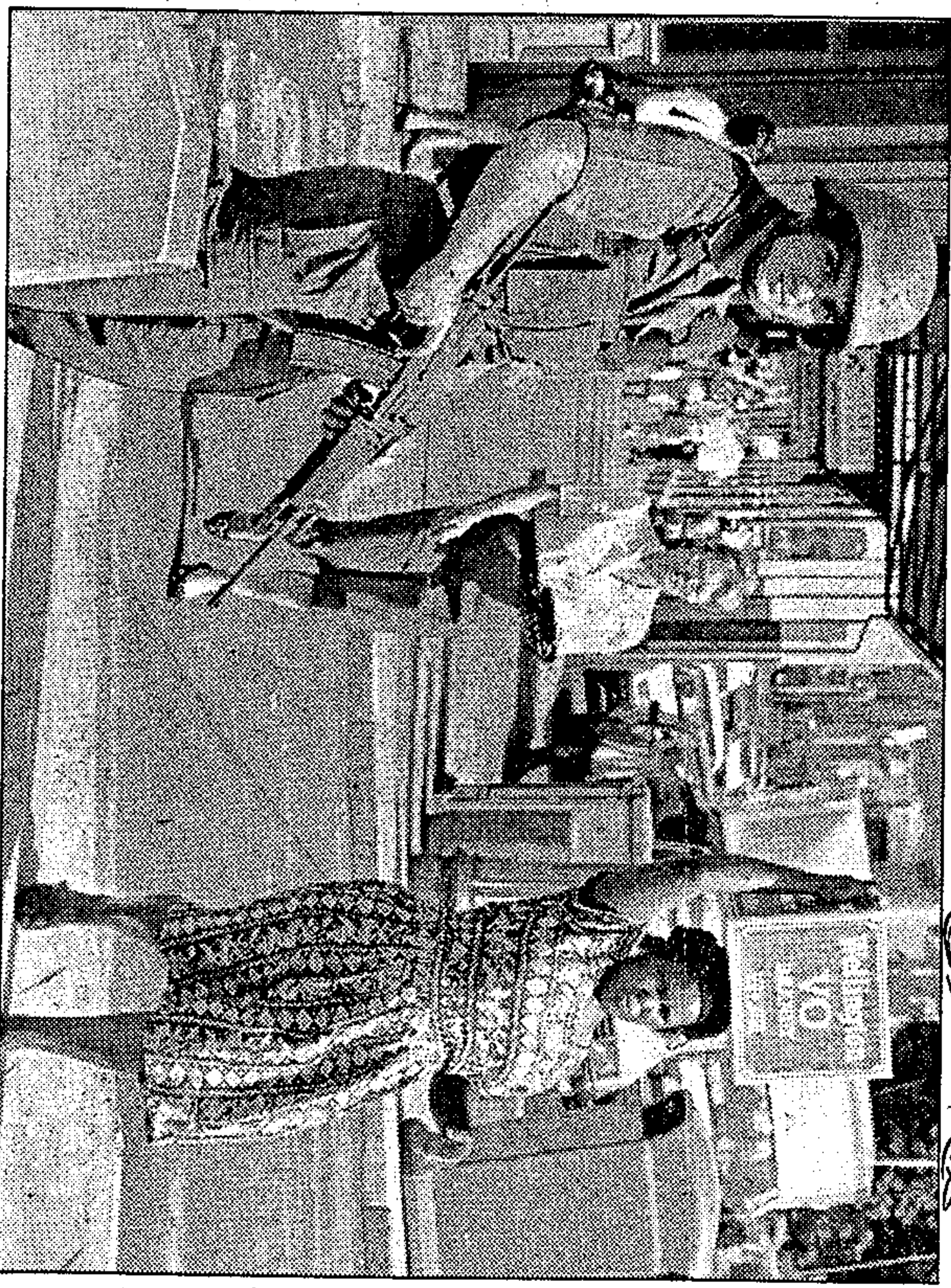
By **CHRIS LOUW**

THE African National Congress is set to drop its demand for joint control of the armed forces in the run-up to elections. Shared control of the armed forces by the cabinet and a sub-council of the transitional executive council, representing the parties involved in negotiations, was seen as one of the major mechanisms to ensure the levelling of the political playing field.

Yesterday senior ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj told *The Weekly Mail* that the ANC would not insist on being represented in the command structures of the South African Defence Force. It would accept that the powers of the sub-council for defence and for law and order would be limited to a supervisory role.

This directly contradicts the ANC's earlier demand to have joint control over the armed forces. Conflict over control was seen as one of the major stumbling blocks in reaching an agreement on how the transition should be managed.

Maharaj did not rule out changes in the present command structures of the SADF and the police, but said the ANC was not prepared to take responsibility for "the mess of apartheid". Covert operations, however, were a



Soldiering on ... The ANC no longer seeks joint control of the army before elections Photo: KEVIN CARTER

source of concern and some resolution would have to be found to ensure that the elections were free and fair.

The ANC's compromise follows tough speeches last weekend in Port Elizabeth by Local Government Minister Tertius Delpoit and Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh at a regional conference of National Party

officials. Myburgh said the government "was not in the market" for joint control of the security forces before the election of a transitional government. The police formed "a thin blue line" against anarchy, and would not be "given away".

Delpoit in turn promised party offi-

cialists that the government had no plans "to throw the keys to South Africa across the table" to the ANC.

In an interview earlier this week senior ANC election commission member Patrick "Terror" Lekota said he "understood" the Nationalists' unwillingness to share control of the armed forces with other parties,

including the ANC.

"Relinquishing control of the security forces will be the ultimate indication to the NP that they are no longer reforming apartheid, but that they are in fact terminating their power, that they are finally breaking with domination. It is obviously a very difficult decision for them to take."

Maharaj yesterday said the ANC would still want to be fully informed of what was happening within the forces. "We will not claim executive powers — or the power to initiate actions — but in terms of the powers of the transitional executive structures we will be in a position to say 'stop' if the forces act in a way contrary to their brief."

This differs markedly from the position taken in an ANC booklet published earlier this week, entitled *Seven Steps to Democracy — An ANC Guide to the Negotiations Process*. Under the heading "The ANC's Objectives", it is stated unambiguously: "All armed forces including the South African Police and SADF must come under effective multiparty control in the period before elections."

Demands for immediate joint control also featured prominently on banners and in speeches at the mass rallies following the murder of South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani. It is believed that the ANC's compromise is partly due to a reassessment of the effect on its support base if it has to take co-responsibility for harsh security force action in pre-election township violence.



Paying respect: Nelson Mandela stands between army commander and Oliver Tambo's funeral

PHOTOGRAPH: PATRICK DE NOIRMONT

Hotel attack renews fears of extremism

By David Beresford
in Johannesburg

725
84A

THE murder of five whites in an attack on a hotel in the coastal town of East London at the weekend has precipitated renewed concern about violent action by rightwingers in South Africa.

The killings, which follow a pattern of attacks on whites in the Eastern Cape, coincide with reports of plans by white extremists to form a "People's Army" under the command of a group of retired security force chiefs.

The five whites were killed on Saturday evening by masked gunmen who rampaged through the foyer, bars, and billiard-room of the Highgate Hotel, firing at guests with AK-47 assault rifles and throwing tear gas and shrapnel grenades. The dead were all men.

Another four whites (two of them women — and a black bartender) were wounded.

Police, who immediately announced a £30,000 reward for information leading to the killers, said five men were being sought and named two of them. They were also investigating allegations that a white man had been seen driving the getaway car.

A police spokesman said that there was evidence linking the atrocity to two previous incidents in the province — an attack on a country club in King William's Town late last year, in which four whites died, and another on a hotel at Fort Beaufort in March in which a white student was killed. The attacks have been blamed on the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, allegedly op-

erating from the Transkei homeland.

The latest attack comes amid signs of growing militancy among whites, particularly in the Transvaal. Newspapers reported at the weekend that farmers had made some rural areas in the Transvaal "no-go" areas for blacks at night. Several vehicles carrying blacks were said to have been fired upon breaking the unofficial "curfew".

The president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, Dries Bruwer, was quoted as saying that farmers were "at war" and that "if there is more killing, that will be the match that will light the explosion". He was speaking before news broke of the East London killings.

Mr Bruwer, a MP in the rightwing Conservative Party, was a prominent figure at a meeting of rightwing militants who last month

set up a "committee of generals" to lead an alliance of extremists in opposition to the De Klerk administration's reform campaign.

The five-man committee is made up of police and army generals, including the former head of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen. The committee was expected to hold a meeting this week in the town of Potchefstroom to announce plans to mobilise the right.

Meanwhile, the ANC buried its former president, Oliver Tambo, on Sunday amid moving scenes watched by thousands of local mourners and foreign dignitaries, including a delegation sent to represent the White House.

The burial of Mr Tambo, in the East Rand town of Benoni, was accompanied by minor security scares, but no apparent violence.

Guardian/W in what 11/5-13/1993

Star 7/15/93

Sparks fly over curbs on firepower

844

Firearm controls a failure

A recent article by The Star's Washington correspondent, Hugh Robertson, arguing for increased gun control, has sparked reaction from readers holding the opposite view. In the light of the huge response to Robertson's article — and the debate about the role of guns in the violence sweeping the country — The Star today publishes some of the letters.

IN A recent article, Hugh Robertson, The Star's Washington correspondent, urged the South African Government to take measures to control the proliferation of guns in the country as a means of curbing rampant violence.

Making a comparison between America and South Africa, Robertson noted the use of guns, including semi-automatic weapons, in mass killings and the ease with which these could be obtained.

"The overriding problem," wrote Robertson, "is how to put a stop to what might be seen to be political violence in one country, or the actions of deranged individuals in the other."

Replying to Robertson, F. Thompson of Kempton Park wrote: "I read Hugh Robertson's opinion article in The Star of February 11 with dismay. I doubt that I could address the numerous misconceptions in a letter short enough to print, so I highlight a few of them here for your information."

"... death by massacre has become commonplace, and in both countries there is alarm at the proliferation of the weapons being used in these crimes..."

Why does the article concentrate on firearms? Molotov cocktails, explosive devices, edged weapons and impact weapons account for a significant proportion of such mas-

sacres. Even if firearms could be magically wished away, these other weapons would be available to those who wanted them. I recall one case in the US where a maniac used a truck to crush his victims.

"A favourite is the 'Street-sweeper', an assault weapon so named because it has the power to spray a city block with up to 2,500 shots without reloading."

I have searched the literature but am unable to come up with an assault weapon which has this kind of magazine capacity. The best I can do is the standard 50-round magazine used in the prototype Heckler & Koch G11 and the extended 50-round magazine available for the R-4, among others.

If you care to include the Calico M110 and M950 carbines as assault weapons, I can bring the capacity up to 100 rounds, but this is as high as I can go.

As a simple reality check, has your reporter considered how heavy 2,500 rounds are? A rough calculation based on the 9mm Parabellum round, comes out at over 30 kg!

"More than half of all weapons used in crimes are semi-automatic pistols... these new instruments of death..."

Sorry, the semi-automatic pistol celebrates its centenary this year, so it is hardly new. I shall not comment on the emotive language here.

"... a proposal to limit the sale of semi-automatic pistols to one gun per person a month."

I am not sure how this law even begins to face the problems enumerated in the article. More likely this is a "feel good" law, of the type so popular in the US.

"... led by the far-right political lobbying group widely seen as the most sinister and vociferous, the National Rifle Association."



AK-47s for Africa... these weapons, for so long regarded as symbols of liberation, are now increasingly becoming instruments of terror.

pointless. Instead it proposed an instant background check system, which had already been implemented in three states.

I really don't see how the belief that ordinary citizens should have access to firearms for self-defence, sporting and other legitimate purposes transforms one into a member of the far Right.

I have seen lists published in American gun magazines rating politicians seeking election by their voting records on gun control. Unlikely as it may seem in the light of your reporter's views, these lists have been known to place Democrats ahead of Republicans.

"In the face of evidence that gun ownership facilitates the country's horrifying murder rate..."

Why then did the murder rate in the US not increase from 1968 to 1988, although gun ownership increased by over 140 percent during those two decades?

Why did the town of Kennesaw enjoy a reduction in violent and other crime when it went to another extreme and made gun ownership mandatory?

Why is Switzerland not the murder centre of the world, given that almost every able-bodied male has been issued with a fully automatic rifle?

"... they assert that any attempt to remove guns from the community would be doomed to failure since people of malevolent bent would simply conceal their weapons."

This seems reasonable given that New York and Washington DC are among the most violent cities in the US despite these jurisdictions' extremely stringent gun laws. For what it's worth, New York contains 3 percent of the US's population but suffers 16 percent of the armed robberies.

Closer to home, AK-47s are criminals' weapons of choice despite being illegal.

"... during last year's riots in Los Angeles guns emerged as a major threat to public safety."

I thought it was the individuals behind the guns who were the threat to public safety. I would venture to suggest that most of these individuals did not acquire their weapons by legal means.

Strangely enough, despite your reporter's obvious anti-gun bias, I am able to partially agree with his conclusion. There is indeed a growth in the culture of violence. However, it is this change in culture which must be addressed, rather than the red herring of increased gun control. □

Honey Hills
Roodepoort □

Brett Norfje

Do we just lie down and die?

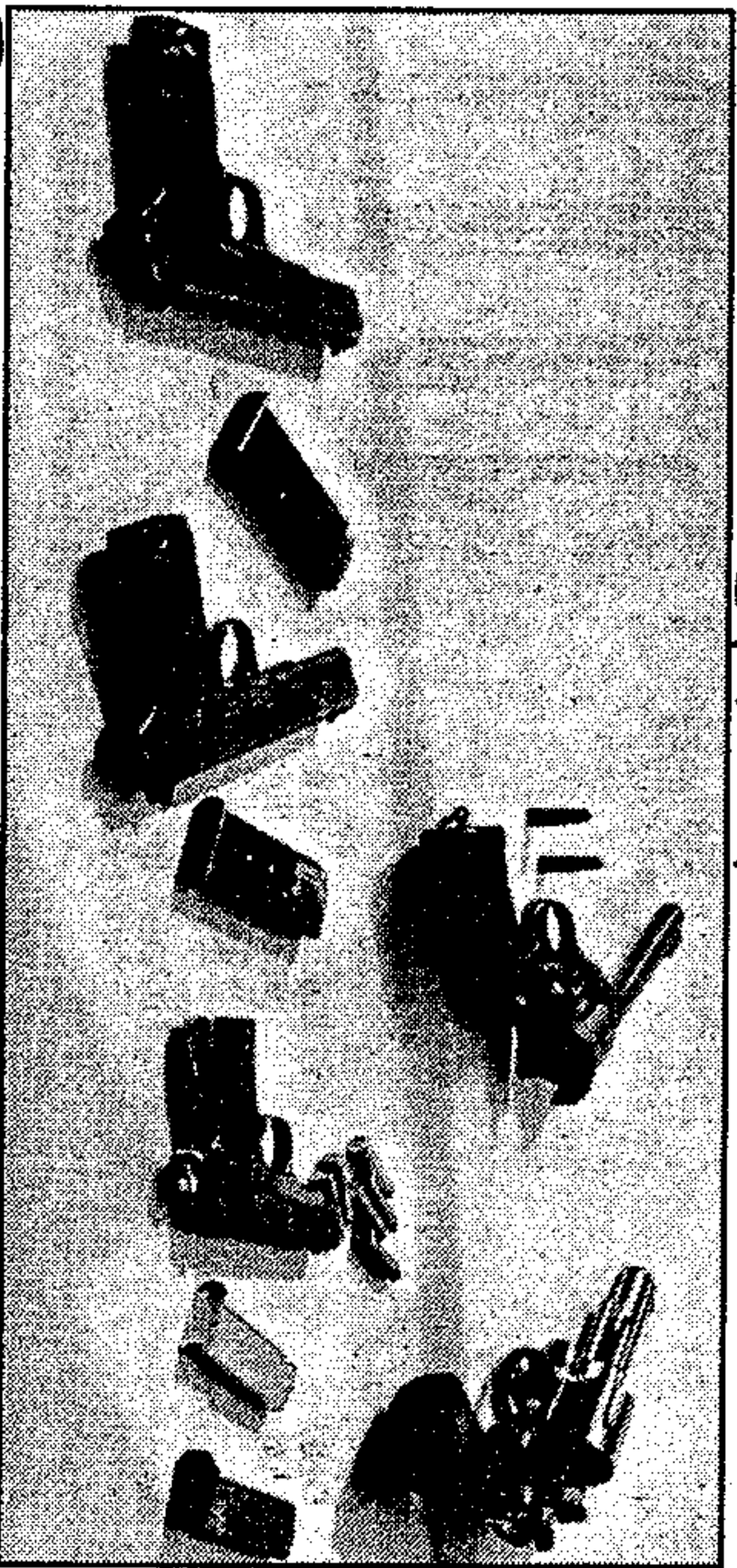
Star 7/15/93

WERE it not for the bravery of one man, armed only with a pistol and facing three AK-47-armed killers at the Highgate Hotel, how many more victims might have been felled? And, if armed and trained citizens happened to be at Eikenhof that fateful morning, might those children and the others not have been saved?

ANC policy is disarmament of the civilian populace. Any move towards forced disarmament will result in a rush of firearms being reported stolen — mine included. The arms will in fact be cached — for use in morally legitimate self-defence.

So, instead of having control of registered and trained gun-owners, the next government will face a worse situation than the Nats have done for the last 30 years: huge quantities of illegal firearms in the hands of unregistered persons with unknown agendas, as well as the new factor of large numbers of supposedly illegally armed citizens, "criminalised" overnight by facile and dangerous ANC legislation.

Not the ANC, nor any political party or group of parties, can do anything to lower the crime rate.



Hand guns . . . are they dangerous or life-savers?

I ask the ANC: How, without firearms, does one defend self and family against armed criminals? Even if confronted by a thug with a knife, are we supposed to fight back with knives? Clubs? Lie down and die? In 92 percent of all violent crimes (SAP figures), illegal weapons are used.

Take registered guns away from citizens and all you're left with is a heavily armed, more confident criminal sector. No government in the world has ever been able to

even partially solve the problem of illegal weapons in unlicensed hands. The ANC has even less chance and should face the hard reality of today — an armed, trained and responsible populace would lessen crime, not increase it. The most heavily armed nation in the world today, per capita, is also the one with the lowest crime rate — Switzerland.

No, I will not give up my moral right and allow anyone to take my firearms. I will fight. I am apolitical, treat

everyone equally, have never shot anyone and hope I never have to. But I demand the right to bear arms to protect myself and family. I am astounded at the lethal arrogance of the ANC and Nats.

And, if the ANC does jackboot this legislation into place and my firearms are somehow taken away from me, I and many others will have to leave SA — no matter what Nelson Mandela says to the contrary.

Bob McCallum
Johannesburg

THEY wear shabby uniforms bedecked with political stickers and ribbons, are unarmed and don't know how to march in step, but they could become the key to a police force with legitimacy even among militant township youth.

ANC marshals have risen to prominence in recent weeks as the thin khaki line between order and chaos during commemorative proceedings for slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani. In Johannesburg they arrested looters and handed them over to the police. In Sharpeville they apprehended three men suspected of killing an SABC journalist and turned them over to the authorities.

Significantly, the arrests by the marshals took place in situations where police would have struggled. Police intervention to arrest looters would probably have led to a tense standoff with demonstrators, which may in turn have resulted in injury and loss of life.

The importance of the arrests extends beyond the much needed convictions for violence they may result in. They also signify the first tentative steps towards joint ANC and government responsibility for ending the violence.

For the ANC, this represents a significant departure from its view that government should deal with the violence on its own because it has the machinery of the state at its disposal. The unwritten contract between police and the ANC is based on a recognition that order can be maintained only through compromise.

The hostility generated by the Hani assassination was the first real test of the growing co-operation between police and marshals. Peace secretariat negotiators cut a remarkable deal: government agreed not to declare 19 unrest areas on the Reef and the ANC alliance agreed to take responsibility to ensure the demonstrations would be peaceful.

With the exception of the incident at Protea police station where frightened policemen (not under the command of the Internal Stability Unit) opened fire on demonstrators, co-operation between marshals and police turned a potentially disastrous week into an example of how things should be done.

ANC's thin khaki line forms basis of future police

6/04/93

RAY HARTLEY

Members of Wits Vaal peace structures, who engineered the compromise around unrest areas in the region, have established themselves as legitimate neutral authorities on the most effective ways to defuse violence. This has taken painstaking months of negotiation with antagonistic parties to persuade them to give up hardline positions in the interests of peace.

The regional peace secretariat, headed by Barlow Rand director André Lamprecht, demonstrated the

extent to which it had benefited from the mediation skills it had been taught by the Independent Mediation Service of SA. Perhaps SA's constitutional negotiators could learn from this.

Having first won the trust of both parties, they established a platform for the groundbreaking deal on policing during the funeral proceedings.

Police have come to realise that the maintenance of order is not their sole preserve. They have seen how marshals are the obvious force to

control the immediate peripheries of demonstrations. Showing a great deal of restraint, police have agreed to become the third line of defence during demonstrations, with marshals on the front line and monitors on the second.

The compromise has given police the confidence that, when they act, they do so only as a last resort after other methods have failed. In turn, the ANC has grudgingly acknowledged — and therefore legitimised — the need for a low-key police presence to deal with matters should they get out of hand.

This little publicised agreement on "three lines of defence" was concluded at the same time as the agreement on unrest areas. Although the agreement applied only to events around the Hani funeral, its success in controlling events has set a strong precedent that cannot be ignored in future demonstrations.

ANC organising department head Steve Tshwete says the ANC is serious about turning its marshals into the well-trained core of a future police force. "It's the way they are able to speak to the people. They are able to communicate to defuse the situation," he says.

The ANC is planning to train 3 000 marchers for six months in criminal investigation methods, crowd control and drilling. After their training the marshals will be graded and given rank with the possibility of remuneration being considered.

Tshwete is at pains to stress that

the existing police force will not be "chased away" or disbanded, but he adds that it will have to receive an "injection" of new recruits with credibility in the communities.

While police spokesmen are reluctant to praise openly the work being done by marshals, policemen on the ground have tacitly endorsed this approach by sticking to their undertaking to remain at a tactful distance from crowds.

With political parties beginning to warm to the idea of an unarmed youth "peace corps" which would act against criminal and political violence in the townships, the moves towards co-operation between the ANC and the security forces are all the more significant.

Another dramatic compromise proposal for dealing with violence is being put forward by MK's usually bellicose commander Joe Modise. Modise says a crack brigade of 5 000 MK, SADF, SAP and homeland army soldiers should be mobilised to move into "volatile areas" and quell endemic violence.

The force would form the nucleus of a "peacekeeping army" with the legitimacy to enforce freedom of movement and speech for political leaders during elections. But Modise's suggestion may be branded as an ANC plot to win joint control of the security forces. Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze has already voiced this suspicion.

Others have cautioned that the marshals could become the ANC's new private army, acting only when the organisation's interests are threatened and turning a blind eye to the actions of ANC members.

While the traditional animosity between government and the ANC over security related matters remains unresolved to a large extent, there is a fast growing consensus that drastic measures need to be taken to end the violence.

At the very least, the current moves by the ANC are changing the face of the debate on law and order and raise the issue of the practical steps that need to be taken to eradicate violence.

It would be a pity if the ANC's willingness to shoulder joint responsibility for security is dismissed by a security force leadership obsessed with maintaining narrow sectional control over law and order.



Crisis control... ANC marshals have the legitimacy to deal with crowds

Joint control means ANC control of the security forces

South 8/5 - 12/5/93

~~84A~~ 84A

Craig Kotze

WE CANNOT share the power of the sword. While the current constitution is still applicable there can only be one defence and police force.

Our viewpoint is simply that the government of the day must be in control of the security forces. There cannot be joint control before a change of government.

The handing over of power of the security forces is something that is subject to negotiations.

A key concept which needs to be thrashed out is accountability of the security forces.

There are so many issues being raised by some political parties today which impacts negatively on the maintenance of an unchallenged line of command of the security forces.

Lessons throughout history tend to confirm that unless there is a clear line of command, there can be no responsibility and accountability.

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.

SOUTH readers are welcome to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

The ANC omits in their arguments regarding joint control to talk about organisations like the *AWB* and the *Wit Wolwe*.

They're falling into a trap which exposes their bias. When they talk about joint control they're talking about an ANC government controlling the security forces.

Excluding formations like the *AWB* and the *Wit Wolwe*, which can both argue that they have an equal stake in this issue with the ANC, can be construed as an act of aggression.

At the end of the day, the ANC's argument leaves us with a tower of Babel instead of resolute control of the security forces.

The state has ultimate responsibility for the security forces and they cannot abdicate that responsibility to anyone else, not the ANC or the *AWB*.

To avoid conflict and confrontation, control has to be left in the hands of the government of the day, whether it is a National Party or ANC government.

As far as integration of the police and army is concerned, this can only be decided by the negotiation process. The government is accountable to the community, peace structures and committed to countering misuse and abuse of the security forces.

The ANC is inconsistent in its arguments. They demand the government does all in its power to control and combat violence and then do an egg-dance when the government does exactly that.

(Craig Kotze is the official spokesperson of the Ministry of Law and Order)

SOUTH 815 -12/5/93

Highgate: Apla the likely killers

By Patrick Goodenough

SATURDAY night's Highgate hotel murders occurred just days after South African and Ciskei security officials expressed concern about the stepped-up presence of Apla cadres in Ciskei.

The police have stopped short of attributing the attack to Apla; the Border ANC has suggested right-wing or security force participation; and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania's Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) claimed responsibility; but Apla's involvement remains the most likely.

Intelligence sources in the Border say Azanla has been a non-existent force, and attributed its claim to have carried out the Highgate attack to an attempt by Apla to create a smokescreen — or by Azanla to

make propaganda mileage.

Another pointer is provided by the fact that the PAC in Transkei has acknowledged that one of two suspects wanted for questioning by police, Lingisa Ntintili, is a PAC member.

Ciskei security forces have been searching for the second suspect named by police, Thembelani Xundu, in the belief he could help with investigations into previous incidents for which Apla claimed credit.

Xundu was spotted by Ciskei undercover surveillance operatives at a PAC May Day rally in Ciskei on Saturday morning.

The SAP said both men were spotted during the day in the vicinity of the Highgate Hotel.

The PAC and Ntintili — through his lawyer — have rejected sugges-

tions that he was involved.

Apla-linked attacks in the Border have been characterised by certain trademarks:

- Small, closely-knit teams of four to five masked guerillas operating in civilian dress;
- The use of vehicles stolen shortly before the mission, and dumped afterwards;
- The use of AK-47 assault rifles and 9mm pistols;
- The use of handgrenades and petrol bombs;
- The use of pieces of PVC pipe driven through with long nails, as a simple yet effective means of slowing down pursuers; and
- Speedy escape across borders into the homelands.

Violence monitors and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) have reported a marked increase in the carrying

and use of sophisticated weapons in attacks in Ciskei — some against government figures, others against ANC members.

A senior SADF officer in East London also confirmed an increased presence of Apla cadres in Ciskei, and said "crash course" and "refresher" training was under way in some areas. Most training involved the use of AK-47s, handguns and handgrenades.

"We are also aware of reconnaissance missions by Apla on government, police — including South African Police — and military installations," the officer said.

Information relating to four suspected Apla cadres — including Xundu — was recently distributed to Ciskei police and soldiers and to forces manning roadblocks.

— Ecna

Taxi hit list puts Codeta on its guard

By CHIARA CARTER

TAXI officials and prominent ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe leaders in the Western Cape are taking additional security precautions after claims that their names appear on a hit list allegedly compiled by dissident taxi operators. *S Times (Cimeta)*

At least two men, whose names appear on a copy of the hit list, which Cape Metro has seen, have been gunned down in the past three weeks. *(84A)*

They are Tike Mxhosana, chairman of the Bellville Taxi Association, and Sipiwo Mooi, vice-president of the Cape Organisation for a Democratic Taxi Association (Codeta), whose funeral is this weekend.

The ANC and the police confirmed yesterday that they were investigating a possible link between the dissident group, known as the Big Eight, and the

leadership in the Crossroads area. *9/5/93*
In addition to being accused of involvement in the latest taxi killings, the Big Eight is being blamed for several political killings in 1990 and 1991.

Police said two men arrested in the past two months could be linked to the Big Eight and a stolen car found on Friday could have been used in the murder of a Bellville taxi official last month.

At least five people linked to the taxi industry have been killed this year.

There are frantic attempts by various bodies to mediate amid growing fears that if they fail Cape Town's taxi industry may be plunged again into chaos and violence.

Officials of Codeta, the ANC, the Cape Town City Council and peace monitors are working to restore calm in the industry.

Their attempts are being complicated by dissatisfaction with Codeta among some taxi operators. These operators blockaded the street in front of the Codeta leadership's city-centre office in protest this week.

The hit list includes the names of Codeta senior executive members, operators previously close to the Big 8, ANC executive members in the Western Cape and Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders.

The ANC and Codeta have confirmed that they have been told about the hit list and have stepped up security.

'Wrecking peace'

Major Louis van Brakel, who is heading the investigation into several taxi-related murders, said the police had also been told but had no proof that the list existed.

The ANC also confirmed yesterday that it was investigating allegations that the Big 8 were linked to Crossroads and its controversial leader, Jeffrey Nongwe.

Mr Kalako said the ANC had been meeting Codeta since last year to discuss the Big 8 and that his organisation had urged restraint.

He claimed the group was set on "wrecking peace" in the industry.

Major Van Brakel said a car that had been reported stolen could possibly be linked to the murder of Mr Mxhosana, one of the men on the alleged hit list.

Ngakaye Gewy of Old Crossroads was shot dead at the Nyanga taxi rank on Friday.

BLACK COPS CRY BETRAYAL

By **MONWABISI KOMADLO**

THE Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popercu) has slammed Apla for violating an agreement not to attack black policemen following the Dobsonville ambush in which four policemen were killed.

The union's secretary-general, Peter Nkuna, said his union had met Apla commanders recently and the two agreed that there would be no further attacks on Popercu members or black policemen by Apla operatives.

Nkuna said the shooting of blacks was done mostly by right-wing members in the force, adding that even the Protea police station shootings that claimed four lives during the Hani rally were executed by white policemen.

"Popercu members did not fire shots. I was there personally and we were folding our arms while white policemen fired into the crowds," Nkuna said.

The accusation of a breach of agreement against Apla came in the aftermath of Wednesday's ambush in Dobsonville which left four police officers dead - including a woman - and five injured.

At around 5.45 am on Wednesday, four AK-47-wielding assailants ambushed the police Canter vehicle (Igudugudu, in township lingo) at the intersection of Old Roodepoort and Main roads, known as Indingiliza.

Some of the 23 municipal police officers who were returning from night duty returned fire, but the men fled into the dawn.

The attack came hot on the heels of the Highgate Hotel attack in East London on Saturday night which claimed the lives of five whites.

Apla claimed responsibility for the attack. The intersection where the police were ambushed



City Press 9/5/93

Outcry over dawn attack

was the scene of another attack last year in which three people were "murdered by police", a resident told City Press.

Police spokesmen described the killing of the four policemen this week as senseless and offered R200 000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

Nkuna said Popercu called for the withdrawal of white policemen from the townships, as they were killing people and black police officers suffered as a result.

Nkuna said the 7 000-member Popercu wanted right-wingers to be purged from the security forces before they could be placed under multi-party control.



DAWN AMBUSH . . .The fatal igudugudu after the Dobsonville attack, above. One of the victims of the ambush, left, is carried away. **Picture: EVANS MBOVENI**

Family of township Nats flee for safety

CP news
9/15/93
(2/18)

By MONWABISI
NOMADOLO

(84A)

AFTER eight petrol-bomb attacks on his home, partly paralysed Jacob Mohlala, 72, has fled Kwa-Thema - the township he founded.

He, his 65-year-old wife Marjorie and their daughter Itumeleng are members of the National Party.

But they still don't regret joining the Nats and blame uncontrollable ANC youths for the attacks.

The ANC denied the claim and condemned those responsible.

The attacks, which started on April 1,

have caused heavy damage.

In a telephone call from her refuge, Marjorie said: "The National Party made mistakes, but have apologised for them, and that is what went straight to my heart.

"As president of the Ikaheng Women's League for 28 years I invited President FW de Klerk's wife, Marike, to open our annual conference two years ago. She said she was colour-blind and I loved her speech.

"I have always believed that I have a democratic right to live where I want to,"

she said.

Itumeleng, 25, was recently appointed publicity secretary in the NP's department of information.

"I am angry with my people. How could they burn down our house when my father is a founder of the township?"

This week's mayhem in Kwa-Thema has left scores of houses and cars belonging to policemen and councillors gutted.

The mayor lost his car and house, as did Maj J Makhata and a Sgt Sithole.

8 to appear today over N Tvl killing

Staff Reporter 

Eight alleged members of an Apla task force are to appear in court in Tzaneen today in connection with the murder of a woman on a smallholding near the northern Transvaal town last month.

Another suspect and member of the group, named as Mben-
geni Modau, was shot dead by police after the murder.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the arrests were the biggest breakthrough in investigations since the PAC military wing began its terror campaign in earnest in December.

The PAC confirmed this week that Modau was a PAC member who was killed in a military-style skirmish, but has not yet commented on whether the men formed an Apla task force.

Sandra Swanepoel (37) was killed as she tried to save her husband from armed attackers on their smallholding at Letsitele.

Johannes Swanepoel had been confronted by two armed men. His wife fired a shot at the men and was then hit by a hail of bullets.

A variety of weapons have been seized.

The eight expected to appear today are Donald Mukhawana (23), Khalifani Nukeri (40), Jameson Baloyi (41), Thomas Ngu-beni (19), Lucky Mhlongo (20), Moses Malesa (36), Mahumi Ma-latji (35) and a youth (17).

Umkhonto free to train in SA govt

RAY HARTLEY 84A

GOVERNMENT would not oppose the training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members within SA borders provided no laws were broken, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said at the weekend.

Umkhonto would be free to do the same kind of training presently undertaken by organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Government would, however, oppose any efforts to "usurp the functions of the police and SADF", he said.

Commenting on a report that the ANC had struck a deal with government allowing it to train its military wing inside SA, Kotze said he was unaware of an agreement on the matter, but Umkhonto training in drilling and marching was "within the letter of the law".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the issue had been discussed in meetings with government, but cautioned that negotiations were not at a point where a firm deal had been concluded on the matter.

He said security matters would probably be the last area where agreement was reached because of their centrality to the balance of political power.

Government and ANC negotiators reportedly reached the compromise in discussions about a special national peacekeeping force to police violence-ridden areas once a transitional executive council came into being.

Threat 'from radical left'

RIGHT-wing leaders said yesterday that the threat of a Bosnia-style civil war in SA would come not from the right, but from the radical left.

However, reacting to President F W de Klerk's statement on Saturday threatening action against the left and the right, they said that to ignore the Afrikaner's right to self-determination was a recipe for strife.

Gen Constant Viljoen, the retired general co-ordinating attempts to unify the right, said it was clear the Afrikaner Volksfront established on Friday had been branded radical and extremist.

He was not prepared to enter into a mudslinging contest with De Klerk, but called on him to "keep his door open" to the Volksfront. If De Klerk could talk to the ANC, which by its own admission was radical, he should talk to the Volksfront.

He said multiparty negotiators, in their

DIRK VAN EEDEN

rush to create peace, were ignoring the Afrikaner's right to self-determination. That was the real threat to peace.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said if De Klerk had intended to hit the left and the right with the same blow, he had missed the right completely.

"The violence is coming from the left, but he does not have the courage to speak frankly with them."

HNP leader Jaap Marais said there was no comparison between the left and the right, as the right wing had only threatened war and De Klerk had "nothing to react to. Every time De Klerk hits out at the left, he has to look over his shoulder at what the ANC's reaction will be."

● See Page 2

● Comment: Page 6

BIDAY 10/17/73



Time provisionally wound up

BIDA 10/5/93

SUSAN RUSSELL

TIME Holdings was provisionally wound up in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday, soon after obtaining liquidation orders against three subsidiaries.

The Time group applied for provisional liquidation early last week, but withdrew the matter after the judge expressed concern that the application, brought by its directors, was not supported by a shareholder or creditor.

Time was granted provisional winding up orders against subsidiaries Time Property Developments R McCarthy and Time Housing late on Thursday.

An application for the provisional winding up of Time Holdings was brought by Time Consolidated Investments on Friday.

Time Holdings CE Colin Hibbert blamed the group's situation on financial institutions' withdrawal from the mass housing market and on R5m unexpected damages

arising from an unresolved dispute with Basil Read.

Hibbert said in spite of the demand for housing built by Time, prospective purchasers were unable to obtain mortgage finance.

As a result, Time found itself having to service about R10m interest a year on borrowings without having the requisite sales to finance this.

Hibbert said the dispute with Basil Read over timeous completion of a project in Rosebank had left the group having to finance unforeseen damages of more than R5m until the dispute could be resolved in arbitration.

Time's bankers had refused to advance the group bridging finance until the damages could be recovered from Basil Read, Hibbert said.

ANC concerned about farm exodus

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC was concerned about a potential flight of agriculture skills as white farmers became increasingly worried about their security, ANC agriculture official Derek Hanekom said at the weekend.

He said farmers seemed to be staying put for the moment, but a marked increase in inquiries by farmers considering selling up and leaving SA had been reported.

He admitted that ANC youth league official Peter Mokaba's "kill the farmer" slogan had made it more difficult for the ANC to address misconceptions about the organisation's future agricultural policy with farmers.

A spokesman for a western Cape estate agency dealing in agricultural property said farmers from elsewhere in SA were showing growing interest in wine and fruit farms in the area because they were not the target of violence.

Transvaal and Natal farmers were, however, struggling to sell their properties at reasonable prices, indicating a declining interest in agriculture in those areas.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said farmers would not be intimidated into leaving their land.

The meeting of farmers in Potchefstroom last week demonstrated a new spirit among the farming community underlying their determination to defend their properties and livelihood, Bruwer said. While some farmers had left SA and headed for Zambia, this had been for economic and not political or security reasons.

Umkhonto free to train in SA govt

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT would not oppose the training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members within SA borders provided no laws were broken, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said at the weekend.

Umkhonto would be free to do the same kind of training presently undertaken by organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Government would, however, oppose any efforts to "usurp the functions of the police and SADF", he said.

Commenting on a report that the ANC had struck a deal with government allowing it to train its military wing inside SA, Kotze said he was unaware of an agreement on the matter, but Umkhonto training in drilling and marching was "within the letter of the law".

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Slovo was not in danger — informer

ADRIAN HADLAND and STEPHANE BOTHMA

PRETORIA — The police informer who uncovered a plot to assassinate SACP chairman Joe Slovo this month said yesterday Slovo had not been in danger.

Police presented the 33-year-old informer, who wore a balaclava to preserve his anonymity — at a news conference.

Also yesterday, the row over police actions regarding the plot continued, with the ANC accusing police of a deliberate misinformation campaign and denying earlier police claims that Slovo had been informed of the threat to his life.

The informer, who said he had infiltrated the group of plotters, told the news conference that on April 28 he had been recruited in a Berea nightclub to drive the assassin's getaway car. He had been "trusted" to do the job for no payment "because I was from eastern Europe".

He said police were poised to swoop on the conspirators and discover "the people in the shadows" when a Press report about the plot appeared. "We were so close, only a couple of hours divided us from uncovering the truth." The report, he claimed, foiled his infiltration of the group.

The informer said he had been duped into leaking news of the assassination attempt. He had been encouraged to do so by "well known informer" Danie Odendaal. Odendaal had introduced him to a "security police captain" who he now believed to be a journalist posing as a policeman.

Asked whether police had told Slovo of the plot, the informer said there had been "no necessity" as the attempt would have been foiled before the intended assassination, between May 15 and 21. SAP spokes-

□ To Page 2

Slovo

man Col Johan Mostert, who vouched for the informer's authenticity, added that police "had things under control".

A police spokesman said a full investigation into the matter was continuing and a docket was expected to be handed to the attorney-general's office in due course.

Earlier, a police spokesman maintained Slovo had been informed about the threat to his life and said that police had a written statement, dated April 22, from Slovo to prove this. Slovo said on Tuesday the first he had heard of the plot was when a Star reporter contacted him on Monday.

Mostert was adamant Slovo had twice been contacted and had twice refused offers of police protection.

Mostert also said premature publication of the existence of a plot had ruined any chance of the successful prosecution of those allegedly involved. Currently, no concrete evidence of the plot existed.

"What we have at this stage is one person's word against that of another person

and this is obviously not enough to bring guilty parties to court," Mostert said.

Mostert said claims of a threat against the life of Winnie Mandela had also come to the knowledge of the SAP several months ago.

"At the time, we informed her about the threat and investigated it," he said.

An SAP statement said discrepancies in dates supplied by police spokesmen about when Slovo had been informed of the plot were the result of the urgency with which both police and the Law and Order Ministry had to react to media inquiries.

The ANC rejected the police claims and said that it had consulted its lawyers "about this blatant misrepresentation of the facts".

According to the ANC, a number of its leading officials have received death threats, including president Nelson Mandela, PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and spokesman Carl Niehaus.

● Comment: Page 10

□ From Page 1

DIFFERENCES in approach emerged this week within the African National Congress about who will command South Africa's armed forces in the run-up to elections.

The differences mirror similar tensions in the National Party between the negotiators and the more belligerent "hawks" who reject any compromise.

Last week senior ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said his organisation would not insist that the sub-council on defence had executive powers in the lead-up to elections, nor that it should have direct control over the South African Defence Force.

Maharaj's pronouncements were seen as an important concession by the ANC which could help to smooth the transitional process.

But this week Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise flatly refuted Maharaj's assertion, insisting instead that the sub-council on defence during the transition should be able to intervene on all military issues which affect the levelling of the political playing field.

He also insisted that there should be joint control of the country's armed forces and that the sub-council on defence take control over the Defence Force.

MK's hardline attitude could turn the military issue into a serious stumbling block at the negotiating table. It mirrors the tough stance taken by senior government ministers, who are becoming increasingly categorical in their dismissal of any form of joint control of the security forces.

Statements rejecting joint control were recently made by, among others, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, his deputy, Gert Myburgh, Minister of Local Government Tertius Delpont and by the former minister of defence, Gene Louw.

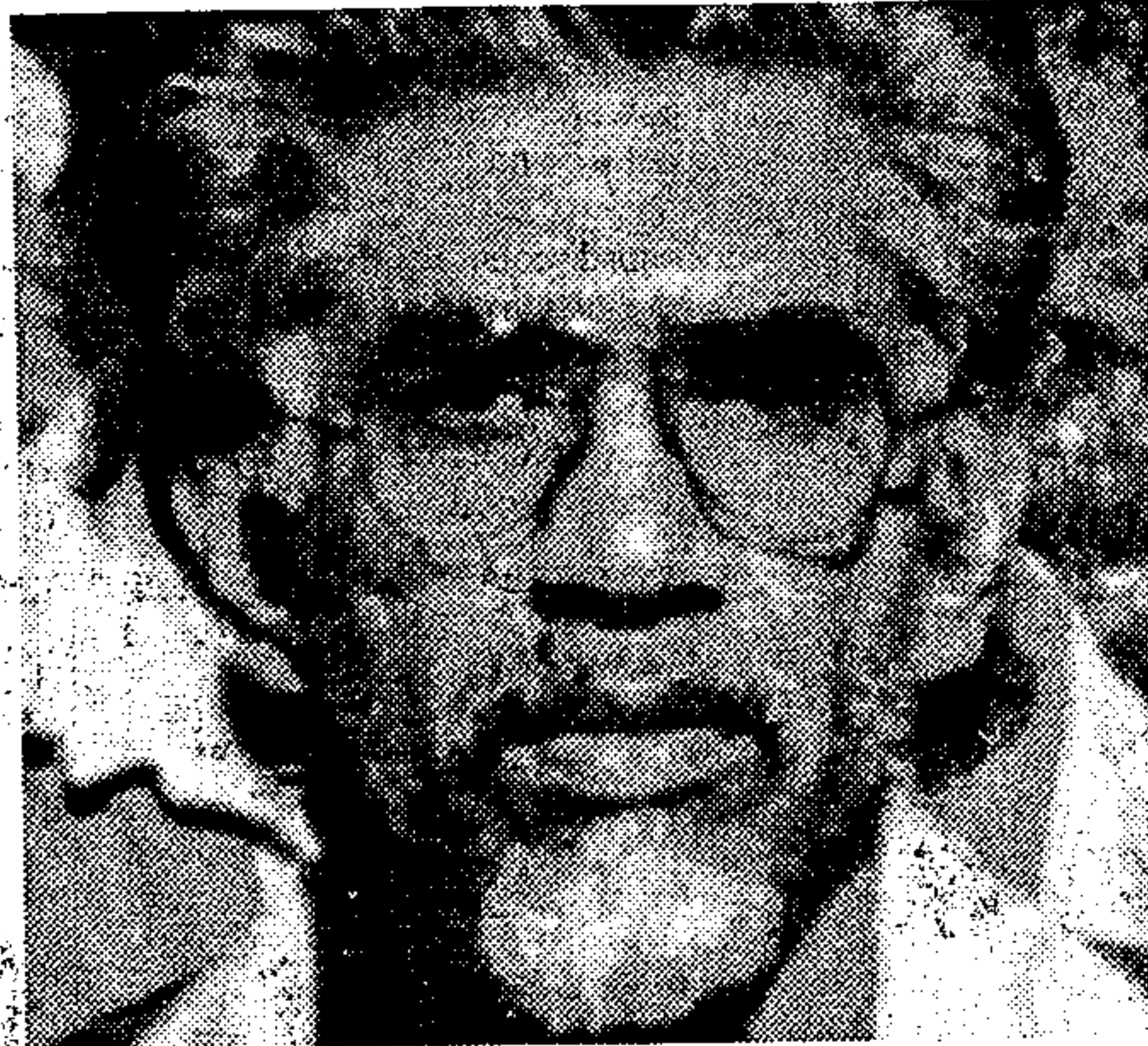
In an interview with *The Weekly Mail*, Modise dismissed Maharaj's views as "personal opinions".

He insisted that the ANC's official policy is that all armed formations in the country — including the SADF, MK and the homeland armies — must fall under the control of the sub-council on defence. It can then establish a joint co-ordinating committee in which senior commanders of all the armed formations had to be represented.

It's back to the trenches for South Africa's armies

W/Mail 14/5 - 20/5/93

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ANC's Mac Maharaj bumps into the MK hardliners

Hardline attitudes to the control of the armed forces could turn the military issue into a serious stumbling block at the negotiating table. By CHRIS LOUW

This joint co-ordinating committee, according to Modise, will receive its orders from the sub-council on defence, which in turn will be answerable to the transitional executive council (TEC), representing the parties to negotiations. It will have to have the authority to implement decisions taken by the sub-council.

"It is not acceptable to have the SADF under the political control of parliament."

"What has been happening in the country has been happening under the present parliament. It is an apartheid parliament, and the SADF is an apartheid army," Modise said.

"In order to prepare the way for a future defence force, we have to first bring all the armed forces in the country under control.

This means that they will have to be put under control of the multi-party forum."

According to Modise, the government wants the sub-council on defence only to advise the cabinet and the defence ministries. "We (in the ANC) want to go way beyond that. We want the sub-council and the TEC to have executive powers. All the armed forces in the country should ultimately be accountable to the TEC."

As Modise sees it, the task of the joint co-ordinating committee will be that of a "command structure" which will take responsibility for implementing decisions by the sub-council on defence. However, the day-to-day management of the various armed formations will be the responsibility of their present structures.

Modise insisted that the ANC had not conceded any of the principles contained in its published policy document. One of the more contentious clauses in this document is that the sub-council on defence "shall have the power to review and suspend existing legislation related to defence and military formations".

Modise confirmed that he was recently in contact with SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg and police commissioner Johan van der Merwe to discuss the issue of joint control. But he rejected suggestions over the weekend by Minister of Justice and Defence Kobie Coetsee that between 12 000 and 14 000 MK troops could be drawn into the SADF before elections take place.

"Our position is very clear. We are not going to be drawn into the SADF. We want MK and all the

armies to come together to form a new defence force. There is no question of the SADF continuing to be the defence force of the future South Africa. It is totally unacceptable."

He did not completely dismiss the idea of a merging of the forces before elections, however: "It is possible that the parties may feel there is a need for all these forces to come together before elections take place. But it is something that has to be negotiated."

"And then we need to know exactly who is in control of those forces. It can't be the tri-cameral parliament. MK cannot defend apartheid. That must be very clear, even to Kobie Coetsee."

Murder: jail term suspended

Court Reporter

A former police reservist was given a wholly suspended sentence following his conviction in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday for murdering his mother's boyfriend during an argument about rape of a 12-year-old relative.

Mr Justice Hannon found Barend van der Walt (28) of Fairview, Johannesburg, had been acting under "a high degree of provocation" when he shot Francois Jean Stephen Cronje on April 17 last year.

Agreeing with a witness who described Cronje as "a pig", the judge said Cronje had made Van der Walt's mother's life a misery. He accepted Van der Walt was afraid of Cronje and that there was no love lost between the men.

Although Van der Walt should have reacted differently, the judge found mitigating factors outweighed aggravating factors. He sentenced the first offender to six years, suspended for five years.

Info on camps was classified, ANC probe told

Star 14/5/93

847

By Montshiwa Moroke

The head of the ANC's constitutional department yesterday told an ANC-appointed inquiry that he had been threatened with detention while trying to establish whether the organisation had held prisoners.

The existence of ANC detention camps was classified information known only in ANC military circles, Zola Skweyiya told the commission of inquiry chaired by Dr Sam Motsuenyane.

"As head of the Justice Department I wanted to know who they were and why they had been detained.

"I could not perform my duties because of the lack of cooperation from some ANC members. Some even threatened to detain me.

"Most of the detainees were

from the 1976 generation. Before then detention camps were unheard of."

The commission was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate, among other things, whether specific ANC members had committed acts of cruelty towards former detainees, whether there were missing people and, if so, the circumstances under which they disappeared.

The commission plans to present its report to Mandela by the end of June.

Earlier, ANC stalwart Andrew Mlangeni said he had seen ANC prisoners in Kampala, Uganda, but none had complained about maltreatment.

The hearing continues.

● The German-based International Society for Human Rights yesterday recommended that a special UN fund be created to provide reparation to victims of ANC abuses.

ANC man 'spurned abuses probe'

131003 1415793
FORMER ANC security department official Mzwai Piliso refused to co-operate with efforts to investigate complaints of human rights abuses in ANC camps in Angola between 1985 and 1987, ANC legal department head Zola Skweyiya said.

Skweyiya was testifying during the first day of public hearings yesterday by the Motsuenyane commission into alleged abuses by ANC members in the camps.

The commission, headed by former Naf-coc president Sam Motsuenyane, was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela last year to investigate whether "specific and named persons belonging to the ANC have committed acts of cruelty towards former detainees and prisoners".

Skweyiya, who was appointed ANC offi-

84A RAY HARTLEY 252

cer of justice to investigate alleged abuses in 1985, said the security department regarded information on its activities in Angola in this period as "a military secret".

"He (Piliso) told me very clearly that I would never get co-operation from him. I could not carry out my duties at that time as the officer of justice," he said.

He had experienced hostility from security department officials and had been threatened with imprisonment when he requested permission to visit the Angolan camps between 1985 and 1987.

Skweyiya said the "new crop" of Umkhonto we Sizwe recruits, who fled SA

□ To Page 2

ANC probe

131003 1415793
after the 1976 school riots, had shown less discipline than earlier ANC recruits delegated to join MK by ANC branches inside the country. "The only thing they wanted was to carry a gun."

He said he had been able to visit Angola only in 1987 after security department changes had led to better co-operation.

Skweyiya testified that the ANC had conducted elaborate court proceedings to ensure fair trials for those charged by the security department. Abuses in the camps were alien to the ANC's traditions of fair trial and the standards it set itself as a liberation movement.

Earlier, the commission heard evidence from ANC security department official Gibson Makhanda. Makhanda said the atti-

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□ From Page 1
tude of the ANC leadership at the 1985 Kabwe conference, where a code of conduct was drawn up to limit abuses in the camps, was that "everyone in the ANC should work to strengthen the security department". He said the ANC leadership, including then ANC president Oliver Tambo, was "extremely upset about what was taking place" in the camps.

□ The International Society for Human Rights released its report on human rights and the ANC yesterday. It claimed the killing of detainees continued after "public declarations of regret" by the ANC in 1990. The ANC was still maintaining prisoners "according to reports from the autumn of 1992", it said.

CROSSTALK

'Joint control of all security forces'

WILLIE SERITI, head of the Pan Africanist Congress's legal department and member of its national executive committee, airs the movement's view on the direction of multi-party negotiations: *South 15/5 - 19/5/93*

IT IS our view that joint multi-party control of all security forces in this country would go a long way in blocking the high crime rate in our communities. It would also be a crucial step in limiting the unnecessary, senseless violence perpetrated by the forces of the government — the South African Police (SAP) and the South African Defence Force (SADF).

In the eyes of the majority of our people, the SAP lacks any credibility whatsoever and for their security measures to be effective there has to be co-operation between them and the community.

At the moment, no such co-operation exists — a key factor in the escalating crime rate.

In order to create legitimacy for the SAP, and indeed the SADF too, there has to be joint control of these institutions. They can no longer serve and defend the interests of the white minority government alone.

There are certain elements within the SADF which have to be rooted out if a new national defence force is to play its role correctly.

Mercenaries intent on fanning the flames of

violence will have no place in a democratic army — under multi-party control, these elements will be forced out.

The PAC believes a transitional authority should emerge from the current multi-party negotiations. ~~(SAP)~~ (SPLA)

This transitional authority should set up joint structures which will be sovereign and will control all armed formations, including the SADF and SAP.

We are prepared to discuss and negotiate the details of how this should be implemented, but we are not prepared to come to a decision around the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) only — all security forces should be part of the agreement reached.

We believe that in the same way as Apla is the military wing of the PAC, the SAP and SADF are the military wings of the illegitimate government, and so should not be treated any differently.

We are open to suggestions about how this process should occur and we are willing to negotiate the matter with other parties at the multi-party forum.

14 SUNDAY TIMES, May 16 1993 ★

TOP PAC officials, including Apla chief Sabela Phama, have been implicated in drug deals by a probe commissioned by the organisation itself.

The drug connections of five PAC officials and two Apla members were revealed in a secret report this week. At the same time it was disclosed that a number of senior PAC members had refused to hand back properties to the financially-strapped organisation to be sold off to raise funds.

The report follows a committee of inquiry commissioned by the PAC's NEC last year and was carried out by two lawyers, advocate John Renene and attorney Moss Mavudla. Both are also members of the PAC.

Those allegedly implicated in the scandal are five top PAC members who, at the time of their involvement with drugs early in 1991, were operating as part of the PAC's external central committee.

Believed to be named in the Renene/Mavudla report — apart from a Comrade Phai who was found guilty in Harare of drug trafficking in 1991 — are four other members of the then external committee of the PAC. Three of the five are currently holding positions in the PAC hierarchy. One has left the PAC.

Also named in the report are two Apla members based in Dar es Salaam —

Top PAC officials in drugs scandal

SI Times 16/5/93

(84A)

By **NORMAN WEST**: Political Reporter

Mr Phama, who is Apla's chief commander, and another Apla external central committee member known as "Comrade Barnie".

Mr Phama recently granted an interview to SABC-TV in which he justified the attacks on policemen and whites in the eastern Cape.

The report on PAC officials involved in drug traf-

ficking was to have been tabled at this year's April annual congress of the PAC, which was postponed.

The Renene/Mavudla committee was appointed after the PAC's first deputy president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, refused to implement an NEC instruction issued last year to expel PAC members who were implicated during the Harare court case.

Meanwhile, it has also been established that the PAC's financial position is so precarious that it can hardly pay the salaries of staff and is unlikely to fight the coming elections on its own because it cannot raise the estimated R30-million needed.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander sent a

circular to all staff this week warning that head office was no longer able to grant salary advances.

In addition, top PAC officials are facing accusations of trying to enrich themselves; they allegedly refused to co-operate in handing over assets acquired abroad while the PAC was banned in South Africa.

During its 30 year ban the PAC was generously supported financially by overseas countries.

In the process the organisation acquired various properties worth millions of rands in London, Birmingham, New York, Lesotho and Botswana, as well as eight properties in Harare. The eight properties in Harare included one in Samora Machel Avenue.

If you're a winner you

How they plotted

● **THE PLOTTERS:** A shadowy businessman and an Eastern European immigrant

● **THE PLOT:** Assassination of Joe Slovo with a high-powered rifle from a tower

● **THE UNRAVELLING:** One of the plotters is an informer

● **THE PROSPECTS:** Almost nil

SPECIAL REPORT By DE WET POTGIEER and NICK OLIVARI

WHEN a right-wing conspirator began recruiting members of a hit squad to assassinate Joe Slovo, he made one major error.

One of the first men he lured into his sinister web was a police informer — identified this week as Peter Slovak, but, in reality, a Hungarian immigrant named Peter Psenak.

The plot to kill the former SA Communist Party leader was hatched in a seedy working men's club, known to regulars as the Polish Club.

Situated on the corner of Ohliva Street and Tudhope Avenue in the Johannesburg flatland of Berea, the watering hole is more of a shibboleth, frequented by German and East European immigrants. Here, over a period of two months, the plot to kill Slovo was hatched.

In an exclusive interview with the Sunday Times this week, Mr Psenak, 33, told how an electronics expert and ardent right-winger drew him into the plot he exposed last Friday.

"We first met at the club about a month before Chris Hani was shot. It was just a casual thing, but then I bumped into him again a few days later, at another bar in Berea.

"We started talking about politics in general, and I think he latched on to me because I'm from Eastern Europe.

THE PLOT

"It was just after Hani's funeral that John first mentioned assassination. "I think he had decided to trust me, and he was quite open. He



LINE OF FIRE . . . the tower from which the would-be assassin planned to fire the fatal shot Pictures: CHRISTINE NESBITT

The man Mr Psenak spoke to was Brigadier Chris Langenhoven.

For police investigating the plot, the next 12 days were critical.

Believing they were on the verge of a major breakthrough in obtaining information about a suspected mastermind behind a series of plans to assassinate political figures, they sent Mr Psenak back into the field to find out everything he could from the conspirator.

On Sunday May 2, Mr Psenak met him at the Polish Club again, and the next day gave the investigating officers the information he had gleaned.

Later that day, Warrant Officer J.L. du Preez briefed his super-

Slovo 16/5/93 to kill Joe Slovo

FROM HERE A SNIPER WITH A HUNTING RIFLE COULD HAVE SHOT JOE SLOVO . . . BUT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN EASY

"We arranged to see each other on Monday or Tuesday to make the final arrangements. He was going to tell me then about a contingency plan for the assassination."

But that meeting never happened.

On Sunday night, Mr Psenak and Odendaal had a rendezvous in Berea.

"I found it funny that he didn't pick me up in his Toyota Cressida as he usually did. There was another man with him in a white Golf."

"He drove to Rookerfellas in Yeoville, where Odendaal introduced the man as a captain in the security police from Pretoria."

"I was very suspicious, and actually quite scared, but I couldn't get away to phone my contacts in the police."

"Odendaal said the 'captain' was investigating claims that the two investigating officers working with us were actually leaking the information we were giving them."

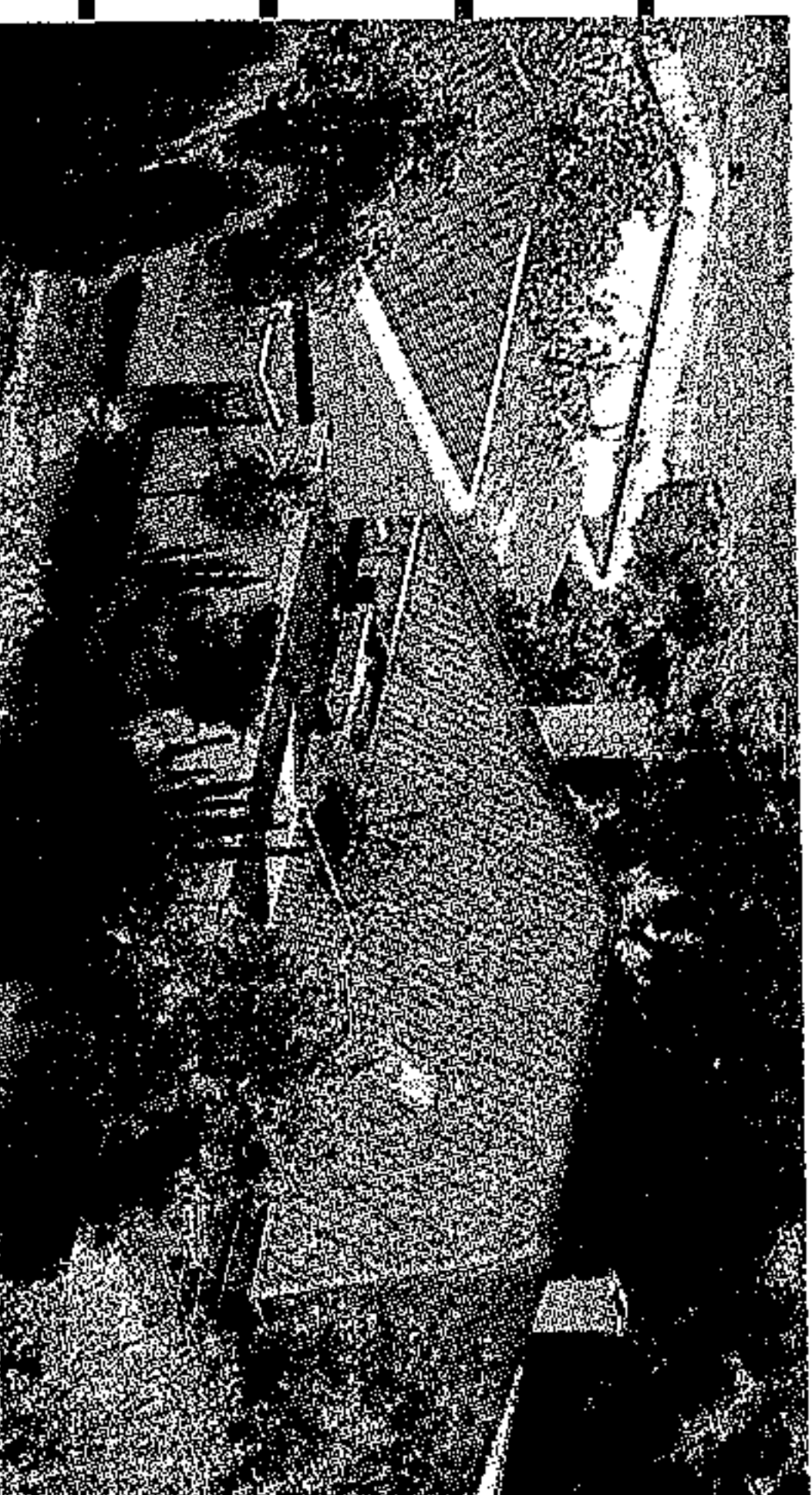
"I believed him, and I told the man everything I knew up to then about the assassination plot."

"Then Odendaal said he could get me money if I needed it, and warned me he would burn my arse if I told anyone about the meeting, including the two investigating officers."

"I'm scared of Odendaal — he's a scary, unpredictable man — so I said I'd keep my mouth shut," said Mr Psenak.

But on Monday morning, he was hauled in — and told by the investigating officers that the "captain" was, in fact, Star newspaper reporter Jacques Pauw.

"I was shocked. That night the detectives took me to Observatory and I pointed out to them the



MARKED FOR DEATH . . . Joe Slovo's home in Gill Street, Observatory, which the plotters had kept under surveillance

target would probably have been inside his car when the assassin sighted him in the cross-hairs, "he'd have to shoot blindly."

"If the gunman was using a .375 or equivalent hunting rifle, the bullet would have to have a full metal jacket or be a monolithic solid made from brass. Either way, the bullet would almost certainly deflect as it passed through the car, and lose accuracy."

Mr Hamman said a bolt-action rifle would have to be used, and it would take the most expert marksman a minimum of two seconds to reload and resight.

"I would say if this was the plan to kill Mr Slovo, he had a much better than average chance of surviving without a scratch," said Mr Hamman.

Police have confirmed they are holding Johannesburg businessman John Beck in connection with the assassination conspiracy.

THE PROSPECTS

But could the plot have worked? Arms expert Hilton

Getting to the killer's tower

THE top of the Air Force communications tower from which Joe Slovo was supposed to be shot is at least 50m from his garage.

From this vantage point, the roof of the Slovo house in Gill Street, Observatory, is clearly visible — but only one of the garage doors can be partially seen.

Perched on Observatory Ridge, the 50m tower is situated on premises occupied by the Associated Scientific and Technical Society of South Africa, which provides administrative services.

According to Mrs Jenny Nel, manager of the society, the keys to the tower were kept at the security gate until a week ago, and "anyone" claiming to be from Telkor,

which manufactures telecommunications equipment, could have obtained them.

SA Air Force spokesman Colonel Tom Mitchell denied this, and said the only sets of keys to the tower were held by the SAAF and Telkor, which maintains the equipment housed in the tower.

Getting to the base of the tower is relatively simple and, on two or three evenings each week, members of the public drove right past. The tower is surrounded by four three-metre cyclone fences, four metres apart. The outer perimeter could be breached by cutting the padlock at the gate, cutting the fence or climbing over.

The inner fence is rusted and, although once electrified, there is no evidence of recent use. The second entrance gate is unlocked.

How they plotted to kill Joe Slovo

S Times 16/5/73

FROM HERE A SNIPER WITH A HUNTING RIFLE COULD HAVE SHOT JOE SLOVO... BUT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN EASY

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THE PLOT
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LINE OF FIRE... the tower from which the would-be assassin planned to fire the fatal shot. Pictures: CHRISTINE NESBITT

fired. Colonel D Swanepoel and Major L van Huyssteen, at John Vorster Square about the progress of the investigation.

It was at that meeting that the decision was taken to inform Mr Slovo that his life could be in danger. Captain Chris Wilken, of the SAP's community relations department, was instructed to carry out this task, and telephoned Mr Slovo the next morning at his office in Shell House.

Throughout his association with the conspirator, Mr Psenak was also feeding information to the police about a smuggling operation involving counterfeit US dollars.

Detectives investigating this racket introduced him to another informant, Danie Odendaal, on May 6. They were supposed to arrange a sting operation which would allow the police to trap the counterfeiters.

While planning the sting operation, Mr Psenak said, he was "influenced" by Odendaal.

"He gave me the impression that he was a very important man working undercover for the police. For some reason, during my meetings with him, I told him about the plot against Slovo.

"We arranged to see each other on Monday or Tuesday to make the final arrangements. He was going to tell me then about a contingency plan for the assassination."

But that meeting never happened.

On Sunday night, Mr Psenak and Odendaal had a rendezvous in Berea.

"I found it funny that he didn't pick me up in his Toyota Cressida as he usually did. There was another man with him in a white Golf."

"He drove to Rookerfellas in Yeoville, where Odendaal introduced the man as a captain in the security police from Pretoria.

"I was very suspicious, and actually quite scared, but I couldn't get away to phone my contacts in the police.

"Odendaal said the 'captain' was investigating claims that the two investigating officers working with us were actually leaking the information we were giving them."

"I believed him and I told the man everything I knew up to then about the assassination plot.

"Then Odendaal said he could get me money if I needed it, and warned me he would burn my arse if I told anyone about the meeting, including the two investigating officers.

"I'm scared of Odendaal — he's a scary, unpredictable man — so I said I'd keep my mouth shut," said Mr Psenak.

But on Monday morning, he was hauled in — and told by the investigating officers that the "captain" was, in fact, Star newspaper reporter Jacques Pauw.

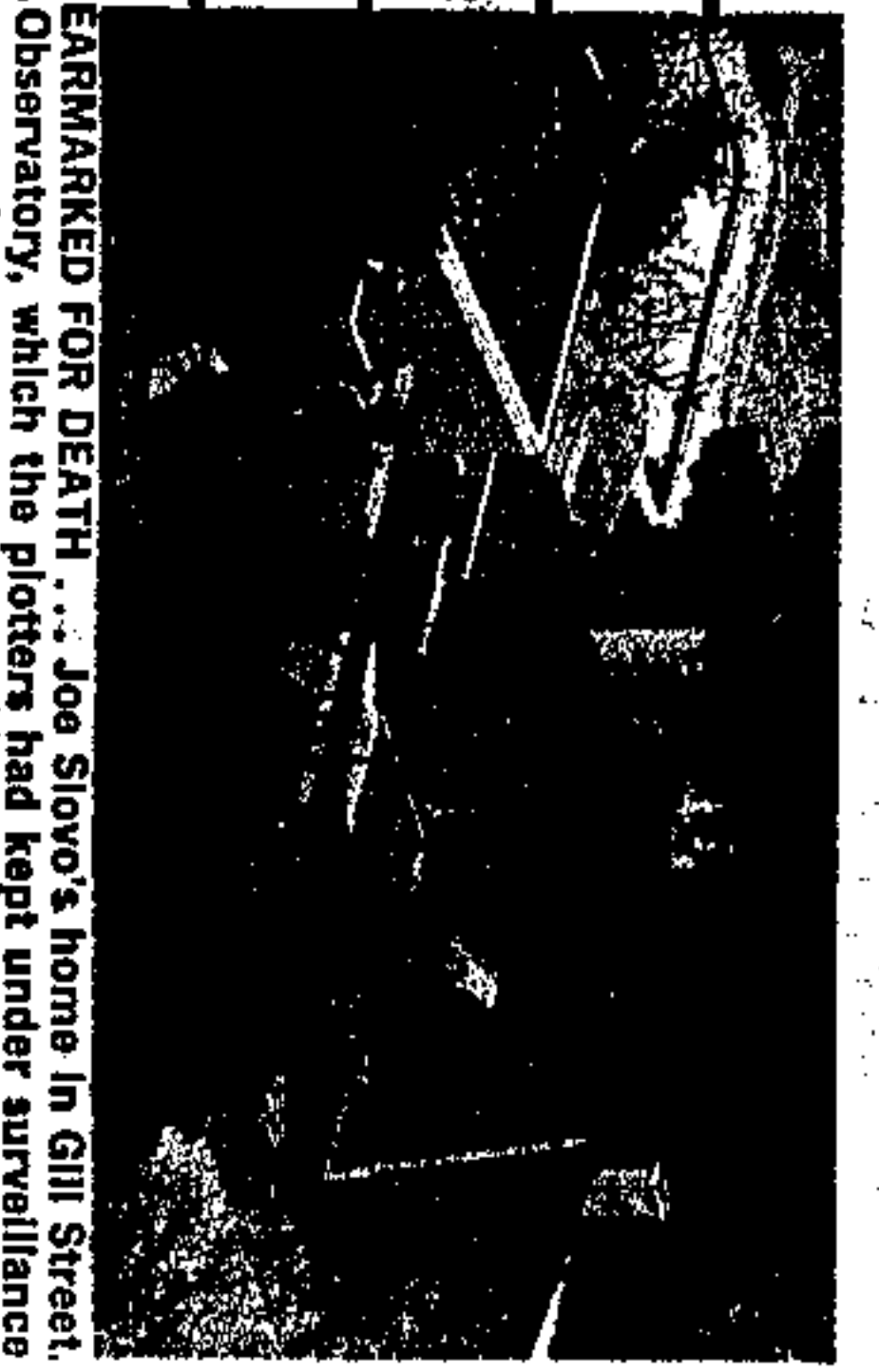
"I was shocked. That night the detectives took me to Observatory and I pointed out to them the

THE TARGET... SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo Slovo house, and the tower he was supposed to be shot from," said Mr Psenak.

THE PROSPECTS
But could the plot have worked? Arms expert Hilton

THE top of the Air Force communications tower from which Joe Slovo was supposed to be shot is at least 50m from his garage.

From this vantage point, the roof of the Slovo house in Gill Street Observatory, is clearly visible — but only one of the garage doors can be partially seen.



MARKED FOR DEATH... Joe Slovo's home in Gill Street, Observatory, which the plotters had kept under surveillance

the target would probably have been inside his car when the assassin sighted him in the cross-hairs, "he'd have to shoot blindly."

"If the gunman was using a .375 or equivalent hunting rifle, the bullet would have to have a full metal jacket or be a monolithic solid made from brass. Either way, the bullet would almost certainly deflect as it passed through the car, and lose accuracy."

Mr Hamman said a bolt-action rifle would have to be used, and it would take the most expert marksman a minimum of two seconds to reload and resight.

"I would say if this was the plan to kill Mr Slovo, he had a much better than average chance of surviving without a scratch."

Police have confirmed they are holding Johannesburg businessman John Beck in connection with the assassination conspiracy.

which manufactures telecommunications equipment, could have obtained them.

SA Air Force spokesman Colonel Tom Mitchell denied this, and said the only sets of keys to the tower were held by the SAAF and Telkom, which maintains the equipment housed in the tower.

Getting to the base of the tower is relatively simple and, on two or three evenings each week, members of the public drove right past the tower is surrounded by dual three-metre cyclone fences, four metres apart. The outer perimeter could be breached by cutting the padlock at the gate, cutting the fence or climbing over.

The inner fence is rusted and, although once electrified, there is no evidence of recent use. The second entrance gate is unlocked.

However, access to the tower itself is barred by double steel doors, 20cm thick and connected to an alarm system.

If these could be breached, an intruder would be confronted by a lever-locked corrugated iron door — and 200 steps.

Getting to the killer's tower

although once electrified, there is no evidence of recent use. The second entrance gate is unlocked. However, access to the tower itself is barred by double steel doors, 20cm thick and connected to an alarm system.

If these could be breached, an intruder would be confronted by a lever-locked corrugated iron door — and 200 steps.

The only three points for a sniper to take aim would be on the 13th and 19th landings, or the top.

Assuming that the sniper managed to reach the top and fired at a car leaving Mr Slovo's house — which would be visible for about 30m in either direction — he would face the problem of escaping.



FIGHTERS ...
 Women, such as this platoon commander leading her men at Oliver Tambo's funeral, served with distinction in MK – but they faced the universal problem of sexism in the armed forces. US President Bill Clinton recently ordered the Pentagon to allow US women to serve in the frontline of battle.

MK women speak out

00 C/PRES 16/5793

(DA) (B950) (84A)

By ZANELE VUTELA

WOMEN have served the ANC's guerrilla army well – but many feel patronising male attitudes kept them out of the military frontline.

City Press spoke to a number of these brave women.

Jackie Molefe left the country at the tender age of 17 in 1964.

She was recruited for military training just after Nelson Mandela had been sentenced.

"I was very young," she said, "but I knew exactly what I was doing although I did not know that I would be gone for such a long time."

Jackie's parents had been involved in the ANC since she was a child. She says: "I was always tormented by seeing my father – the head of the family – being insulted and searched by young white cops."

She left with a group of 10 men. When they reached Dar es Salaam she discovered there were three women among 1 000 men. At Odessa in the then Soviet Union where they were trained, the number of women rose to 11.

She said: "Because of

department. She joined as the only woman.

"I am not ashamed to say that I used my department to uplift women. I helped establish the Ruth First Training Centre in one of the camps in Angola."

In 1987 she became a member of the ANC NEC. She is still head of communications. "I think a future army needs a code of conduct in which sexism will be punishable," she said.

"Phindi" was 15 when she left the country in 1980. She wanted to go for military training but was persuaded to go to school first. She went to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tan-



VETERAN ... Dipuo Mvelese fought in SA.

of 17. She had only attended Cosas meetings but through her activist boyfriend, Vincent, she read banned literature. She also attended Saturday school and was taught by ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

The hanging of ANC guerrillas was the final factor.

"I was shocked. I never really believed they would do it." Soon afterwards she, Vincent and another friend left the country for military training.

She was thrilled at being given a carbine on arrival at the camp. It was feared that Unita would attack.

She later became a platoon commissar, an instructor in artillery and a political instructor.

She left Angola in 1986, worked underground in Botswana for a while and then entered SA at the beginning of 1989 to work with Operation Vula. She was arrested with others in 1990. They eventually received indemnity in 1991. Dipuo now works for the ANC's department of political education.

Like Jackie, she feels sexism prevented women

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She said: "Because of the ratio of men to women, bad feeling ran high and sometimes the men would insult us and call us names. Of course some women did flirt a lot and this sometimes led to fights."

There were fears among the leadership that the presence of women would cause confusion in the camps.

The women had worked out a code of conduct "to ensure our survival because we saw no life outside the movement".

We had to work together to make sure that our presence in the army was not disruptive, and, with time, attitudes changed and we began to gain the respect of our male comrades."

After training - she specialised in communication - the women were fit and strong and they expected to be sent to SA for combat.

"Unfortunately women were mostly sidelined into clerical jobs," she said.

However, in 1977 Jackie was approached by the late Moses Mabhida to join the Revolutionary Council and head the MK's communications

"I am not ashamed to say that I used my department to uplift women. I helped establish the Ruth First Training Centre in one of the camps in Angola."

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INNER BATTLE ... Jackie Molefe fought chauvinism in MK.

zania where she completed her O-levels. Then she worked for a year as a clerk in the treasury department.

In 1985 she finally joined MK and worked so hard that after a while she became an instructor.

She was then sent to Lesotho in 1987 and in 1988 she entered SA to work with underground structures of the Special Operations Unit. She managed to hide herself so well that she was able to find a job in Hillbrow.

She was arrested and prosecuted for possession of a pistol in 1991 after Askaris tracked her down.

She said that after she was released she was watched closely.

She now works for the ANC head office.

Dipuo Mvelase left home in 1983 at the age

but through her activist boyfriend, Vincent, she read banned literature. She also attended Saturday school and was taught by ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

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Like Jackie, she feels sexism prevented women cadres from taking part in the combat.

Daisy Fortune Chiloane was also 17 when left home in 1978. She had been a pupil activist at Tlakula High School in KwaThema when she was arrested.

After a week in police cells where she said "they beat us like hell" she was asked to turn state witnesses by the cops. She agreed - even though she did not know who she was to give evidence against! - and was released. She then left to join the ANC in exile.

She was furious deep inside and opted to train immediately.

In Angola, during cultural activities, it was discovered that she could sing and she was seconded to Amandla, the ANC's cultural troupe.

That was in 1980 and she stayed with the touring group for years.

Daisy fell pregnant and had to leave the war zone in Angola to start a new life in Tanzania where there were facilities to raise kids.

She is back with Amandla which intends touring the mines - for like the struggle, the show must go on.

Cops accused of targeting PAC

CP Press 16/5/93

By MOSES MAMALLA

AN Apla guerrilla has allegedly died in police custody while more than 40 PAC members have been detained under security legislation in what appears to be a low-intensity warfare by the security operatives on the PAC's military wing.

According to Pretoria-based lawyer Moss Mavundla, 30-year-old Apla operative Peter Ismael Mabina, also known as Sabat Matiwane, died in Odi prison in Bophuthatswana on May 6.

Mavundla said the Apla cadre was detained in Moretele by the Bop police on April 6 and was subjected to severe torture while in police custody which led to his death a month later.

Bop police spokesman Col Dave George declined to

comment on the issue and referred City Press to the prison authorities. However the spokesman for Bop prison services could not be reached after several attempts.

Mavundla also released the names of five alleged Apla members who have been held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

'Sheltering cadres'

Among the five was former Apla cadre Simon Ncime, who was released from Robben Island in 1991. Ncime was detained in Paarl on April 30.

Mavundla added that Tzaneen PAC organiser Jameson Boko Baloi was arrested by the SAP after he had been accused of sheltering four Apla members. The four alleged Apla members, who include a 17-

year-old youth, were detained on April 28 after they were linked to an attack on a farm near Tzaneen. A white farmer is believed to have been killed in the attack.

Police spokesman in Pretoria, Lt Frans Mojapelo, confirmed that since February 46 PAC members, including Apla and Paso members, have been detained under Section 29.

He said he could not comment further because the suspects were detained under the Internal Security Act.

PAC secretary for political affairs, Jaki Seroke, accused the police of harassing PAC members.

"As a result of this harassment, a 16-year-old PAC member was gunned down in Soweto this week simply because he was wearing a PAC T-shirt," he charged.

'Now I know how good I am'

AYANDA BAKU left SA in 1976. She was 19. She left the country to join MK because "there was no point in confronting the boers with stones when they were shooting us with guns".

When she got to the camp she found the men supportive. They found the presence of women comforting because it proved that the burden of the struggle was being shared.

What Ayanda found difficult about being a woman soldier was to



AYANDA BAKU

postpone having children. In fact, even getting married was difficult because couples were bound by camp rules; they had to be-

have like everyone else. Sometimes marriages broke up because couples were often sent to different countries.

However, she found that there were great possibilities for development. Even the illiterate were given scope for improvement. Literacy classes were compulsory.

Women rose to occupy previously male-dominated positions such as those of instructors. Women could compete even for selection for combat missions;

like Thandi Modise and Nomkhosi Mini, who was murdered by the SADF in Maseru.

Ayanda began by compiling and reading the news in the camp and found herself working for Radio Freedom.

She is grateful for this experience "because I would have never known how good I am". She was seconded to Angola's Radio Nasionale where she worked for five years. Now back in SA, she is looking for an opportunity in broadcasting.

City Press 16/5/93

(84A)

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ANC denies

SADF, MK Star 17/5/93 set to merge

By Chris Whitfield (84A)
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has rejected suggestions that Umkhonto we Sizwe is poised to be incorporated into the SADF and that its members would take up positions to the level of general. (254)

However, a Defence Ministry spokesman said yesterday that exploratory talks were taking place with a variety of organisations and it was "only logical" that all armed forces "should be consolidated as soon as possible in the interest of peace". (254)

A senior ANC source and leading negotiator said the organisation did not want MK to be merged into the current SADF "with all its baggage". A report yesterday saying the merging of MK into the SADF could take place within weeks "sounds like a Government kite-flying exercise" to fend off ANC pressure.

He pointed out that the ANC wanted a new defence force created out of existing armed forces. He also said the organisation's first objective was for the security forces to be placed under joint political control.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said the report was "speculative" but confirmed that exploratory talks over a future SADF were taking place.

THE AK-47, used increasingly in political and criminal violence has become the best known of rifles available in South Africa today. Yet nobody can say how many of these guns there are the country.

According to the police, the 891 AK-47s recovered last year were just a small proportion of all such weapons in the country. They said any estimate of the numbers would be "pure speculation".

ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said recently that many of the weapons filtered into the country were originally sent by the South African Government to support the rebel Renamo forces in Mozambique, though this slowed after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984.

Although the AK-47 has been linked with the ANC and PAC, their opponents have also smuggled it into the country. It has been used by both the ANC and the IFP in incidents of violence in Natal.

There have also been allegations that the so-called "Third

SA awash with unknown number of AK-47 rifles

The AK-47 has become the focus of controversy after its repeated use in violent attacks in South Africa. MICHAEL SPARKS reports.

Star 17/5/93 849 30

Force" has access to the weapons and is using them, often resulting in organisations like the ANC being blamed for attacks.

The only statistics available for the number of weapons in the region are from Harare where press reports quoted military sources as estimating that at least 1.5 million AK-47s had been introduced to Mozambique since the beginning of the civil war in 1975.

Many of these weapons have been smuggled into the country through Swaziland and Mozambique and have subsequently been sold in the PWV-region very cheaply. In January, police liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen said illegal AK-47s could be bought for as little as R100, although one in good con-

dition could fetch up to R2 000. Their cheap price and ready availability have also made it easy for criminals to lay their hands on the weapons.

According to Military Research Group executive member Ian Robertson, one of the reasons the weapon has developed "mystique" is that it was readily available when the Soviet Union supplied it in the 1960s to those fighting for their liberation.

Robertson said it could easily survive harsh conditions and had proved to be adaptable to battle conditions better than many other weapons. Its range, velocity and weight meant that it compared favourably with the weapons used by the SA Defence Force.

The weapon was originally developed in 1947 by Mikhail Kalashnikov, and that is where most of the name comes from. The A is for the Russian word *Automat* or automatic, while K is for Kalashnikov and the rest is for the year the designer offered the weapon design to the Soviet government.

The original weapon was very heavy and susceptible to blockages from dirt. So a revised, lighter version of the weapon was developed by 1952, resulting in the superior battle weapon that has been in wide circulation ever since.

Tefo Raditapole, who submitted the ANC's representations to the Goldstone Commission hearings on firearms in Cape Town last month, said one suggestion the delegation had made was for the police, in conjunction with the Mozambican government, to buy up very cheaply all the AK-47s they could, and then destroy them.

When asked whether this was a valid proposition, police spokesman Colonel Ray Har-

ald said: "This question cannot be answered meaningfully. The SA Police has no jurisdiction in Mozambique. There are a number of other problems, for example, financial implications, logistics, etc."

But Raditapole said that starving Mozambicans were happy to give their weapons away for food, and that it could be done if South Africa made arrangements with the Mozambique government.

He added that while the AK-47 certainly had a reputation as a powerful weapon misused by many criminals, far more crimes were committed with stolen, previously legal firearms than with AK-47s.

Police statistics show that last year there were 537 firearm licences issued daily, with more than 3.5 million guns owned by 1.3 million people.

Janine Rauch, a researcher at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation at the University of the Witwatersrand, agreed, saying a culture of firearms existed, where people believed it was legitimate to own a firearm.

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NEWS Inkatha's call against "serial killings" ● Security forces raid Soweto squatter camps

IFP insists MK should disband

Sowetan 17/5/93

The Inkatha Freedom Party has reiterated its call for Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate the "serial killing" of IFP members.

PLEA TO GOLDSTONE Probe killing of our members — Inkatha:

At a meeting in Umtata at the weekend, the IFP central committee expressed its concern that the issue of Umtata we Sizwe (the African National Congress' armed wing) was being submerged by other considerations and was not being given the priority it deserved.

The committee noted the extent to which "serial killing of the IFP and violence against the party is undertaken to weaken our negotiating position".

It said the disbandment of private armies, including MK, should be given the highest priority at the multiparty talks and resolved to instruct Inkatha's negotiation team to take "whatever steps necessary" to establish this.

"Repeated requests already made to Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the status of the inquiries into the deaths of IFP members (will) be pursued."

The committee once again endorsed the need for a federal system for the new South Africa and reiterated that regional powers and boundaries needed to be in place before an election.

It noted the need, from all parties, for compromises "which will not negate essential democratic principles". — *Sapir.*



Denial on MK joining forces with SADF

Sawetani 17/5/93

By Joshua Raboroko

■ New, representative army must be built on democratic principles:

THE African National Congress yesterday dismissed reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe is to join the South African Defence Force, saying it wanted a new army built on democratic principles.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said there was no possibility of Umkhonto we Sizwe joining the South African Defence Force "within a short period of time".

The organisation was responding to a report in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper that the military wing of the ANC could join the SADF within a few weeks.

The report also said Umkhonto we Sizwe,

‘The SADF has been discredited and is an unacceptable army in South Africa’

together with its general, Joe Modise, had come to an agreement on the possibility of joining the security forces.

The report came after Minister of Defence Mr Kobie Coetsee said he would speed up the possibility of such a move.

Addressing a meeting in Tweeling in the Orange Free State last week, Coetsee said between 8 000 and 12 000 members of MK could be incorporated into the SADF soon.

Marcus said the report created the wrong impression. The SADF had been discredited and was an unacceptable army in South Africa, she said.

The ANC wanted a new professional army that would be built differently from the old SADF.

It was unlikely that MK would join the SADF. "We want a new army created according to democratic principles," Marcus said.

Speculation on SADF, MK amalgamation is quashed

THE ANC and the Defence Ministry yesterday moved to dampen speculation that 12 000 members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe would be incorporated into the SADF.

A Defence spokesman said that Sunday newspaper reports stating that incorporation, up to general level, could happen within weeks was "in essence a synopsis of ideas, possibilities and speculation which are circulating around the exploratory talks".

MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise — tipped by Rapport as an SADF general — said while much progress had been made in the bilateral talks with the SADF and the SAP, no finality had been reached.

The Ministry agreed that no finality had been reached. It said that when Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee referred to the incorporation of 12 000 MK members during a speech in the Free State, it would have been as a result of speculating that if there were to be a single joint force, this is what it could mean.

"It is known that exploratory talks over a future defence force is taking place be-

tween the SADF and others — not only the ANC," he said.

"It is only logical that changes in the SADF have to be made and all military and paramilitary capabilities should be consolidated as soon as possible ..."

It is understood that the bilateral meetings during the past two years have been discussing a new defence force and MK members' role. It is also understood that not all MK members can be incorporated, because of financial constraints.

The ANC is also still insisting on some form of joint control and it is understood that until all the security forces, including those of the TBVC and self-governing states are included, no move will be made on incorporating MK into the SADF.

The decisions or recommendations of the bilateral talks will also have to go to the multiparty negotiations forum to be discussed and agreed upon as part of a transitional executive council before a new force can become a reality.

Inkatha in new call for Goldstone probe

ULUNDI — Inkatha has reiterated its call for Judge Richard Goldstone to investigate the "serial killings" of Inkatha members.

At a meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, the Inkatha central committee expressed its concern that the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe was being sub-

merged by other considerations and not given the priority it deserved.

The committee noted the extent to which "serial killing of Inkatha members and violence against the party is undertaken to weaken our negotiating position".

It said the disbandment of private armies, including MK, should be given the

highest priority at multiparty talks, and resolved to instruct Inkatha's negotiation team to take "whatever steps are necessary".

The committee again endorsed the need for a federal system for the new SA and reiterated that regional powers and boundaries should be in place before an election. — Sapa.

B/DM 17/5/93
BILLY PADDOCK

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Bisho charges still to be decided

No final decision has yet been made on the prosecution of 70 people implicated in the Bisho massacre of at least 28 demonstrators, according to Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens. However, Jurgens said it was "inappropriate to identify individuals at this stage".

The preliminary indictment lists 70 people, including ANC and SACP leader Ronnie Kas-

rils, and 69 members of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

The first accused is the field commander — a lieutenant-colonel — of all CDF personnel deployed on September 7 1992 who allegedly acted beyond his authority by:

- Not ordering troops to fire only single shots at a break-away group from the stadium.
- Allowing troops not to shoot

at demonstrators other than those in the breakaway group.

- Allowing grenades to be fired.
- According to the indictment, the officer requested permission by radio from CDF deputy commander Colonel Dirk van der Bank to fire on a break-away group, led by Kasrils.

Van der Bank relayed the request to CDF commander Brigadier Marius Oelshig, who gave

permission for single shots to be fired at the group.

The indictment said permission to order CDF troops to shoot was "obtained and given on false information". It was preliminary recommended that the lieutenant-colonel be charged with murder, attempted murder and culpable homicide.

According to the draft charge

sheet, Kasrils is to be charged with culpable homicide and was "the direct precipitating cause of the shooting".

The indictment said that by leading the group out of the stadium, Kasrils: "... outflanked not only the Ciskeian Police... neutralising them as the primary law enforcement agency, but also the personnel of the National Peace Secretariat who were in front of the police line, thus bringing the group into direct and sudden confrontation with the CDF".

Abuses in ANC camps possible, inquiry told

By Mokone Molete

The ANC's head of security during its years in exile yesterday admitted that human rights abuses could have taken place in the organisation's camps, but said this was not normal policy.

Mzwandile Piliso told a commission of inquiry led by Dr Sam Mofusenyane that the ANC had a code of conduct which did not encourage the use of torture to obtain information.

Admitting, under questioning, that abuses could have taken place, Piliso explained that the organisation operated under what it perceived to be conditions of war. He said many agents (of the South African Government) presented problems to the ANC.

"Under normal circum-

stances these agents were interviewed, except in 1981 when we heard that there was a plan to overthrow the leadership of the ANC. In that instance there were cases of people being manhandled."

He pointed out that those under his command were expected to adhere to a strict code of conduct which discouraged abuses.

Referring to Angola's infamous ANC Quatro camp, linked to many allegations of torture, he said a tribunal set up by the organisation to review complaints had been slow to act, due to work pressure.

Earlier, former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo told the commission that he never found the Quatro camp to be a bone of contention among inmates.

Negotiations at critical juncture

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Negotiations enter a critical phase today with the start of the first substantive constitutional talks in the resumed negotiations process.

The meeting of the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre will discuss preliminary reports from seven technical committees.

These reports deal with constitutional matters, including self-determination and the form of state, violence, a transitional executive council (TEC), fundamental human rights during the

transition, an interim constitution, independent media, electoral commissions and the repeal of discriminatory laws.

A proposal by the committee on constitutional matters that a regional commission be formed to determine the boundaries of regions is expected to be discussed in the 26-party negotiating council.

The negotiating council will have to decide today how these reports are to be discussed.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has cautioned that no decisions, "with a few exceptions", will be taken.

Participating groups have to

submit their submissions to the technical committees by 5 pm tomorrow and the discussions will be open-ended until all submissions have been received.

Negotiators believe that the value of the submissions is that parties will now be forced to make their positions known publicly.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Rammaphosa has indicated that his organisation will table a resolution today on the Joe Slovo assassination plot.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander predicted a heated debate on the reports from the technical committees on the TEC and constitutional matters.

I nursed my hostage. Berrthin



Former ANC official tells of camp torture

31 DAY 18/5/93
FORMER ANC security chief Mzwai Piliso yesterday denied that he knew about torture in ANC "rehabilitation camps", except for one case in 1981, when there were fears about a plot to overthrow the ANC leadership.

Testifying before the Motsuenyane commission into alleged human rights abuses in ANC detention camps, Piliso said at the time ANC security forces had to extract information as "quickly and reliably" as possible. Suspected agents were beaten under their feet.

He told the commission, which was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela last year, that he took personal charge.

"I confess I was at the head. If anything was wrong, the man at the head takes the responsibility."

Reports of "gross abuse which were allowed to go unchecked for many years by the ANC leadership in exile" were issued recently by Amnesty International and the International Society for Human Rights.

According to these reports, camp inmates were severely beaten, forced to perform hard labour without proper nutrition and were denied medical care. Some were allegedly executed.

In 1983, Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres suspected of stirring up a mutiny were whipped and molten plastic was poured over their naked bodies.

Piliso told commissioner Margaret

84A
DIRK VAN EEDEN
Burnham he was not aware that any of the methods of torture listed by Amnesty International were used at the camps.

Piliso started his testimony by saying that he was "not sure" the commission was "in the interest of the oppressed people of the country" and that he would not have attended the hearings if he had not been instructed to do so by the ANC's leadership.

He said he believed at the time that the ANC was in a war situation and that conditions in, for example Angola, had been very poor.

Infiltrated

"There were times when we could not buy food and we went hungry for two to three days."

He said the ANC was "heavily infiltrated" by government agents. Former police minister Jimmy Kruger once said that out of every 10 volunteers crossing the border to join the ANC, five were government agents.

"Camps such as Quatro were not regarded as prisons but as rehabilitation centres. These young suspected agents grew up under apartheid, and they had to be rehabilitated."

Many of these former agents, he said, went on to become "high ranking officers" in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Bill tabled to control weapons proliferation

Blom 19/5/93

CAPE TOWN — Legislation was introduced in Parliament yesterday to place weapons of mass destruction under statutory control, thereby boosting SA's armaments export potential.

The Non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction Bill proposes the establishment of a council to oversee non-proliferation measures.

The Bill follows President F W de Klerk's disclosure in Parliament that SA secretly built six nuclear bombs and had become the first country to dismantle them voluntarily.

The Bill requires that specified "dual use" technology, materials, chemicals, components and facilities which could be used in the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction be registered and controlled.

According to the Bill's memorandum, it covers technology that could be used to make nuclear weapons, certain toxic chemicals, scheduled biological materials and missiles.

The Bill provides for the detailed description of the activities and goods to be set out in regulations, based on guidelines in international conventions and non-pro-

liferation agreements.

In these activities, SA will adhere to the "principle of minimum compliance", the memorandum says.

The Bill aims to promote and ensure free trade with the international community, especially as compliance with the principles of the conventions is increasingly becoming a prerequisite for international free trade.

The Bill results from conventions and treaties covering nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and missiles.

SA was already a subscriber to some of these conventions and treaties and intended extending its involvement to others in the near future.

The conventions and treaties include the Geneva Protocol, subscribed to since 1930, the Biological Weapons Convention, the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (assented to in 1991) and the Chemical Weapons Convention.

The remaining treaties which SA had indicated it would assent to were the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Missile Technology Control Regime.

TIM COHEN 8/4

Former Development Aid men deny fraud charges

The State has closed its case against two former employees of the now-defunct Department of Development Aid accused of 112 charges of fraud, bribery and corruption.

At yesterday's hearing, defence counsel Johan Engelbrecht denied allegations that Jacobus Marthinus Koen (56) of End Street, Lyttelton, and Christian Bothma (51) of Alcade Avenue, Lynnwood Glen, Pretoria, had received money in a fraudulent and corrupt manner.

Engelbrecht said the men had obtained money by renting out timeshare they owned at coastal resorts, through investments that had matured and from their wives' hobbies.

Bail of R10 000 was extended to July 8, when the case reconvenes. — Pretoria Correspondent.

Sewage works may be charged over spill

By Antia Allen
Science Writer

The Department of Water Affairs may lay charges against a sewage works which it found was illegally discharging chlorine into the Jukasket River last Friday.

However, a spokesman said the discharge could not at this stage be connected to pollution which caused the deaths of fish along the river over the past 10 days.

According to director of water quality management Sakkie van der Westhuizen, water samples taken on Friday confirmed that levels of chlorine in excess of standards were being discharged into the river from Johannesburg municipal water treatment works.

He said it had been determined that monitoring of chlorine discharge was in place at the works and his department was considering legal steps because the standard had been exceeded.

"A possible link to pollution over the last week or so is still being investigated," Van der Westhuizen said.

Dr Henk van Vliet, director of hydrological research at the Department of Water Affairs, said the fish deaths could have been caused by chemicals such as acid, caustic soda or chlorine.

Johannesburg municipal water's deputy director of water pollution control Dr Loraine Lotter confirmed that small amounts of excess chlorine had been discharged into the river from the Northern Waste Water Treatment Works.

However, she denied that the amount of excess chlorine found in samples taken by the Department of Water Affairs on Friday could have caused the fish deaths. Lotter also ruled out the possibility that any accidental spills of chlorine from the works could have occurred without her knowledge.

Anyone with any information is asked to contact the regional offices of the Department of Water Affairs at (012) 299-2541 or 299-2924.

RISE **SUNSET** **MOONRISE**

Today 5.28 pm
Tomorrow 5.27 pm

Today 4.35 am

TEMPERATURES WORLDWIDE

Min	Max	Min	Max
15 22	12 23	17 23	17 23
14 26	16 30	18 24	18 24
10 21	7 22	11 22	11 22
16 22	15 18	22 32	22 32
13 26	13 23	16 19	16 19

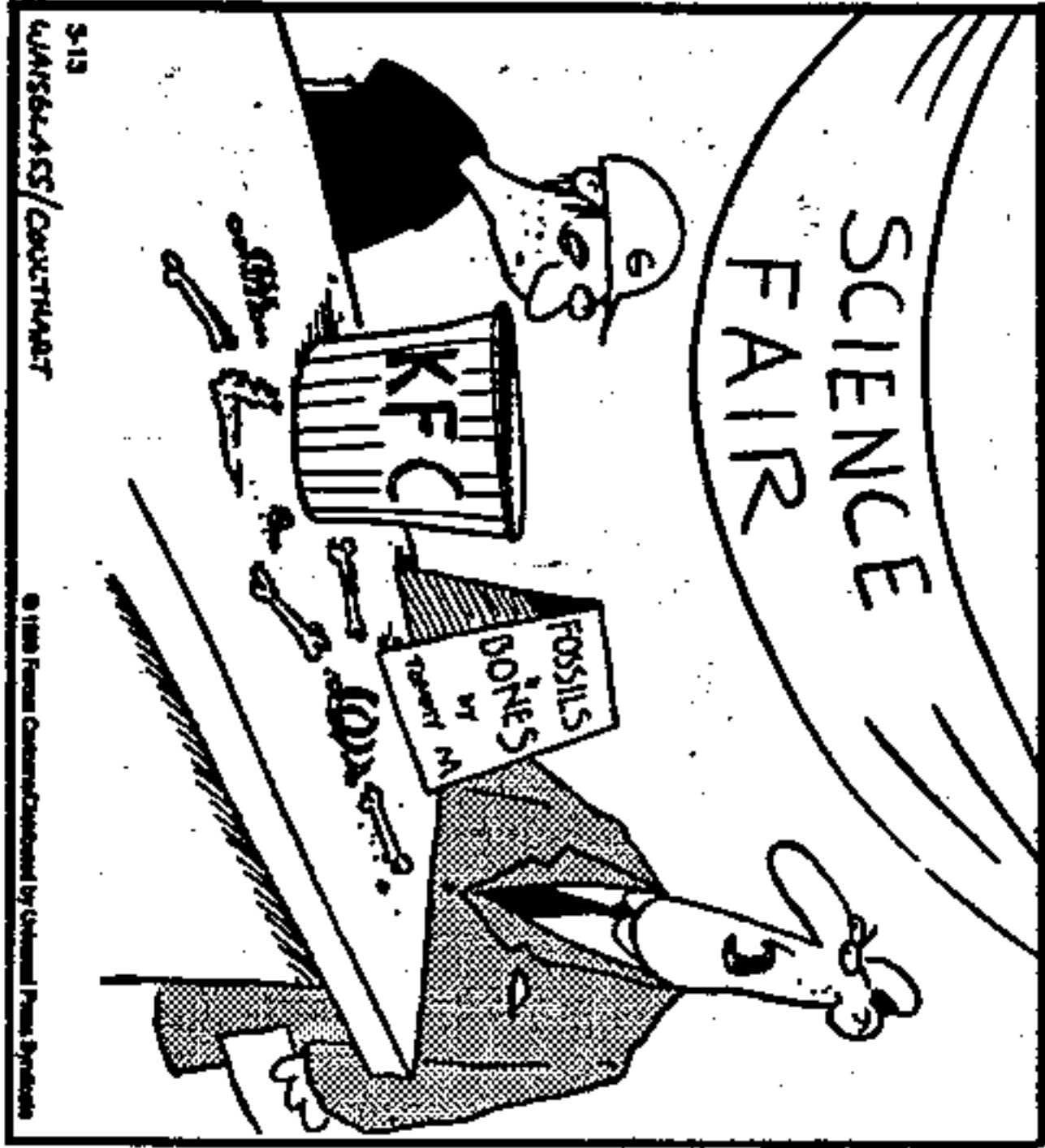
TEMPERATURES NATIONAL

Min	Max	Min	Max
8 27	5 22	2 23	2 23
3 24	4 25	8 24	8 24
3 25	4 21	9 30	9 30
12 19	1 21	13 19	13 19
15 23	15 26	8 25	8 25

For forecasts for the PWV area are available on the answering service. The number is (012) 219621.

Farcus

by David Walsglass
Gordon Coulthart



'Let's put a little more effort into this, Tommy.'

Cable theft cuts off phones

Theft of Telkom's telephone copper wires is costing it a fortune. Last year R5 million worth of cable was stolen on the Witwatersrand, said spokesman Gert Schoeman.

In Soweto, 150 clients have been without service since Saturday after another cable theft.

The service would be restored in a few days, Schoeman said.

Copper cables are sold to scrap dealers. — Municipal Reporter.

ANC man's home bombed

Arsonists petrol-bombed the Soweto home of senior ANC official Sydney Mafumadi yesterday, causing about R1 000 damage, police said.

Police received a call at about 1.40 am informing them that a house in Diepkloof had been petrol-bombed.

Mafumadi's wife Nomisa and their 12-year-old daughter were asleep in the house at the time. — Crime Reporter.

For the Record

A report in The Star last Friday about a satellite police station at the Westgate Shopping Centre, on the West Rand, incorrectly stated that the crime rate at the centre had increased, and attributed certain crime statistics to the centre. It has been pointed out that the statistics represented the entire Roodoort area. The Star regrets the reporting error.

FIXED DEPOSITS Non-Compounding

Amount invested	Period invested	Nominal rate pa
R 1 000 or more	6 months	11.50%

THE CURRENT INTEREST

The Star yesterday referred to the SABC Staff Association as a whites-only organisation. This information was provided by SABC labour relations manager Christo Pretorius. The association has objected, saying that although its membership is predominantly white, it does have non-white members.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

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

General Affairs:

Government's policy: MK/Apla

*1. Mr D S PIENNAAR asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the legalization of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the military wings of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), respectively, and other organizations of this nature has involved any change in the Government's policy in respect of the handling of the said organizations by the South African Police; if not, why not; if so, (a) what changes and (b) with what result?

B832E.INT

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, before 2 February 1990 both uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla were declared illegal and as such subject to all the legal provisions that go hand in hand with this. As part of the ANC and the PAC these two organisations were, *inter alia*, legally prohibited from recruiting members, propagating their policy or promoting any of their objectives.

After the lifting of the legal prohibition on 2 February 1990, the two organisations could proceed with all legal activities and the SAP could not take steps against them purely on the basis of the fact that they had previously been declared illegal. This resulted in the SAP having to concentrate on actions which were illegal according to the law which applies to all persons. If any of these organisations, such as in the case of Apla, are guilty of violence, the SAP conducts the necessary investigation and takes action, as in the past, according to the requirements of the law. The fact that an organisation is legal and can proceed with its normal activities does not mean, however, that the SAP close their eyes to any illegal acts which may be committed by such an organisation or some of its

members. The law is enforced without regard to persons or organisation.

*Dr W J SNTYMAN: Mr Chairman, the revolutionary onslaught on the existing order in the country has gained unprecedented momentum and shown progress since the beginning of 1990. We have good grounds for believing that the Government yielded to pressure and definitely made adjustments in respect of dealing with uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla, as the hon the Minister indicated now.

On 22 March the SA Police admitted through Lt Col Ray Hartrald that the security forces had been prohibited from taking action against Apla and MK from as early as 1990. In fact, the SA Police and Defence Force were prohibited from infiltrating these organisations at intelligence level to collect valuable information and in so doing to protect the public properly against calculated terrorists who continue with indiscriminate decimation and destruction like a murder machine.

How many murders have not already been committed on policemen and defenceless aged people on remote farms and smallholdings recently? Many of these murders and assaults are politically inspired and are the direct consequence of acknowledged terrorist organisations and their declared campaigns of *inter alia* "Kill a Boer, kill a farmer", "We are MK, we kill Boers" and "rolling mass action" which includes the envisaged occupation of White schools and the campaign for an election date and a so-called constituent assembly.

On 3 May the hon Chief Whip of the CP requested Mr Speaker in terms of the Rules of Parliament to place the entire matter on the Order Paper as soon as possible as a matter of urgent public importance. Meanwhile matters have not improved. At present two Whites are being murdered every day. Only yesterday two aged persons were blatantly struck down with pangas and bayonets and they are in a critical condition in hospital at present.

In a statement on 22 March the CP spokesman on law and order said amongst other things that we could not permit this state of affairs to continue. It had to come to an end. Surely we could not sit at the negotiating table and negotiate while agreement had already been reached in terms of the D F Malan Minute that the

murders would stop. How can the Government continue negotiating with terrorists and murderers who are negotiating while they continue to decimate and murder our people? [Interjections.] This cannot go on.

Negotiations must be stopped until violence has decreased in the country. Only then can further negotiations take place.

Mr L FUCHS: Mr Chairman, it is self-evident that any Government agency, including the SA Police, is obliged to treat a legal organisation differently from an organisation which is banned. The legalisation of MK and Apla would obviously have changed the attitude of the SA Police towards those organisations and the manner in which the Police deal with such organisations on a day-to-day basis. Even a primary-school child can understand this self-evident fact.

This leads one to ask why the hon member for Potgietersrus, who is not unintelligent, has framed his question in the way that he has. In asking this question he shows quite conclusively that he is a reluctant participant at the multi-party forum, because he realises full well that the negotiating process would not have got past first base had the ANC, the PAC and its armed wings not been unbanned. He is hoping, I suspect, that the negotiations will fail and that MK and Apla will be banned. His problem and that of the CP is that they are not committed to giving up the privileges which apartheid has bestowed on them.

The DP is firmly of the view that the restriction on persons or organisations, or their banning, aside from being morally indefensible, would only serve to exacerbate the violence in the country rather than to curb it. We accordingly welcome any change in attitude displayed by the SA Police towards these formerly banned organisations. We also fail to understand the logic of banning organisations when those organisations will shortly be incorporated into the security and police forces.

The level of violence in our country at the moment is completely unacceptable, but we firmly believe that if those organisations were still banned violence would be more pervasive. However, the unbanning of political organisations should not be perceived as an invitation to commit violent acts and to break the law. On the contrary . . . [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I just want to make a general comment. If one is asked to deal with an interpellation, one makes an appointment with the interpellator and, if one cannot be present for some reason or other, one normally says that one is sorry that one cannot be there. [Interjections.] It appears to me that the hon the deputy leader has now taken over the interpellation in consequence of the election result regarding the deputy leadership, but I am very sorry that it has been done in this way. [Interjections.] Perhaps the hon member can tell us afterwards why it was done like this. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg referred to what a certain Mr Ray Hartrald had said about the SA Police. He said that he had received instructions from the Government no longer to take action against Apla and these people. I say that that is not correct. I do not know whether he was correctly quoted or not, but I want it placed on record that this Government did not give instructions that it was not permissible to take steps against Apla and MK if they contravened the laws of this country. Let there be no doubt about that.

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Do you take action?

*The MINISTER: Yes. I shall indicate in the discussion of my Vote how many members of MK and Apla we have arrested recently. If that hon member would like to make a few inquiries, he would receive the necessary information in that regard. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg spoke about the murders of Whites. My heart bleeds just like his but other members of our society are also being murdered. There is a difference, however, between the policy of my party and his party. Whereas two White members die every day at the moment, 200 a day will die if we implement his plans. [Interjections.] That is the difference. [Time expired.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Mr Chairman, over the years the successes of our security forces have always lain in the fact that covert and overt operations were carried out against the enemy. [Interjections.] The enemy of the RSA has always been the revolutionaries—those organisations that perpetrated terrorism.

NEWS Spotlight on ANC detention camps ● 72 injured and 85 nabbed on Day 8

ANC chief in Sowetan 19/5/93 quiz on camps

■ Motsuenyane grills Nhlanhla on 'rehabilitation' centres:

By Ruth Bhengu

HEAD of the African National Congress's Intelligence Mr Joe Nhlanhla told a commission of inquiry yesterday that no one ever died of starvation and torture in the organisation's detention camps.

Nhlanhla was testifying before the latest commission, headed by retired president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industries Dr Sam Motsuenyane, into allegations of torture of ANC detainees in the ANC's "rehabilitation camps".

The hearing, at the FNB Stadium, has been taking evidence since last week.

Responding to questions by Motsuenyane, Nhlanhla said he did not know of anyone who died from torture in the organisation's camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

Asked if he knew of specific cases such as the death of one inmate named Seku in Zambia, Nhlanhla said: "Yes, I think I can recall a certain Twala who was buried in Swaziland."

About Zaba Maleisa, one of those who had revolted in one of the ANC camps and allegedly died in Quatro, Nhlanhla said: "I don't know the circumstances of his death because it was before my time as head. All I know is that Mrs Curtis Nkondo came to Lusaka and we went to meet her. I accompanied the president (the late Oliver Tambo) who told her that the comrade had committed suicide in a cell."

Concerning the death of a senior ANC commander, Mr Thami Zulu, in Zambia and who was believed to have been poisoned among other things, Nhlanhla said it was time Zulu's death was cleared "once and for all".

Crucial meeting for Soweto today

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE ending of longstanding rent and service boycotts in SA's largest township hinges on today's meeting of the Soweto Crisis Committee in Johannesburg.

The committee is expected to review new proposals put forward by Soweto's civics, as well as suggestions by the major political organisations.

Payment levels in Soweto are less than 5% and residents owe R800m in arrears. Last week the TPA and Metropolitan Chamber issued warnings that unless the issue was cleared up soon, Soweto would not survive the transition to democracy.

Soweto stands poised on the edge of a "catastrophic" plunge into unrest and disease as services collapse.

TPA MEC Burger Lategan said last

week that even the most basic of services would come to a standstill because of the financial deficit.

The Soweto civics held a meeting at the weekend, and sources indicate that they have reached agreement on tariffs and interim arrangements for the overseeing of the township during the transition to new municipal structures.

Although the civics have remained silent about their proposals, sources said these would be put forward today, and would probably determine the outcome of the meeting. Also expected to attend today are the major political parties, the TPA and the city councils of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Quatro deaths 'in main from disease'

DIRK VAN EEDEN

MOST of the people who died in the ANC's notorious Quatro "rehabilitation camp" died of malaria and a lack of medical treatment, not torture, said former ANC security chief Joe Nhlanhla.

Testifying before the Motsuenyane commission into alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps yesterday, Nhlanhla said he only took over the security desk on the condition that Quatro and some other camps were to be upgraded.

Quatro had been primitive and too small. Inmates had to remain locked up for too long. Ordinary criminals, such as rapists, were kept in the same cells as security suspects.

He said the ANC's national executive committee decided to overhaul the camp and plans had been drawn up for a modern camp, at which inmates could be separated according to alleged crimes.

However, these plans were never carried out because the ANC did not have the funds to build the new camp.

"In that light one cannot say that the delay in overhauling the camp was undue. But, it is true that many things would not have happened if we could build the new camp."

He said that immediately after he took charge in 1987, criminals were separated from political prisoners and the criminals were removed from Quatro.

Any death in the camps had to be reported to the ANC's secretary-general. If someone had died unnaturally, his death had been regarded as a criminal case, until proven otherwise.

If it was proven that any person was responsible for an unnatural death, the case had been handed over to the authorities of the local government.

"It was an iron rule that the ANC would not protect its members if they committed crimes."

He said the treatment of detainees had been a constant point of discussion within the ANC leadership.

Sewage works blamed for polluting river

MARIANNE MERTEN

GOVERNMENT is considering legal action against Johannesburg City Council's Northern Sewage Works for discharging high levels of chlorine into the Jukskei River.

The chemical — used in sewage purification plants as a disinfectant — was possibly related to the recent deaths of fish in the river, a Water Affairs Department statement said yesterday.

Water Affairs director of water quality management Sakkie van der Westhuizen said chlorine tests conducted on Friday had showed levels in excess of the Water

Act standards which applied to the Jukskei River. The test results would be sufficient scientific proof in court, if legal proceedings were initiated.

There was no direct link to the purification plant as the chlorine had been discharged over a sustained period.

Johannesburg City Council's deputy director water reclamation Tony Pitman said yesterday he was not convinced that the Northern Sewage Works' effluent had caused the deaths.

Quatro primitive, says ANC official

Star 19/5/93

(84A)

By Mokone Molete

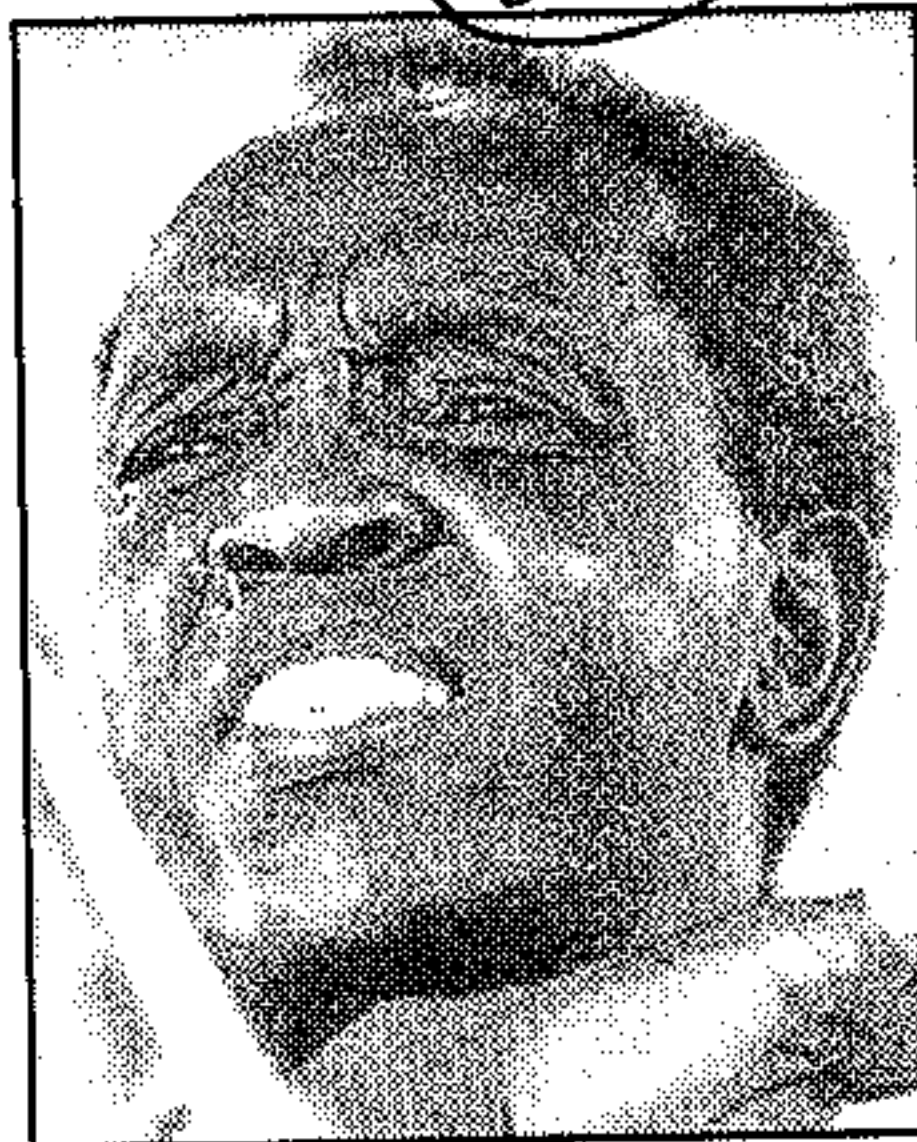
(AA)

The present head of ANC security, Joe Nhlanhla, demanded that the infamous Quatro camp in Angola be revamped before he accepted the post, a hearing into alleged ANC human rights abuses heard yesterday.

Nhlanhla told the ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry sitting at the FNB Stadium in Crown Mines, Johannesburg, that he was offered the position of head of security by then-ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He said he made it a condition of his appointment that the camp — cited in numerous reports as the centre of human rights abuses against ANC dissidents — be upgraded.

Asked what was wrong with the camp, he said: "The way it was built was primitive. The possibility of expansion was non-existent. We needed a big place to create facilities for recreation. It was created al-



Joe Nhlanhla . . . demanded that ANC camp be revamped.

most impromptu." (S)

Nhlanhla said reforms were then introduced. Among these was the right of inmates to demand medical care and generally to be able to air their complaints.

Earlier, his predecessor as head of security and intelligence, Mzwandile Piliso, said that apart from ventilation in the cells, there was nothing

wrong with the camp.

Asked whether he was aware of any list of ANC members who had disappeared, resigned from the organisation, died or were jailed, he replied: "The present department of security has that list, although it may not be comprehensive."

He said such a list was kept during his time as head of the security department.

On the abuse of prisoners, he said: "Such (behaviour) was not only a breach of my own words but of the policy of the ANC."

A mutiny in 1983 was quelled with the help of the Soviets and Angolans. "A number of lives were lost," Piliso said.

Despite taking responsibility as head of the department, he could not say how those arrested in connection with the mutiny were handled: "I was not there."

Asked whether there was anything he regretted during his tenure as head of the department, he said "no".

He said he could not recall anyone being beaten to death or being starved as punishment.

8 Apla suspects

held over killing

Star 20/5/93

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Police claim to have made a major breakthrough by arresting eight members of an Apla task force in connection with the killing of a farmer's wife near Tzaneen last month.

Another suspect and member of the group, named as Mbengeni Modau, was shot dead after the April 28 murder, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He said the arrests amounted to the biggest breakthrough in investigations since Apla's terror campaign began in earnest in December.

Trained

He said Modau, and a 17-year-old youth being held by police, were Apla members trained outside South Africa. Four others were members trained inside the country and three were PAC members "thought to have acted in concert with this unit".

The arrests follow the killing of Sandra Swanepoel (37) as she tried to save her husband from armed attackers on their smallholding at Let-sitele, near Tzaneen.

Police said at the time that Johannes Swanepoel had been confronted by two armed men at 6.15 am when he went to investigate why his dogs were barking. His wife subsequently fired a shot at the men and was then hit by a hail of bullets.

A variety of weapons have also been seized.

The eight men expected to appear in court in Tzaneen tomorrow are Donald Mukhawana (23), Khalifani Nukeri (40), Jameson Baloyi (41), Thomas Ngubeni (19), Luck Mhlongo (20), Moses Malesa (36), Mahumi Malatji (35) and the youth.

Last night a PAC spokesman could not confirm whether the men were members of Apla and said a statement would be issued later.

Spokesmen for Apla in Dar es Salaam could not be reached for comment last night.

Arrests link Apla to attacks

Weekly Mail Reporter

W/mant 2115 - 27/5/93
THE first evidence that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is behind the recent spate of armed attacks on whites may have emerged yesterday when police confirmed they had arrested eight members of the Pan Africanist Congress and its armed wing in connection with an attack on a farm near Tzaneen, in the northern Transvaal.

A farmer's wife, Sandra Swanepoel, was killed in the attack, which took place on a smallholding on April 28.

Apla's claims that it has been responsible for the armed campaign against whites, which began in King William's Town last December, have been questioned by the police as well as some of the liberation movements and the media, who have remained sceptical of Apla's ability to carry out military operations.

Police representative Captain Nina Barkhuizen said the arrests were the first to prove a link between Apla and the attacks on whites, and that most of Apla's past claims to have undertaken attacks had been proved false.

Among those arrested are the organiser of the Tzaneen branch of the PAC, Jameson Valoyi, and two other PAC members, Khalifani Mukhawana and Mahume Malaty.

The Ministry of Law and Order said the five others are Apla members, one of whom, a 17-year-old youth, received military training outside South Africa. The other four were trained inside the country.

Apla headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam was unable to confirm that the arrested men belonged to the organisation.

However, in a statement, the head of the PAC's information department, Waters Toboti, admitted that a man

shot dead after the attack was a PAC member. The statement said Fanuel Mudau "fell in the field performing his duties in Tzaneen".

The Ministry of Law and Order dismissed the PAC's claim that Mudau was killed in a military skirmish as "an attempt to glorify ... a cold-blooded murder of an innocent woman".

Barkhuizen said possible links between the unit arrested in the northern Transvaal and attacks in the eastern Cape, where most of the killings have occurred, are still being investigated.

●Police have confirmed the arrest of four Sebokeng residents in connection with the Eikenhof shootings in March this year. They include Paul Molokoane, Congress of South African Students chairman in the Vaal, and Umkhonto weSizwe member Ben Mavundlela.

e as armed suspect resists arrest

MK men held over killings

Sowetan 21/5/93

■ **ARMED FORCE** Arrests follow the deaths of
three people and injuring of two others

By Mzimasi Ngudle and Sapa

TWO MEMBERS OF Umkhonto weSizwe and two Sebokeng activists have been arrested in connection with the shootings at Eikenhof on March 19 in which three people were killed and two others injured. (SIFA) (NORTU)

Police spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Dave Bruce yesterday confirmed the arrests and said police had to use force when one of the men resisted arrest.

"One man in possession of a stolen 9mm pistol resisted arrest on Wednesday night. He sustained minor injuries when police used force," he said.

He said the other three were arrested yesterday morning.

The African National Congress said yesterday the four were Paul Malokoane, chairman of the Vaal branch of the Congress of South African Students, who is also a member of MK (ANC's military wing), MK member Moses Ramafikeng, Sebokeng activists Ben Mvundlela

and David Mohlahleng.

Reacting to the arrests, the ANC PWV region said: "We condemn the police behaviour in the arrest of the four activists and the methods of coercion employed in the arrests.

"We condemn any further assaults on the four and demand that they be treated as suspects until proven guilty in a court of law."

However, Colonel Bruce denied that police had used undue force as the ANC had alleged.

"No undue force was used but it must be realised that reasonable force must be used when a person resists lawful arrest," he said.

He said police were concerned that "once again an alleged member of the ANC is found in possession of an unlicensed firearm".

He said the four were arrested in connection with the shootings at a service station at Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, on March 19.

Two family members, Mrs Sandra Mitchley (35) and her son Shaun (14) died instantly, 13-year-old Clare Silberbauer died later in hospital.

Labour camps 'will do away with loafers'

BIDN 2115793

PRETORIA — Labour camps should be established to combat the menace posed by unemployed "loafers", says Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) president Dries Bruwer.

The TAU expects all areas where incidents of violence have occurred to be declared unrest areas, Bruwer says.

Curfews, in co-operation with the TAU's security committee, have to be introduced in rural regions, and undesirable elements removed from unrest areas.

Farmers throughout the Transvaal are demanding tougher security measures from the police and the SADF to counter violence. Current measures have clearly failed, he says.

Farmers expect government to act urgently on the security demands made at a farmers'

mass meeting in Potchefstroom earlier this month.

He warns that if appropriate action is not taken, the TAU will have to consider seriously further demands by farmers.

Earlier this week Free State farmers demonstrated outside some police stations, demanding curfews, searches in black townships for criminal elements and arms, road blocks on secondary roads and the establishment of control points at entrances to black townships.

Bruwer said the idea was that "loafers" be taught basic skills, learn something of the work ethic and be placed in a position to make a major contribution to the economy.

In this way youngsters would be diverted from a lifestyle of crime and idleness to a more normal and stable existence.

Bruwer said young blacks convicted of criminal offences could be sent to the camps. The camps could also be opened on a voluntary basis for youngsters who wanted to break loose from the grip of poverty and crime.

He said most black South Africans were sick and tired of violence, most of which was perpetrated by young people.

The country was flooded with illiterate and semilliterate youngsters, who were good for nothing but unskilled ditch-digging.

Young criminals grew up to become old criminals.

GERALD REILLY

Commission 'unprocedural'

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into alleged human rights violations in ANC camps may have to call back people who have already given evidence, says International Society for Human Rights spokesman Marc Gordon.

The commission, called by ANC president Nelson Mandela, heard the evidence of ANC members accused of violations before that of victims scheduled to testify.

When ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma was questioned on Tuesday, lead counsel for the defence Dullah Omar objected, saying it was "unprocedural" for an accused to answer to allegations not yet heard by the commission. *B/DAM 21/5/93*

Commission chairman Sam Motsuenyane could not be reached yesterday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC regarded the commission as independent and would not comment on the procedures.

The commission has collected 300 pages of affidavits from witnesses. However, these testimonies will not be heard or questioned until after the ANC leaders have been heard.

Gordon said all those who had already given evidence might have to be recalled to re-present evidence or to answer to allegations by former detainees who had not yet been heard.

"Given the situation in SA this may be difficult for the commission to achieve, despite being established on the personal authority of Mandela."

Jamile will not return to the government, says Buthelezi

B/DAM 21/5/93
RELEASED murderer and former KwaZulu deputy interior minister Samuel Jamile would not return to the KwaZulu government, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week.

Jamile and five others were released from prison on Monday in terms of the Further Indemnity Act. He was sentenced to life imprisonment two years ago for murder and attempted murder.

Reacting to statements by the ANC on the release of Jamile, Buthelezi said Inkatha remained silent when convicted criminals who were ANC members were indemnified.

"The ANC's leadership has perfected the use of double standards into an art. ANC criminals are always canonised as heroes."

The ANC said Jamile's release was a "cynical political manoeuvre" by government, which was trying to placate its constituency.

"The government does not seem to care at all that it is undermining the whole judicial process, and sends a message to the right-wing and third-force elements that they can proceed with criminal actions without fearing

DIRK VAN EEDEN

serious retribution," the ANC said.

Buthelezi said no evidence was heard in court to indicate that Jamile acted under the instruction of the Inkatha.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Buthelezi this week rejected multiparty control of SA's security forces and warned that KwaZulu would resist the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the army or police.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in his budget speech on Wednesday, he said the "initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected".

The KwaZulu government's demand for a federal SA included a regional security force.

Buthelezi said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to "enable them to incorporate Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SA Police and armed forces and to gain political control".

Mayor in bid to avert Cape taxi war

B/DAM 21/5/93
CAPE TOWN — Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde said yesterday he was working with the local peace committee and the Goldstone committee to try to avert a full-scale outbreak of the township taxi war again.

"We are trying to organise a meeting between the two groups within the next few days," he said.

Van der Velde said he had held a

Own Correspondent

meeting recently with one of the warring groups, the supporters of the so-called "Big Eight".

Members of the other faction, supporters of the Codeta taxi association executive, said earlier this week that most executive members were no longer sleeping at their homes for fear of attacks.

MK chiefs insist on TEC control of all armed forces

South 2215 - 26 15192

DESPITE reports to the contrary, the ANC has not changed its stance on multi-party control of the security forces, senior Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) leaders insist.

Recently, senior ANC negotiator Mr Mac Maharaj was quoted as saying the ANC would not insist that the sub-councils on defence have executive powers in the lead-up to elections, nor that it should have direct control over the South African Defence Force.

But Umkhonto weSizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and MK chief of staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda say the ANC's official policy has not changed since they reflected the organisation's viewpoint in Crossstalk on May 1.

The ANC's official policy remains that all armed formations should fall under the control of the sub-council on defence in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

"Of course you can't expect that all these forces will be controlled and we remain outside the process. We also have to subject ourselves to that control," Nyanda said.

"But this does not mean the dissolution of these forces. It means the sub-councils have authority over everything concerning these armed forces."

Modise said the ANC would not accept the government's position that the sub-council on defence set as an advisory body to the cabinet and defence ministers.

The ANC insists the TEC have the authority to implement decisions taken by the sub-council.

"The sub-council and the TEC have to have executive powers if they are to be effective. All the armed forces in the country must be accountable to the TEC," said Modise.

Nyanda said differences between the ANC and the government over this issue has resulted in this becoming one of the stickiest areas of the negotiation process.

"We want effective control over the SADF and all the armed forces in the country. The National Party is not yet ready to accede to that. That is where negotiations are at," he said.

"I am optimistic that it will be resolved because it is in the interest of everybody that there should be speedy progress in negotiations."

"The security apparatus has been the pet child of the regime, the instrument which they so fully used and manipulated against us, so it is very difficult for them to come to terms with the fact that they will have to shed exclusive control and ultimately lose control over the SADF and the security apparatus," Nyanda said.

"It is very difficult for the National Party regime to relinquish power and the SADF is one of their instruments of power."

"We appreciate that they are in difficulty. But there can't be progress without them resolving this question. They will have to come to terms with the fact that this will have to be done."



JOE MODISE

CROSSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55. SOUTH readers are welcome to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC camps probe goes to Tanzania

THE Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into torture in ANC camps outside SA travelled to Tanzania this weekend to investigate conditions in remaining camps.

A fortnight ago, the German-based International Society for Human Rights called on the commission to investigate existing ANC detention facilities in Tanzania and Uganda and to ensure the release of any prisoners still held. *SI Times 23/5/93*

The ANC says all prisoners have been freed. Testimony will be heard next week from victims of torture or the families of exiles who have "disappeared".

The ISHR also called on the commission to recommend that those who transgressed human rights should not be allowed to hold office in the ANC or a future government. ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ (S4A)

Last week, senior ANC officials told the commission the movement — though a signatory to the Geneva Convention — became paranoid because of spies in its ranks responsible for killings and bombings.

POLICE are investigating a series of telephonic death threats and attacks on livestock in what appears to be a well-orchestrated terror campaign against farmers throughout South Africa.

In the first four months of this year, 108 attacks on farms — which claimed 28 lives — were reported.

Now there is growing concern over the emergence of senseless attacks on farm animals, reminiscent of the campaign waged by the Mau Mau in Kenya against white farmers in the 60s.

National statistics for this type of attack are still being collated by the SAP, but the Eastern Transvaal — where 27 farmers were attacked between January and April — has been the hardest hit. On April 14, a cow on a farm near Boshhoek had her Achilles tendons slashed and was left helpless in the field.

Attacks

A fortnight later, on April 29, an Afrikaner cow was attacked with a panga on the Rooikop farm near Malelane. A chunk of flesh was hacked from her while she was still alive.

An SAP spokesman said this week scores of cattle had been slaughtered in similar attacks, mostly in the Malelane and Mac Mac areas.

The Eastern Cape — where nine farm attacks were reported between January and April — is also being targeted.

Mau-Mau style

terror campaign

Stiles 23/9/73

84A

FARMERS THREATENED AND LIVESTOCK MUTILATED

BY DE WET POTGIETER

There have been reports of livestock being hacked to death in the Cradock and Grahamstown areas, and two farmers were attacked in separate incidents this weekend.

Mr George Marais of the Retief farm near Uitenhage, was shot in the chest

by three men who demanded money from him while he was selling sheep in the veld at 8am yesterday.

On Friday night, three armed men opened fire on a Port Alfred farmer, Mr Andries van der Merwe, 59, of Grant's Valley, when he went to investigate a noise outside his house.

"There seems to be a

campaign of intimidation in most farming areas," said the SAP's Major Ruben Bloomburg.

"The attacks on the livestock have nothing to do with stock theft because in almost every instance, the animals are mutilated and then left to die without any meat being removed."

Telephone threats have been reported from as far

as the Eastern Transvaal, Free State, Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal.

Several smallholding owners at Estoire, outside Bloemfontein, have received calls since the beginning of May telling them they, or their families, will be killed.

Late last month, a Bethlehem farmer was told a

bomb had been placed in house.

Six people from De Wildt, outside Pretoria, have reported telephonic death threats to the police and 10 farmers in that area have had livestock killed or mutilated in recent weeks.

On May 17, a De Kroon farmer was told over the phone that Apla knew about him and would "get him". On the same day, a Putfontein farmer received both a telephonic and a written death threat.

Dozens of farmers in the East London and Stutterheim districts have also reported being threatened.

Police confirmed on Friday that the situation in rural areas throughout

ATTACKS: a pie chart showing the regional breakdown of the sometimes fatal slash attacks on farm animals

South Africa was tense.

"The situation is potentially explosive, and we have called on farmers now to take the law into their own hands," said Lieutenant-Colonel Ray Harald.

All reports of intimidation were being investigated, he said.

Magnus's daughter backs MK bomber

By JOCELYN MAKER

THE eldest daughter of one of South Africa's foremost securocrats believes an MK member jailed for his part in a bomb attack is one of the peacemakers who should lead the Afrikaner into the new South Africa.

But though Madelein Malan, 29, expressed her admiration publicly this week for MK's Tokyo Sexwale and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, she does not intend to join the ANC.

And her father — former SADF chief and Minister of Defence Magnus Malan — "has not disowned me", she says.

ST Times 23/5/93
Proud

Miss Malan — a lawyer who now runs an art gallery in Johannesburg — was prompted to state her views by anger with "right-wingers who have stereotyped the Afrikaners as a verkramppte, khaki-clad, backward people whose only desire is to isolate themselves in a volkstaat".

"These people are totally misrepresenting the Afrikaner. I'm an Afrikaner, too, and there are many of us, mostly young people like Wilhelm Verwoerd, who are proud to be Afrikaners but even more proud to be South Africans.

"We love our country and are here to stay to be part of it and all its people.



MADELEIN MALAN: 'People thought I was echoing my father' Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

"We want to lead constructive lives in a normal society, but fear is crippling South Africa and this is forcing many to join the right-wing," she says.

And, rather than entrenching the Afrikaner culture in the new South Africa, she believes "the right-wing leadership is destroying it".

"They claim to be fighting for a cause for a specific nation, but really it's nothing more than sentimentalism for an old order that keeps them together.

"I feel positive about the

changes in the country and its future. The right-wing does not have the copyright on Afrikaners. What we need is a change in the attitudes of people and an acceptance of each other."

Miss Malan says she has always been able to voice her political opinions within her family ranks.

"A lot of people have thought that when I said something I was echoing my father. That's never been true. He always encouraged open family debates," she says.

● See Page 22

Reading Press



Women in uniform

Suppl to C/Press 23/5/93

THE military frontline is usually reserved for men, but women too have served the ANC's army well. City Press spoke to a number of these brave women.

Jackie Molefe left the country in 1974 when she was 17. She was recruited for military training just after Nelson Mandela had been sentenced.

"I was very young," she said, "but I knew exactly what I was doing, although I did not know that I would be gone for such a long time."

Jackie's parents had been involved in the ANC since she was a child. She says: "I was always tormented by seeing my father insulted and searched by young white cops."

She left with a group of 10 men. When they reached Dar es Salaam in Tanzania she found that she was one of three women among 1 000 men. Later the number of women rose to 11.

She said: "Because of the ratio of men to women, bad feelings ran high and sometimes the men would insult us and call us names."

The leadership feared that women would cause confusion in the camps.

The women worked out a plan to make sure they could stay inside the movement.

"We had to work together to make sure that our presence in the army was not disruptive. With time attitudes changed and we began to gain the respect of our male comrades."

Jackie did extra training in communication. The women were fit and strong and they expected to be sent to SA for combat.

"Unfortunately women were mostly used in clerical jobs," she said.

However, in 1977 Jackie was approached by the late Moses Mabhida. He asked her to join the Revolutionary Council and head MK's communications department. She joined as the only woman.

"I am not ashamed to say that I used my department to uplift women. I helped establish the Ruth First Training Centre in one



A female platoon commander leads her men at a recent funeral of the camps in Angola.

In 1987 she became a member of the ANC NEC. She is still head of communications. "I think a future army needs a code of conduct in which sexism will be punishable," she said.

Ayanda Baku left SA in 1976. She was 19. She left the country to join MK because she saw no point in facing the boers with stones when they were shooting with guns".

When she got to the camp the men were helpful. Men were pleased to have the women around because it meant that the burden of the struggle was being shared.

What Ayanda found difficult about being a woman soldier was to postpone having children. In fact, even getting married was difficult because couples were bound by camp rules. They had to behave like everyone else. Sometimes marriages broke up because couples were often sent to different countries.

However, she found that there were good chances to develop. Even the illiterate were given a

chance to improve. Literacy classes were made compulsory.

Women began to take on jobs which used to be only for men. Women could be instructors or become part of combat missions.

Ayanda began putting together and reading the news in the camp and found herself working for Radio Freedom.

She is grateful for this experience which taught her how good she could be. She worked for Angola's Radio Nasionale for five years. Now back in SA, she is looking for an opportunity in broadcasting.

Dipuo Mvelase left home in 1983 at the age of 17. The hanging of ANC guerrillas was what eventually made her leave the country.

"I was shocked. I never really believed they would do it." Soon afterwards she, her boyfriend Vincent and another friend left the country for military training.

She later became a platoon commissar, an instructor in artillery and a political instructor.

She left Angola in 1986 and worked underground in Botswana for a while. She then entered SA at the beginning of 1989 to work with Operation Vula. She was arrested with others in 1990. They eventually received indemnity in 1991. Dipuo now works for the ANC's department for political education.

Daisy Fortune Chiloane was also 17 when she left home in 1978. She had been a pupil activist at Tlakula High School in KwaThema when she was arrested.

After a week in police cells where, she said "they beat us like hell," she was asked to turn state witness by the cops. She agreed even though she did not know who she was to give evidence against! She was released. She then left to join the ANC in exile.

Deep down inside she was furious and chose to train immediately.

In Angola, during cultural activities, it was discovered that she could sing. She was then chosen to join Amandla, the ANC's cultural troupe.

That was in 1980 and she stayed with the touring group for many years.

Daisy fell pregnant and had to leave the war zone in Angola to start a new life in Tanzania where comrades were able to raise children.

She is back with Amandla which intends touring the mines - for like the struggle, the show must go on.

DICTIONARY

- Recruited:** joined the army.
- Tormented:** suffered badly.
- Disruptive:** interrupt normal activity.
- Combat:** battle.
- Code of conduct:** rules for behaviour.
- Postpone:** cause to take place at a later time.
- Compulsory:** force to do something.
- Guerrillas:** people taking part in fighting.
- Indemnity:** legally freed.

C HESS 2315193

Police search for arms after tip-off

A PERSON claiming to be a member of the ANC was arrested, and three others escaped, when police discovered arms and ammunition during a Saturday dawn raid on a house in Soweto.

Police spokeswoman Maj Henrietta Bester said police went to a house in White City after a tip-off and found four men in the house who claimed they were ANC members. (SIA) ~~SECRET~~

Comrade Joe thrives in the lion's den

By DESMOND BLOW

THE recent plot against the life of SACP chairman Joe Slovo by alleged rightwingers was no surprise to him.

Comrade Joe or JS as he is affectionately known in the Party and the ANC, has lived with death threats ever since he went into exile in 1963 to organise Umkhonto weSizwe for the ANC.

In fact when the SADF raided Mozambique in search of MK cadres in 1981, the government triumphantly announced that Slovo had been blown up in the truck he was driving.

"But as you see they didn't succeed. It was a case of mistaken identity, and some poor Portuguese guy was killed," he told

City Press this week.

For 27 years in exile Slovo was constantly on the alert for would-be assassins.

"Fortunately we had good intelligence information and I was often warned to change my address or to vary my routes when travelling."

However, the most traumatic experience JS had with death was when his wife, Ruth First, was murdered by a parcel bomb in 1982 at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo.

JS was loathe to discuss Ruth's death this week.

"It is difficult to talk about," he said, "but Ruth's murder was very wounding. My primary emotion was one of hurt and anger because she was not involved in any military activity but was a lecturer at the university."

"But you can't act politically with revenge or bitterness. We've got objectives and we've got to move ahead in an effective way. You can't move ahead if all that motivates you is emotion and feelings of revenge."

Although it was too painful for Slovo to recount Ruth's death, he did describe it in a foreword to the reissue of Ruth's book *117 Days*, her touching and dramatic account of her 117 days in solitary detention at the hands of the Security Police.

In the foreword Slovo wrote that when he arrived at the university where Ruth was killed "The overwhelming urge to remember her life paralysed me at the entrance to her devastated office. She lay hidden by the remnants of her desk, only her feet were visible, clad in one of her stylish beige-coloured pairs

of shoes."

Slovo says although he does not seek revenge he believes it is necessary to uncover the truth about all the tortures and murders committed by the security forces.

"I think it is most important that we have a truth commission because it is vital that if there is going to be forgiveness there must be full exposure and some kind of acknowledgement by those involved."

He is still adamant that the police did not warn him of the alleged plot to shoot him outside his home in Observatory, Johannesburg, from a tower about 500 metres away.

The alleged mastermind has since been arrested.

For decades the Security Branch alleged Slovo was a colonel in the KGB, the Russian

secret police, and he was portrayed to white South Africans as Public Enemy No. 1.

Because of his banning order no SA publication could publish any denial by Slovo, but he was able to deny these allegations this week.

"It was a lot of rubbish - a typical misinformation slander against the opposition to say they're members of Moscow security."

Slovo believes there is now a greater threat against him and other ANC and SACP leaders than when they were in exile "because we are now in the lion's den."

"When we were in exile the main plotters against us were the security forces, now there are all kinds of people engaged in third force activity who want the talks to fail and the best way they can

do this is to cause turmoil and violence."

It is not generally known that Joe Slovo had very little schooling. He immigrated to SA from Lithuania with his parents when he was eight, and was forced to leave school after Std 6 when he was 15 because he had to help support his poor family.

Despite the failure of communism in Eastern Europe Slovo remains convinced that genuine socialism - as long as it is multi-party - is the policy for the future and that poverty will be overcome and the gap between rich and poor will be narrowed.

Slovo said it was difficult to tell if he would have become a communist if he had lived in another country and not known the plight of blacks in SA.

"Every person moves towards a certain ideology through per-

sonal experience, and all personal experiences are not the same.

"My experiences were in South Africa. I was a clerk in a factory after I left school in 1941. I was a trade unionist and a shop steward and joined the Communist Party. I was personally involved in a number of strikes and we achieved enormous improvements as a result of collective action as white workers, and it struck me increasingly that it was unfair that the blacks who stood by us in our strike action were not allowed to be members of our union and could not benefit from the strikes.

Because of his union activities Slovo was fired from his job. When he was fired from his second job for the same reason he joined the SA army to fight fascism.

He saw action in Egypt and Italy and when he returned, he was given exemption from matric because he had served in the army and was allowed to go to university where he studied law and despite his lack of schooling he was awarded the prize as the best law student in his final year.

Had Slovo not fought for his ideals and been content to remain a lawyer in SA he would have been very wealthy today.

"I was in exile for 27 years and I earned no money. While I was in London for 10 years I was paid a monthly allowance but for the 17 years I was in Angola, Zambia and Mozambique I was not paid. None of us were paid. We were supplied with certain basic necessities like food, accommodation and cigarettes - that is all."

5/92
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(84A)

Star 24/5/93
**Farmers 'are
legitimate
targets'**

Crime Reporter



A senior PAC official said in Venda on Saturday that farmers were legitimate targets for the organisation's military wing, prompting angry responses from Transvaal farmers and the Government. (SUF)

According to Sapa, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nematzivhanani made the statement during an address to mourners in Vuwani at the funeral for slain Azanian People's Liberation Army member Mbengeni Fanual Mudau.

Mudau was shot dead by security forces near Tzaneen on April 28, after allegations that an Apla unit was linked to the recent death of a farmer's wife.

"We will always be after the farmers who have so illegally occupied our land and it will serve them right until they pressurise De Klerk for the total liberation of Azania," Nematzivhanani said. (SUF)

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday denounced the statements as "utterly provocative".

"It is comments like these which emphasise the findings of the Goldstone Commission on Apla activities and justify steps the Government has taken against terrorism such as that emanating from Apla elements based in Transkei," said Kotze.

Such statements also justified the security forces taking the "strictest possible steps against organisations like Apla".

Transvaal Agricultural Union deputy manager Jan Human said farmers did not want to take the law into their own hands but would have no choice if the Government did not protect farmers.

Farmers had not taken anyone's land. "We bought it and there is no question of us taking it from anyone," he said.

Govt, MK to
Star 24/5/93
discuss new

defence force

Senior officers of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SADF are scheduled to meet today for further discussions on a new defence force, according to MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda.

The two delegations met for the first time three weeks ago.

Nyanda said the agenda included "army-related matters" and the role of the SADF in the run-up to the elections for an interim government.

However, the issue of a new defence force remains unresolved at the negotiating table.

In terms of a broad ANC-Government agreement, a sub-council of the transitional executive council on security forces will be appointed.

— Political Correspondent.

Livestock maimed in terror blitz

Star 24/5/73

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Cattle and other livestock on farms across the country have been maimed in recent weeks as terror gangs slash animals in a campaign of terror and intimidation against farmers.

Thirty-five farmers have already been killed by gangs — believed by security forces to be part of the Azanian People's Liberation Army — so far this year.

Round-the-clock protection for farmers and their animals has now been introduced in many areas and farmers have mobilised in some parts of the platteland to protect property.

The attacks on animals have been confirmed by the police and Transvaal and Free State agricultural authorities.

Between January and May 21, farmers or members of their families were killed in 122 attacks on homesteads. Five died in January, eight in February, four in March, 11 in April and four so far this month.

Most attacks in country areas have been in the eastern Transvaal (33), and on the Witwatersrand (20), northern Transvaal (14), far northern Transvaal (13), Free State (12), western Transvaal (11), eastern Cape (10), Natal (4) and western Cape (5).

Angry farmers have asked for curfews to be imposed and for additional security manpower to be allocated for protection.

Police Commissioner General

Johan van der Merwe said police had for some time "been busy with comprehensive steps to improve the security of those living on farms and smallholdings and who are regarded as being particularly vulnerable."

"Policemen will be placed on the farms of the elderly," he said.

It was revealed yesterday that a tactic of the terror gangs involved in attacks on animals — similar to Operation Mau Mau, which was embarked on in Kenya before independence — has been either to kill animals or maim them so badly that they have to be destroyed.

In addition, farmers in the eastern Cape, Free State and western Transvaal have told police of "death-threat telephone calls and letters", the perpetrators warning that harm could come to families and friends if farmers did not leave the lands.

The terror campaign on both farmers and their livestock got under way in earnest earlier this year, coinciding with an Apla decision to shift its campaign from "soft" targets to hit-and-run attacks on security forces and "hard" targets, according to intelligence sources.

Apla — which is mainly operational in the eastern Cape, PWV and parts of the Free State — has apparently also embarked on a major recruitment drive. It is believed that youth members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, have deserted to join Apla without the knowledge of the ANC executive.

PAC warns of more attacks on farmers

Sowetan 24/5/93

■ 'We will always be after the farmers' -- Nemadzivhanani:

FARMERS were a legitimate target for Apla forces, the national organiser of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said at a funeral for a slain Apla member in Venda on Saturday. (SIFA)

"We will always be after the farmers who have so illegally occupied our land and it will serve them right until they pressurise (State President FW) de Klerk for the total liberation of Azania," Nemadzivhanani said. (SIFA)

He was speaking at the funeral of former Apla member Mr Mbengeni Fanual Mudau at Masakona village in the Venda district of Vuwani, 65km east of Louis Trichardt.

Mudau was shot dead by security forces on April 28 near Tzaneen, following allegations that an Apla unit was linked to the recent death of a farmer's wife at Litsitele. (SIFA)

PAC first deputy-president Mr Johnson Mlamho said the role of the armed struggle was to fight for the land and for the liberty of the African people. — Sapa.

Peace corps pros and cons

Star 24/5/93

84A

THE idea of a national peacekeeping force, initially scoffed at in some circles for being unrealistic, has begun to move to centre stage in the debate to reconstruct South African society.

Such a force is being strongly punted as the most effective way to deal with violence in the run-up to elections, aside from its potential to help absorb marginalised township youth and to redefine their role as assistants in socio-economic renewal.

Although still in the discussion phase, the principle of creating community-based peacekeeping structures to operate during and after the elections has been widely accepted as an initiative which should be realised soon.

However, divisions have emerged around the structure and precise functions of the mooted "peace corps" or "joint peacekeeping unit".

The assassinated SACP general secretary Chris Hani had envisaged township self-defence units being converted into "peace corps".

The Rev Stanley Mogoba, presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, gave a clearer definition of the idea last November when he proposed a Joint Peacekeeping Unit of about 5 000, made up of the SAP, SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and homelands security forces.

Existing police and military forces would each second personnel to the Joint Peacekeeping Unit.

The unit would be under an agreed, experienced international command provided by either the United Nations or the



HELEN GRANGE

84A

Commonwealth, or both, and would be accountable to a specially created element in the National Peace Accord structures, Mogoba suggested.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise has made a similar proposal to the ANC. He has suggested the formation of a combined armed force of about 5 000 "peace soldiers" to deal with violence during the elections phase.

The ANC is currently considering this and other proposals arising from discussions with other parties and organisations.

Although the Government has undertaken to discuss the joint peacekeeping proposal in one of the negotiations' technical committees, the idea has been all but shot down by the police.

Commented Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze: "In the interests of peace, we are prepared to cooperate with any organisation, as long as they act within the law.

"However, certain security functions must remain firmly within the ranks of the SAP and SADF. To shift the focal points of security away from these bodies would be dangerous and confusing."

Meanwhile, a working committee involving the SAP and

There has been a great deal of discussion on a plan for a national peacekeeping force. But what does it entail and where do the various parties stand?

84A



Bishop Mogoba . . . spelt it out more clearly.

ANC Alliance has been formed at the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat to address the issue, and sources are optimistic that agreement will finally be reached on the Joint Peacekeeping Unit's shape and mandate.

Among supporters of a joint armed unit is Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin, who has argued that such a unit could be controlled through constitutional rules, subjecting it to strict lines of command and a code of conduct.

"It would also be in the interests of the police for the unit to shoulder the responsibility for dealing with confrontation situations, instead of the police al-

ways being singularly discredited for their actions," said Currin.

The international community would also play an important role in the monitoring the unit's behaviour, he added.

Professor Mike Hough of the University of Pretoria's Strategic Studies department disagrees.

"The cost and time involved in training a joint security or riot unit would make it totally unviable," he said.

"There is no time before the elections to form such a unit. That's aside from the political ramifications it would have."

Despite the divisions over security functions of a peacekeeping force, there is a lot of consideration being given to the other roles it could play.

One idea is to structure such a force along similar lines as the innovative international Peace Corps launched by President Kennedy in 1961.

A South African version of such a group would be used to provide socio-economic support to disadvantaged communities.

Said Currin: "Young people could be trained to provide, say, paralegal and paramedic services to communities.

"They could help to upgrade communities through providing water and teaching basic agricultural skills. There would also be a need for trained mediators."

Recommendations on the shape and mandate of a national peacekeeping force are currently being made to the Goldstone Commission, which is holding an inquiry into ways and means of curbing the potential for public violence and intimidation during elections. □

Torture 'at ANC camps'

Sawyer 25/5/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ Ex-MK man locked in dark cell for eight days - claim:

A SENIOR member of Umkhonto we Sizwe told the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry in Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC had punished its members for refusing to fight against Unita in Angola. (SIA) (SIA)

Mr Martin Phiri, a former MK commander and political commissar, was testifying before the first public hearing into violations of human rights allegedly committed by ANC members against the 11 prisoners in exile.

Phiri was cross-examined by defence counsel Mr Seraj Desai. (SIA)

He told the commission he was held at Quatro camp between 1984 and 1988 and released after the late Mr Oliver Tambo had visited the detention camp.

He said members of the ANC's security forces, including Lawrence (ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's bodyguard), acted as prison warders and locked them in dark cells without blankets. Phiri said they were not allowed to

leave the cells for eight days.

He said they were forced to lie on their stomachs while the warders whipped them with electric cords.

"People who had been arrested for smuggling diamonds and such things were treated better than us," Phiri said.

The organisation's leadership, including army commander Mr Andrew Masondo, Mr Joe Modise and the late Mr Chris Hani, knew about their detention but did nothing about it, he said.

100

Sowetan 25/5/93
Magistrates on strike

STRIKING magistrates and prosecutors in the Transkei yesterday said they would resume their duties only after they had been assured they would be paid the same salaries as their South African counterparts.

Magistrates and prosecutors in 28 Transkei districts have been on strike since May 18 demanding that the homeland government set aside R3 million for salary adjustments.

Blast rocks East London *84A*

A LIMPET mine exploded in a busy East London street at peak hour yesterday afternoon.

Eastern Cape police spokesman Captain Eben Nel said no one was injured in the 4.20pm blast.

He said two vehicles were damaged and windows in the nearby court building were shattered.

Explosives experts said the device used was a mini-limpet mine which police believed had been placed under a parked car in Buffalo Street, directly opposite the court building.

— *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

PHOTO



Star 26/5/93

Blast: peace chief critical

Own Correspondent

KIMBERLEY — Advocate Jeanne Nel, Kimberley's new regional manager and peace co-ordinator of the northern Cape, who sustained extensive head injuries in the Kimberley grenade explosion yesterday afternoon, was transferred to Bloemfontein for emergency treatment late last night.

The blast outside the Bophuthatswana consulate killed a Cosas member and injured another 50 other people, including a United Nations peace monitor.

The dead man has not been identified. UN peace observer Adrianos Cassandra is in a satisfactory condition in Kimberley Hospital.

The list of injured includes children as young as 11, members of the ANC executive committee, the Kimberley Civics Association, ANC Youth League, South African Council of Churches and two local ministers.

The Russian F1 hand grenade was thrown into the midst of an ANCYL protest



Sprinting to help . . . policemen run to the scene of the Kimberley grenade explosion.

(84A) at the consulate soon after 1 pm.

The ANC yesterday condemned the grenade blast as a well planned and calculated attack, accusing the police of complicity and of opening fire on the victims.

ANC spokesman Pakes Dikgetsi said: "It is obvious that the assailant threw the grenade with precision and skill after which he skilfully disappeared in front of the

police."

He accused the police of firing live ammunition and birdshot at the injured and fleeing victims and of arresting more than 20 others.

Police in Kimberley were not available last night to comment on this allegation.

Police said the grenade was thrown by a black man at the edge of the 300-strong crowd. The ANC said a white man threw it.

Man killed in explosion

Sawetam 2/15/93

A

1 A PERSON was killed and several others injured when a handgrenade exploded outside a Trust Bank branch in George Street, Kimberley, yesterday afternoon. (84A)

2 Police said the explosion occurred when ANC Youth League members marched to the building to hand over a memorandum to the Bophuthatswana consul, the Department of Education and Culture and the South African Police. (2075)

3 Police said it is suspected the grenade was thrown at the building from within the crowd soon after Major Stoffel Uys

■ ANC, ANC Youth League condemn attack:

had received the memorandum.

It hit a security guard in the face and then exploded on the pavement just outside the building, causing damage estimated at R10 000. No arrests have been made.

Northern Cape Commissioner Brigadier CA Engelbrecht said police would spare no efforts in tracking down the perpetrators. The ANC and the ANC Youth League have condemned the attack. - Sapa.

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

'Holomisa tied to Apla hit squad'

Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa is, say military intelligence sources, directly involved in the infiltration into South Africa 17 days ago of a nine-man Apla and Transkei Defence Force (TDF) unit.

Codenamed "Operation Trench", the action is said to be aimed at "killing whites" in the northern Natal region. Included in the operation

— which, claim the sources, is a joint TDF-Umkhonto we Sizwe-Apla project based in Port St Johns — is a plan to assassinate a top South African official in Transkei. The official's name has been given to The Star. ~~Star~~ The Star possesses a document outlining the plan. Holomisa is attending

meetings in Namibia and was not available for comment yesterday. Officials at a seminar in Windhoek said he had been present during the morning but had left for other appointments. ~~Star~~ Meanwhile, it is understood South African forces have launched a hunt for the

Apla unit, which is thought to be in the Natal Midlands. Sources told The Star Holomisa had allegedly told a private meeting with 14 other people at a hotel in Umtata on May 12 that the Apla unit had two days earlier left Port St Johns en route to Natal. It was allegedly to receive weapons

from sympathisers. The secret project also provided for the replacement of South African instructors seconded to the TDF's Special Forces parachute wing with experts from Tanzania. The choice of Tanzania, where Apla had its headquarters until recently, follows a visit to Transkei

earlier this year by leading Apla officials. Holomisa earlier this year promised to set up an inquiry to investigate allegations of Apla involvement in the Transkei and TDF, but withdrew the decision on April 13 when he said it would not be far-fetched to conclude that the murder of SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani had been "hatched in the offices of the SADF's Military Intelligence covert activities".

Star 27/5/73

3 let off

after MK

Star 21/5/92 slaying

By Abdul Milazi

A Johannesburg magistrate yesterday found three policemen not criminally responsible for the killing of an Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre and his girlfriend during a police raid in Soweto a year ago.

Itumeleng Padi and Nokuzola Ncalo were shot dead during a pre-dawn raid by Captain Herman Havenga, Warrant-Officer Marthinus Johannes Schoeman and Warrant-Officer Daniel Knoetze on May 19 1991.

Magistrate Willem Botha said the three policemen could not be held "criminally responsible" for the death of the couple because they were acting in "an emergency situation".

Burst in

Knoetze and Havenga claimed that they shot the couple because they believed Padi was about to attack them with a hand grenade.

However, Schoeman said that he did not see a hand grenade.

Havenga, who was commanding the unit during the raid, earlier described to Botha how he and his men had burst into a room in Phiri, Soweto, where they believed 21-year-old Padi, who had escaped from the Johannesburg prison the previous November, was hiding.

He knocked on the door and identified himself. The door was unlocked and on entering, he found Padi sitting on a bed pulling at the pin of a hand grenade.

He shouted "hand grenade" and fired from his R-5 assault rifle, Schoeman entered and also fired his R-1 rifle and Knoetze then entered and fired at Ncalo and Padi.

White tablecloths and dark pasts

Weekend 21/5 - 27/5/93.

There was gravity, dignity, confession and contradiction at the inquiry into ANC camps abuses this week

By **STEPHEN LAUFER**
and **Weekly Mail Reporters**

THIS is to be the commission to end all commissions, the searching inquiry designed to lay ghosts to rest and to silence critics left and right: the Motsuenyane Commission into abuses at the African National Congress' detention camps in exile.

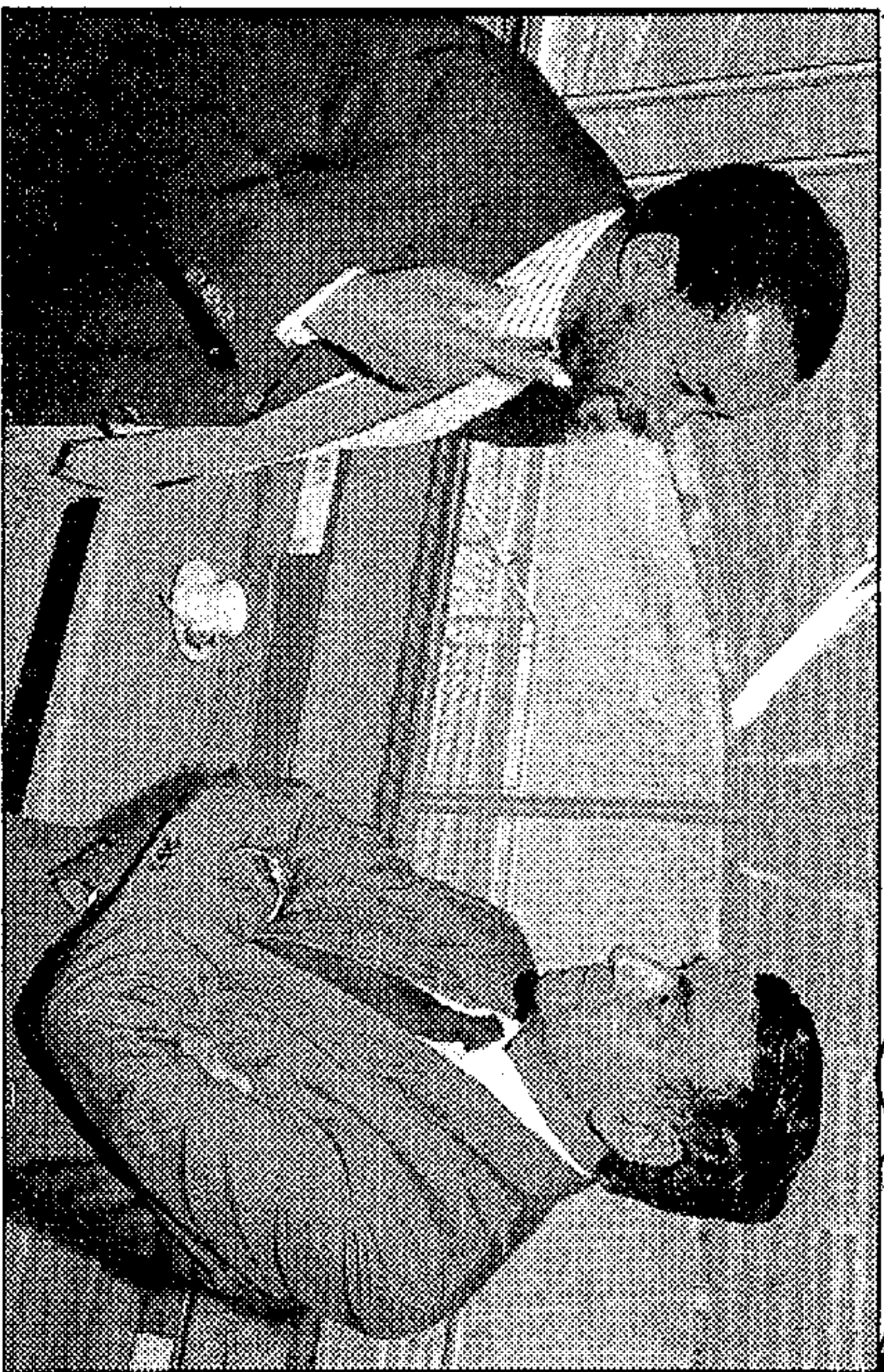
After two earlier probes and reports by Amnesty International and other groups, it is a commission chosen to restore confidence.

But behind valiant attempts at gravity and a serious search for the truth lurks the distinct possibility that the commission's proceedings will become a caricature, a comedy of manners, errors and omissions.

Presiding is Sam Motsuenyane, grey-haired doyen of black commerce in South Africa. A man of stature, buttoned into a dark suit and a navy blue cardigan. A man who undoubtedly knows commercial law backwards.

To his right, a balding barrister with a nice line in incisive questioning: David Zamchuya, of the Harare bar. And to his left, Margaret Burnham, a former Boston judge and anti-apartheid activist of long standing who now teaches constitutional law at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and argues civil rights cases in the courts.

The clerk of the commission calls on all present to rise. It's a nice touch, lending gravity to the proceedings. But why has he got an American accent? And why does his suit look as though it came from Barney's in New York, rather than



Tea break ... Pallo Jordan and Dullah Omar share a breather

Photo: **LUANNE CADD**

Deans in the Carlton Centre? And where did he get those Harvard law school spectacles?

Probably on Harvard Square. Because he's a young American lawyer along for the ride with Burnham. Just making himself useful.

The site of the commission's hearings brings a chill to those old enough to remember Salvador Allende's overthrow in Chile. Didn't Pinochet have his opponents detained and maimed in Santiago's soccer arena?

But the connotations of holding this inquiry in the FNB stadium seem to have passed everyone by. Besides, the ANC doesn't have access to oak-panelled courtrooms. Yet.

So white ruffled tablecloths will have to do, the kind you see at functions catered for at the

Transvaal Automobile Club. And a 30cm platform so that the commissioners are enthroned above the proceedings. Just a bit.

But sitting on the Barmitzvah chairs at the back of the room, those plush, steel-tube straight-backs, it's difficult for observers to conjure up the sense of awe normally associated with a judicial inquiry into allegations of so grave a nature.

Especially when Pallo Jordan, one-time ANC security detainee and of late "secretary of information", as he puts it, is called to give evidence. Jordan seems to have sensed that the situation calls for some acknowledgement of its dignity, because he is uncharacteristically not wearing jeans, but trousers with a crease.

training in the GDR.

"The German Democratic Republic," replies

Phiri patiently.

Phiri explains the hardships of life in the Fazen-

da and Pango camps and the circumstances which

led to him being accused of leading a mutiny.

Earlier in the week, the panel and their counsel

made valiant efforts to get at the "nitty gritty" of

the case.

"Which methods were used to obtain informa-

tion from agents?" asked Maleka.

"They were interviewed," replied Mzwandile

Piliso, who headed ANC security during the per-

iod in which detainees were tortured and held

without trial.

Pressed, he admitted that "during the 1981

attempted overthrow of the leadership, people

were manhandled to get information". And peo-

ple were held at Quatro for long periods before

trial, "because of pressure of work on the tri-

bunals".

"But did assaults take place?" insisted Maleka.

"I will not say it did not happen," responded Pil-

iso.

Like most called to testify, Piliso sought to

place abuses in the context of a war situation:

"The rules and regulations were those applicable

in war time. The ANC was heavily infiltrated by

South African agents."

And he recalled former police minister Jimmy

Kruger bragging that "of every 10 who cross the

borders to join the ANC, five are mine". The boast

was not idle. Jordan reminded the panel of blood-

ily effective air and commando strikes by the

South African Defence Force as a result of intelli-

gence gathered by infiltrators.

There were contradictions: despite the close

relationships between much of the ANC's leader-

ship, these weren't witnesses who had agreed on

their line in advance.

And there was a confession — of sorts: "I con-

fess I was the man at the head," said Piliso. "Noth-

ing was done wrong. I stand here, and if anyone is

responsible, then it is me."

But it was perhaps the ANC's chief communi-

cator, Jordan, who put most effort into striking the

right note this week. Critically, he noted that there

had been a lack of vigilance by the ANC leader-

ship, and that too much power had been devolved

to the security apparatus.

And besides a biblical touch — when he said

"being charitable, one assumes that those respon-

sible acted in good faith, which is why we must

punish the sin and not the sinner" — Jordan said

there were important lessons to be learnt from

Quatro.

"Our discussion of a Bill of Rights can be

traced back to the events under scrutiny here," he

noted.

Critics of the proceedings have stated that the

commission seems to be working backwards,

because it is hearing the ANC leadership first and

then will listen to the accusers and victims.

Not a problem, says the chairman: "As long as

we have heard all sides by the end of our inquiry,

we will be able to make balanced findings. That's

it's back to the ANC to consider sanctions. That's

not within our brief."

But he has difficulty keeping it up. On his way

in, he refers to "the sweet smell". It's unclear

whether he means the stenographer's perfume, or

the commission itself.

Jordan — like so many members of the ANC

leadership called before the panel — swings

between earnest reflection on the wrongs com-

mitted in places like the Quatro camp, and elo-

quent explanations of the circumstances which

led to the "aberrations", as he calls them.

Aberrations: a wonderfully expressive word

which puts it all in a nutshell, agree Jordan and

Dullah Omar, the ANC's legal representative at

the proceedings during one of Motsuenyane's

punctual tea breaks.

Vincent Maleka is a rising young advocate in a

well-fitting suit who unconsciously shows his

youth by insisting on sporting a university tie. He

has been chosen to lead evidence on behalf of the

commission at the recommendation of senior bar-

risters in Johannesburg.

His approach is measured, calm and not with-

out a certain dignity. Perhaps it's the fixed gaze

through the tinted window towards Soweto while

formulating his questions which allows Maleka to

balance and temper his demeanour.

He is determined to put all the facts before the

commission. "What is that?" he asks Norman

Phiri, ex-ANC detainee, when he refers to his

↳

Hostel residents seek peace plans

WILSON ZWAN

REPRESENTATIVES of hostel residents are seeking an urgent meeting with the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) to find solutions to the spiralling violence on the East Rand.

Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joseph Kubheka said yesterday his organisation was "extremely concerned" about the situation in Kaitshong and Thokoza.

Kubheka said it was "sad" that hostel residents, who were often implicated in incidents of township violence, were "always excluded from peace initiatives".

He said it seemed that the peace initiatives were the preserve of political organisations.

Because there appeared to be tension between hostel and township residents, Sanco and his organisation should get together and "jointly work out strategies" to stem violence and renew the culture of co-existence, he said.

He emphasised that his organisation was not pro-Inkatha and that many of its members were apolitical.

"It is sad that the conflict between hostel and township residents is perceived in many quarters as a power struggle between the ANC and Inkatha," he said.

Kubheka said his organisation would ask to meet Sanco this week.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said any initiative intended to stem violence was to be welcomed.

"We are willing to meet the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association," he said.

Campaign targets illegal weapons

8/09/93 27/5/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — A major publicity campaign warning the public to hand in illegal weapons within 60 days would be launched on Monday, the police said yesterday.

The multimillion-rand campaign would coincide with the promulgation of the 1993 Arms and Ammunition Act, police spokesman Gen Leon Mellet said.

The Act gives the public 60 days to hand in weapons classified illegal — including AK-47s, machine pistols, hand grenades, rockets and explosive devices — falling which offenders face a minimum sentence of five years in jail.

"At the end of this 60 day amnesty period, nobody will be able to stand up and say 'I didn't know'," he said.

The campaign would include the printing and distribution of 8-million stickers, posters and advertisements warning that the possession of illegal weapons could lead to a 25-year prison sentence (maximum) as well as "community and family rejection".

Supplying a toll free number and guarantees of secrecy, the stickers state that up to R6 000 would be paid for valuable information leading to the recovery of specified weapons.

The publicity material and stickers would be distributed through government offices.

"It will cost a lot, up to R260 000 for the stickers alone, but everybody must know," a police spokesman said.

The ubiquity of the AK-47 in SA and its use in bank robberies, theft, rape and political rivalry was "one of the biggest crises ever to have hit this country", Mellet said.

Between June 1992 and May 1993, 532 people were killed and 549 injured by AK-47s, a police statement said.

A total of 1 469 people had been arrested this year for the possession of AK-47s and other illegal weapons including R1 rifles, sub-machine guns, mortars, land mines, hand grenades and explosives.

The statement said neighbouring countries were the main source of illegal weapons in SA.

It estimated that more than 1,5-million AK-47s were unaccounted for in Mozambique alone.

Mellet denied the legislation had any political motive, adding that even police officers found in possession of illegal weapons would be forced to spend at least five years in prison. "There is no political consideration, this is aimed at crime."

But ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the Act would have no legitimacy "as long as it is seen to be aimed at black people while leaving white people armed".

The Act addressed itself to the possession of illegal weapons rather than the cause, Mamoepa said, giving the police little discretion in the face of the five-year minimum sentence.



ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba yesterday addressed students at Wits University. Students were protesting against a Rand Supreme Court interdict restraining them from disrupting activities on the campus during mass action. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Wits court interdict angers students

KATHRYN STRACHAN

WITS University had declared war on its students by seeking a court interdict earlier this week preventing students from disrupting classes during their mass action campaign, the SA Students Congress (Sasco) said yesterday.

Students yesterday gathered at a meeting on the campus, addressed by ANCY Youth League president Peter Mokaba, to protest against the move and against SA's disintegrating education system.

The action was aimed at addressing the "unrepresentative" nature of the Wits Council, the exclusion of disadvantaged

students as a result of the bursary funding crisis and the closure of campuses in Bophuthatswana. Sasco claimed Wits had also failed to address the "realities of the SA situation".

However, vice-chancellor Robert Charlton stressed that the university upheld the right to peaceful protest. But disruptive action which "infringed on the rights of others was not peaceful protest. He said defiance of the interdict would lead to prosecution."

gator... (AAU) and (AU) ...

HERE are times in life where one has to make decisions, but the one Umkhonto weSizwe member Diliza Mthembu had to make was the most difficult in his life.

He allegedly had to decide whether he was going to accept *umchina* (a gambling game), as re-entering South Africa to carry out a mission was known in African National Congress circles.

His mission? To kill his father. Why? Because his father was suspected of being an agent of the South African government.

Mthembu told his extraordinary story to the commission of inquiry investigating abuses in the ANC's detention camps in exile. In a subsequent interview with *The Weekly Mail*, he provided further background.

His father, Patrick Mthembu, had been an active member of the ANC in the late 1950s and early 1960s and had gone to China for military training. But on his return, with the Rivonia trial in progress and the government clamping down on the liberation movements, he appeared to drift from politics into a "normal" life.

During the 1976 student uprisings, while internal leaders of the ANC were being rounded up and arrested, Mthembu senior was left alone. But his son took up the cause and left the country to join the ANC in exile, where he began training as an MK soldier.

Mthembu senior remained in political oblivion until he emerged as a state witness in the case

'Kill your father,' MK man was told

Almost 28½ - 3½ years.
A strange and horrifying tale of torture and an MK man's instructions to kill his father unfolds at the African National Congress' inquiry into the organisation's detention camps. By MDJUDUZI HARVEY

of the "Pretoria 12" in the late 1970s, where members of the external wing of the MK were tried and sentenced for acts of sabotage. Later his name was mentioned on Radio Freedom as a suspected enemy agent who had infiltrated the ANC. Such people should pay for their activities, the broadcast said.

Mthembu began to hear rumours in the camps that his father was a spy. He says that while training in Katanga, Angola, in 1977, Mzwandile Piliso, head of ANC intelligence, told people at the camp that his father and others had sold out and such people were jeopardising the ANC.

Mthembu alleges that while he was in Kibashi in 1978, he was approached by Piliso, who asked him to enter the country on a mission to kill his father. He refused. Two weeks later he heard that his father had been killed.

Diliza's evidence to the commission went on

to reveal some of his experiences at the hands of the ANC security forces at Vienna and Quatro camps and the Luanda Central Prison.

He claims that, at Vienna in 1984, he was locked up for about a month in a metal freight container which had no ventilation or windows. His "cell" was always dark and he could not tell whether it was night or day. No provision for blankets was made and on some occasions he was deprived of food.

He developed an asthmatic condition because of the extremes of temperature he experienced in the cell.

He was again imprisoned in 1984 in connection with a mutiny at Vienna and sent to Luanda Central Prison. Thirty-two members of the ANC were arrested by the Angolan armed forces in the company of MK commander Joe Modise and camp commissar Andrew Masondo.

He said the Angolans had been told they were counter-revolutionaries who wanted to overthrow the Angolan government and ANC leadership. During their incarceration he claims to have been interrogated by ANC security who made the prisoners squat on their toes for hours and beat them with electric wires. At no point was he told why he had been arrested, nor was he given an opportunity to present his case, he said.

In 1985, he was transferred to Quatro where, on arrival, he was given a "lice-infested uniform" and put into a communal cell with 14 other prisoners. During his first year at the camp he said he had only been allowed out of his cell once a week for 30 minutes. Asked why he did not complain, he said: "From experience I knew this was hell."

His health had deteriorated but, because he feared being beaten by the medical staff, he had kept quiet.

"They would force us to lie on the floor, kick us with their boots, beat us with coffee sticks and tell us to do the 'pompa' ... where you have to blow air into your cheeks and hold it there until the warders slap you to release it."

Other forms of punishment included dragging a 1 000-litre tank of water while being beaten. "It was a normal thing, beating people at Quatro," he said.

On one occasion, a warder had forced him to propose love to and have sex with a tree in front of other inmates. He did not complain because the warders had told him: "Don't use your mind, just do as you are told."

Questioned by defence advocate Siraj Desai on whether he was bitter about what the ANC had done to him, he said: "I am not bitter ... Those who interrogated me are my brothers and sisters."

However, he said he had problems with people in the leadership. "I am still a member of the ANC, and I will fight anything wrong in the movement from within."

Holomisa dismisses claim on Star 28/5/93 hit squad

Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa has rejected a report linking him to the infiltration into Natal of a nine-man killer squad, saying the report should be classified as part of a disinformation campaign. (S4A)

The Star, quoting military intelligence sources, yesterday reported Holomisa was "directly involved in the infiltration into South Africa 17 days ago of a nine-man Apla and Transkei Defence Force unit".

Codenamed "Operation Trench", the action was said to be aimed at killing whites in the northern Natal region.

Holomisa, who had just returned to his Umtata residence from a security conference in Namibia, said in a phone interview late yesterday: "The Star and military intelligence should be preparing themselves to deposit into my banking account a substantial amount of money as a result of their conspiracy to damage my good name. I will be briefing my lawyers to take the matter up."

He added that if hard evidence existed linking him to the activities of killer squads, "then surely they should prove that in a court of law". — Sapa.

Where do they stand?

South 2015 - 2/6/93

~~84A~~ 84A

WHILE agreement is being reached at negotiations on important questions relating to the levelling of the political playing fields in preparation for elections, there is little agreement on the issue of control of the security forces.

The major positions adopted by political organisations on joint control of the security forces can be summarised as follows:

● The NP is of the opinion that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-council on defence should be responsible for security in an advisory capacity.

This sub-council would have advisory powers while executive authority would remain with the security ministers. The NP argues that the current parliament should retain sovereign authority with the multi-party TEC only proposing policy and legislative changes.

This view has been emphasised recently by senior government officials, notably Ministers Kriel and Delpont, who have dismissed any form of joint control of security forces.

Disbanded

The government then goes on to say Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Apla and other "private armies" should be disbanded to facilitate the process of their integration into the South African Defence Force (SADF).

Only under these circumstances can the NP see the security situation being normalised and there being a possibility of free and fair elections.

● Kwazulu and Bophutatswana favour the proposal that the question of joint control of security forces be handled regionally. This proposal is of course consistent with

their constitutional proposals advocating autonomous regions in a federal system of government.

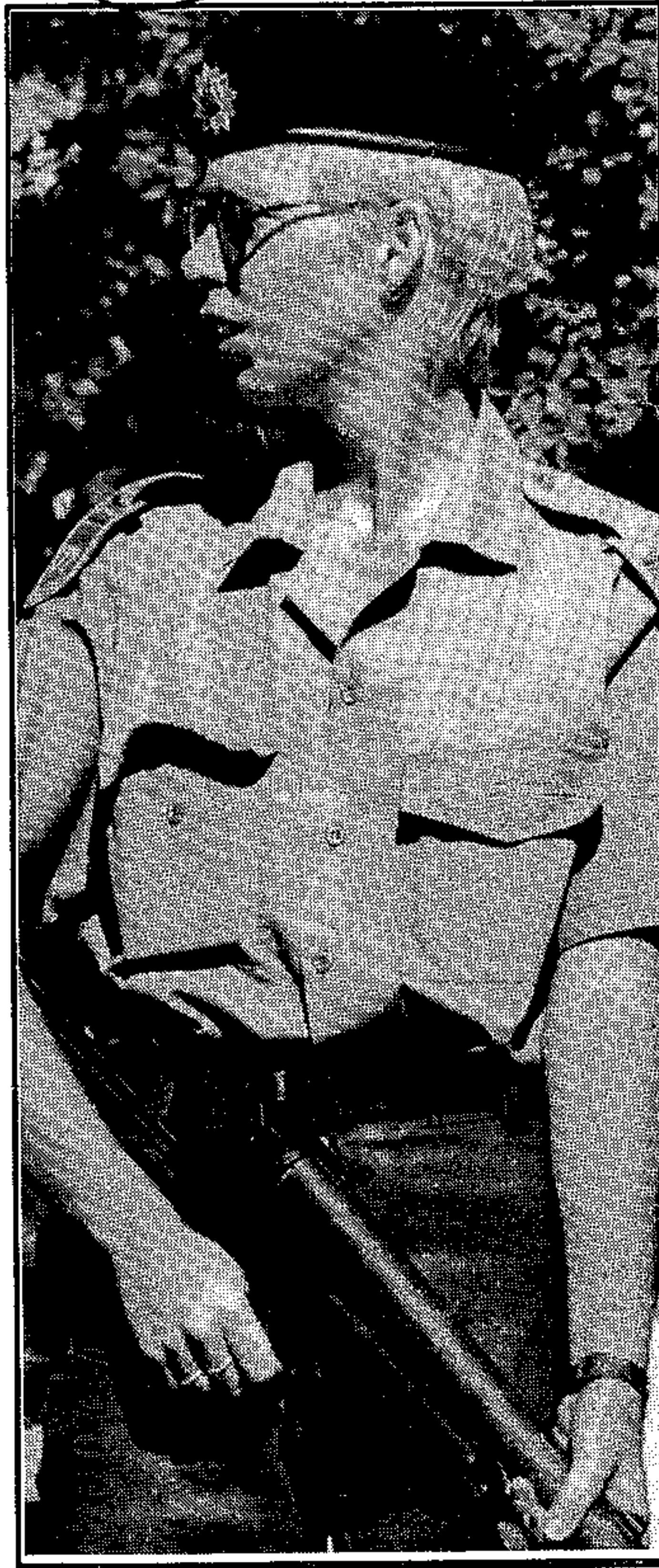
Regional autonomy

Consequently, they flatly oppose the idea of a central TEC controlling the security forces which, in their view, would serve to obstruct the move towards strong regional autonomy.

● The official position of the ANC is that all armed formations, MK, Apla, the SADF, the TBVC and homeland armies, must be put under the control of the sub-council on defence of the TEC.

In line with this, a joint co-ordinating committee incorporating the high command of the various formations should be established and this committee should be answerable to the sub-council and, ultimately, the TEC.

Of late, differences have developed within the ANC on the question of joint control of the security forces. Mr Mac Maharaj recently alluded to the possibility that the ANC might



ON GUARD: The major parties all differ significantly on the issue of control of the security forces

not insist that the defence sub-council be vested with executive authority in the run-up to the elections.

Whatever the ANC decides as its final position on this question, there are very serious dangers involved on how the security issue is handled.

● The Democratic Party insists that joint control is essential for a free and fair election.

The DP wants joint decision-making, joint responsibility and joint accountability to ensure the police and the army are not used as a political football.

● The Transkei government shares this view, arguing that the TEC should be given executive powers and should monitor a code of conduct for the security forces.

'MK must have armed role in SA'

Star 29/5/93

THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe must have a defined armed role inside South Africa in the wake of the violence in Tokoza and the increased threat of right-wing violence against liberation movements.

This message was delivered to ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday by the ANC Youth League, during discussions lasting four hours.

~~HP~~ **Unbanned** 84A

The contents of the discussion were revealed by ANCYL President Peter Mokaba yesterday, when he addressed a rally of more than 2 000 people at the Medical University of South Africa organised by the South African Students Congress to pay tribute to the late ANC leaders Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo.

Also speaking at the rally were Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Winnie Mandela, and Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala.

Mokaba said since the ANC and MK were unbanned, MK soldiers should be armed and return fire with fire when under attack. He said his call did not mean that the ANCYL

Own Correspondent and SAPA

was against negotiations. Negotiations were a product and reflection of struggle.

It was the pressure of mass struggle, with the youth at the forefront, which has led to the negotiations currently in progress, and these should not be allowed to be delayed by puppet leaders, Mokaba said.

He said his application for a firearm licence — made in the wake of assassination threats against him — had been denied.

He called for the arming of those threatened, legally or illegally, for MK numbers to be increased and for ANC marshalls to be trained.

Mokaba said he would not be told by the enemy what songs to sing and how to fight them. He ended his speech with the now well-known "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" chant, to thunderous applause and toy-totyping by the thousands gathered to listen to him.

Holomisa told the crowd the Transkei Defence Force was opposed to the integration of armed formations with the SADF before a government of national unity was elected.

He said they were not opposed to joint control of the security forces, but would only agree to it under a transitional executive council.

Responding to allegations that he had dispatched hit squads to Natal, Holomisa said newspapers and Military Intelligence must be ready to deposit large amounts into his banking account in the Transkei because "they have defamed the good name of Holomisa".

The forces fighting for change in South Africa must concentrate their efforts on the National Party — "the mother of all adversity, affliction, woes and tribulation", he said.

Concerted action among the "oppressed people", along with sustained international pressure against the South African Government, would remain of crucial importance throughout the negotiation process.

Holomisa told his audience the NP was delighted with the right wing and its flaunting of lethal weapons in public and provocative marches.

"And when pressure is exerted on the Nats to yield to the majority demands, it cites the white Right as a principal reason for its intransigence to concede."

The NP alluded to the white right wing's capacity to unleash violence on a vast scale that could be matched by its rivals in the liberation struggle, he said.

"The right wing does not act only on its own... They are switched on and off like a tap by the Government through the department of Military Intelligence," he said.

Winnie Mandela said it was high time the contributions of the youth and students were acknowledged by all those who have benefited from their "sweat and blood".

Defend gains

Harry Gwala said when Hani had called for the formation of a peace corps, this did not mean people should not defend themselves.

He said the masses must be ready to defend the hard-won gains of the liberation struggle, and they must not think when they vote the congress alliance into power the struggle would be over.

He said the people must make sure the country was not engaged in endless negotiations which would not mean a transfer of power to the people at the end of the day.



'Forces' lack of legitimacy is the problem'

THE DEBATE around control of the security forces has become sharply contested by various political parties and organisations. The role of security forces in any transitional process is controversial and sensitive. In South Africa, matters are even more complicated and emotive.

As the country moves towards its first democratic election, the impartiality of security forces has been brought sharply into focus.

The army and police have been perceived by the majority of the population as partisan and serving the interests of the National Party.

In the run-up to elections, the levelling of the playing fields in all areas has become more urgent. Neutrality of the media, the army, the police and all other state organs are necessary preconditions to ensure the elections will be judged as free and fair by all the people of South Africa.

It is the lack of legitimacy of the prevailing security forces which is being perceived as a problem to the meaningful preparation for and conduct of elections.

There have been strong views expressed by parties on this sensitive subject. It would seem they have not thought through the implication of their various positions.

Adopted positions

Political parties and organisations have each adopted positions on the subject of how best to control security forces in the pre-election period up to 1994.

These positions have differed largely on how the security forces would fulfil their role as peacekeepers and are based on the very deep mistrust of the security forces and the conviction that the security forces would actively work to favour one party and suppress the activity of others.

How political parties have handled the security question leaves much to be desired, and if not carefully addressed, it could play a negative role in levelling the playing fields in the run-up to the elections.

Control over different armed forces in South Africa is a crucial aspect in the conduct of the coming elections. For as long as there is no decision on this subject, free and fair elections will remain elusive.

It is equally important that different political actors take the matter seriously and stop approaching it as an opportunity for political posturing.

The NP views on the security question are dangerous, indeed.

The government does not want joint control over security (if Delpont and Kriel's views are anything to go by) because it will be giving in, as they say, to radicals and as such would undermine the authority of the sovereign parliament.

This is a terrible misunderstanding of key issues at stake. The government knows very well, and it cannot pretend otherwise, that the SADF lacks legitimacy with the majority

of South Africans. To argue, therefore, that they would not accede to joint control borders on arrogance and that, in itself, is a serious stumbling block in the peaceful resolution of the South African conflict.

The other troubling aspect of the NP view is its insistence that other armed formations should integrate into the SADF. It would seem to me, for a variety of reasons, that integration into the SADF is completely out of the question.

Merger

What is crucial, is the complete restructuring of the SADF with what could be the result of a merger of all armed formations. Senior government ministers, as well as key SADF personnel, appear to hope that integration would not seriously impact on the structure of the SADF or challenge its orientation.

I would insist that numbers should not be important when we talk about creating a new army: there are more fundamental issues to be addressed and it is precisely these issues the SADF hopes to avoid.

The SADF is an army with a history of aggression against the majority of South Africans — a product of PW Botha's total onslaught strategy.

Even the command structures of the SADF have a particular culture based on the British military model. Similarly with the TBVC and homeland armies.

On the other hand, MK is an army with a totally different culture and shares similarities with Eastern Bloc military culture where military and ideological training are explicitly linked.

How do we integrate a largely guerilla army into a conventional army where the two also hold different military philosophies and orientations?

New structure and role

Integration into the SADF is impossible and unworkable without redefining an entirely new structure and role for a South African militia.

What is practical is restructuring of the entire defence capacity of this country. The SADF, MK and Apla must be put under joint political control of the multi-party Transitional Executive Council, and its operational activities conducted by the current structures of the SADF which, in any case, must be monitored by the TEC (or any body appointed by the TEC).

The participation of international organisations will therefore be subjected to TEC agreement both in terms of their (international participants) scope and extent.

South Africa needs a jointly controlled security arrangement which involves all political parties. If and when a settlement is reached this body could be the embryo of a restructured defence force and not an integrated army which retains vestiges of the past.

NOBY NGOMBANE

By Quentin Wilson

Apla promises to strike back after arrests

South 2915 - 216193

IF LAW and order minister Mr Hermus Kriel thought Tuesday's swoop on 73 PAC and Apla members would end the violence, he is in for an unpleasant surprise, warns Mr Willie Seriti, PAC national executive committee member.

"It will have totally the opposite effect," predicts Seriti, "Even people who are not PAC members will question the point of continuing negotiations and rely on more militant forms of struggle."

After two and a half years of wavering, the PAC committed itself last month to joining the multi-party negotiating forum, while Apla, the PAC's military wing, continued its armed struggle.

The multi-party talks were days away from announcing a date for democratic elections: a decision which could have pressurised the PAC into suspending armed action.

"Now that has all changed," says Seriti.

"The regime is forcing the PAC out of negotiations and they are now left with a negotiating forum that lacks any legitimacy in the eyes of the African people."

Seriti added the PAC would have to consult all its members before taking a decision on its role in the future.

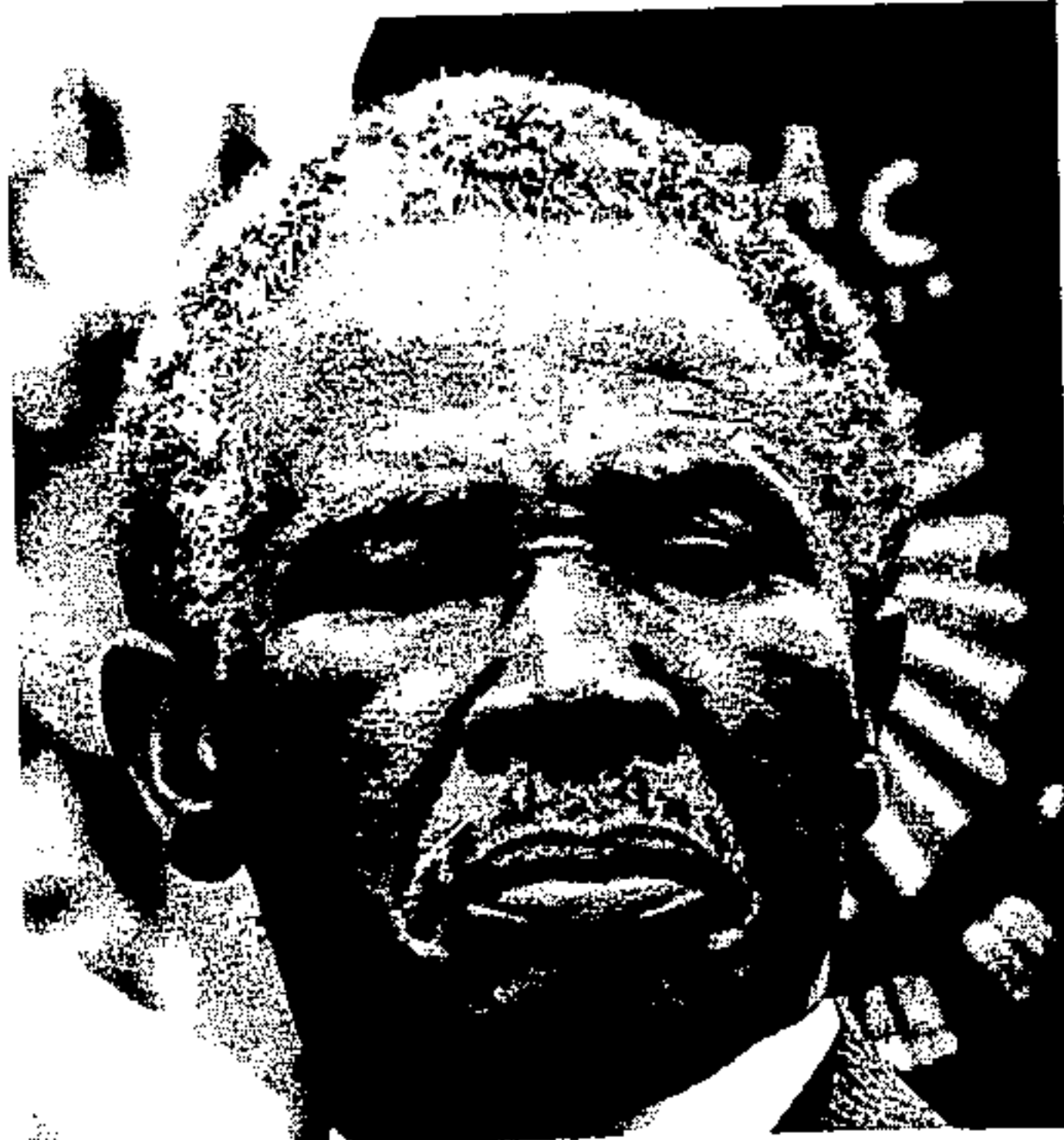
Apla promised on Wednesday to act "brutally and ruthlessly" against white South Africans unless detained PAC members were released immediately.

Warning that the safety of "so-called soft targets" could no longer be guaranteed, Apla claimed to be "poised to create a situation of complete insecurity in every section of the oppressor community".

The wholesale arrests were interpreted "as the declaration of war between white oppressors and the African oppressed people."

Since Tuesday's swoop, 11 people have been released, leaving 20 people detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and 42 people held in terms of Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

In the Western Cape, those arrested include PAC regional organiser Mr Michael Siyolo, regional leader Mr Zizakele Mahluthana, and members Mr Nkosempu Naki and Mr Siphiwe Mkweso.



CLARENCE MAKWETU

September 1986

'Apla raiders' rob store

STimes 30

8477
FOUR thieves claiming to be Apla members tied up a Natal South Coast bottle store manager and stuffed a pear in his mouth to keep him quiet before robbing his shop.

The men, two armed with handguns, walked into the Karridene Liquor Store near Kingsburgh on Friday and robbed Mr Leslie Hall, 51, of R5 000.

In another incident on the South Coast, a customer was shot in the wrist when four men armed with AK-47s robbed the Sisizee General Dealer shop at Ubombo of R900.

30/5/93

Parties under pressure to fix election date

By MIKE ROBERTSON, EDYTH BULBRING and CLAIRE ROBERTSON

SOUTH Africa's political leaders are racing against time to meet Thursday's deadline for announcing a date for the country's first non-racial elections.

Top businessmen led by Consultative Business Movement chairman Murray Hofmeyr arranged special meetings with the government, the ANC and the Cosag grouping this week to warn that the country could not afford another Codesa 2-style breakdown of talks.

For President de Klerk a special warning signal flashed in the form of a poll that showed that only one in four whites now supports his National Party.

The ANC, too, is under mounting pressure.

Not only are radicals in the organisation threatening to create mayhem unless quick results are achieved in talks but the organisation is becoming increasingly concerned about its ability to govern in future.

Arrests

Shocked by figures which show capital flight amounted to as much as R5-billion in the first four months of this year, ANC leaders appealed to the rich not to desert South Africa now.

Negotiators this week succeeded in riding out the crisis brought on by the mass arrests of PAC members. But the underlying reason for the raid — white anger at the National Party's inability to govern remains.

This was brought home by the new poll that shows that white support for the NP has dropped to its lowest level ever.

A Research Surveys poll of 1300 white men and women in metropolitan areas showed that only one in four whites now backs the NP. Among white men the CP (29 percent) now has more support than the NP (26 percent).

The degree of confusion among whites was evi-

APLA: PAC LEADER STICKS TO HIS GUNS

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE PAC would not disown its military wing, Apla, just to appease the government, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

Speaking at a special PAC national executive meeting called to respond to the government's crack-down on congress members, Mr Desai also warned that the organisation intended taking a tough line when it met the government on Tuesday.

"Let them charge those against

whom they claim they have evidence of criminal acts," he said. "But we will not strike any deals on Tuesday."

The organisation has so far refused to suspend the "armed struggle" waged by its military wing.

Mr Desai said only after the government had given an undertaking to "cease its Gestapo tactics and agree to a date for democratic elections to put in place an elected constituent assembly, will the PAC be prepared to discuss a cessation of hostilities."

THE WEEK KRIEL PLAYED SUPERMAN Page 19

denced by 27 percent of men and 48 percent of women saying they either didn't know which party they would vote for or would not vote at all.

This news will strengthen the hand of Cabinet hardliners like Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel who believe cracking down on lawlessness should now take precedence over achieving a negotiated settlement.

Securing the early announcement of an election date is critical for ANC President Nelson Mandela and his chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa.

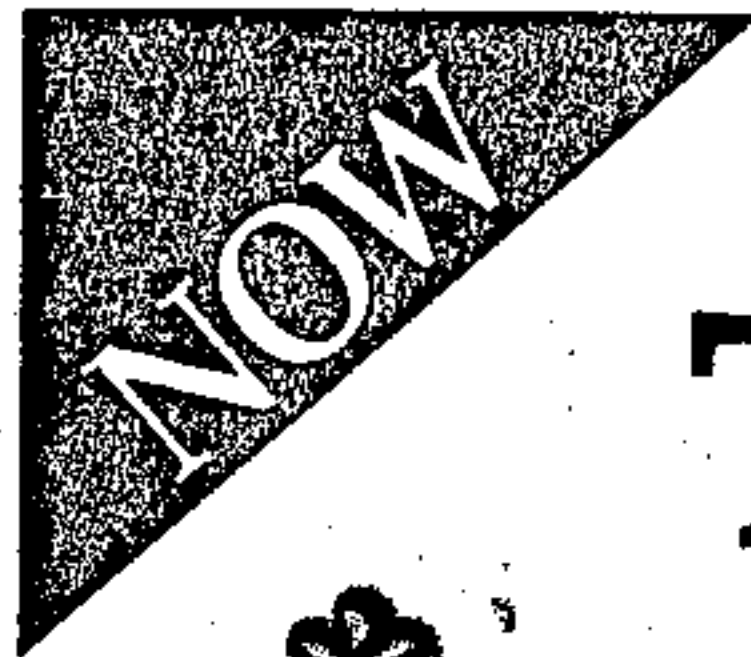
Ungovernable

They held this out to ANC radicals when arguing, in the wake of the killing of Chris Hani, that the organisation should not quit negotiations. They now have just four days to deliver on that promise.

An indication of the kind of pressure they are now under was provided by radical ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba.

"The youth will be uncontrollable and will make the country ungov-

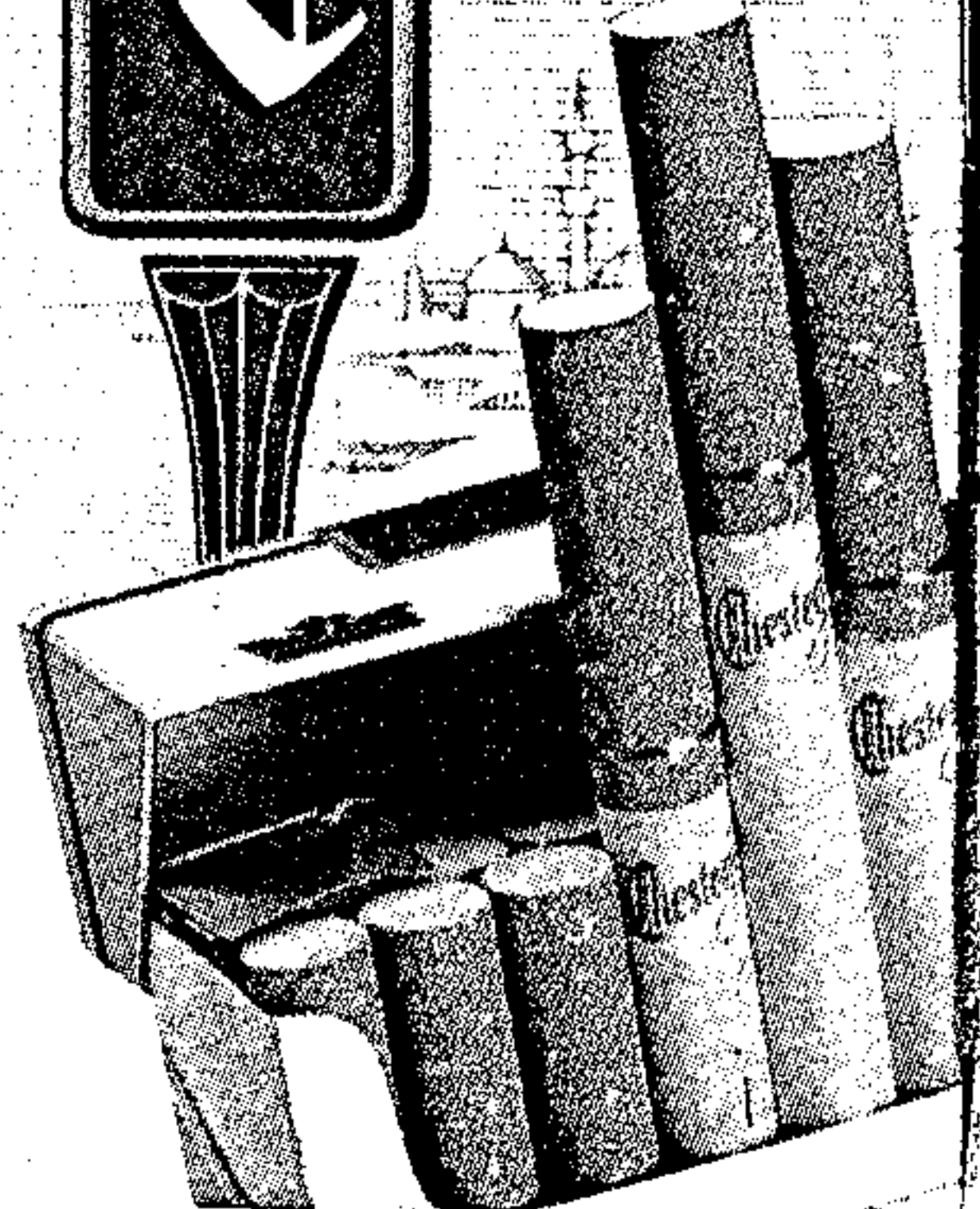
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Letlapa named as Apla chief

CIPRESS 3d51q3

By **DESMOND BLOW**

(84A)

HAPPY Letlapa has been named in documents produced by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel at the multiparty talks this week as the chief of Apla operations in the Transkei.

According to the documents, several Apla members who have been arrested named Letlapa as having given them instructions to kill policemen and whites.

Apla member Jerome Dlamini, who handed himself over to police in December last year, admitted he had been involved in attacks a year earlier on the two police stations on the instruction of Letlapa.

Another Apla member, Gilbert Lefu, said after his arrest, he had received military training in the Transkei in October and November 1991.

Velile Mxhosana also made a statement to the police in which he is alleged to have said he had received training in Zimbabwe.

On January 2 1992, the Lady Grey Police Station was attacked by Letlapa, Velile Mafilika and Steven Vusumzi Dolo, who fled back to the Transkei after the attack.

On January 30 1992, a farm in the Lady Grey district was attacked on the instruction of Letlapa, according to Apla member Gilbert Lefu.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told the meeting that no Apla member had been detained by police, only members of the PAC's political wing.

It was them or us — mutineer

By ZANELE VUTELA

THE relationship between security guards and prisoners at Umkhonto weSizwe's Quatro camp in Angola were reduced to the level of "enemy agents against revolutionaries".

(SIA)
This is what a former MK mutineer this week told the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into allegations of atrocities in ANC detention camps — which is sitting at the FNB stadium in Johannesburg.

(SIA)
Luthando Nicholas Dysop, who left SA in 1980 for military training, said the events leading up to his 1984 arrest began one morning when Fapla soldiers raided Vianna, an ANC camp near Luanda. Someone called Babsy was killed during the raid.

His group, who had been fighting Unita at the "Eastern Front", had been moved to Vianna following an earlier mutiny at Kandangula where 300 MK cadres had fired shots into the air, refusing to be disarmed by their commanders.

CIPRESS 30/5/93
Dysop said the Angolans were not aware that they had already left Vianna and were encircling them. "Our guns were trained on them all the time and this proves that we did not aim to kill them."

As the day dawned brighter one Fapla soldier climbed on top of an Armoured Personnel Carrier (APC) and spotted five of them in a trench. He alerted another soldier who approached them with a handgrenade, ordering them out.

They refused and the soldier began to prepare to throw the grenade, at which point, according to Dysop, "it was either them or us".

He fired at the APC with an RPG 7, hoping the sound would scare them. The others supported him by firing into the air and the Angolans ran back into the camp.

Dysop said later, with the Angolans as mediators, his group agreed to be disarmed and were taken to Pango. But he knew ANC Security would catch up with him as they had arrested the wrong person for firing at the APC.

They came one day and tried to

trick him into leaving with them by saying that he was going to Caxito to prepare for infiltration into SA.

He first refused, but was eventually convinced that he was going to Caxito. Instead he was taken to Quatro where he was punched until he lost consciousness. He was given a lice-ridden uniform and put in isolation for two months.

In January 1985 he was recovering from malaria when the officer on duty told him that his days of "treatment" (hard work and beatings) were over.

He was released on November 16 1988 and sent to Dakawa in Tanzania. He came home in 1990 and tried unsuccessfully to meet the ANC leadership.

Dysop said his group returned home with the help of the SA embassy and formed a committee, the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, which was not associated with controversial ANC dissident Pat Hlongwane.

The hearing continues tomorrow.

Blast near power station

Star 9/5/95
A bomb exploded on Saturday morning near a power station in Dobsonville, Soweto, police spokesman Major Joseph Ngobeni said.

No one was hurt, but minor damage was caused to

houses.

(SLA)
He said it was unclear what type of bomb was used. The motive for the explosion was not known.

The rest of the township was quiet. — Sapa.

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The attempted bombing of a crowded Bellevue, Johannesburg, restaurant on Saturday night was part of an offensive by the Azanian People's Liberation Army against soft targets, police said yesterday.

Three people were arrested at a games hall in Rockey Street on Saturday night. Police said they were in possession of a stick grenade, 250 g of Russian-made TNT explosive and 1 kg of plastic explosive. The plastic was packed with 6-inch nails for maximum effect.

The Chinese stick grenade was detonated in a controlled explosion by bomb disposal experts at the corner of Bedford and Hopkins streets, Yeoville, at about 9.30 pm on Saturday.

Yesterday, police detonated the plastic explosive in front of members of the media at a remote shooting range near Eldorado Park. It was a huge blast, even out in the open.

Atrocity

Another man was arrested and more weapons were seized in a follow-up operation which resulted in a shootout in Soweto late on Saturday night.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said indications were that Apla members were involved in the bombing attempt and police action "may have prevented another massacre or atrocity by this organisation".

It is believed the bomb was meant for Rockerfella's, which is usually packed over weekends. The games hall is next to the restaurant.

Spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Colonel Johan Mostert, said Rockerfella's had been the initial target, but the men apparently noticed police there and had moved off to the games hall instead.

He said they were arrested as they approached the hall to place their bomb.

A spokesman for Rockerfella's said that if the bomb had gone off in the games hall, the restaurant would have been badly hit.

Mostert said if the explosives had gone off, the damage would have been "horrific", and that police had averted a "possible blood-bath".

Mostert said members of the Crime Combating and Investigation (CCI) unit of the SAP investigating the activities of Apla kept a watch on the restaurant on Saturday night and arrested the men.

Mostert told The Star that police believed the men were acting as part of an Apla unit.

"In follow-up investigations during the night, police went to a house in Diepkloof, Soweto.

"When police tried to gain entrance to the house they came under fire. During the ensuing fight, a man was wounded and arrested. Police seized an R-4 rifle with magazine and ammunition, an AK-47-rifle with magazine and ammunition, two Chinese stick grenades and an R-1 rifle grenade of SADF origin," the statement said.

He told The Star more arrests could be expected.

He said this was the second group to be arrested in a week.

Last week, he said, a group was arrested in Natal and, during interrogation, police established that several public bars and restaurants had been targeted for attack.

The arrests on Saturday had been a direct result of the Natal interrogation, Mostert said.

Kriel said in a statement: "The incidents once again fully justify last week's actions by the SAP against the PAC and Apla."

Reacting to the events, PAC legal head Willie Seriti told Sapa his organisation did not know what evidence police had to conclude that Apla members were involved in the foiled attack.

He said the PAC had no knowledge of the men alleged to be implicated in the attack, and reiterated that Apla was a component structure of the PAC and had its own agendas.

Apla headquarters in Dar es Salaam could not be contacted yesterday.

Police have appealed to anyone with information to call the Crime-Stop number 0-800-11-12-13.

Crowded Rockey Street restaurant targeted

Jobs' hours bombings foiled

Star 31/5/93

814A

E Rand dead now number 70

Star 116193

East Rand Bureau

Eight bodies were found in Katlehong and Tokoza at the weekend, bringing the death toll since last week to a total of 70.

Yesterday, East Rand police liaison officer Major Ida van Zweel said, however, that it appeared that the situation was now returning to normal.

She said the bodies of four men were found in Katlehong's Ramakanopi Section, near the hostel.

They had gunshot wounds. Two bodies with gunshot wounds were also found at the Selumaview School in Tokoza.

A man was shot dead with an AK-47 rifle in his house in Katlehong's Gadebe Section on Sunday night.

Another man was shot dead in the vicinity, presumably by the same attackers, she said.

A group of 15 youths stoned police vehicles in Khumalo Street on Sunday morning.

And in other violent inci-

dents on the East Rand:

● About 80 youths stoned a bakkie on the Holfontein Road in KwaThema, injuring a worker sitting in the back of the vehicle.

In another attack on the same road, a mob of about 100 youths set a minibus alight after they had slashed its tyres with knives.

● In Daveyton, near Benoni, a number of youths petrol-bombed a house in the Etwa-twa Section on Saturday.

Police said the same youths later stoned a minibus in the area.

Bomb: 3 expected in court

Star 116193

Crime Reporter

Three suspected Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members arrested in Bellevue, Johannesburg, on Saturday in connection with a plan to bomb a local restaurant are expected to appear in court today, police said. (84A)

Colonel Johan Mostert said the three, arrested at a games hall in Rockey Street and suspected of wanting to bomb the Rockerfella's restaurant,

should be charged today.

But if police needed more time to investigate, the terms under which they were arrested could be changed to Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

A fourth suspect who was arrested in Soweto in connection with the alleged plan was still in hospital under police guard and would be charged as soon as possible, said Mostert.

The suspect was wounded in a shootout

with police at the house where he was arrested.

Police confiscated a stick grenade, 250 g of Russian-made TNT explosives and 1 kg of plastic explosives from the men arrested in Bellevue.

A R-4 rifle with a magazine and ammunition, an AK-47 rifle with a magazine and ammunition, two Chinese stick grenades and a R-1 rifle "of SADF origin" were found in the Soweto man's home.

Evid Waisglass
Urdon Coulthart



53/COULTHART

enough for

Star 116193

Star 116193

Soft target trend disturbing — SAP

Buss. Day 11/6/93
RAY HARTLEY

THE trend of Apla attacks aimed at "soft targets" was disturbing, police said yesterday.

On Saturday police arrested four Apla members for allegedly planning to bomb two Yeoville, Johannesburg, restaurants. Police spokesman Col Reg Crewe said another Apla group, allegedly planning attacks at bars and restaurants in Natal, had been arrested after an Apla member detained last week had made a confession.

Crewe said police were receiving "cooperation" from several Apla members, and more arrests were possible this week.

Three suspects, in possession of a stick grenade, plastic explosives and TNT, were arrested in connection with the Yeoville incident, in which a Chinese restaurant and a pavement cafe were allegedly targeted.

A fourth suspect was later arrested in Soweto in possession of assault rifles, hand grenades and ammunition. He was wounded in an exchange of gunfire.

Last week a man purporting to represent Apla claimed the safety of soft targets could not be guaranteed after the swoop on the PAC. (SAPA) (SAPA)

Sapa-AFP reports from Sydney that SA ambassador Naude Steyn was summoned to a meeting yesterday with Australian Foreign Affairs Africa section head Michael Landale, who urged SA to charge or release detained PAC member Maxwell Nemadzivhanani — an Australian citizen. It was not clear whether Nemadzivhanani held dual citizenship.

Nemadzivhanani went to Australia as a student in 1978. He returned to SA more than a year ago, but his Australian wife and two children remained in Canberra because of safety concerns.



Sundowns supporters dash for cover on the eastern stand of the HM Pitje Stadium during a scuffle with AmaZulu fans on Saturday. PIC:MATSHUBE MFOLOE

Government, PAC hold talks on Apla

Sowetan 11/6/93

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

■ CRISIS MEETING Political chief

TALKS BETWEEN THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government continue this morning to solve differences following last week's police swoop on members of the organisation.

Police unconditionally released three PAC leaders after an emergency meeting on Friday. ~~(SAPA)~~

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke was released on bail on Friday after being charged with the illegal possession of firearms.

National organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani is still in detention.

The PAC leadership, led by general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and the organisation's chief negotiator, Mr Gora Ebrahim, will meet again today with Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

released on bail after being charged:

~~(SAPA)~~ ~~(SAPA)~~ (SAPA)

Yesterday, President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Roelf Meyer and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa held talks in Pretoria.

The office of the State President said in a statement that De Klerk and Mandela had met "as a continuation of their previous meetings. Outstanding matters from these meetings were attended to".

An election date is believed to have been one of the items at the top of the agenda at the Pretoria meeting.

Certain constitutional issues essential to the announcement of an election date had not been resolved, negotiators have said.

It is expected that an election date and its announcement will be decided

on at today's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

However, negotiators are divided over whether South Africa will know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

But Meyer and Ramaphosa are confident that the election date can be set at Thursday's negotiating forum meeting. Both men cautioned that much work lay ahead in the next 48 hours. Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was concerned at the "galloping" pace of negotiations.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the negotiating council that not enough time was being spent to debate vital issues.

Restaurant cleared after bomb call

Crime Reporter

Popular Rokeby Street restaurant Rockerfella's had to be evacuated last night after another bomb scare — the second since Saturday.

Rockerfella co-owner Manuel de Castro said a telephone call was received at 5.45 pm, saying a bomb would go off in the Yeoville, Johannesburg, restaurant in 15 minutes.

"It was a woman who called and she had an African accent."

He said management immediately evacuated the restaurant, which was "quite full", and called the police. The bomb squad arrived after the police and they "found nothing".

De Castro said the restaurant would be getting extra security. "We have already started negotiating with police to see if they can give us extra protection."

On Saturday night, police arrested three suspected Apla members at a games hall next to the restaurant after receiving information that the restaurant was one of many places targeted by the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing.

Another man was later arrested in Soweto in connection with the planned bombing.

Police said the three were arrested just before they could place the bomb in the games hall. Chinese stick grenades, hand grenades and firearms were taken from the men.

Calls from all parties for transformation of SADF

Buss. day 2/16/93

CAPE TOWN — Calls for the transformation of the SADF were made across party lines in Parliament yesterday — but with critical differences.

Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee, who is also the NP Free State leader, said the SADF was busy with internal planning and the implementation of provisions for transition.

The proposed transitional executive council, with its subcouncil on defence, would make provision for the levelling of the political playing fields before an election.

"It does not involve joint or operational control, but it does involve political co-operation and involvement," Coetsee said during the debate on his vote.

DP defence spokesman Gen Bob Rogers said no provision had been made in the budget for the incorporation of the TBVC armies and MK into the SADF.

"This cannot be done without consulting all parties involved in the negotiating forum. I know that government has had bilateral talks with MK, but the time has come for this and other matters pertaining to the SADF to be formally clarified," Rogers said.

Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town, Ind) said during the transition period

Political Staff

there was a need for political control of the armed forces to be exercised by a political authority outside the tricameral parliament and for the area of joint control to be defined. The political playing fields had to be levelled and it was unthinkable that there could be free and fair elections without this.

The transitional executive council's subcouncil was the ideal mechanism to ensure transparency of the armed forces to all the negotiating parties, Momberg said. (S4A)

The ANC proposed that the major task of the transitional council through the subcouncil was to determine the deployment of all forces during the period of transition, establish mechanisms to ensure compliance to the code of conduct, establish monitoring mechanisms to ensure strict control of activities of armed forces and establish mechanisms to guard excess arms and ammunition in national armouries.

Meanwhile, a new board is to be appointed under the chairmanship of a judge to investigate allegations of serious crimes against members of the police and defence forces.

The Security Forces Board of Inquiry Bill, which was tabled yester-

day, also makes provision for the board to appoint its own investigating staff.

The Bill follows an announcement during August last year by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel that far-reaching measures were to be implemented "to restore the credibility of the SA Police and, by providing professional policing, to enhance the effectiveness of the SA Police".

A memorandum attached to the Bill said the measure was an initiative to restore the credibility of the police.

The proposed Security Forces Board will be empowered to inquire into any allegation that a serious offence was committed by a member of the security forces.

It defines these serious offences as murder, kidnapping, serious assault on a person held in custody, defeating the ends of justice and corruption, as well as any attempt to commit these offences.

It makes provision for the appointment of area directors, and for the appointment of investigating officers in these areas. Once the board had notified the police or military police it was investigating a complaint, it would take over investigations and report to the President on the inquiry's completion.

Armed struggle goes ahead - PAC

Sowetan 2/6/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ ABANDON ARMS Security forces

must be put under multi-party control:

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS came out of yesterday's bilateral talks with the Government adamant that the armed struggle by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, would continue.

The organisation said this would be its stance until the Government had agreed to a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Both parties put their cases to the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The Government insisted that no party which was committed and engaged in armed activities should take part in an election.

On the other hand, the PAC said the Government had no right to order it to abandon arms. It suggested that all armed forces be brought under joint multiparty control.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said international intervention was more necessary now in helping to create mechanism for an elected constituent assembly.

He accused the Government of attempting to get the PAC expelled from the multiparty negotiations.

"The regime does not own this process," Alexander said.

The Government said its discus-

sions with the PAC were intended to achieve the suspension of the armed struggle or a moratorium on armed activities.

It also said it awaited a response on this issue from the PAC at a meeting tomorrow.

The PAC was yesterday still standing firm on its demand that all its members detained in last Tuesday's swoop be released unconditionally and all material confiscated during the raids returned.

Meanwhile, the technical committee of experts on constitutional matters presented its report yesterday.

Armed struggle goes ahead - PAC

Sowetan 2/6/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS came out of yesterday's bilateral talks with the Government adamant that the armed struggle by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, would continue.

The organisation said this would be its stance until the Government had agreed to a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Both parties put their cases to the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The Government insisted that no party which was committed and engaged in armed activities should take part in an election.

■ ABANDON ARMS Security forces

must be put under multi-party control:

~~(SOPA)~~ ~~(1/2)~~
On the other hand, the PAC said the Government had no right to order it to abandon arms. It suggested that all armed forces be brought under joint multiparty control.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said international intervention was more necessary now in helping to create mechanism for an elected constituent assembly.

He accused the Government of attempting to get the PAC expelled from the multiparty negotiations.

"The regime does not own this process," Alexander said.

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sions with the PAC were intended to achieve the suspension of the armed struggle or a moratorium on armed activities.

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'Train blacks for top defence posts'

Star 21/6/93

(SIA)

CAPE TOWN — The proposed transitional executive council (TEC) should appoint a joint armed forces committee to investigate the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and the TBVC states' armies into the SADF, Democratic Party spokesman on Defence, General Bob Rogers, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Defence vote, he said the committee should look at issues including ranks, pay scales and training requirements.

Selected black NCOs and officers from these armies should be placed on special training courses to prepare them for holding key command and staff positions.

Rogers said he also believed that as soon as the TEC was appointed, the State President, acting on the advice of the Ne-

gotiating Council, should set up a transitional sub-council on defence.

This, with the Minister of Defence, would have political control of the defence force, take whatever steps were necessary to level the playing fields for a free and fair election, and prepare the way for restructuring the defence force. (SIA)

A council of defence should be appointed by the Minister, on the advice of the sub-council to investigate the size and shape of the defence force, review the system of national service, and carry out any other tasks referred to it by the sub-committee. (SIA)

Rogers said that if the DP recommendations were followed it would ensure that responsibility for combating violence was shared by all political parties. — Sapa.

No one is safe from Apla attacks — PAC

Buss. day 3/6/93
BILLY PADDOCK

NO ONE would be safe from Apla attacks until there was a legitimate government in power and the security forces were under multiparty joint control, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said at a media conference yesterday.

"The regime is acting like Dracula in charge of the blood bank and until it changes this attitude and stops trying to conduct everything on its own terrain we will not submit," he said.

Nemadzivhanani was released from custody yesterday after being held on charges of contravening the Firearms Act. ~~(S/A)~~ (S/A)

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, when asked who was regarded as a civilian and therefore not a target, said anyone who was not a

member of the security forces or the reservist units.

However, civilians could get hurt. "Nobody will be safe until there is a legitimate government, therefore negotiators have to move faster," Nemadzivhanani said, adding that Apla and the PAC would not unilaterally suspend the armed struggle.

Nemadzivhanani and Alexander said "Operation Iron Fist", initiated by the SA security forces and military intelligence, had a three-point aim — forcing the ANC/government deal through negotiations, imposing a state of emergency that had legitimacy, and then clamping down on

radicals on the left and right wings. The PAC was one of those groups.

Alexander also claimed that government negotiators were trying to force the organisation out of negotiations and were poised to call on the negotiating council to expel the organisation for refusing to suspend the armed struggle.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer denied this and said that it was still government's firm view that no party that was engaged in armed activities could participate in an election or the preparations leading to an election.

The two sides will meet today at the World Trade Centre for the third time in a week to try and break the deadlock in their positions.

Spoor's stance is not for the state
Richard Spoor

Slovo refused licence for firearm

Buss. day 3/6/93
WILSON ZWANE

SACP chairman and ANC NEC member Joe Slovo, the target of a recent assassination plot, yesterday received notification from the police that he had been refused a licence to possess a firearm, the ANC said.

No reason was given, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said.

The organisation said in a statement it found the refusal "extraordinary, particularly given the spate of death threats." Slovo's request for the right to the means of self-defence is urgent and legitimate.

The news of the rejection of Slovo's application came as two Johannesburg lawyers debated gun controls at a seminar organised by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Richard Spoor said self-defence was not a legitimate reason to acquire a firearm. He added that making guns available for self-defence purposes was tantamount to "privatising law and order".

Spoor said access to guns should be limited to people specialising in sporting and commercial activities. The money police were pumping into making posters warning against the dangers of weapons could be better used in school projects, aimed at instilling in pupils the awareness that carrying a gun was an "anti-social act".

Tefo Raditapole said the possession of guns by the public created a pool drawn on by criminals and perpetrators of violence.

ATTN

By STEPHEN LAUFER

THERE are many ways to kill a man, or at least to immobilise him. For starters, you could smash his knee, break his arm, sever the aorta in his neck, push his nose bone into his brain, or crush his testicles with a single kick. All without too much effort, it appears.

Koos Vermeulen's World Apartheid Movement (Wam) — the organisation which is picking up some of the legal fees for Chris Hani's alleged assassin, Janus Waluz — seems to know all about these methods. On Republic Day last Monday, Wam came to Verwoerdburg to impart their knowledge and skills.

To hear Vermeulen's wife Marguerite tell it, every woman — she doesn't say as much, but probably means every white woman — should be in command of the basic techniques.

Wam! Bam! Right on, Ma'am

Wam! Bam! Right on, Ma'am

Attractive in a khaki uniform with a *vierkleur* adorning a sleeve and rings and bangles galore, she says women are more vulnerable than ever before in South Africa. They need to know how to stop potential attackers dead in their tracks — literally.

Marguerite Vermeulen is anything but a *skiet-en-donner tannie*, though the Wam tent at the event is a shrine to South Africa's darkest days and the "literature" on display cheerfully draws attention to the organisation's worldwide neo-Nazi links.

She doesn't even carry a weapon — at least, not visibly. Many of her arguments encouraging women to learn self-defence, backed up by statistics, have the ring of reason. And her assertion that being able to fight back builds

self-confidence — an essential signal to potential attackers to keep their distance — might have come from People Opposing Women Abuse.

But, sensible as it all sounds, somewhere, deep down inside her arguments, there still lurks the Calvinist's fear of "darkest Africa". It is a fear which is harder to name now — even in far-rightwing circles, it's no longer quite kosher to talk publicly about the *swart gevaar* — but the dangers ever present beyond the laager are the clearly defined, if unspoken, context for the day's lesson.

"Rape is a weapon in a war which has never been declared, but is being waged nonetheless. We need to be able to fight back, to be aggressive," Vermeulen tells her all-white audi-

ence, many dressed in khaki and *velskoene*, some in voortrekker *rokkies* with starched white bonnets.

They seem ready for the message on this Republic Day, perhaps South Africa's last.

It is a typical highveld autumn morning: sunny, warm, dry. A day for boeresport and braaivleis; for a simple message of decent folk in danger, a message suggesting siege and urging self-reliance.

Its simplicity and apparent basic decency jar somewhat with the more overt language of an article posted at the Wam tent asking the difference between two photographs, one showing a gorilla and the other a man with neoroid features. The answer, the piece says, is that the gorilla will nei-

But he doesn't fail to point out his ability, and that of his members, to wage war. If necessary.

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But he doesn't fail to point out his ability, and that of his members, to wage war. If necessary.

ther attack you, nor will it give you Aids.

Koos Vermeulen is adamant that Wam's self-defence training has nothing to do with politics.

He is a large man with gold fillings in his teeth, flaxen-haired and blue-eyed, with the ready charm and large, firm handshake of a northern Transvaal farmer welcoming a (white) stranger. "I'm not asking, did you vote yes or no or PFP (Progressive Federal Party)," he says, "I just want to teach crime prevention."

And, referring to a demonstration which shows how a woman can kill a rapist who is already on top of her by snapping his neck to the side, he says: "If I can teach every woman this South American technique, there'd be no rape."

The current philosophy of Wam and similar organisations, it seems, is to stress the defensive nature of their activities. Perhaps because they don't want to show their offensive hand yet.

Perhaps because, as Vermeulen claims, "we have no plans yet. We are law-abiding citizens, and as long as the government abides by the constitution, we won't go against them."

But Wam does have a covert cell structure which trains in more than self-defence techniques, and it has supported at least seven imprisoned rightwingers in their efforts to gain indemnity.

Above all, Vermeulen insists that neither he nor his members will ever accept an African National Congress government.

"The government must put any proposed agreement with the ANC to a vote by the white electorate," he says, adding that any other course would be unconstitutional and give him and his members the right to effect a citizen's arrest of government ministers.

Vermeulen speaks without particular belligerence. His is the manner of a man saddened, rather than angered, by the events of the past three years. "I look at all that is going on and I keep in mind that peace is better than war," he says.

But he doesn't fail to point out his ability, and that of his members, to wage war. If necessary.

But he doesn't fail to point out his ability, and that of his members, to wage war. If necessary.

PAC denies ^{Star 4/6/93} plotting to bomb clubs

DAR ES SALAAM — The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has denied claims by the SA Government that it was behind a foiled plan at the weekend to blow up six nightspots in the country. (SUA)

PAC spokesman Johnny Majozi described Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's claims as "a hoax and disinformation campaign designed to justify his recent clampdown on the PAC" (SUA)

On Sunday the Government said it had foiled a plot to bomb six nightspots and arrested three Apla members in connection with the plan.

But the PAC said yesterday it had no knowledge of the three people arrested in Rocky Street, Yeoville, on Saturday night.

The PAC added that it had noted serious irregularities in the weaponry displayed by the SAP. It said the type, quantity and effectiveness of the weapons in question were not in line with Apla's way of equipping a unit for attacks on such alleged targets as hotels, restaurants or clubs. - Sapa-AFP

Batman's mission: Buy Modise shoes

UMKHONTO WESIZWE commander Joe Modise was the "ANC prisons architect", according to a witness at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into human rights abuses in African National Congress detention camps.

The witness, former MK member Samuel Mngqibisa, made his accusations during an appearance before the commission in which he read from a prepared statement.

The accusations are the most damning indictment of Modise to come out of the hearings so far. Modise is due to testify before the commission.

Mngqibisa, who claims to have been one of Modise's batmen, said he was bitter about the way he was treated by his "boss" and would like to see him justify his actions in exile to the nation.

As early as 1978, claimed the former cadre, Modise threatened MK men with detention camps in Angola if they were undisciplined. He said MK soldiers were ordered to undertake difficult missions and, if they refused to obey, they were labelled agents and sent to Angola.

Worse still, said the witness, was that cadres were forced to risk their lives to satisfy Modise's personal whims. Men who knew they were wanted in South Africa were forced to infiltrate the country to buy expensive shoes and clothes in Johannesburg for Modise.

Mngqibisa said his problems started because of his open criticism of the tactics and maladministration of the camps by Mbokodo, MK's security wing. He told the commission he was detained in 1978 on specific orders from Modise and served "a slavery sentence" of 14 months' hard labour in a Zapu prison in Lusaka. He was released in 1980 when Zapu members were repatriated after the Lancaster House agreement.

The same year, he said, Modise dispatched him to Livingstone in Zambia. He and three other MK men were to cross the crocodile-infested Zambezi river into Botswana and Zimbabwe. According to Mngqibisa, this was a test of his loyalty to the ANC. His unit was called back to Lusaka in 1983. In July 1984, an angry Modise ordered him to go to Tanzania, because he continued "being a

Allegations that MK cadres were subjected to the personal whims of the ANC's 'prisons architect', Joe Modise, were heard in the inquiry into the organisation's camps.

By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

nuisance in his sight". Mngqibisa said Modise lied to him about a vocational training centre in Dakawa, where he was to further his studies. When he arrived in Dakawa, there was no centre.

In 1989, he claims, Modise's continued statements that there were agents infiltrating MK in Dakawa led to the construction of a prison there. He was also behind the conversion of former girls dormitories in Ruth First Camp, Dakawa, into cells, where Mngqibisa was detained.

Mngqibisa also made allegations of sexual abuse in the camps, claiming that he was part of a group which exposed Mbokodo's harassment of young girls fresh from South Africa. He said it



Joe Modise ... Expensive tastes?
Photo: PATRICK EKLOFF

was tradition in the ANC, especially in Mbokodo, to sexually abuse young girls. The promise of scholarships was used to elicit sexual favours and, if the girls resisted, they were detained and

84A

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labelled agents of the government. Mngqibisa further told the commission that Modise's son was given preferential treatment. He smoked dagga and stole property, but was not arrested. Instead, he was sent abroad to a military academy to further his training.

In a letter to the International Committee of the Red Cross, Mngqibisa accuses former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, Zambia's ex-leader Kenneth Kaunda and Angola's Marcelino dos Santos of being accomplices to ANC atrocities in exile because they authorised ANC kangaroo courts and prisons in their countries.

Speaking to *The Weekly Mail* after the hearings, Mngqibisa said: "If the commission's resolutions are not implemented, I am taking further steps. I will seek assistance from Judge Goldstone.

"Some ANC leaders in exile thought we wouldn't come back. They enslaved us. We thank Dr Mandela for negotiating our return. His initiatives caught the exile leadership with their pants down. What Mbokodo did to me has caused me much pain and suffering. The hatred and grudges are at a high degree. Something has to be done."

»» SATIN LEAF ««

»» SATIN SMOOTH ««

»» SATIN LEAF ««

Like a red flag to a general

w/mail

4/6-10/6/93.

(25/4) (25/4) (25/4) (8/4)

Afrikaner Volksfront generals hired ex-Koevoet members to prevent any photographs being taken of them in front of AWB insignia — but they didn't count on the determination of Eugene Terre'Blanche.

By JAN TALJAARD

EVEN the Koevoet Old Boys couldn't stop it. Former Koevoet members recruited to provide VIP protection for generals Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald at the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "volksaamtrek" last Saturday eventually had to concede defeat.

Not that any physical harm came to the generals at the mass rally held at the Union Buildings. But part of the former Koevoet members' brief was to guard against Viljoen and Groenewald being photographed against the background of AWB insignia.

The generals from the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) even had a back-up plan. Waiting discreetly beside the tent where the dignitaries sat was a neatly dressed university student with a large Vierkleur flag. The plan was to use this flag to block off any unwanted AWB insignia once the march got going.

But AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche was not to be outmanoeuvred.

Shrewdly sidestepping the master strategists from the era of Total Onslaught, he had AWB rosettes pinned on to the generals before they could as much as look around.

Viljoen and Groenewald also pulled out of the procession in an apparent attempt not to be photographically compromised. They later rejoined the march at Strijdom Square.

Despite these attempts, Viljoen seems at least willing to walk that extra mile for the elusive

ideal of Afrikaner unity. Although he has admitted to a difference of culture between himself and the AWB — he allegedly disapproves of its posturing militaristic style — he has not yet knocked the AWB in public, instead coming out in support of Terre'Blanche "who had been active while the rest of the *volk* was happily complacent".

Even Terre'Blanche startled with an uncharacteristically magnanimous ges-



Protection services ... Heavily armed AWB members on guard at the Union Buildings Photos: LUANNE CADD

ture when he announced he was willing to be the corporal to Viljoen's generalship. The honeymoon, albeit dragging along tortuously at times, is not yet over.

Perhaps nowhere was this clash of culture as apparent as in the contrast between the "protection services" organised by the AWB and the AVF.

Under the command of gung-ho "brigadier" Keith Conroy, the AWB

had a troop of at least 20 black-clad heavies armed with enough shotguns, sniper rifles, combat daggers and automatic assault rifles to start a real war. At the merest whiff of something suspicious they ran towards the "trouble spot", arsenal at the ready.

During the procession they hung from cars and bakkies, trigger fingers poised, muzzles roaming across tree tops, deserted offices, corner cafes and sub-economic tenements.

In contrast, the Koevoet Old Boys at

least played it low-key and professional. In dark glasses and with barely discernible bulges in their leather jackets, they must have warmed the hearts of old-time securocrats such as Groenewald.

But they were fighting a losing battle. Gesturing at the Iron Guards scurrying around them, one muttered under his breath: "Don't know why we're here — these guys are the biggest danger."



On the march ... The flag the generals couldn't avoid

Weapons and ammo seized in

SAP raid

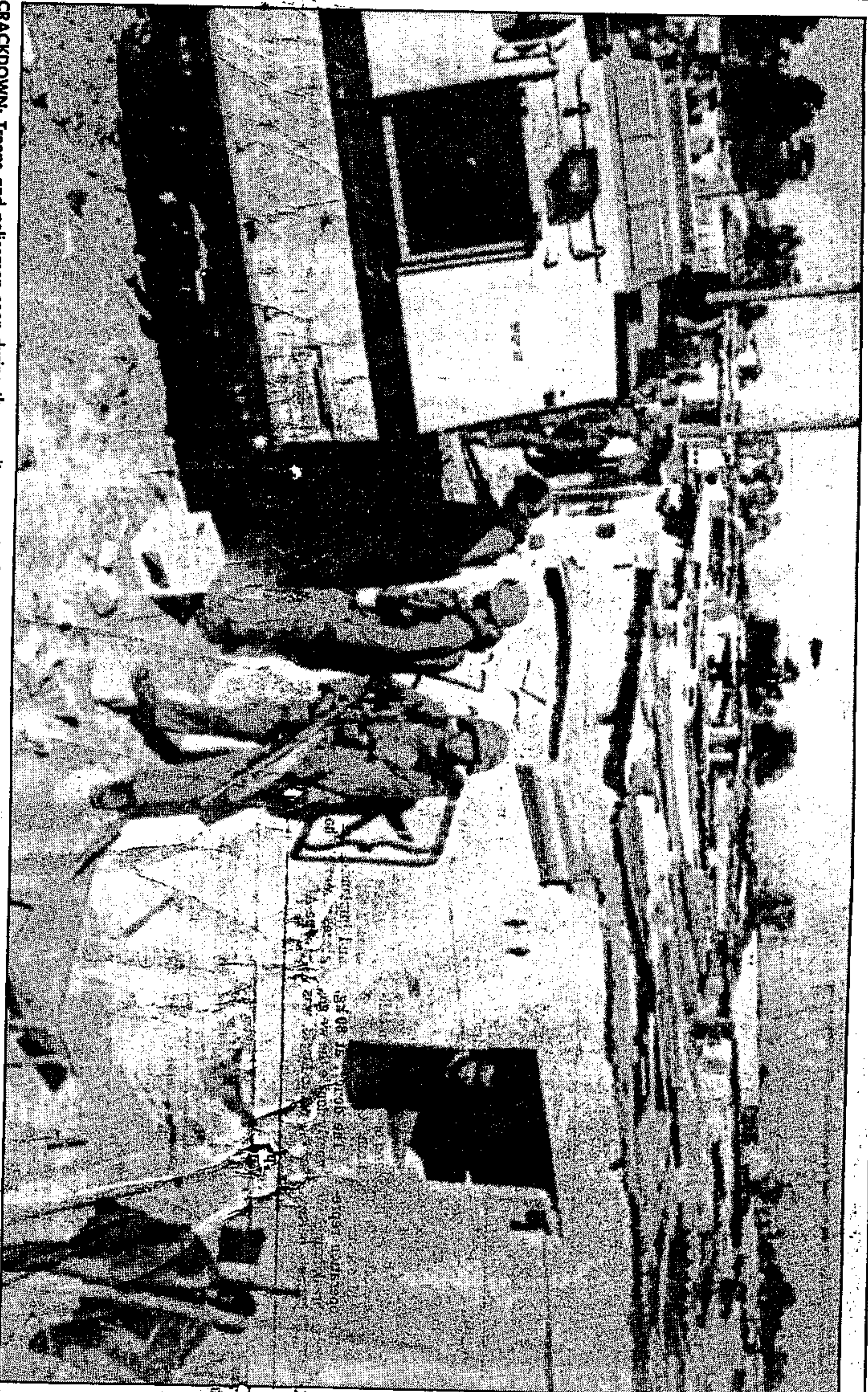
Staff Reporter

THE SAP staged a huge search and recover operation on the East Rand early yesterday, seizing several AK-47s and a substantial amount of ammunition.

Several hundred police and SADF personnel sealed off the areas surrounding hostels in Tokoza and searched them one by one. Police recovered a quantity of hidden arms and ammunition. Two men were arrested.

At 6.30 am police removed on to the Phola Park area to conduct a similar operation. By midday, police had seized a number of firearms.

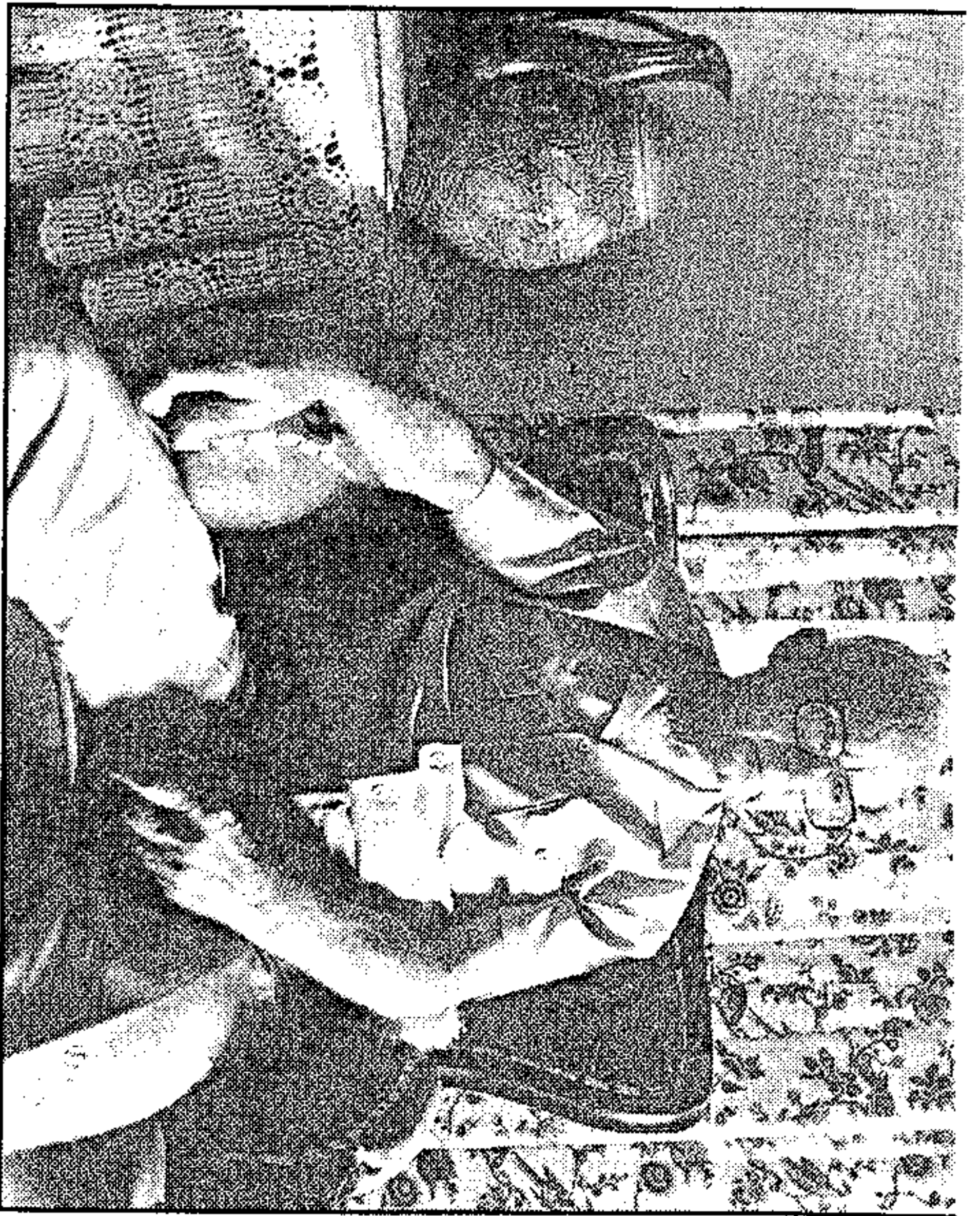
A substantial amount of stolen property and suspected stolen vehicles were also recovered. Six illegal immigrants were arrested, three in connection with stolen property and five in connection with illegal firearms.



CRACKDOWN: Troops and policemen seen during the security sweep in the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand yesterday.

● Photograph: JACCOB RYKLIFF

5/16/93



SORROW AND RAGE: Surrounded by things that remind him of his murdered wife Lettie, Rudolf Opperman speaks angrily of the collapse of law and order that he believes is responsible for her death.

They're refusing to succumb to APLA

Star Spiegel

EAST LONDON —

Farmers attacked by APLA along the Transkei border are not planning to retreat to safer pastures. But their colleagues elsewhere in the Border region, particularly around King William's Town, are being driven off their land.

One King William's Town farmer, Des Hofart, has suffered two arson attacks during the past week. Standing in his fields, where grazing valued at R20 000 was destroyed, he said he felt there was an orchestrated campaign against farmers. Some had received death threats.

"We believe they are trying to terrorise us to abandon our farms so they can take over."

Hofart said Hanover farmer Ralph Burger's farm had been burnt three times, and his cattle hacked to death.

Now — with his farmhouse in ruins — he tries to run his farm from King William's Town.

Not all the victims were white. Hofart said Cameron Gungqwa, who had lost stock worth almost R1 million, had also abandoned his farm.

Border farmers Richard and Jenny Trow, who survived an APLA attack, said they felt as safe on their farm as anywhere else in South Africa. "No one is nervous here. We are aware of the danger but it will not change our life-

BORDER agrarians will stay put.

However, farmers in the King William's Town district have been forced off their land, writes **CLAIRE KETON**

style," they said.

This week a house on an Aliwal North farm 10 km from the Transkei border was destroyed in what police believe was an arson attack.

An elderly farmer who lives alone said he did not worry about the situation, although APLA had become a danger.

Interviewed on his stoep within sight of the border, he said he was born on the farm in 1903 and would not move. He carries a gun "like every farmer". On a shelf inside was an array of trophies for target shooting.

Stock theft

In some ways the pub in the small border village of Konga tells the region's story — no one drinks there without a shotgun close at hand.

Farmer Andria Myburg was sure APLA was behind the stock losses he suffered during the past month.

His fences were cut in five places and he lost 62 sheep and five cattle. Another farmer's

600 m fence was at 10 m intervals; he lost 10 cattle and 18 sheep. "You can't farm properly if you have security problems. If you lose 200 sheep, that is R20 000. Any businessman with occasional losses like that will pull out."

Myburg said farmers in the Dordrecht region were "not in a panic". He knew of none who had left their farm.

However, his brother Hans, who farmed near Lady Grey, had been forced to abandon his land. His house and car were burnt out last year by an APLA member who was later convicted in the East London Supreme Court of arson.

"I was driven off the land and now I am sitting in Cradock," he said.

Another elderly farmer said that although there was plenty of water on his farm, it was worth nothing.

"Nobody would want it on the Transkei border, not even if I gave it away. I know we have some of the best farms in the district, but today I can't get a cent for my farm."

Asked whether he would welcome AWB patrols, Myburg said: "We don't want them there. I have a good relationship with my neighbours (in Transkei) and would not bring in people to harass them." — Elnews.

Apla linked to raid on Transkei arms depot

SITimes 6/6/93

By NICK OLIVARI and DAWN BARKHUIZEN
POLICE investigating the involvement of Apla members in a series of crimes, including murder, have confiscated 12 weapons stolen from a Transkei armoury in what appears to have been an "inside job".

The April 30 theft of three light machine-guns of South African origin and 30 R4 rifles — standard issue to SA Defence Force and independent homelands troops — came to light this week following the arrest of three alleged Apla members outside a restaurant in Yeoville, Johannesburg, last Saturday night.

Police said the trio were in possession of 1kg of plastic explosive, two 250g packets of TNT and a Chinese stick grenade.

In a follow-up operation later that night, a fourth man was arrested in Soweto after a shootout with police. The SAP allegedly found an R1 rifle grenade and an R4 rifle — subsequently identified as one of those from the TDF armoury — in the arrested man's house.

Apla has denied it was involved in the alleged plot.

Another 11 R4s were recovered by police in operations as far afield as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

Yesterday, Colonel Derek Ngwebi, the TDF's director of operations and training, confirmed that the weapons had been stolen from the School of Infantry armoury in Umata on April 30. He said no ammunition was taken.

"It appears the weapons were removed by someone who had access to the keys. There was no sign of forced entry, and it's possible that the theft occurred the day before it was discovered

when a group of soldiers went to draw weapons for drill purposes," he said.

Colonel Ngwebi said troops who were guarding the armoury at the time had been arrested and were being questioned.

The South African government had been informed of the theft and given the serial numbers of the missing weapons.

It appears that police may have learned of the plan to bomb the Yeoville restaurant, Rockerfellas, during the country-wide swoop on PAC members on May 20.

SAP spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said a man arrested in Natal during the crackdown had been

linked to plans to bomb a bar on the South Coast and two Durban restaurants. He will appear in court tomorrow on charges of attempted murder and illegal possession of explosives.

Another five men arrested on May 20 are also expected to appear in court tomorrow on charges of murder and possession of illegal explosives, bringing to 16 the number of PAC members charged with offences since the swoop.

The four men arrested in connection with the Yeoville incident are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, and sources said a fifth man was still being sought.

Fergie finds royal favour

LONDON: The "outcast" Duchess of York is making a comeback — with the blessing of the queen.

Less than a year since she was frozen out of the royal fold over scandalous pictures of her frolicking with her financial adviser, all the signs point to a reconciliation with her in-laws.

Not only has Fergie spent the past few days at a cottage on the queen's Balmoral estate, where it is understood her estranged husband Prince Andrew has

visited her, but she is to make her trip home today in a royal jet of the Queen's Flight — marking a return to privileges she enjoyed during her marriage.

None of this would have been possible without the queen's consent.

Her return to the queen's Scottish retreat is described in one newspaper as "remarkable" — given the fact that it was from there that she fled in disgrace following topless pictures of her in the tabloids. — © The Telegraph, London.

An unhealthy alliance

SITINGO b16193

BEN NGUBANE says members of the National Intelligence Service are acting in cahoots with the ANC

THOUGH this week saw signs of constitutional progress, it would be a mistake to assume that everything is now smooth sailing. Violence in particular remains a critical problem, and the IFP insists that this be tackled now if constitutional consensus is to be transformed into concrete, institutional progress.

At the multi-party forum on April 26, the IFP demanded an end to ANC violence against the IFP (over 285 of whose leaders have been assassinated) and government connivance in the marginalisation of the IFP. Dr Frank Mdlalose made the following charges:

"But even more disturbing than the ANC's campaign of violence against the IFP is the fact that there is collusion at the most senior levels of government... we find it totally incomprehensible of the government that:

- It has seemingly failed to establish who is behind these serial killings of our leaders;

- Via the fiscus, it helps fund MK's training in Transkei;

- It has long tolerated the deployment from Transkei of trained MK assassins;

- It was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of cadres being deployed against us;

- It signed an agreement blaming the IFP for political violence while exonerating our attackers;

- It agreed to the banning of traditional accoutrements while legitimising others' military training;

- It helps others distance themselves from gun running and suppresses disclosure of information on hit squads;

- It threatens one course of action with the PAC but continues to negotiate with the ANC whose military wing has been proven to be involved in violence; and

- Its intelligence agencies are involved in providing support to those seeking our demise."

As serious as they are, these charges are merely the reflection of a more deep-seated problem. In essence, dominant sections of the regime and ANC have reached a mutual "accommodation" on key aspects of the transition, which nothing and no one is to be permitted to derail.

One of the government's major concerns is thus to help secure the image of a moder-

ate ANC as a responsible partner in government.

This accounts for the government's preparedness to help the ANC out of tight spots, its playing to the gallery over Apla, and its deathly silence over MK's activities against the IFP.

However, even more sinister in pointing to what is going on behind the public facade of "open" negotiations, is the fact that important elements within the state are actively working to marginalise the IFP — a charge corroborated by an SACP "not for circulation" document in November 1992.

The document refers to the "mutual recognition" between "advanced elements" in the regime and the ANC.

Significantly, the document refers first to the marginalisation of internal threats (within the state) "through a large number of surgical tactical blows by this 'most advanced' section"; and second, to actions against other organisations, especially the IFP.

"These actions on the part of elements within the regime extend, for example, to the continuing disruptive actions aimed by the re-

gime's National Intelligence Service against... Inkatha."

The document itemises NIS support for pro-ANC newspapers; its liaison with certain journalists; its role in building the anti-IFP Contralasa in Natal; and its responsibility for Inkathagate.

Indeed, the SACP explicitly acknowledges that "the implications of such actions have been made to us by some of these regime elements."

This kind of duplicity is deeply disturbing, not only for its impact on present violence and present negotiations, but also for the future. What strategies are being jointly pursued by NIS and the ANC's intelligence service? What kind of democracy are we bringing into being? What plans are being hatched to deal with opponents in the future?

The IFP says enough is enough. As our massive protest marches on May 15 amplified demonstrate, we are sickened by the conniving, by the collusion against us, and by the implications for the future. We do not accept this agenda and we will not permit it to be implemented.

□ Dr Ben Ngubane is an executive member of the IFP central committee.

Army chiefs pressured to find answers

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

SADF and MK chiefs this week held two days of talks at a secret venue in Pretoria to negotiate a compromise on the management of the country's armed forces.

The pressure has been growing on the negotiators to resolve the issue which has dogged talks for over two years.

Without agreement, the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils, which includes one on defence, will not be implemented. The negotiators have two weeks in which to settle the matter.

The core problem recognised by army chief Lt-General Georg Meiring and MK commander Joe Modise, who led their respective delegations this week, is what powers the sub-council on defence will have.

The government is unwilling to subject

the SADF to effective operational control by a multi-party sub-council. The ANC feels that mere political control does not go far enough in reigning in all the country's armed formations.

But whereas there is a growing understanding between the army bosses, the problem now lies with the politicians, especially Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee who fears a right-wing backlash if he sanctions interference in the SADF.

In a submission to the negotiating council this week, the technical committee on violence proposed a three-phased approach to dealing with all armed formations. The approach is identical to the understanding that has been reached in talks between the SADF and MK.

The first phase would involve an audit of all weapons and personnel in all the armed formations. A mechanism for bringing weapons and personnel under

the supervision of a joint multi-party agency would be established.

The second phase involves the formulation of policy and overseeing all armed formations by a joint multi-party agency.

This agency would ensure effective supervision, including clear identification of personnel, weapons and locations and the circumstances in which armed formations may be deployed.

The third phase, which involves the integration, disbandment and rationalisation of armed formations would be the responsibility of an elected government, the technical committee proposes.

In addition to this phased approach, the committee proposes the establishment of an independent peace-keeping force with a multi-party composition to act as the primary peace-keeping force for the election. It would be specially trained and

would be controlled by either the Independent Electoral Commission or a multi-party executive. The ANC envisages a 7 000-strong force of members drawn from all armed formations.

In a submission to the technical committee, the ANC outlined its demands for the control of the armed formations.

It wants a sub-council on defence to have definite powers to control the operations and management of armed formations.

This, in effect, would mean that MK, the SADF and all other armed formations would not be able to make decisions regarding military developments without the permission of the multi-party sub-council.

Neither would an army be allowed to be deployed without the permission of the sub-council and all armed formations would be bound by a code of conduct.

PAC members charged in wake of swoop

Buss. Day 7/6/93
POLICE said yesterday five more PAC members would appear in court today to face criminal charges following investigations into activities of the organisation and its military wing. (84A)

Col Johan Mostert, who headed the investigations, said 10 people had already appeared in court and had been charged with various offences including murder, unlawful possession of explosives and possession of unlicensed arms. (84A)

He said the 15 alleged PAC members were among 81 people detained in the

countrywide police swoop on PAC offices and homes on May 25. (329)

Sixty-two people were only questioned and had been released.

He said nine people were still in detention, four under section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with the alleged plan to bomb a Yeoville restaurant.

The other five will appear in various courts today to face criminal charges. Among them is a man arrested in connection with recent attacks in Westville and Verulam in which two people died. — Sapa.

SADF, MK talk Star 7/16/93 about new force

Senior Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SADF officers met for the third time in a month last week to discuss a future defence force.

The delegations, led by SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg and MK chief Joe Modise, met in Pretoria on Thursday and Friday. (S) (S)

They are due to meet again after an ANC national executive committee meeting this week. (S)

Sources on both sides remained tightlipped yesterday about the talks.

It is understood, however, that considerable progress is being made on the issue of a new defence force.
— Political Correspondent.

15 PAC Star 7/16/93 members charged

By Charmeela Bhagawat

Fifteen Pan Africanist Congress members arrested in a nationwide-swoop last month have been charged with crimes ranging from murder to the possession of illegal firearms and explosives.

But SAP headquarters spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert declined to name them.

Five of the 15 were arrested during follow-up operations.

In addition, four suspects were being detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act for allegedly planning to bomb the popular Bellevue nightspot, Rockerfella's.

Mostert said police had completed the investigation into activities of the PAC's military wing, Apla.

More than 70 PAC members were arrested in a dawn swoop on May 20.

Mostert said 61 of the 81 PAC members and alleged Apla operatives captured in the raid and in follow-up operations were released by Friday.

Five others were later charged in connection with murder and possessing illegal firearms and explosives. One was being held in Natal in connection with two murders.

Mostert could not confirm newspaper reports that 12 weapons confiscated from some of the detainees were stolen from a Transkei armoury in April.

Transkei Defence Force Colonel Derek Ngwebi was quoted in a Sunday paper as saying the weapons removed from the armoury were taken by someone with access to the keys.

Mostert said police would investigate the link between the robbery and the confiscated arms.

'Mental wreck' tells of ANC detention

By Mokone Moleté

A former policeman, who joined the ANC and was later detained by the movement for five years, yesterday claimed he harboured no ill feelings against the ANC.

Jamiez Tombisa told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged human rights abuses in ANC detention camps that he would, however, claim compensation of R300 000 from the ANC.

He was a "mental wreck" after his detention.

During cross-examination, Tombisa said that while detained he was often sick and had a dislocated shoulder, a constantly bleeding nose and bleeding ears. He received no medical treatment until

after he was released.

His detention followed the death of a Tanzanian citizen, a "comrade Savage".

Counsel for the ANC, Brian Koopedi, suggested that Tombisa was detained because he had been implicated in Savage's death.

Tombisa replied: "This is not true. The main reason I was locked up was because I was a former member of the SAP and was regarded as an enemy agent."

In answer to further questions, he stated that a prisoner who was held in the same camp was raped by ANC commissars; and that Chris Hani ordered the shooting of one Bongani who later received treatment in a hospital in Tanzania.

ANC detainee claims he is 'not bitter'

A FORMER policeman who joined the ANC and was later detained for five years by the organisation, yesterday claimed he harboured no ill thoughts.

Saying that he was now "a mental wreck", Jamiez Tombisa told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC detention camps that he would only claim compensation — totalling R300 000 — from the organisation.

During cross-examination, Tombisa said during his detention he was often

■ Former cop says Hani ordered shooting of detainee:

sick, had a dislocated shoulder and a constantly bleeding nose and ears. He received no medical treatment until after he was released.

His detention followed the death of a Tanzanian citizen, a "comrade Savage".

Counsel for the ANC, Brian Koopedi, suggested that Tombisa was detained as he was implicated in the death of Savage and that he had tried to run away.

"This is not true. The main reason I

was locked up was because I was a former member of the SAP and was regarded as an enemy agent."

Tombisa also stated that:

- A prisoner who was held in the same camp was raped on consecutive nights by ANC commissars; and

- Chris Hani ordered the shooting of one Bongani who later received treatment in a hospital in Tanzania. — *Own Correspondent.*

Sowetan 8/6/93

(S)

(S)

(S)



PAC to step up armed struggle

The PAC said yesterday it was suspending bilateral talks with the Government following a police swoop on its members, but would remain in multiparty democracy talks. (SAPA)

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander told Spanish television news agency Televisa-Eco's Africa bureau that the organisation's military wing would not abandon its armed struggle against white domination: "We will carry on with the armed struggle. We will intensify it." — Sapa-Reuter (SAPA)

ANC used third degree 'in extreme cases'

Buss. Day 9/6/93
LLOYD COUTTS

THE "third degree" was applied only under extreme circumstances as a method of interrogation at the ANC's Quattro detention camp in Angola, the camp's first commander and ANC intelligence official Gabriel Mthembu said yesterday.

He did not elaborate on what he meant by the "third degree".

(84A)
Testifying at the Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into alleged torture in ANC camps, Mthembu denied torture had taken place at Camp 32 (Quattro), and said the "third degree" was employed only when people's lives were at stake.

Interrogation techniques were governed by strict regulations, and the use of "political persuasion" on enemy agents was preferred. Agents — many of whom were compelled by circumstances to work for the SA regime — were told what the ANC stood for, and this proved successful.

Mthembu, trained in East Germany and the Soviet Union and appointed to head Quattro in 1979 when he was only 19 — said he had never personally resorted to the "third degree". He said there had been

instances of abuse by camp personnel, but that those responsible had been reprimanded and, in some cases, demoted.

Mthembu said the ANC had been forced to create a detention camp when its operations and equipment in Angola were sabotaged, and when it became clear it had been infiltrated by agents.

"(It is) regrettable, some of us having to be brought here as if we have committed bad acts. My contention is that the people spreading such lies are people who are aiming to besmirch the image of the movement," he told the commission.

Apla attack foiled — police

SEVEN people believed to be Apla members have been arrested in connection with robberies, murders of members of the security forces and a foiled attack on an unnamed homeland cabinet minister.

Police said the arrests were a "direct sequel" to their investigations after the swoop on PAC-Apla members on May 25. They said that to name the targeted minister would put his life in danger.

Police unveiled detailed, hand-drawn plans of security force establishments allegedly targeted by Apla for attack. Gen Leon Mellet told a media conference in Pretoria that the plans had been retrieved last month in a raid on the PAC's Johannesburg headquarters.

They included layouts and sketches of Free State police stations and a northern Transvaal military base. Information contained in the plans, including the placement of particular offices and security measures, would have been "100% sufficient" to have launched an attack.

Mellet added that the details were so

Wilson Zwane and
Adrian Hadland

specific it would be "naive to think the PAC did not have its own information network". He dismissed as speculation a suggestion that police members could have provided the PAC with the information.

None of the plans indicated how or where an attack would be initiated.

Police have arrested 88 people since the May 25 swoop. Of these, 62 have been released and 18 charged with offences such as illegal possession of ammunition.

PAC publicity and information director Waters Toboti denied that the PAC had such plans and accused the police of a smear campaign to improve their image — dented by their "groundless actions" against the PAC. He said no arrested PAC officials had been confronted with the plans. He also said police had returned seized computers last week but they had been damaged and the PAC was considering legal action.

Quattro 'had strictest rules'

Sawetun 9/6/93

■ Torture not the usual way:

THE first commander of the ANC's Quattro camp in Angola said yesterday torture was not the organisation's method of extracting information from prisoners.

Mr Gabriel Mthunzi Mthembu, whose camp name was Sizwe Mkhonto, told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC camps that there were strict rules prohibiting the torture of prisoners. It was only in "very extreme circumstances that third degree methods were used".

Referring to allegations about Quattro which have come up before the commission, he said that these came from people who are "aiming to besmirch the image of the movement". (Proceeding)

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New police swoop on Apla

Murder plan foiled - SAP

Star 10/6/93

84A ~~84A~~ (NA)

Staff Reporters

Police announced yesterday they had arrested seven alleged Apla members in connection with several attacks and a foiled assassination plot.

They also confiscated detailed plans of two police stations and a military installation from PAC headquarters.

The SAP displayed plans of the security installations at a press conference yesterday, saying they were seized during raids on the PAC last month - a claim vigorously denied by PAC leadership.

Police said the seven were arrested on Monday and Tuesday in connection with attacks on security forces, robberies and an alleged plot to assassinate a homeland Cabinet Minister whom they did not name but who is believed to be from Venda.

Major-General Leon Mellet, head of the SAP's public relations division, and Colonel Johan Mostert, chief of SAP media liaison, told a press conference in Pretoria that accurate sets of maps and plans had been confiscated from PAC headquarters after the arrests of members of the PAC and its military wing on May 25.

The maps were of the Selsoville (Kroonstad) and Winburg police stations, both in the Free State, and an unidentified army base in the northern Transvaal.

The plans included details of roads and buildings and drawings of office layouts, as well as "very sensitive" plans of the army base.

However, PAC information director Waters Toboti said yesterday the police could have fabricated and then planted the documents at PAC headquarters when they staged the raid two weeks ago. No PAC official was present at the time.

The PAC's negotiating team will meet in Johannesburg this weekend to discuss its continued participation in negotiations.

PAC national executive council (NEC) members yesterday stressed that no decision had been taken to suspend talks with the Government, as was announced by secretary-general Benny Alexander.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadziyhanani said Alexander's statement was his personal view.

Nemadziyhanani added that the PAC had cordial relations with all "bantustans, including Venda", and he found it unbelievable that Apla could have targeted a Cabinet Minister in Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana's administration.

Charges of murder and attempted murder were yesterday withdrawn by a Johannesburg magistrate against Louis Moosa (31) of Soweto due to insufficient evidence. He is one of four Apla members held in connection with a foiled attempt to bomb Ruckerfella's restaurant in Bellevue.



The brown bomber . . . Chapman takes owner Magda Human for a run in a Boksburg

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Dog beats world record

The fastest greyhound in the world is brown, lives in Boksburg and carbo-loads on spaghetti before a big race.

At a meeting far from the high-flying world of overseas dog racing, Chapman (19 months) clocked 74 km/h on a dirt track near Newcastle, Natal, at the weekend, leaving the old world record of 73,14 km/h in tatters.

If Magda and Danie Hu-

man would let him out of his kennel at their Boksburg North home, Chapman would be the only dog in the neighbourhood who could catch the cars he chased.

It is difficult to work out whether Chapman is the official world champion as the sport has been illegal in South Africa since 1949.

He was clocked with a

speed trap-type radar and representatives of the Guinness Book of World Records will visit him this week.

Chapman usually eats meat and pap, but scoffs spaghetti the day before a race.

He goes for a walk with the Humans every day. Twice a week he has a gentle run, with a short sprint only every two weeks.

ANC walkout threat

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Carletonville ANC members have vowed to hand back their membership cards unless the organisation's head office disbands the executive committee of the Carletonville branch - whose members are allegedly responsible for murder, arson, assault and intimidation.

A group of ANC members from Khutsong township, near Carletonville, arrived at the liberation movement's Johannesburg headquarters yesterday to hand a memorandum to three representatives of the peace desk.

They charged that the ANC's Khutsong leadership had orchestrated violent crime in the township, "attacking and killing members of Cosas, members of the

ANC Youth League, members of the ANC Women's League and the entire membership of the ANC".

The deputation included local-level leaders of these ANC-linked structures, who said they had been forced into action by community pressure. At least eight people had been killed since the violence started, they said. The most recent victim, Abel Ngame Motswaesane (18), was buried at the weekend.

Residents alleged that members of the branch committee were also involved in:

- Night patrols which resulted in the burning of houses.
- Conducting a kangaroo court. According to statements collected by the Independent Board of Inquiry (IBI), numerous people have

• To Page 3

Slogan ban 'a PR stunt'

CAPE TOWN - The National Party has dismissed as a public relations stunt efforts by the ANC to abandon the "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogan.

ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa said the ANC's national executive committee had instructed its members not to chant the slogan.

In response yesterday, NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the NP welcomed the ANC's decision.

"It is, however, a decision without teeth. One cannot but have the impression that it is nothing more than a cynical public relations effort . . . a leadership decision without the will to enforce it." - Political Staff

Star 10/6/93

84A ~~84A~~ (NA)

Star 10/6/93

84A

Witness tells *Star 10/6/93* of executed

prisoners

By Mokone Moletse

A witness yesterday gave the Motsuenyane commission the names of two ANC prisoners who were allegedly killed for "crimes against the organisation".

Gabriel Mthembu, a former commander at Quattro camp in Angola, named the men only as Piper and Mahamba. ~~(S)~~

The commission is investigating alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps in exile. (S/A)

Earlier in his evidence, he said a certain David Dumela had also been executed. He later retracted the name, stating that he had made a mistake.

Asked by commission chairman Sam Motsuenyane what had happened to Mahamba, Mthembu said: "I think he was part of those who were given capital punishment." ~~(S)~~

Motsuenyane: "Does that mean executed?"

Mthembu: "Yes."

He told the commission that ANC leader Jacob Zuma would later deal in evidence concerning people who went missing in ANC camps.

Another witness, Dexter Mbona, who is based in Lusaka and was flown in to testify at the hearings, denied previous allegations that he took part in the beating of inmates.

He was a recording officer at Quattro between 1984 and 1985.

The hearing continues.

Probe on abuses at ANC camps told of Olivia Forsyth's detention

SA INTELLIGENCE agent Olivia Forsyth had been imprisoned in the ANC's Quattro detention camp in Angola after officials stopped believing her claim to be acting as a counter agent for the ANC.

Former Quattro chief recording officer Dexter Mbona yesterday gave details of Forsyth's espionage work to the Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into alleged abuses in ANC camps.

Mbona said that before Forsyth tried to infiltrate the organisation's Lusaka headquarters in the mid-'80s, the ANC had been alerted to her being an agent by a former

fellow student.

After joining the ANC, she had been "turned" and sent back to SA as a counter agent, returning to Lusaka later to supply the ANC with information about the impending state of emergency, he said.

She had also told the ANC of a government plan to arrest the leadership of the mass democratic movement, destabilise its activities in exile and "release Nelson Mandela in a vacuum", he said.

He said the ANC had already known most of that information. However, by then it was suspicious of Forsyth and subse-

quently imprisoned her in Quattro.

Mbona denied that she had been sexually assaulted there and claimed that after being moved to Luanda, she had subsequently "fallen in love with" security department official Railoe Maylle.

He was expelled from the security department because of this affair.

Quattro camp commander Mountain Kepadise testified that the ANC had banned hunger strikes by inmates at the camp because it regarded people who wan-

ted to commit suicide as cowards.

He said there were no adequate medical facilities at the camp to cope with a hunger strike and camp officials feared that hunger strikers would die of starvation.

Architectural plans had been drafted for a prison to replace Quattro, which was too small and lacked basic prison facilities, Kepadise said.

The planned prison, which was to be built east of the Ugandan capital Kampala with the consent of the Ugandan government, would have included "a tennis court, a football field and a volleyball court" in

keeping with modern prison standards.

Kepadise said he had received reports that Quattro inmate Brendon Sampson had been beaten up for killing six pigs and had earned the nickname "porko", or pig, as a result.

The guards had subsequently been punished for breaching camp rules by assaulting Sampson, he said.

Mbona testified that about half those at the ANC's Pango camp, also in Angola, had been found to be involved in "illicit dealings", including in drugs. A similar situation existed at other ANC camps, he said.

'Apla bid

to kill

Sowetan 10/6/93

Minister'

By Josias Charle and Sapa

POLICE HAVE ARRESTED SEVEN members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in connection with an alleged plot to assassinate a Venda Cabinet Minister. (84A)

Senior police liaison officer Colonel Johan Mostert said at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday that the men were arrested on Monday.

Mostert displayed hand-drawn sketches which he said showed the plans of two police stations and an army base that were apparently targeted for attack.

He said the two police stations were situated in the Free State — one in Kroonstad and the other at Winburg. He declined to say where the army camp was located.

The police could not say when and how the alleged plan would be carried out.

One of the rough sketches was drawn on the back of a chart showing the face of PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Mostert said the seven arrested men were also members of the PAC, of which Apla is the military wing.

They had been arrested under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act but Mostert said police may soon change this to Section 29 of the same Act, which provides for 14 days' detention before they could appear in court.

No date has been set for their court appearance.

Mostert said because of security reasons the identity of the targeted Cabinet Minister could not be disclosed. He said the plan was to assassi-

nate the Minister by shooting him.

It is not known where this was to have taken place.

The plans were confiscated from the PAC offices in Johannesburg when they were raided by members of the Internal Stability Unit early on May 25, he said. (S)

Police forensic tests carried out on the seized documents had shown a set of fingerprints, Mostert said, but refused to say to whom they belonged.

He denied allegations that the maps were drawn up by the police and planted on PAC members, saying police would not do such a thing and this would be tested in court.

Meanwhile, two men alleged to be Apla members appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with an alleged attempt to plant a bomb at Rockerfellas Restaurant in Rocky Street, Johannesburg, two weeks ago.

Four people were originally detained in connection with the incident and attacks on security forces.

One is still being treated in hospital for gunshot wounds. Charges against the other were withdrawn.

The two men who appeared yesterday were identified as Mr Patrick Muchindu (32) of Diepkloof, Soweto, and Mr Godfrey Mathebula (36) of the Mandela squatter also in Diepkloof.

The charges against them include the murder of a policeman and the attempted murder of another and charges relating to explosives.

They were not asked to plead and will appear in court again on June 23.

Orange teachers boycott classes

■ Angry staff demand three months arrears pay:

Sowetan 10/6/93

By Bongani Mavuso

ANGRY teachers at Voice Education Centre at Orange Farm are boycotting classes after the owner, Mr MA Khumalo, allegedly failed to pay their salaries for three months.

Teachers said yesterday pupils were becoming "restless and violent because they want to return to class".

The centre is registered as a private school with the Department of Education and Training, DET Orange Vaal region spokesman Mr W Gravett confirmed on Tuesday.

It comprises a pre-school, four primary schools and two secondary schools. Annual fees are R30 for the primary schools, R35 for higher primary and R40 for the secondary schools.

Teacher Mr Albert Sibanda yesterday

alleged that Khumalo told them there was no money to pay their salaries "because the Government was refusing to release the money".

However, DET spokeswoman in Pretoria Miss Kim McEvilly dismissed this, saying: "The responsibility for paying the teachers' salaries lies with their employer".

Attempts to contact Khumalo, a businessman, yesterday and on Tuesday were unsuccessful. When *Sowetan* visited his office teachers said he had left early in the morning "to look for money". Several calls to his office went unanswered.

About 79 teachers are employed by the centre.

They said their salaries ranged between R300 and R1 200 a month and claimed Khumalo spent about R50 000 for the official opening of the centre in March.

ANC 3

slain at Quattro

Sowetan 10/6/93

■ Commander admits death penalty was exercised:

THREE ANC prisoners who were killed for crimes allegedly committed against the organisation were yesterday named at the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged human rights abuses at ANC camps in exile.

The men, their names given as Piper, Mahamba and David Dumela, were executed by the ANC, the commission was told by Mr Gabriel Mthembu, a former camp commander at Quattro camp in Angola. Asked by commission chairman Mr Sam Motsuenyane what had happened to Mahamba, Mthembu replied: "I think he was part of those that were given capital punishment by the movement."

Motsuenyane: "Does that mean executed?" Mthembu: "Yes."

Asked for reasons for Mahamba's execution, Mthembu said he had committed crimes "deemed serious" by the movement.

FM
11/6/93

The PAC's decision on whether or not to abandon or suspend political violence should be known after its Tuesday meeting with government. Signs are positive. For the rest, parties at negotiations on June 3, led by Inkatha and the ANC, were full of praise for the "historic" and "very constructive" fourth report of the technical committee on violence. If its basic recommendations are implemented and adhered to, chances of next year's general election being free and fair will be immeasurably improved.

The thrust of the whole report, says the committee, is to identify conditions necessary to eliminate violence so that the election can go off freely, "without intimidation, obstruction or the fear of being killed."

Opposing the view that violence must first be ended if there is to be an election at all, the committee states: "An election is the most important moment in the democratic process and its role in eliminating the conditions causing violence cannot be overestimated."

Regarding armed formations, the committee says all proposals should be considered in the light of a single, overriding objective "to establish impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA." It proposes that parties adopt a series of "phased confidence-building measures" to achieve this in terms of the May 7 declaration of intent to level the playing field for the election. This was welcomed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, though he felt the committee could have done more on the question of creating a climate for free political activity.

The steps are proposed in three broad phases. Immediately, all parties with arms or armed formations must establish proper control over these, conduct an audit of all weapons and personnel and establish mechanisms for bringing them under the supervision of a joint multiparty agency. At the same time parties should take every step to ensure that members and supporters do not use weapons "for any unlawful purpose."

In phase two the proposed agency should formulate policy and oversee all armed formations. It will need to make a distinction between statutory and nonstatutory armies on the one hand and police forces (which will be required to continue fulfilling law-and-order functions during the election) on the other. This is especially welcomed by In-

katha and KwaZulu whose controversial KwaZulu Police is seen by the ANC as a private army. For its part, the PAC says it has problems with homeland-controlled police forces.

In the third phase it will be the responsibility of an elected government to integrate, disband and rationalise the various armed formations and integrate personnel into society. Weapons not under the control of any private army, or used contrary to agreements, should be dealt with by the ordinary criminal process.

A dissenting view by one member of the committee (thought to be the Inkatha representative) makes the point that there is no justification for the existence of private armies during this period of talks. But, since they're there, it is recommended that they be phased out in stages related to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, that unlicensed AK47 rifles in possession of such armies should immediately be placed under credible impartial control, and that transgressors be dealt with in terms of the law and not be eligible for indemnity.

The committee has also proposed the establishment of an "independent peace-keeping force with a multiparty composition to function as the primary peace-keeping force for the election." It should be specially trained, have legitimacy across the political spectrum and be controlled by either the independent electoral commission or a multiparty executive.

Among the proposals parties have made to deal with breaches of the National Peace Accord are: the public repudiation, suspension or expulsion of anyone in breach, ordering apologies to the aggrieved party, and prohibiting those found guilty from appearing on public platforms.

Based on the committee's 13 concrete proposals the negotiating council resolved that:

- The National Peace Committee (NPC) urgently finalise proposed amendments, to strengthen the peace accord and increase its effectiveness;
- Accord signatories meet as a matter of urgency to reaffirm their commitment to the accord and approve amendments to it;
- Nonsignatories (such as the PAC and CP) sign the accord immediately (the ANC suggested a deadline be set and the DP wants ways found to get youth organisations to sign as well);
- Appropriate compulsory sanctions be developed by the technical committee of the independent electoral commission for dealing with parties which transgress the accord's code of conduct for political parties but refuse to sign the accord;
- Any party organising a public demonstration or any other form of mass action must comply with the guidelines in the report;
- The NPC urgently submit proposed amendments to the Regulation of Gatherings Bill;
- A series of phased confidence-building measures be adopted leading to the creation of impartial, legitimate and effective secur-

ity forces. A distinction be drawn between statutory and non-statutory armies on the one hand and police forces on the other and that the technical committee on the TEC and its subcouncils propose the precise mechanisms to be adopted;

Parties among which there is conflict and which have contributed to violence should meet bilaterally to seek joint solutions;

An independent peace-keeping force with a multiparty composition be established and placed under the control of the independent electoral commission or under multiparty executive control;

Every party commit itself without reservation to the holding of a free and fair election and do everything possible to ensure that the electorate and leaders and candidates of parties are able to conduct their election campaigns freely and without intimidation; and

The committee prepare detailed proposals on the desirability, financing, establishment and composition of a peace/youth services corps. ■

FM 11/6/93.

MK cadre 'linked' to Apla gang 84A

W/Mail 11/6 - 17/6/93

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH:
East London

A HIGHLY trained Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadre hiding in Transkei may have links with a "freelance" gang wanted by the police for four major Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla)-linked terror attacks in the Border region.

And Border police official Lieutenant Colonel Christo Louw said the same gang "may be linked" to a bungled attempt last month to abduct an exiled fugitive wanted by the Transkei government, in which Transkei intelligence agents have been implicated.

In January the Ciskei government alleged that Apla, MK and Transkei Defence Force members had met in Umtata to plan joint strategies against Ciskei and kwaZulu. The parties concerned called the claims "propaganda".

But now police investigations are

pointing to possible unofficial collaboration in the Border area between at least one MK guerrilla, Transkei intelligence agents and Apla cadres — and that the motive may be mercenary.

Intelligence sources and political analysts have long propounded the theory that the "Apla campaign" took off in the eastern Cape last November after one or more experienced MK guerrillas joined forces with Apla cadres.

This would explain why the eastern Cape terror attacks — which claimed 11 lives — were more spectacular and different in style to Apla activities elsewhere, which have been mainly assaults on policemen and farmers.

Furthermore, not a single Apla suspect has been arrested in the region for the attacks, despite two major police swoops nationwide — a fact which seems to support the theory of a single, highly profession-

al and possibly "freelance" gang operating outside normal political structures.

Ciskei authorities, who are looking for the gang leader for his alleged involvement in attacks on police stations and the killing of four Ciskei policemen in Mdantsane last August, believe the gang may be offering its services for hire.

Allegations have been made against the gang leader by an alleged MK member, Wonga Tyutu, who was interrogated after being arrested by the South African Police in Cape Town.

The African National Congress' Border spokesman, Mcebisi Bata, confirmed that the man named as the gang leader was an MK member from the region, but said he was "politically mature enough not to engage in such activities". The man "feared for his life" because of the publicised allegations against him, Bata added. — Ecna

Kasrils in ^{Star 11/16/93} bid to clear his name

By Mokone Molete

ANC and SACP leader Ronald "Ronnie" Kasrils yesterday made an unscheduled appearance at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry — his second — saying he wanted to clear his name. (847) (11/16/93)

Kasrils, who was not on the list of people who were due to testify at the commission set up to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in ANC camps, said he wanted to clear his name following the findings of the Douglas Commission as well as an editorial which appeared in the Sunday Times.

The Douglas Commission had found that Kasrils had taken part in the detention of 14 MK cadres who were held in a basement detention centre in Kibashe, Angola, in 1978.

Kasrils said he had had nothing to do with the 14. He produced affidavits from four of the former inmates — Ben Lekalakala, Mandla Daka, Meshack Phewa and Victor Ngwenya — clearing him of any involvement in their incarceration. (2/2)

Kasrils said Douglas's judgment had been impaired by his dislike for the ANC and his "anti-communist phobia".

Referring to an editorial in the Sunday Times and a column written by its editor, Ken Owen, Kasrils said Owen was guilty of similar fears.

He had complained to the Media Council, which had obliged the newspaper to publish a letter he had written to Owen. The letter had been published earlier in an abridged form.

Star 11/6/93
3 Apla members in court

Three alleged members of Apla appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of attempted murder and attempted robbery. They are Themba Petrus Sishange (32), Wandile Washington Genu (23) and Futhi Dalizulu (26), all of Katlehong. They were not asked to plead and were remanded until June 30. — Staff Reporter. (84A)

Kasrils claims no part in 'torture'

RAY HARTLEY

ANC national executive committee official Ronnie Kasrils yesterday denied allegations that he had pumped diesel fumes into a detention cell holding 14 people in the ANC's Quibaxe camp in Angola.

Testifying before the Motsuenyane commission into alleged abuses in ANC camps, Kasrils said he had played no part in the sentencing or detention of the 14 as he was sent to the camp to "give political lessons to the comrades there". *B/Day 11/6/93*

He told the commission, sitting in Johannesburg, that the diesel engine, from which he was alleged by the Douglas commission to have pumped fumes into the cell, was in fact located about 60m away from the cell.

The Douglas commission, which released its report early this year, was appointed by the International Freedom Foundation to examine alleged abuses in ANC camps. *(84A)*

He said he had received affidavits from four of the 14 inmates and the chairman of the tribunal which sentenced them, attesting to his innocence of any abuse. Three of the affidavits were formally lodged with the commission.

He accused the Douglas commission of making several untrue statements about him. It was incorrectly stated that he had headed up MK special operations.

He said Sunday Times editor Ken Owen had subsequently accused him of imprisoning the 14 detainees in "the black hole of

To Page 2

Kasrils

B/Day 11/6/93

From Page 1

Calcutta" and had described him as the "groot krokodil" of Quibaxe. This had created the incorrect impression that he was "some kind of authoritarian bully boy" in the mould of former President P W Botha, he said. *(84A)*

The judgment of the Douglas commission had been clouded by "anti-communist phobia", he said. *(252)*

Earlier, former Quatro staff commander Golden Rahube said he had witnessed several beatings of inmates, including torture using the "pompa" method, which led to complaints from inmates of damaged eardrums. Guards had been forced to do "fatigues" as punishment for abusing prisoners, he said. The punishment involved strenuous military exercises.

Guards had been given "a constant mes-

sage that you are here to guard, not to become sadists", Rahube testified. He had once been called in by the camp's administration after hitting two friends out of frustration when they fell foul of the ANC.

He said late ANC chairman Oliver Tambo had been misquoted as describing Quatro as "one camp we can do without" during a 1987 tour of the camp.

Rahube, who had also served at Viana camp in Angola, said two metal containers, each with five small windows, had been used at Viana as detention barracks for those connected to offences such as dagga abuse, theft and rape. A man had died in one of the containers while about 250 soldiers mutinied in the camp.

● Picture: Page 3

No trace of Apla target

Sowetan 11/6/93

By Themba Molefe and
Mathatha Tsedu

WHO IS the homeland Cabinet Minister saved by police from an alleged assassination plot by the Azanian People's Liberation Army?

The mystery of the identity deepened yesterday as all six homelands denied any knowledge of the alleged plot, announced by the South African Police on Wednesday.

Police said that seven Apla members had been arrested in connection with an assassination plot against a Cabinet Minister of a "self-governing State". They refused to identify him or his homeland.

Sowetan yesterday phoned the six self-governing States of KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu and QwaQwa. They all said no member of their cabinets had been threatened.

None of them had been informed of the plot before it was revealed by the SAP to the media.

By defining the homeland as a "self-governing State", police meant that Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, as "independent States" were not affected in the plot.

Venda, which was identified in reports yesterday as the area where the Minister was supposed to be based, also denied any knowledge of the plot.

Confronted with this information late yesterday, SAP spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg said the police would not identify the homeland or Minister concerned.

He said police stood by their earlier information that Apla members arrested this week had been planning an assassination.

When told that all homelands had denied any

knowledge of the plot, Bloomberg said: "Our information is that the person concerned was informed. Who did you speak to—a junior clerk? We are not prepared to say anything on this matter."

Sowetan spoke to Chief Ministers' offices and where this was not possible, Commissioners of Police were contacted.

The assassination allegation was yesterday dismissed by the Pan Africanist Congress as a smokescreen by the police to launch raids on its members.

First deputy chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo also questioned the authenticity of documents—alleged to have been found at PAC offices—displayed by police at the Press conference.

The documents, sketches of police stations and military installations, were said by police to be proof of impending Apla attacks.

The organisation said police were "clutching at straws in their attempts to pin Apla and the PAC to some imaginary attacks after failing to prove anything with the first swoop".

● The PAC yesterday issued a circular to its regional headquarters countrywide in which it disputes statements made by its general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, that the organisation had broken off bilateral talks with the "regime" over Apla activities.

Issued by information and publicity director Mr Waters Toboti, the statement said: "The national executive council is still waiting for a report-back from the PAC negotiating team ... before a decision can be taken."

Alexander told a Spanish television channel and local radio stations that the PAC would no longer hold bilateral talks with the Government but would remain at the multiparty talks.

84A

101

111

officers at Motsuenyane Commission

Not ANC policy to assault prisoners — commissar

Sowetan 11/6/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ **Camp chief denies suspects were beaten:**

A FORMER camp commissar in one of the ANC detention camps in Angola yesterday told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged human rights abuses in exile that it was not policy to assault prisoners. ~~(S)~~

This included those who had even attempted to kill the organisations' leaders. ~~(S)~~ (84A)

Mr Mountain Kepadise, who was commissar at Quattro between 1983 and 1985 denied that F1 Siphumzi (codename), who had allegedly attempted to assassinate Mr Chris Hani and Mr Joe Modise, was ever assaulted.

Siphumzi had allegedly tried to detonate a handgrenade in the presence of the

two ANC leaders.

Kepadise denied allegations of assault made against him and also rejected claims that ANC prisoners at a camp in Uganda were fed dogfood.

In earlier evidence, an ANC security chief, Mr Dexter Mbona, gave an insight into the life in Lusaka of the alleged double agent, Miss Olivia Forsyth.

He told the commission that before Forsyth tried to infiltrate the ANC's Lusaka headquarters in the mid-80s, the organisation had been alerted to her being an agent by a former colleague at Rhodes University.



News briefs

Board appeals to the public

Sowetan 11/16/93
THE Independent Board of Inquiry, whose aim is to investigate the disappearances of political activists and has among its members leading South Africans from various fields, is appealing for information about people who have gone missing in political circumstances. (84A)

It wants to hear about people who have been detained and never been heard from or seen again, community activists who had gone missing in mysterious circumstances and people who had left the country and never returned. If you have any information, please write to the IBI at PO Box 32293 Braamfontein 2017, Johannesburg, or telephone (011) 403-3256/ (22) 753

Quattro not 'as harsh as they claim'

Weekly Mail Reporter

MEMBERS of the African National Congress' controversial security department mounted a counter-offensive at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry this week, disputing charges of human rights abuses and torture in ANC prisons — and, in particular, the Quattro camp in Angola.

One such member was Mthunzi Mthembu, the first commander of Quattro, currently a member of the ANC's intelligence directorate and one of the most highly trained staffers in the organisation. He denied physical punishment had been used in Quattro and claimed to know of only one execution — that of Kenneth Mahamba, a camp commander in Kibashi who was "instrumental in poisonings in the camps and who later confessed he was a government agent".

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail* after he had given evidence at the inquiry, Mthembu said the key reason for the establishment of the camp was the need to crack down on infiltration by South African government agents. The poisoning of ANC members and the precise bombing of camps suggested that the government was getting information from within the ranks of the organisation.

Mthembu said the government also used agents to provide free dagga to soldiers, so as to create a "dependency syndrome" which would make them disobey orders and regulations.

The assassination of ANC leaders was the immediate spark for the creation of the prisons, he added. After a joint meeting of the ANC's national executive committee, military leadership and intelligence department, Quattro was established in the late 1970s. The main purpose was to re-educate informers and to help them to be accepted by other members of the ANC.

Mthembu said camp inmates had been subjected to "third degree" interrogation, which made use of psychological pressure. Subjects were intensively questioned and deprived of rest. Smokers were denied cigarettes. But, he insisted, "no physical punishment was ever used to get information. In a military sense a wise general would not kill a soldier."

Conditions in Quattro, he said, were not ideal, but were not as harsh as the state witnesses contended.

11/6 - 17/6/95
 19/11
 11/6 - 17/6/95

ANC'S new weapon: An AWB spy

W/M and 11/6-17/6/93.

An Afrikaner antique dealer, who worked for the National Party and then the Democratic Party, spied for the African National Congress and is helping them run their election campaign.

By PAUL STOBBER

A WARMBATHS Afrikaner this week described how he succeeded in infiltrating the ranks of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as an African National Congress spy.

Much of the information Johann du Preez gathered also found its way to the government at a time when it appeared helpless against increased rightwing militancy.

When he polishes his glasses, Du Preez looks like the successful antique dealer he is, but his straightforward manner of speaking and ruddy features confirm he is an Afrikaner brought up on a farm near Ficksburg in the Free State.

He now lives in Warmbaths, where he works with the ANC's election's commission and is running the organisation's campaign in the town.

"I had narrow escapes from the AWB while I was working with ANC intelligence," he said without bravado, "but I don't get scared easily."

Du Preez, a former member of the National Party and the Democratic Party, was recruited by the ANC's intelligence department in December 1991. He had just moved from the DP to the ANC and was giving seminars on voter education to the ANC's constitutional department, when he was asked by the then head of the organisation's intelligence department, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, to investigate reports that the AWB's Ystergard had established military training camps on farms in the eastern Free State.

In early January 1992 Du Preez was sent to Ficksburg where inquiries among old friends revealed a training camp had been held on the farm of an AWB commandant in the district.

The commandant was an old school friend of Du Preez and he had no problem arranging to meet him on his farm. Equipped with a microphone hidden in his belt, Du Preez managed to get the commandant to confirm a training camp had been



Johann du Preez

Photo: PAUL STOBBER

held on the farm although it had since moved. Later the two were joined by another AWB member, who bragged about buying AK-47s in Lesotho for R50, for the movement.

After the meeting, Du Preez went to a nearby farm, where he recruited somebody to regularly report to him on AWB activities in the district.

Two weeks later, after a series of rightwing bombings in the eastern and northern Transvaal, Du Preez was sent to Tzaneen to investigate reports that the AWB was mobilising farmers. He met an AWB member who said training camps were being held near Gravelotte, Louis Trichardt and Messina. The AWB member also boasted about "arms caches in the northern Transvaal".

Du Preez applied to become a member of the Randburg AWB branch and, although his membership card never arrived, he was often told of elaborate rightwing plans to attack targets in Johannesburg. None of the attacks ever happened.

An ex-colleague from the NP hierarchy discovered Du Preez was keeping his eye on the AWB for the ANC. He suggested Du Preez report his



Du Preez's membership forms and weapon supplied by the AWB

Photo: GUY ADAMS

observations to him so he could hand them on to the government who was concerned about rightwing militancy. Du Preez agreed to do this.

Later that month, disguised in full AWB get-up, Du Preez interviewed AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in his headquarters in Ventersdorp. The ANC was eager to know how Terre'Blanche was going to react to the defeat of the rightwing in the March 1992 referendum.

Du Preez became much less worried about Terre'Blanche's threat that the AWB would "start oiling their rifles" when investigations in Ventersdorp bars revealed that most of the locals regarded the rightwing leader as a bit of a joke.

Du Preez continued to monitor the rightwing for the ANC, but by June 1992 he began to wind up his operations. "At the time it was clear the AWB was the riff-raff of the Afrikaners on the east and west Rand."

Now, his assessment of the AWB is more cautious. The emergence of Constand Viljoen as a possible leader of the right worries him. "With a credible leader they can be dangerous."

'ANC security chief blocked my probe'

CIPress 13/6/93

By ZANELE VUTELA

ANC justice officer Zola Skweyiya this week told the Motsuenyane Commission probing irregularities in ANC detention camps that his efforts to visit Angola to check whether the ANC was holding prisoners there had been repeatedly frustrated by the ANC's former security department head. (SIA) (SIA)

However, senior ANC security officer Golden Ruhabe told the commission Skweyiya was using personal differences with individuals to discredit the security department.

Skweyiya, appointed in 1985 to check that no person in ANC custody was "treated in a cruel, inhu-

man or degrading way", said he needed permission from the security department to visit Angola.

He had approached the head of security in 1986, who told him he would "get no co-operation". He was even threatened with arrest. (SIA)

Between 1985 and 1987 he had, among others, been asked by Chris Hani to set up tribunals to ensure that people arrested or detained were charged as soon as possible.

He eventually managed to visit Angola in 1987 when the security department had new leadership. He only spoke to a few people who had been arrested at Vianna, near Luanda. He first heard

the name "Quattro" when he read about it in the papers after 1990.

Ruhabe, former commander of Quattro, said that by 1987, after ascertaining that some of the mutineers held since 1984 were not enemy agents, he had made a formal recommendation that they be released.

During Tambo's visit to Quattro in 1987 he had requested that a tribunal be set up as soon as possible. In 1988 he motivated this to the ANC's NEC. The first tribunal sat in April 1988.

Another former Camp 32 commander, Mountain Kepadise, testified that he went to Lusaka several times to request that a tribunal be set up, but was told that the legal department was busy.

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

I was not involved, MK man tells Ciskei

Cross 12/6/93

AN Umkhonto weSizwe cadre wanted by the Ciskei authorities in connection with the killing of five policemen and theft of security force weapons has denied the charges.

Nthaba Ngumbela said in a telephone interview from Transkei this week that he was a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC and MK and that at this crucial moment in our struggle, when our people are longing for freedom, it is not possible he would be involved in the killings going on in our country" (84A)

He said: "I was never involved in any attacks on the Ciskei homeland."

It has also been alleged that Ngumbela was associated with suspected Apla guerrillas who police believe were involved in Border terror attacks.

He denies knowing the individuals named. He said SA and Ciskei were trying to "make up stories, after the Highgate (Hotel) and (King William's Town) golf club attacks, because they had no information" (105)

He said the claim was an attempt by "puppets like (Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa) Gqozo to make links between MK and Apla and Transkei activities".

"I have no contact with any members of Apla. There is no link whatsoever between MK and Apla."

Allegations about Ngumbela's involvement in a gang called "Uhuru" were made in a statement by Wonga Tyutu - an MK member and alleged member of the group - who was arrested in Cape Town late last year.

According to Tyutu's statement, the group had shot a Ciskei policeman in Mdantsane last August, before fleeing by car to the Transkei border. En route they were involved in a firefight with SA Police. Tyutu also alleged the group had bought weapons from a Transkei Defence Force soldier.

Ngumbela dismissed Tyutu's statement as the result of lengthy incarceration and possible torture.

He confirmed that he was "well trained in various fields of operations", saying this was why Gqozo was "worried" about him.

Ngumbela, originally from Alice, said he was now staying in the Transkei. He now fell under the command of the senior MK commander in the homeland, Mike Dalindyebo. - Ecna

given by comrade Zola ditions forced on us, said manage in m-u-july. cloud their judgment.

5 Times 13/6/92

Kids who went to war in '76

KHOTSO SEATLHOLO: Was among those who led the first march on June 16. He later helped plan the escape of firebrand student leader Tsietso Mashinini after police put a price on his head.

Mashinini led the revolt against Afrikaans being used as a medium of instruction in black schools. He died in exile and was buried in South Africa in 1990.

Seatlhoho recalls: "We held a meeting on Sunday, June 13 where the June 16 march was planned and Mashinini was elected president.

"On June 16, we marched from Naledi High to other schools. As we approached Orlando West we noticed a large police contingent.

"By that time, the first shots had

Wednesday is the 17th anniversary of the 1976 riots.

EZRA MANTINI speaks to four activists who were at the forefront of the June 16 1976 student revolt

been fired by the police."

Today he is a financial manager of Finco — a subsidiary of the Independent Development Trust.

MURPHY MOROBE: Only one white policeman was among those who fired the shots that killed 12-year-old Hector Peterson, according to former student activist and UDF leader Murphy Morobe.

"We left Morris Isaacson School and marched to Orlando West.

"It was only after the shootings in Orlando West that students became aggressive. It was there that police confronted students.

"If I remember correctly, there was only one white policeman. The rest were blacks. The police let a dog loose which was killed by the students. The police saw red.

"As we retreated, Hector Peterson was fatally shot. Then everything broke into disorder."

Today Murphy Morobe is manager for social investments at PG Bison.

DAN MONTSITSI: Now a national co-ordinator with Matla Trust, he became a student activist in 1971.

"I felt the struggle should not be

carried by students alone, but by our parents as well.

I interwove our actions with parent groups. We called for their support and started the rent boycott."

LYBON MABASA: In June 1976 he was a teacher at Meadowlands High school and had been active in the South African Students' Organisation.

He said: "I attended the June 13 meeting. We, as teachers, decided to pretend to know nothing.

"It was only after we heard on the radio that some students had been shot that we went to the scene. By that time there was trouble all over.

"We were impressed because the students insisted there should be a return to school, no matter what happened.

"They also insisted on wearing their uniforms."

5 Times 13/6/92

Elite SADF training base set to take on MK soldiers

By SIPKE de VRIES

THE elite Army Infantry School at Oudtshoorn is "ready for MK", the school's officer commanding, Colonel Koos Liebenberg, said this week.

Colonel Liebenberg, a veteran of the Angolan war and the conflict in Namibia, was not talking war. He was referring to the integration of MK soldiers into the South African army.

The move comes in response to numerous calls for a joint and integrated defence force in South Africa, as well as joint control of the SADF by a military council.

He said he had no problem with an integrated army infantry as long as accepted military standards were maintained, and that "we serve the government of the day".

"It is now for the politicians to decide

on what, and when," he added.

The school, which for the past two decades has trained thousands of infantrymen, is gearing up for the inclusion of MK soldiers for 12 months' infantry training for junior leaders up to corporal and second lieutenant.

On a more advanced level, permanent and part-time soldiers may undergo infantry training up to the rank of major.

Colonel Liebenberg emphasised that there would be no compromising or lowering of standards of training and expertise.

Currently, about 60 percent of the army's personnel consists of black, coloured or Indian members.

The school also trains "foreign" soldiers for the defence forces of Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei and other self-governing territories. — Sapa

Reports by CLAIRE ROBERTSON

"ALL RISE," the Harvard Law graduate intoned at the start of Thursday's session of the Mutsuanyane commission into allegations of torture and beatings at ANC prison camps.

"All lies," whispered an ANC Security Department official from the gallery. This was the atmosphere this week when the children of Quatro came forward for the first time to answer three weeks of allegations that for more than a decade inmates of their dreaded prison camp were beaten, ill-fed and subjected to sadistically inventive torture.

Camp commanders, commissars and senior officials refused to take the rap. Although many were specifically named by former Quatro inmates as having interrogated, beaten or tortured them, not one of the men who ran the camp admitted to having laid a hand on a prisoner.

All said, however, that they received reports "from time to time" of abuses and reprimanded the guards involved as it was "strictly forbidden to lay a hand on prisoners".

The abuses they admitted to knowing about ranged from the dreaded Pompa torture — bursting the eardrums by slapping the victim's inflated cheeks — to using impolite language to an elderly inmate.

They denied knowing about most of the other torture methods, and accused the former inmates of having fabricated these.

One man mentioned time and again by former inmates as having had a particularly childish and imaginative line in torture — "Griffiths" — and whose name featured in the testimony of the camp officials, will not be testifying.

He is busy with exams at Kampala University in Uganda.

Vampires

Griffiths was accused by, among others, Mincestist Hlongwane, head of the Returned Exiles' Committee and the man spearheading the campaign to have the ANC held accountable for the alleged abuses.

In his testimony, Mr Hlongwane — who invariably refers to the "blood-sucking vampires of the ANC" and who accused Mr Nelson Mandela of being a "psychopathic liar" — described the following encounter with Griffiths:

"He forced me to take off all my clothes... then he poured fish oil all over my body. Then he spread red ants over my head."

Under cross-examination, Mr Hlongwane was grilled by Cape Town human rights advocate Straj

Gasmasks, napalm and beatings

THESE are the seven torture methods alleged to have been most popular at Quatro camp:

- POMPA: Forcing a victim to puff out his cheeks, then beating him until his eardrums burst;
- GASMASK: Forcing half a paw-paw on to the face of the victim, blocking nose and mouth;
- BEIRUT: Beating with sticks;
- NAPALM: Rubbing the leaves of toxic plants into the skin to cause itching;
- SLAUGHTER: Placing the victim in a deep hole and bombarding him with stones as he tried to clamber out;
- GUAVA JUICE: Beating with branches of a guava tree;
- COFFEE: Beating with branches of a coffee tree.

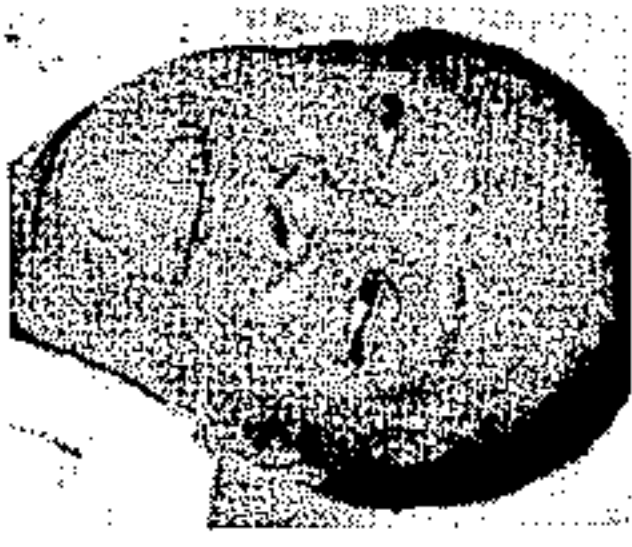
Broken children of Camp Quatro



JACOB ZUMA



JOE MODISE



PILSISO MZWAI



ZOLA SKWEIYIYA

Desai — about a minutely detailed account of the whereabouts, habits and offices of Port Elizabeth security policemen that he had written out for his Quatro interrogators, who believed him to be a police spy.

"It was very difficult for young children to look after enemy agents like these," Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise told the commission.

Prominent businessman Sam Mutsuanyane chairs the commission. The two other members are Zim-babwean barrister David Zimunya and retired Boston Judge Margaret Burnham, who this week put in a nutshell the task of the commission — "Something fell through the cracks and it's our job to find out".

The "something" is the allegedly brutal treatment

meted out to inmates of Quatro and other camps, and the fact that about a dozen people at least were held for four years without trial or tribunal.

The cracks were in the ANC structure as Quatro was virtually ignored by the exiled leadership in Lusaka for more than a decade until horror stories of torture, death and misery began to filter out and the hunt was on for who was responsible.

Candidates include the Security Department which established Quatro as an emergency measure to cope with growing infiltration of ANC ranks by SA agents. Umkhonto we Sizwe, the department's parent division, or, favoured candidate of the army, the Justice Department, which did not carry out its duties in regard to

the camps. Several of the men who testified before the commission this week were teenagers when they took command of the camp.

Quatro was hot, riddled with disease and death — both from malaria and Ul-itsa attacks in the area — and always short of food and water. The nearest hospital was 100km away.

Requisitions

"From time to time we would make food requisitions. It was explained to us that we were a liberation movement — we don't have all the requisites," said Pro Malope, 32, camp commander from 1985 — when he was 24 — to 1987.

"We wrote reports pointing out that we must transfer or upgrade. At Quatro

the roofs were too low, the ventilation inadequate," he said.

When plans to upgrade were accepted, these were hampered by lack of money and machinery.

Mr Modise was "busy at the front" and anyway, he pointed out, the camp was not set up by him, nor did he appoint the command-ants. Quatro had been established by then head of security Mzwandile Pilsiso — one of the more prominent ANC members charged with responsibility for the camp abuses.

For four years a group of men and women, alleged mutineers, were held in Quatro without trial or tribunal. According to testimony before the commission, they were subject to almost daily beatings and torture.

Other prisoners com-

Tanzania

TANZANIAN govt refused the week to accompany the former ANC cat that country. Despite efforts officials to get a day inspection, No reason was said they were be-



Picture: JOHN HOGG

REFUTING ALLEGATIONS ... Ronnie Kasrils at the commission hearing this week

prised suspected "enemy agents" and cadres guilty of other crimes such as dealing in daggers, theft or rape.

One man could have ameliorated conditions and brought the mutineers to trial — but he never visited Quatro.

He is Zola Skweyiya, then so-called chief justice of the ANC. Mr Skweyiya gave the commission several reasons for this. His visit would have been regarded as interfering with the operation in the country.

There was never a point at which the situation in the country changed to the extent that other departments were unable to visit the camp, he said.

"I do not know why it was so difficult for Comrade Skweyiya to get to the camps," he said.

"Some of the evidence given by comrade Zola

Skweyiya is not true. He had personal reasons for this," said Mr Rabope.

"We had always known there was an office of justice in Lusaka — but we never saw them," the commission heard from Bob Setluma, recording officer at Quatro in 1987 and '88, then aged 26.

Abuses

One of the abuses Mr Skweyiya would have learned of, had he visited, had been made to pull a 1 000-litre water tank from a river to the camp — while being beaten.

Commanders and commissars concurred that inmates had to pull the water tank after a tractor supplied for the purpose broke down.

"This was not a measure of barbarism — it was conditions forced on us," said

Mr Rabope. It was the practice at Quatro to give inmates ugly nicknames when they arrived. For many this would be their third name — after the one their parents gave them, and their MK *nomis de guerre*. These nicknames included Pig and Tils.

But this was merely in the "tradition of a dry sense of humour," said Sizwe Umkhonto, also known as Gabriel Mthembu, 33, first commander of Quatro from 1979 to 1982. He was 19 when he took charge.



STimes
1/23/6193
**MK cadre
claims he's
a 'fall-guy'**

84A By JOHN ANDREW

AN MK cadre claimed this week that he was being set up as a "fall-guy" by the police and military in the Eastern Cape. *(22)*

Mr Nthaba Ngumbela, 29, who is in hiding in the Transkei, said the allegations that he was linked to attacks against policemen and civilians were made by officials who were "trying to find someone to blame".

Police and military sources had claimed that Mr Ngumbela knew a suspect linked to both the King William's Town golf club attack and Highgate Hotel massacre, and could assist their investigations.

Mr Ngumbela — said to head a gang suspected of killing four Ciskei policemen last year — insisted he was innocent of all allegations. *(165)*

13 000 MK Soldiers to

Join SADF

WINDHOEK — The ANC would contribute more than 13 000 trained personnel to a future South African defence force, the chief of staff of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), said in Windhoek yesterday.

Siphwe Nyanda rejected the SADF view that MK recruits would be integrated into the SADF only if they met certain standards, saying a new army would be a joint venture between various forces with jointly established standards.

"The SADF must overcome their notion that they have a monopoly on standards. We want people in a future army who can defend democracy. We cannot rely on elements who have defended apartheid in the past."

Nyanda arrived in Windhoek yesterday to attend a regional defence and security meeting attended by delegates from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana and Angola. — Sapa.

Too many permits for taxis

By Abdul Mlazi

The indiscriminate issuing of taxi permits by traffic authorities has turned the burgeoning taxi industry into a hotbed of violence and there was no sign of peace in sight, claim taxi organisations.

Because of the lack of substantially enhanced regulation of the industry, operators were killing each other in gangster-like fights to control the increasing number of taxis, they said.

More than 200 people were killed and about 13 taxis have been burnt in the continuing

taxi violence since the beginning of this year.

South African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) principal chairman Joe Mabaso said the root cause of the violence was the economic situation.

Violence in May was marked by the killing of five taxi operators in Brits, and an on-going dispute between Natal bus and taxi drivers.

The recession and unemployment had led to a dramatic fall in passenger volumes and competition was becoming increasingly fierce.

South African Taxi Drivers' Union (Satdu) spokesman Mphikeleli Sibanyoni said there were suspicions that the recent killings were an at-

tempt by some drivers or owners to "cull" the increasing number of taxis to maintain profitability.

Particularly affected were those routes considered to be lucrative as they still provided a fair volume of business.

To address the diminishing profitability in the industry, Sabta was negotiating with the Government to have taxis subsidised.

It was also negotiating to buy directly from vehicle and spares manufacturers.

Taxi bodies claim the crisis committee convened by the city council's traffic department after the February taxi blockade in Johannesburg had failed to address the

problems of the industry.

The committee of representatives of the drivers' union, taxi associations, National Peace Secretariat and traffic authorities has held a number of meetings but with no substantial results.

Both Sabta and Satdu agreed the violence could be curbed if there was some form of control in the issuing of permits.

The traffic department said it was doing all in its power to address the situation.

Negotiations on the involvement of taxi organisations on the issuing of permits were under way.

ANC leader held over grenade blast

Own Correspondent

KIMBERLEY — An ANC Youth League regional leader has been arrested in connection with a recent hand grenade attack in the city.

ANC zonal committee spokesman Junior Nkabo said Siphso Mxaba was arrested on Wednesday. This was confirmed by the SAP. Nkabo could not explain

Chess player's 'first' for SA

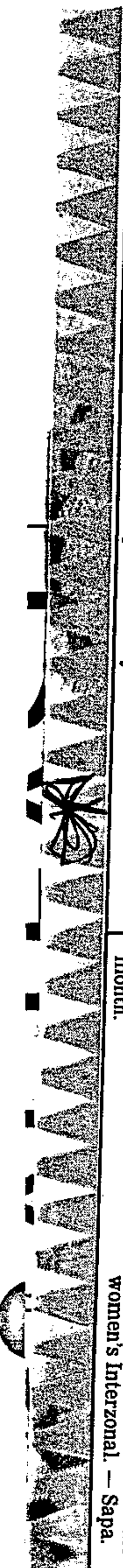
Top Johannesburg chess player David Gluckman has won Africa's Zone 4.3 championships with a clean score.

In round 5 on Saturday afternoon, Gluckman defeated SA champion Charles de Villiers to end on 5/5.

Gluckman, a 27-year-old actuary, will represent South Africa in the Interzonal Tournament in Switzerland next month.

This is the first time South Africa will be represented at this advanced stage of eliminations for the world title.

In the women's zone contest, Caroline Bijoux of Johannesburg won with a clean score of 3/3, one point clear of closest rival Yvette Erwee of Johannesburg. She will represent South Africa in the women's Interzonal. — Sapa.



sign their organisations or jobs, that international funding and training assistance be sought, and that the force initially serve as an adjunct to the SAP, and not to replace SADF deployment.

Cilliers said his institute believed full implications of the creation of such a force had not been investigated adequately.

A force of 12 000 would be inadequate to deal with escalating violence in the absence of the SADF.

"There is little prospect of such a force

Warning on united SA army

DEMobilisation of SADF, MK and TBVC armed forces personnel should take place once a transitional executive council is in place and before any planned integration of SA's armies, says the Independent Institute for Defence Policy.

In a written submission to the multi-party talks' technical committee on violence, institute co-director Jackie Cilliers said SA could not afford and did not need the sizable armed forces which would result from integration of armies.

"The situation that has to be avoided is simply to open the doors to the absorption into the military of the sum of all armed formations in the country and then try to demobilise some afterwards.

"This will not only be extremely complicated, expensive and messy but will require also constant special dispensations in terms of the public service regulations," Cilliers said.

"South Africans should be extremely circumspect about integrating persons into the military who will inevitably have to be demobilised," he said.

messy and time consuming. The implications in terms of service regulations boggles the mind.

"Since the peacekeeping force would have to have powers of arrest, etc, the force would have to be formally constituted through an Act of Parliament. The sum effect would be a drawn-out process lasting considerably longer than planned.

"We are convinced that even after all these efforts, the SADF will still be in the townships," Cilliers said.

Nonracial civic body mooted

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Civic associations and white ratepayer groups were discussing the creation of a nonracial organisation to represent all residents in the central Transvaal region. It was disclosed last week.

Central Transvaal Civic Association media officer Titus Mafolo said common ground was being sought with traditionally white ratepayer groups with the aim of forming a unified body.

The initiative was the result of a decision by the civic association's general council last month to investigate the possibilities of unity.

Civic and ratepayer representatives had already met in the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Forum, Mafolo said, but extended contact was being sought.

Attempts in Johannesburg to create a similar body representing all residents, had failed in April after six months of talks.

Observers said the parties on the Johannesburg Forum had found little common ground.

Mafolo was optimistic similar difficulties could be overcome.

One of Pretoria's largest ratepayer organisations, Queenswood Park's chairman F. Evans, said discussions were under way.

"We have all got to get together and talk seriously," he said.

FW to lobby for IMF aid

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk has signalled that gaining access to IMF funds would be high on his list of priorities for his meeting with US President Bill Clinton later this month.

De Klerk sounded an optimistic note at the weekend, stressing the importance of IMF funding for SA's economic development.

The ANC has indicated that it would call for the lifting of remaining sanctions once agreement has been reached on a transitional executive council and the April 27 election date is confirmed.

De Klerk leaves for the US shortly after the plenary session of negotiations is scheduled to take place.

He and ANC president Nelson Mandela will visit Philadelphia to

receive an award in recognition of their contributions to freedom and liberty.

De Klerk said it was vitally important that SA gained access to the IMF if the country was to achieve the development intended.

Gaining access to IMF funding had always been one of government's priorities and he would be addressing the issue in America.

However, De Klerk added a note of caution, saying that he hoped sufficient progress would be made in negotiations.

He suggested that should the ANC's relaxed criteria not have been met, access to IMF facilities would not be possible.

Judgment on crash expected soon

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE case against two former Sanlam insurance agents charged with murder and fraud will be moved from the Middelburg Circuit Court to the Pretoria Supreme Court on June 22 and judgment is expected during the same week.

Isak Kruger and Lucas Loubser are charged with five counts of murder, three of attempted murder and 13 of fraud related to a minibus smash near Witbank in January 1992.

Five of the eight occupants died when the vehicle plunged over an

embankment. The State closed its case last week after leading evidence from police engineers who said the vehicle would not have rolled without considerable outside interference.

During the three-week trial, it emerged that Kruger and Loubser recruited 13 men, who provided personal details for what they believed to be job applications. The two accused used the information to take out Sanlam life insurance policies.

Income of R8 000 per month

Domestic violence

Qualified franchise rejected — survey

Biday 14/6/93

GAVIN DU VENAGE

EVERYBODY over the age of 18 should have an equal vote irrespective of education, income or age, a Markinor survey released at the weekend has found.

Most South Africans of all races rejected voting restrictions or qualifications of any kind, said Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner.

The survey was conducted in urban areas last year to find out what people thought of qualified franchise.

More Afrikaners rejected qualification than English speakers, Woessner said. More than 73% rejected restrictions, compared to the 65% of English whites. However, it had to be kept in mind that this only reflected urban opinion, she said.

More than 67% of blacks and 68% of whites rejected adding weight to the vote of people paying a higher income tax. Only 31% of blacks and 32% of whites fully or partly agreed with the suggestion.

Not surprisingly, said Woessner, respondents with a higher income agreed more with this statement than those with lower household incomes. Nearly half the whites with a monthly income of R8 000 per household

were in favour of this qualification.

Age-related voting qualifications were also strongly rejected by both race groups, but with greater disagreement by whites. Three-quarters of whites rejected making the vote of older people count more, and just more than half of blacks disagreed. However, half the black respondents older than 50 thought their vote should be given more sway.

There was also a "high resentment" among people older than 35 at the suggestion that younger people be given a stronger vote, particularly among whites, said Woessner.

"The greatest contention seemed to come with the suggestion that voting should be qualified by education," Woessner said. Blacks and whites are divided on this issue with nearly half of each group for and against the idea.

"The issue of educational qualification seems to evoke the strongest feeling, among whites and blacks, that it should perhaps be introduced. But even here feelings are split," Woessner said.

Farmers 'accept war declaration'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Attacks on farmers following calls for such action by ANC and PAC members had resulted in a situation where farmers accepted that the organisations had declared war on them and the Afrikaner, Free State Agricultural Union president Plet Gouws said at the weekend.

Gouws was speaking after an urgent meeting of the union's executive committee in Kroonstad.

Gouws said because of the increasing intensity of attacks, farmers were compelled to give the highest priority to security. He urged all farmers to join commando units in their districts.

Gouws repeated farmers were convinced a war against them had been declared by the ANC and PAC. "Consequently we must, with all the power at our disposal, defend ourselves as if we were in a war situation."

He said the tactics and timing of any action would be determined by the farming community. Discussions were planned between the union's security committee, the police and the SADF to consider future action.

died in a Volkswagen Golf.
The driver of the rescue vehicle died on impact and two other firemen were taken to 1 Military Hospital

Rescue workers used hydraulic jaws to extricate the victims. "It's frightening to think a fireman is sent out to fight a grass fire and he

spokesman said no injuries were reported but traffic officers had their hands full trying to cope with the congestion.

Police seize SAM-7 missiles

SPAR 1416193
Crime Reporter



Kriel . . . likely to urge stricter weapons controls.

Police confiscated four SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles and four stick grenades early yesterday when they intercepted a group of Mozambicans who entered the Transvaal through the Lebombo border post near Komati-poort. (SUA) (238)

Eastern Transvaal SAP spokesman Warrant-Officer Izak van Zyl said two Frelimo security force members and one former Frelimo member were arrested in connection with the haul.

The arrests came before today's meeting in Cape Town between Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Mozambican Internal Affairs Minister Manuel Jose Antonio to discuss the

smuggling of weapons into South Africa.

Van Zyl said the men were arrested at a roadblock and that most of the arms confiscated in the eastern Transvaal were smuggled through the Mozambican and Swaziland borders. (238)

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said talks between Kriel and Antonio would focus on the smuggling of arms, especially AK-47 rifles, into the country.

The spokesman said Kriel would urge Antonio to implement stricter controls on weapons — like the AK-47 which sold for about R500 in South Africa — in the Mozambican army.

Van Zyl said the arrested men were expected to appear in court tomorrow.

B1097 14/6/93
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ANC link in Kimberley bomb attack?

□ Youth League regional leader, 2 others held — and more arrests expected, say police

The Argus Correspondent

KIMBERLEY. — An ANC Youth League regional leader has been arrested here in connection with the recent handgrenade attack here.

The man was held at the airport last week as he returned from a conference in Johannesburg.

ANC Zonal committee spokesman Mr Junior Nkabo said Mr Siphon Mxaba was arrested on Wednesday.

Police spokesman Major Johan Hickman confirmed police were now holding three men in connection with the explosion.

ANC Youth League member Mr Inocentia Mothibe was arrested on June 2 along with two others. One had been released.

The detainees are being held in terms of Section 29 (1) of the Internal Security Act of 1982.

More arrests are expected.

However, Mr Nkabo was unable to comment on the fact that their own members were now being arrested in connection with the grenade attack after the ANC accused the police of the attack.

Mr Nkabo was also unable to state what part the detainees had played in the attack 'as we are waiting to see what the investigation reveals.'

ANC spokesman Mr Pakes Dikgetsi said on Friday that the ANC was investigating the matter.

A Cosas member, Ezekial Mokone, 19, from Vergenoeg, died and more than 50 people were injured in the blast. Included in among injured was Kimberley's regional peace manager of the National Peace Secretariat, advocate Ms Jeanne Nel.

The Russian F1 grenade was thrown during an ANC Youth League protest outside the Bophuthatswana consulate on May 25.

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RPRG-14/6/92

MK tells ET: quit war talk

Sowetan 14/6/93

■ Memorial service for three Umkhonto
weSizwe cadres held in Mamelodi:

By Josias Charle

84A

THE African National Congress has warned rightwing leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche "not to play with war".

Speaking at the memorial service for three Umkhonto We Sizwe cadres in Mamelodi yesterday, MK commander of operations Mr Lehlohonolo Mollo said the ANC knew how to fight and they were not scared by TerreBlanche's utterances.

"We promise that we will fight him because we know how to do it. He must not play with war because he does not know what it involves," Mollo told about 100 people who attended the service. The service was held to remember Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung.

They were hanged in Pretoria on June 9 1983 for attacks on the Wonderboom, Moroka and Orlando police stations.

Star 14/6/93

MK chief 'saved man's life'

By Mokone Molete

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise saved the life of a would-be assassin when an attempt on his life and that of Chris Hani failed, the Motu-senyane Commission heard on Friday.

Giving evidence before the commission, which is investigating alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps, Modise said another would-be assassin was immediately shot by his bodyguards. (84A) (FF)

He told the commission: "I immediately stopped the young people, MK soldiers (from man-

handling the other would-be assassin). I told them the only way to deal with the matter was to set up a proper tribunal where the suspect would be tried."

The event took place in 1984.

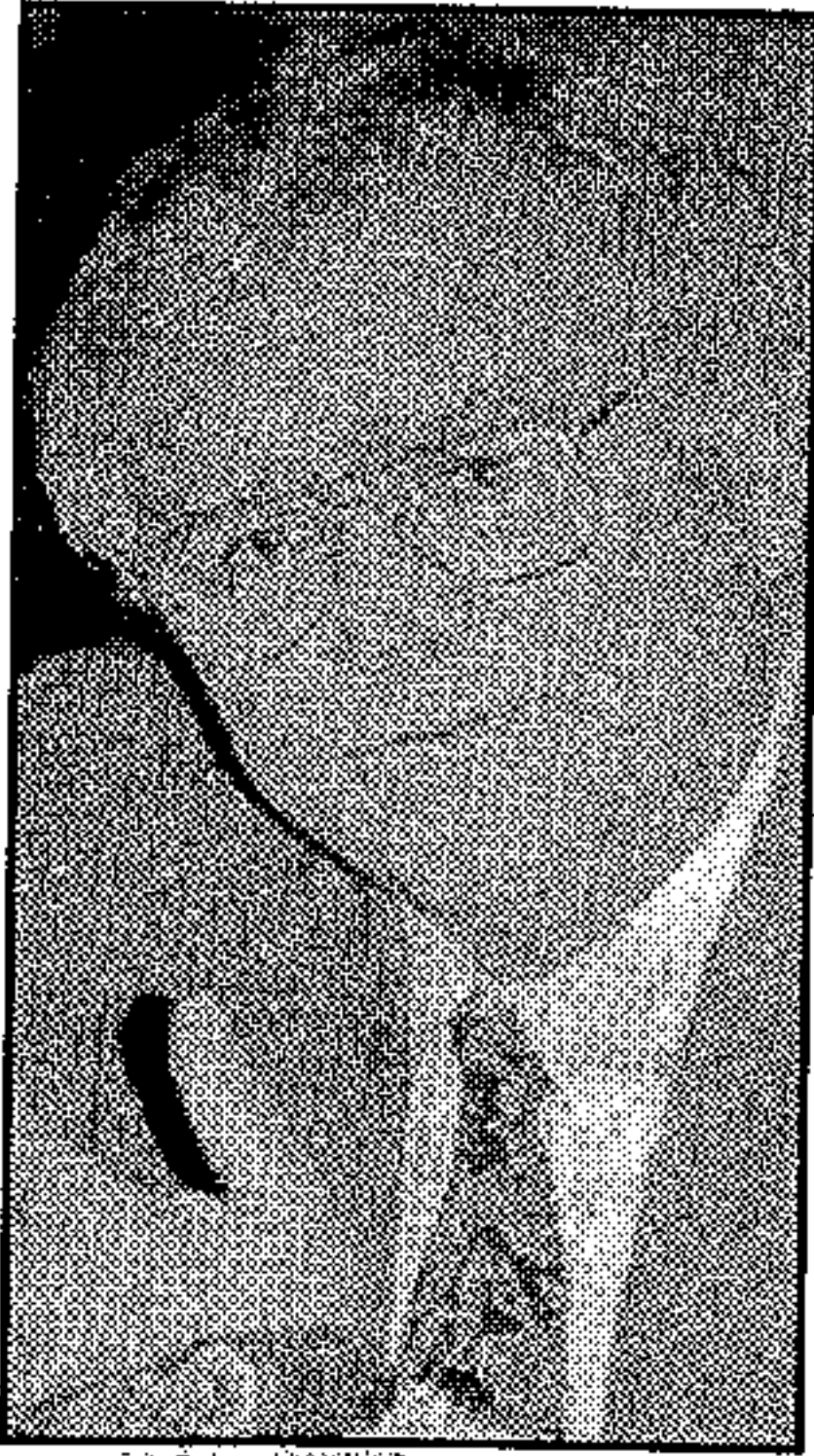
Referring to a mutiny in two ANC camps that year, Modise said a tribunal was set up to try the mutineers. As this did not form part of his responsibilities, he could not explain why they were never tried. (22)

He denied earlier evidence before the commission that he sent cadres into South Africa to buy him expensive shoes.

● The commission went to Tanzania at the weekend.

Star 14/1/93

Police seize SAM-7 missiles



Kriel . . . likely to urge stricter weapons controls.

Crime Reporter

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Van Zyl said the arrested men were expected to appear in court tomorrow.

(SUA) (SUA) (SUA)
 Star 15/6/93
SA-Maputo crime arms clamp planned

By Chris Whitfield
 Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa and Mozambique have struck a far-reaching deal aimed at stemming the flow of weapons into South Africa and clamping down on organised car theft and drug smuggling between the countries.

Swaziland will also be involved in a "Trilateral Crime, Security and Border Co-ordination Monitoring Committee" — the first in the region.

In a joint statement after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Mozambique's Internal Affairs Minister Manuel Jose Antonio described the pact as a major breakthrough. They said it was aimed at including the entire southern African region.

In terms of the deal, the following crimes have been identified as a top priority: organised arms smuggling, the organised drugs trade, organised car theft, and syndicates involved in other serious crime.

The trilateral monitoring committee will deal with train-

ing of special investigation units for certain crimes, training border staff in search techniques, and improving existing relations between the police forces in the three countries. Both Ministers agreed that the extradition of criminals should receive the highest priority.

The statement said Kriel would meet his Swazi counterpart "in the near future" on the strategy. "However, to be effective, this plan will have to be extended to countries in the sub-region and further north.

"It has now become clear that arms smuggling and other serious cross-border crimes have reached such serious proportions that they can only be dealt with on an international basis," the statement said.

● Three Mozambicans who were arrested near Komati-poort, in the eastern Transvaal, on Sunday, allegedly in possession of four ground-to-air missiles, are expected to appear in court today, reports Sapa.

Two of men are alleged to be Frelimo soldiers; the third a former Frelimo soldier. They apparently crossed the border from Mozambique into South Africa.

Star 15/6/93
Banda 'trailing at polls'

BLANTYRE — Pro-democracy forces claimed a huge lead in initial vote-counting in Malawi's referendum on one-party rule early today.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), which is fighting President Kamuzu Banda, said that with about one-third of possible votes counted, their side had 89 percent and the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) 11 percent.

UDF monitors taking part in counts at polling stations reported 1,3 million votes for multiparty democracy against

160 000 for continued single party rule by 1 am today. About 4 500 000 voters over the age of 21 are registered.

The UDF said their unofficial figures showed landslides for their side in the northern and southern regions. But the MCP was leading in the central region by 71 percent to 29 percent, they said.

When polling stations closed yesterday, both sides were claiming that victory was within their grasp.

The official result is expected later today. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE human rights die for a future SA will be cast in the coming weeks when the Motsuenyane commission compiles its report on alleged abuses in ANC camps.

Former Nafec president Sam Motsuenyane, who chaired the ANC-appointed commission, and fellow commissioners Zimbabwean advocate David Zamchiya and former US judge Margaret Burnham, are faced with an onerous task. They will have to sift through nearly 100 hours of evidence transcribed in more than 2 000 pages of official records to reach a decision.

They will have to reach a technical conclusion on the question of whether the ANC adhered to international legal principles governing the detention of people during the conduct of a liberation war. This finding will be based on the implications of the ANC's 1980 adoption of the Geneva convention protocols relevant to national liberation movements and a code of conduct adopted at the 1985 Kabwe conference.

But the commission's most difficult task will be to sift through the chilling atrocities alleged to have been committed by ANC military and security officials who abused their positions of power to torture those at their mercy. Witness after witness testified that they had been abused by methods euphemistically known as "pompa", "coffee" and "guava juice".

The moral weight of the conclusions they reach on these matters ultimately depends on the extent to which the commission has legitimacy with that vaguely defined thing called civil society.

That the ANC and the commission were conscious of the need for legitimacy was reflected by the way in which hearings were conducted. While not a formal extension of official justice, the commission made every effort to reconstruct the atmosphere of a court of law. A suite in the FNB stadium was converted into a makeshift courtroom. Court officials cried "all rise" as the commissioners entered the room. The media were allowed full access to all the

Motsuenyane probe will set a precedent for human rights

RAY HARTLEY

hearings and special arrangements were made to allow photographs to be taken during the sessions.

The 45 witnesses were led and cross-examined by counsel for the commission and lawyers acting for those accused of abuses. This was followed by intensive questioning by the three commissioners.

The commission was the first of its kind convened by a national liber-

Q

ation movement to investigate allegations of abuse inside its ranks. It was, in many respects, a commission of the future, breaking the mould of previous commissions of inquiry in SA. All the commissioners, attorneys and the majority of the witnesses and defendants were black.

And yet it conformed with its predecessors in one crucial respect: those accused of abuses constructed an

A

elaborate wall of denial which was seldom breached. Phrases such as "I don't remember" and "that is not true" flowed freely from commanders and officials of camp 32 — the notorious Quatro detention centre in Angola. A typical question and answer session went like this:

Commissioner: Were you aware that X was held in Quatro?

Quatro official: I heard he was there, but I never saw him during my time. Commissioner: X has claimed you tortured him during interrogation. Quatro official: That is untrue. Commissioner: Did you ever participate in the beating of an inmate? Quatro official: I never did, it was against ANC policy.

Commissioner: Were you ever aware of any beatings while in Quatro? Quatro official: I once heard that a man had been beaten up, but that was before I came to Quatro.

This contrasted with the candid evidence of some ANC officials such as deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, who testified that, according to ANC records, a man had been executed and two others beaten to death in the camps.

The commissioners are now faced with the task of having to determine the reliability of the evidence of those claiming to have been abused. Unlike previous inquiries, such as

the ANC's internal commissions and the International Freedom Foundation's Douglas commission, the Motsuenyane commission attracted a broad range of witnesses. It heard evidence from a range of Quatro officials and former inmates alleging they were abused there.

While the Douglas commission produced a detailed account of alleged abuses, it did not hear evidence from the ANC officials named as abusers and there was no effective defence against the allegations.

The ANC's two previous commissions failed adequately to hear the evidence of those claiming to have been abused, mainly because they feared retribution or did not wish to become involved in a cover-up.

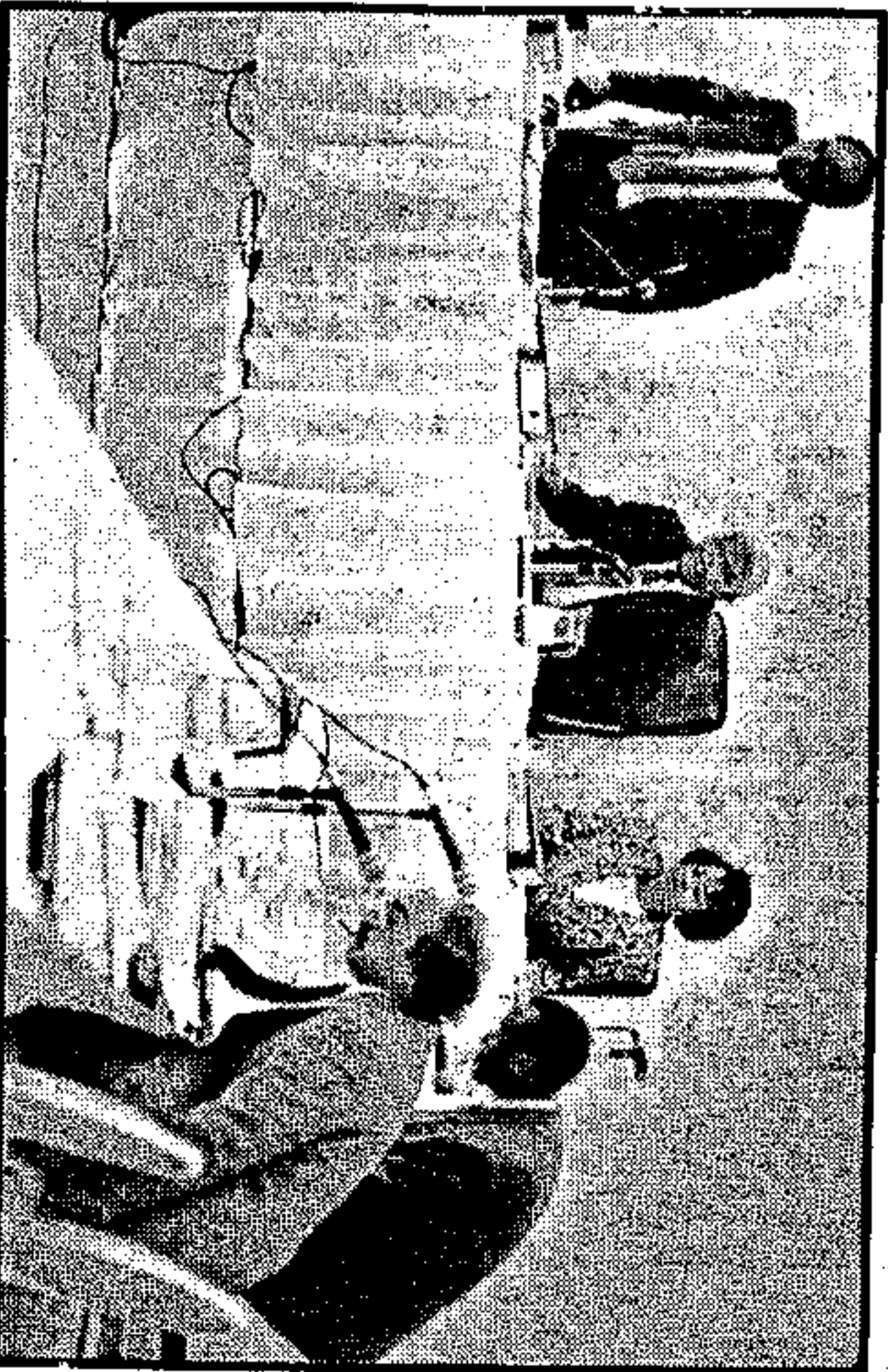
A fourth inquiry, by Amnesty International, relied on secondary evidence and also failed adequately to canvass officials directly implicated in abuses.

The Motsuenyane commission will have to achieve what four previous inquiries failed to deliver: a verdict with the kind of objective credibility which no party can question. Unless this is done, the ghost of human rights violations will haunt the ANC even as it tries to win an election as a liberating force. Perhaps even more distressing, questions will continue to linger over those officials against whom allegations were made.

Should the commission fail to name the abusers, laying the basis for ANC president Nelson Mandela to fulfil his promise to remove them from positions of leadership, SA will face the unpleasant prospect of torturers and murderers being granted wider power in a new government.

But the significance of the commission's deliberations extends far beyond setting the record straight about events in the past. Their conclusions and the action the ANC takes based on them will establish a framework for the handling of human rights abuses in the future.

Whether the commission is equal to this task remains to be seen. One thing is certain, the future of human rights in SA demands a credible report and decisive action by the ANC.



From left, commissioners David Zamchiya, Sam Motsuenyane and Margaret Burnham, with a witness and lawyer Siraj Desai in front. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Four held over AK-47s in minibus

Crime Staff

Police arrested four men and confiscated nine AK-47 rifles with about 500 rounds of ammunition on the East Rand early today.

Witwatersrand SAP spokesman Major Eugene Opperman said police seized the arms when they searched a minibus on the N17 highway near Springs at about 2 am.

He said if the men were

convicted of possessing the weapons they could face between five and 25 years in prison without the option of being fined.

Another cache has been found in Qwa-Qwa near the border between Lesotho and the southern Free State.

SAP spokesman Captain Johlene van der Merwe said the cache, which was buried about 1 km from the Monotsha border post, contained thousands of AK-47, R-1 and

.303 rounds, explosives, three mortar bombs, detonators and fuses.

The arms were old and rusty when they were dug up on Tuesday, she said.

In Tembisa today, the SAP and SADF cordoned off and searched the Sethokga hostel.

At the time of going to press, police had confiscated a homemade gun, a .38 Special revolver, dagga and a stolen vehicle.



1 7

SADF, MK 'stay separate'

Star, 17/1/93

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the SADF will probably remain under their own separate command structures during the transition.

However, they will have a joint military council above them to ensure they properly execute orders from the transitional executive council (TEC). *(SUA)*

This has been tentatively agreed to in discussions between the SADF and MK, ANC head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki said in Washington yesterday. *(SUA)*

One of the implications of this is that MK units could be deployed as such under their commanders during the transition.

Mbeki stressed that the joint military council overseeing all armed forces (not just MK and the SADF) would not be a joint operational command.

Star 18/16/83

We've killed 90 in security forces, says Apla

By Montshiwa Moroke and Sapa

A senior Azanian Peoples Liberation Army official yesterday claimed Apla had killed 90 security force members this year and said the police and army remained legitimate targets regardless of race.

Interviewed in Wind-

hoek, the PAC's military wing training and manpower development director Willie Brown said police were part of the system Apla aimed to overthrow

~~HA~~ (84A) Apla chief political commissar Romero Daniels said his movement had carried out 120 missions this year, about 80

in rural areas. It had lost one member and had two or three arrested.

He said the PAC would end its armed struggle only with a negotiated mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and the Government.

Police spokesman Captain Sally de Beer, last night confirmed 95 policemen had been

murdered this year and the police had noted that Apla had claimed responsibility.

"We will obviously go to great lengths to arrest those responsible," she said.

Police have offered a R100 000 for information which leads to the conviction of the killers.

Inquiry told of ANC cadres' conduct code

Star 18/1/93

The "humanism" of late ANC president Oliver Tambo led to the organisation signing the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, ANC constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal said yesterday.

He told the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry in Johannesburg that the ANC was the only liberation movement with a code of con-

duct for its cadres.

The commission is inquiring into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC camps in exile.

● Evidence before the commission concludes today. It was expected that Jacob Zuma, the ANC's deputy secretary, would give evidence on people who went missing during the organisation's time in exile.

— Staff Reporter.

Apla security deaths claim

WINDHOEK — A senior Apla official yesterday claimed the PAC's armed wing had killed 90 members of the security forces this year and said the police and army remained legitimate targets, regardless of race. (84A) (221)

Apla military wing training director Willie Brown said in Windhoek yesterday police were part of the system Apla intended to overthrow. "We reject the notion that black police are part of the oppressed — they are propping up the system, which makes them legitimate targets."

Apla chief political commissar Romero Daniels said his organisation had carried out 120 missions this year, about 80 in rural areas. It had lost one member and had two or three arrested. — Sapa.

Violators of convention 'should not hold rank'

B/D Day 18/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

ANC officials who violated the fundamental assumptions of the Geneva Convention, which the ANC adopted in 1980, should be disqualified in future from leadership roles in the armed forces, an ANC official said yesterday.

ANC NEC member and human rights expert Prof Kader Asmal yesterday told the Motsuenyane commission — investigating alleged abuses in ANC camps — that the ANC was bound by the convention's moral assumptions even though detainees held in ANC camps did not qualify as political prisoners.

Asmal said only "combatants" of SA government forces, held after surrendering or being injured in battle, would qualify as political prisoners in terms of the convention.

But as far as he was aware, the ANC had never held such prisoners.

The ANC leadership would have to accept collective responsibility for abuses if these were found to be "systematic, persistent and large scale".

"It is a matter of pride for me that

the ANC is the first liberation movement to hold an inquiry of this kind," he said.

Wrongs committed by the ANC in exile could not be compared to crimes committed by the apartheid state. The British bombing of Dresden was, in his opinion, a war crime, but no one had equated this to the crimes committed in Nazi concentration camps, he said. (SLA)

"There can never be an equation between the acts of the victim... and the extraordinary murderous intent of the aggressor," he said.

Asmal said a clause in the ANC's Freedom Charter opposing detention without trial, had not applied to the ANC in exile as the document was "a people's charter for a future government".

He said that when the charter had been drafted in 1955, the ANC had not anticipated it would be banned and forced into exile.

ANC soldiers who disobeyed orders to engage Unita in Angola and those

who ignored subsequent instructions to hand over their arms qualified as mutineers in terms of international law, he said.

Asmal testified the ANC had a long human rights record. It had been the first liberation movement to adopt a bill of rights in 1943, and had made nonracial claims in the Freedom Charter in 1955 while the SA government was implementing racist laws.

He paid tribute to the "extraordinary humanism" of late ANC chairman Oliver Tambo, who had initiated the drafting of a code of conduct for ANC and MK members in 1985.

The code had been adopted in spite of the "claustrophobic context" of SADF assaults on ANC camps.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's bodyguard Basil Mavuso, who was known as "Jomo Sono" while in exile, earlier denied participating in the torture of Gabriel Sethloke.

Sethloke, who is still a member of the ANC, had testified that he was beaten on the soles of his feet with a baton during interrogation and hung from a pole while in handcuffs.

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A mere R185 per person sharing per night entitles



PAC stalls for time at talks

Star

1916193

Tuesday deadline on armed struggle

THE proposed multi-party declaration on the suspension or cessation of armed struggle has been put off for ratification until Tuesday.

The postponement of the matter, which is intended to resolve the difficulties between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress, came after yet another request by the PAC to consult with its principals.

This time, said the PAC's Patricia de Lille, the movement's president, Clarence Makweu, was waiting to consult with PAC delegates to a conference in Cairo.

The declaration was tabled at the World Trade Centre talks in a final amended form yesterday afternoon following an earlier debate in

which more than 30 speakers took part.

It was proposed that parties able to endorse the amended declaration do so and those still wanting clarification be given until Tuesday to follow suit. The postponement was offered because the PAC needed further consultation.

However, it was decided, with stern warnings to the PAC, that decisions and endorsements by all the parties would be postponed until Tuesday, when the Government's Roelf Meyer insisted, a decision should be taken by the council on what to do with those parties who refused to endorse the declaration.

The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa also warned: "They (the PAC) should understand it as the last opportunity to get this declaration adopted." — Sapa

Govt smearing us - Makwetu

Star 19/6/93
KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday denounced the Government's "deliberate campaign" to portray the PAC and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) as "criminals and murderers".

Makwetu told a press conference in Johannesburg that Government strategy was to undermine "the legitimacy of the armed struggle against colonial oppressors, and the right of the oppressed to use all means and methods at their disposal to fight against the whole ugly edifice"

Indignities

This was calculated to distract attention from Pretoria's refusal to enter into a "mutual cessation of hostilities" with the PAC.

Flanked by PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo and national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani, Makwetu said the PAC and APLA were "in principle ready" to enter into negotiations with the Government on the mutual cessation of hostilities, in line with the Harare Declaration of 1989.

Makwetu catalogued some of the indignities to

which blacks in South Africa had been subjected over the years, and accused the Government of waging an armed struggle of its own against the black majority.

"Armed struggle, therefore, arose in order to fight these evils in defence of the oppressed African masses.

"Under international law, oppressed indigenous people have a right to use all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, in order to liberate themselves and their country and to assert their right to national self-determination."

Makwetu said the PAC would hold talks with Pretoria "any time" to try to resolve differences on violence: "If they want to meet us, we are ready to meet them even tonight. In other words, we are ready to talk to them any moment."

Makwetu said he was not excited about the setting of a date for the country's first all-inclusive election, saying South Africans did not know what they would be voting for.

The PAC, which wants the election to be for a constituent assembly, reserved its position when the election date was discussed again this week.

Abuse claim

^{31 times 2016/12}
THE Motsuenyane commission into alleged abuses at ANC camps heard this week that three Quatro camp inmates had complained of eardrum damage caused by torture.

However, the ANC's former medical chief in Angola, Dr Haggar McBerry, said the allegations were false.

He said it could not be confirmed that a fourth inmate had suffered a broken limb as a result of torture.

The commission heard its last evidence on Friday and is due to report by the end of the month. (84A)



Renegade group disbanded

By MBULELO SOMPETHA

SHENXA — the group alleged to have terrorised and killed residents of Khutsong near Carletonville — has been disbanded.

This follows the intervention of ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale after residents' repeated pleas for help.

Mr Sexwale this week held discussions in Khutsong with the group's former chairman Mashukumisa Ntsete and his comrades.

Mr Ntsete and his group — who had led the ANC branch in the area — earned the label Shenxa (meaning cut-out) after residents alleged they were unconstitutionally elected.

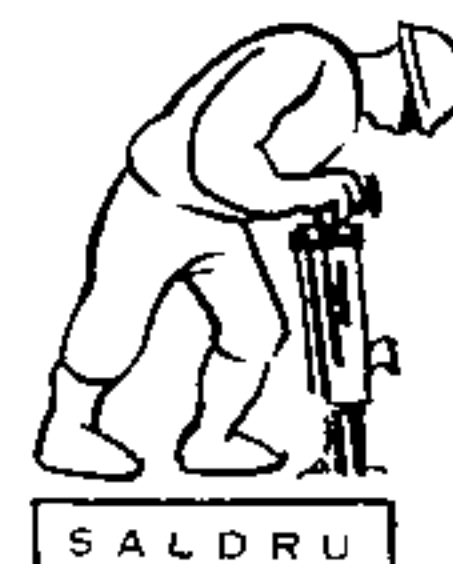
They were also linked to gruesome killings of residents, including activists.

Mr Ntsete dismissed the allegations and blamed another group for the killings, saying his group intervened to keep the peace.

He said he had only attacked thugs hiding behind the ANC.

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Berea blast 'not an attack'

By Charmela Bhagawat
Crime Reporter

A hand grenade exploded in a block flats in Berea, Johannesburg, on Saturday, slightly injuring a five-year-old boy and damaging several flats in the building.

The grenade was planted in the corridor on the fourth floor of Davenport flats in O'Reilly Street. "We doubt it was an at-

tack and although people said they saw a man with a balacava outside the building before the blast, trying to attribute blame like that is presumptuous," said police spokesman Captain Wikus Weber.

The explosion echoed through the city suburb at about 2 pm.

He said Tony Constantino, the only person in the corridor at the time of the blast, was injured by flying glass and was treated at the scene. A Davenport resident said

the little boy told tenants after the blast that he saw a "fair skinned" man with a cap kneeling down where the grenade was placed shortly before the explosion.

But police said the severely shocked child's claims could not be substantiated, and they were questioning all the residents and security guards at the building.

The child and his mother were visiting friends at the time of the explosion and could not be contacted yes-

Star 21/6/93

~~Star~~ yesterday

844

~~Star~~

Tenants Glynis Bok and José Rodrigues said the grenade went off outside their flat. Their kitchen window was blown out and some furniture was damaged.

They said they would be moving to another flat soon.

"The biggest frustration is not knowing who did it," said Rodrigues.

Bok said a policeman who took statements from them yesterday had told them that "this was just the beginning".

"He said this could be a warning. We don't want to wait for something to happen, so we are moving," said Rodrigues.

Yesterday, glass littered the entire floor, and the windows and doors of several flats were smashed.

In the middle of the corridor there was a hole in the concrete floor where the grenade was placed and concrete chips from the wall and ceiling were strewn around.

'SA agents killed many in ANC'

By Mokone Molete

A deadly game of espionage and counter-espionage between the ANC and the South African Security Police was described at the Motsuenyane commission on Friday.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said that most SA agents who had infiltrated his organisation were "dangerous" and their activities resulted in the deaths of many MK recruits.

In particular, he mentioned David Mbatha, a man

Star 2/16/93
named McKenzie and Bheki Mpongose who "actually did a lot of damage".

Zuma claimed they were recruited by the security police to spy on the ANC in exile. They succeeded in:

- Identifying MK cadres who had sneaked back into the country.

- Booby-trapping arms which were hidden inside the country and this resulted in the death and injury of many MK cadres.

- Exposing underground units of the organisation.

- Fomenting the mutiny in ANC camps in Angola in 1984.

"We got information (on these people) from the files of the enemy (the South African security forces where the ANC had planted its own spies)," Zuma said.

McKenzie, he said, had driven a car full of explosives to Botswana. This resulted in the deaths of many members of the ANC. He denied that after his exposure Mbatha was beaten up by members of the ANC.

D-Day for PAC

Sowetan 21/6/93

at talks

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

A SHOWDOWN looms tomorrow between the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the negotiating council of the multiparty conference over the armed struggle.

Consternation gripped negotiators at the weekend when the PAC dug in its heels, declaring it would not suspend the armed struggle unless the Government agreed to a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Negotiators are to decide tomorrow whether the PAC — and any other party backing the armed struggle — should be kicked out of multiparty constitutional talks.

A proposed multiparty declaration on the suspension or cessation of the armed struggle is set to be ratified by the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, thus making the exit of the PAC from the forum a strong likelihood.

The proposal was tabled last Friday after several meetings between the PAC and the Government to discuss the issue over the past three weeks ended in a stalemate. The PAC maintained that its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), would abandon the bullet only when the ballot was secured or when there was what it termed a mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and the Government.

The Government demanded that the PAC should at least declare a moratorium on armed

incursions, insisting that the organisation could not simultaneously talk and fight.

Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said a decision should be taken by the council tomorrow on what to do with parties which did not endorse the declaration.

The Government's position, however, is that the PAC be kicked out of the process unless it ratifies and sticks to the proposed declaration.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said at the weekend that the organisation would not end its armed struggle.

Addressing a service in Boipatong on Saturday to commemorate the June 17 1992 massacre of residents, Makwetu said: "We stand by our position that we won't renounce the armed struggle until a mutual ceasefire had been arrived at."

Proclaim ceasefire

"The regime insists that they never declared war against the PAC, and thus cannot be required to proclaim ceasefire. I reiterate that the current negotiations process must go hand in hand with intense struggles on every front."

PAC negotiations strategist and national executive member Mr Mark Shinnars yesterday said the National Party, and not his organisation, was in a crisis.

He said the PAC would continue to put its case across at the World Trade Centre and would not be bothered by the Government's demands and attempts to pressure other parties to agree with it.

"We are in the process because it is our right. Parties which want us out will have to say so tomorrow."

Commission told of ANC camp killings

6/Day 2116193
RAY HARTLEY

A MAN was executed and two others beaten to death by exiled ANC members, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma told the Motsuenyane commission into abuses in ANC camps on Friday.

Zuma testified that Jabu Zikalala had been executed after being sentenced to death by an ANC tribunal. Zikalala had supplied the SA government with sketches and photographs which led to the bombing of the ANC's Katenge camp in Angola.

Zuma, who served as ANC intelligence chief from 1987 to 1991, said he was aware that Thabo Twala had been beaten to death in the "Sun City" jail in Zambia in 1989 and a man known as "Mahlatini" had died as a result of a severe beating at Pango camp in Angola in the early 1980s.

The camp's commander, known as "Mahamba", had participated in the beating of Mahlatini and had subsequently been exposed as an enemy agent, he said. But 11 others, alleged to have died while in the ANC's exile structures, were alive. Zuma handed the commission a list of their current occupations and whereabouts (SUA)

He said he had compiled a second list of 17 people who had last been seen when they had been infiltrated into SA by the ANC. "We believe that someone has to account for these people and that someone is the SA government," he said. (HP) (SS)

Former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee had told the ANC that police had "burned people to ashes" to get rid of evidence and to avoid taking them to court, he said. The ANC had infiltrated the police in various centres and had used police information to expose several government infiltrators.

Goodluck Mpungose, who was arrested by the ANC as an infiltrator, had lured Natal UDF leaders out of hiding during the state of emergency by offering to sprinkle them with herbs that would protect them against the police, he said.

The commission heard evidence for the last time on Friday. It will sift through 2 000 pages of evidence from 45 witnesses, and report directly to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Bid to avoid talks row over violence

Star 22/1/93
By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Attempts are being made to prevent a row in the Negotiating Council today over a far-reaching declaration on the suspension of armed activities.

The compromise involves a report on violence being discussed in the Negotiating Council before the declaration, which was originally scheduled to top the agenda.

The report on violence proposes two "multiparty agencies" to deal with police forces as well as with armies and armed formations.

It recommends a phased approach to a new defence force and a new police force.

This means that the PAC's concerns over the implementation of a cessation of hostilities will be considered.

After addressing the 10-member planning committee yesterday, PAC negotiator and political secretary Jaki Seroke said the committee was considering the compromise.

Asked if the PAC would then support the declaration, Seroke said: "We are not opposed to a cessation of hostilities but the process to arrive (at that) needs to be discussed and structured."

The Government served notice on Friday that it would urge the Negotiating Council to take a decision on the continued participation of groups refusing to accept the document.

Negotiators from the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu governments indicated last night they would accept the declaration.

The declaration states that parties will "commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

Clash looming as PAC sticks to its guns

^{file}
THE negotiating council today faces a tense debate over the PAC's refusal to suspend the armed struggle.

There are indications that the PAC might be left out on a limb with only the CP for company. The CP also has problems signing a declaration which commits it to desist from taking up arms, even if it does not attain its goal of a separate Afrikaner homeland. The CP has threatened to go to war if it fails in this at the negotiations.

Most of the other 26 parties are pushing to have the declaration of a cessation of hostilities signed by all those negotiating. Even the PAC's patriotic front partners, including the ANC, have warned that today

^{B Day 22/6/93}
BILLY PADDOCK

is its last opportunity before facing censure from the negotiating council.

The declaration was drafted by the planning committee and carries the full weight of the negotiating process. ~~SECRET~~

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday she was prepared to sign the declaration if it was amended to say it was a "mutual cessation of hostilities". ~~SECRET~~

And at a media briefing PAC president Clarence Makwetu said his organisation would suspend its armed struggle if one of three conditions was met: the mutual cessation of hostilities between government

and the PAC; the establishment of a transitional authority with full, independent control over the security forces; and the setting up of a constituent assembly.

The PAC would not endorse the negotiating council resolution to renounce violence because, he said, it was biased against the PAC as it focused only on Apla instead of all armed formations. (84A)

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the PAC's suggestion of an agreement on a mutual cessation of hostilities was unrealistic, Sapa reports. He described as "nonsense" the PAC's insistence that government was involved in some form of armed struggle.

**WILSON ZWANE and
DIRK VAN EEDEN**

PAC president Clarence Makwetu yesterday invited white farmers to discuss a political solution to hostilities between them and the PAC's armed wing, Apla.

Speaking in Johannesburg, he said the two parties should meet as soon as possible to discuss "issues of common interest".

The PAC has accepted responsibility for attacks on farmers by Apla members, saying farmers were a legitimate target.

Makwetu stressed that the PAC would not suspend the armed struggle as a precondition for the meeting. The PAC was fighting anyone opposed to blacks' liberation, he said, accusing farmers of abusing blacks living on or near their farms.

Free State Agricultural Union president

Makwetu invites farmers to meeting

Bl Day 22/6/93

Piet Gous said that if such talks could prevent only one farmer's death, they had to be regarded as a positive move. But farmers were not prepared to negotiate across graves and the PAC would have to prove its commitment to peace first. The farmers would talk only if they saw, over time, that no farmers were murdered, or if the PAC called on Apla to stop its war and handed murderers over to the police.

SA Agricultural Union spokesman August du Preez said the union could not comment until it had a formal invitation.

~~Picture~~ Picture: Page 4 (84A)

Good progress on plan to unify armed forces

St. Clair 2316193

(84) (844)

By Esther Waugh
and Chris Whitfield

Progress towards new, unified South African security forces took a significant step forward yesterday with agreement in negotiations on a phased integration of existing armed formations — and the ending of private armies.

The acceptance by a significant majority of the 26 negotiating parties of a resolution "on conditions that should be created to eliminate violence" boosts hopes for peace.

The resolution contains far-reaching provisions for:

- A series of phased confidence-building measures which would include the future of all armed formations, their personnel and arsenals, and would lead to the creation of impartial security forces with the consequent dissolution of all other armed formations.

- A peace or youth service

corps and an independent peacekeeping force.

- Consultation between those yet to sign the peace accord and the National Peace Committee, with a view to having all negotiators adhering to the accord.

- A code of conduct binding on all political groups and punitive measures against those who transgress.

- A commitment by all in negotiations to holding a free and fair election and to ensuring that all parties can conduct their campaigns without hindrance.

There was, however, resistance from some Cosag members — with the notable exception of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government. The Conservative Party rejected the resolution while the PAC, the Afrikaner Volk-sunie, the Bophuthatswana government and the Ciskei government reserved their positions on various elements.

...is ever brought to court so quickly. Attempts are still being made to raise money for the defence." Events which filled newspapers for weeks have been summarised in three pages of "substantial fact" which... people, who allegedly appeared on a hit list. Clive Derby-Lewis allegedly obtained the 9 mm pistol used in the murder, and

Drama over PAC stand on end to armed struggle

Star 23/6/93

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

The PAC has plunged negotiations into confusion. After initially agreeing last night to a suspension of its armed struggle, it then dismissed the understanding brokered in negotiations.

In what had appeared to be a boost for negotiations and the peace process, the PAC agreed "in principle" during debate at the World Trade Centre to suspend its armed struggle.

However, later last night the PAC leaders told a press conference the organisation had not "unilaterally suspended the armed struggle" but had agreed to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities with the Government.

This would be addressed at a meeting with the Gov-

ernment tomorrow night. Many negotiations were astounded by the PAC's egg dance on a clear rejection of violence.

Confusion about the PAC's intentions continued today. The leader of the PAC delegation at the Negotiating Council, Patricia de Lille, said today her organisation had last night taken a "political decision on the cessation of hostilities" - which implies the PAC is suspending Apla's armed activities.

However, she said the implementation of this decision still had to be agreed to by the PAC and Government.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his National Party counterpart Dr Dawie de Villiers responded last night by warning of disciplinary action in the Negotiating Council. (84A)

They said in a joint statement: "After this the PAC has no credibility. It makes a mockery of the negotiations process and the 25 other parties when it commits itself publicly to the declaration (on the cessation of armed hostilities) and on its own contradicts it."

The dramatic announcement, which appeared to bring the PAC position on armed struggle in line with that of the ANC, was made in the Negotiating Council and was immediately welcomed by other negotiators.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that PAC negotiators had told him they had been instructed by their president Clarence Makwetu to agree to the declaration on the suspension of armed struggle.

● To Page 3

Drama over PAC stand

on hostilities

● From Page 1

Late last night many negotiators who had originally welcomed the PAC move were confused by developments, with some speculating that the PAC may have been trying to buy time to sell the agreement to its grassroots support.

The apparent breakthrough came yesterday afternoon after the PAC, the Government and negotiations planning committee member Pravin Gordhan had met behind closed doors.

PAC negotiator Jaki Seroke emerged to tell the Negotiating Council: "The PAC is willing to accept the Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities in principle and subscribes to it."

"It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime." (84A)

However, Seroke later told a press conference the PAC remained "committed to the armed struggle and is working towards a mutual cessation of hostilities."

Asked if this meant the armed struggle would be suspended only once agreement had been reached with the Government, he said "yes".

The declaration states that parties subscribing to it commit themselves to a peaceful resolution of conflict and to cease or suspend any form of hostilities, armed struggle or violence.

NEWS FEATURES PAC geared for intensification of onslaught • Apla's mission explained

NO AMBIVALENCE Estimated

10 000 being trained 'to spread fire':

By Ruth Bhengu
Sowetan Africa News Service

DAR ES SALAAM — The Pan Africanist Congress has taken a seemingly ambivalent stance on armed struggle in its statement at the multiparty talks. But there was no ambivalence among leaders of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, when I visited its headquarters in Dar es Salaam recently.

While the African National Congress has abandoned the armed struggle and is working towards the election of what it terms a government of national unity, Apla's High Command in the Tanzanian capital gave every indication of gearing themselves for an intensification of the onslaught on white domination.

In keeping with its designation of 1993 as The Year of The Great Storm, Apla is training an estimated 10 000 guerillas outside and inside South Africa. Among Apla soldiers in Tanzania and Zimbabwe the possibility of coming home soon to vote in the elections is remote, despite the fact that a date has already been set.

Struggle

Sabelo Phama, the PAC's secretary for defence and Apla's commander, said in an interview in Dar es Salaam: "We are aware that our plans to spread the fire to the greater part of the country and hitting the enemy harder might prolong the struggle for another three or four years at least. But our main target is that we cannot get to the year 2000 as an oppressed nation."

The Sowetan Africa News Service visited Apla's headquarters in the Tanzanian capital in an attempt to find out why it was talking war when everyone else seemed to be talking peaceful negotiation. We met members ranging from the High Command down to junior cadres.

A striking thing about PAC and Apla members is that they are all immaculately dressed, whether in khakis or in formal wear. They appear to be well-disciplined.

They have adapted well to the Tanzanian culture — speaking Swahili fluently, for instance.

These men and women, who refer to themselves as "the fighting machine of the Azanian masses", are members of an organisation that has been active for more than 30 years. First formed as Poqo on September 11 1961, Apla is claimed

by its members to be the oldest South African guerilla army.

When the government banned the PAC in the early sixties and arrested many of its members, the PAC and its armed wing left the country. Those who remained went underground, recruiting small groups of people for military training abroad while military units were set up in South Africa.

In 1968 Poqo formally became Apla. As the government became more harsh in repressing opposition, Apla recruited more members and established additional military training centres.

A sociologist at Durban-Westville University, Dr Evan Mantzaris, who had studied the PAC over a decade, said in 1992 that "all indications point to the fact that Apla can only become stronger and its activities will be intensified in the near future".

His prediction seems to have been accurate. A senior Apla official, Willie Brown, said at a regional security conference in Windhoek recently that Apla had killed 90 members of the security forces since the beginning of this year. The police and the army remained legitimate targets, he said.

Brown, who is Apla's director of training and manpower, said black police were propping up the system that Apla aimed to overthrow.

Speaking about attacks on farmers, Brown said former president PW Botha had made farmers South Africa's first line of military defence under the Joint Management Security System.

120 missions

Apla's chief political commissar, Romero Daniels, said at the Windhoek meeting that his movement had carried out 120 missions this year, about 80 of them in rural areas. It had lost one member and had two or three arrested.

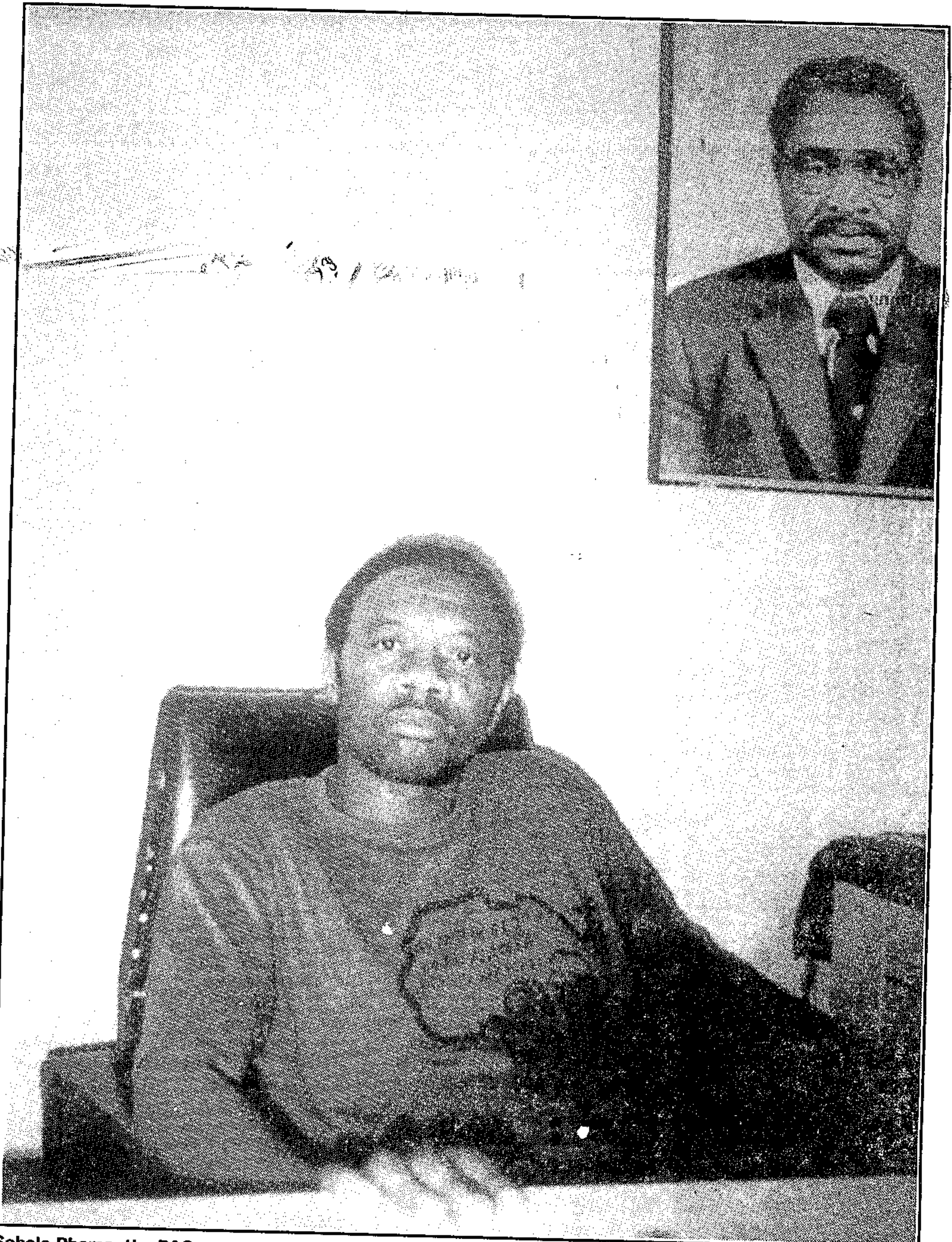
What would it take to make Apla members lay down their arms? This question was put to Apla's director of Information and Publicity, Mr Willie Mazambane, in Dar es Salaam.

"We believe that there should be a negotiated, mutual cessation of hostilities and we have defined such cessation as the stopping of war and achievement of peace," he said.

He said the mutual cessation of hostilities must include joint monitoring of all armed formations during the transitional period under a neutral authority. It should also involve international scrutiny and thorough investigation of the location and size of the weapons now in the hands of the SADF, the SAP and other security forces.

Apla spells out its plans for the future

Sowetan 24/6/93



Sabelo Phama, the PAC secretary of defence and Apla commander who foretold the year of the storm in 1993, says oppression must end by the year 2000.

The fight is for land, says training boss

Sowetan 24/6/93

By Ruth Bhengu
Sowetan Africa News Service

DAR ES SALAAM — Willie Brown, Apla's director of training and manpower development, is not generous with words. As a military man he may feel that he does not need to use them as much as he should use action.

But he leaves no doubt that he believes the PAC will not bow to the increasing pressure for it to abandon the armed struggle.

"What we are fighting is a war of decolonisation," he said.

Equal rights

"We are not fighting apartheid. We are fighting to get back our land which was taken from us by the settlers. This struggle is about land and not about equal rights."

Brown sees his job as turning raw recruits into disciplined guerilla fighters

who are well versed not only in military tactics but also in the political philosophy underlying those tactics.

"An Apla cadre must first learn political discipline before he achieves military discipline," he said in an interview in Apla's headquarters in an office block in downtown Dar es Salaam which, like the rest of the Tanzanian capital, would benefit from a little maintenance.

"In Apla we emphasise discipline," he said. "In our training we give political and military discipline."

"A person cannot receive military training without first having political and ideological discipline."

"An Apla soldier must know what he is fighting. He must know why he is fighting it and how to fight it," said Brown. "As a soldier of the people he must know his relationship to them and it should not be antagonistic. His duty is to serve and protect the people." Brown is a slightly-built, young-

looking man who could easily be mistaken for one of his recruits.

Brown is not his real name but a nom de guerre. Under the conditions imposed when the interview was granted, neither his real name nor anything about his background may be disclosed, other than that he is a black South African.

While he was not prepared to talk about matters he considers to fall under security restrictions, Brown was willing to discuss the philosophy behind Apla's activities.

"The Apla cadre should live by socialist values," he said. "We believe that socialism is a discipline."

"It is about economy — an economy that must serve the interests of the majority of people and not just a few people."

"In this system the workers are partners in the running of the economy. What they produce and what they get should be balanced."

He was asked how the PAC intended to convince South Africans that socialism was a workable system despite its failure in Europe and elsewhere.

Brown replied that Apla's task was to make people understand that, because socialism had been abused elsewhere, it did not mean that the system itself was a recipe for failure.

African values

"We are saying that socialism must be based on African values. It should be Africanistic."

"We are not talking about African socialism because socialism is a phenomenon that is scientific."

"And it will come about because of certain conditions whether we like it or not."

Brown's views on the philosophy behind Apla's actions were confirmed by Jacob Jumo (not his real name), Apla's director of ideological training and culture, who is responsible for the

"ideological and political education" of Apla cadres.

He also spoke about the problems faced by the PAC in spreading its ideas. Jumo believes that the news media, like the Pretoria Government, deliberately paints a distorted picture of his party.

He believes the PAC needs its own media resources to explain its policies to a wider audience.

"But we have obstacles," he said. "We are officially unbanned but in reality we are still banned. In the last raid they took all our documents. What organisation can operate without its documents?"

Although not sure of the exact membership of PAC and Apla, Brown said it was growing rapidly.

"According to the figure we got last year from our general secretary's office we had over 700 000 paid-up members. That is a big number if you consider the (short) period in which the PAC has been allowed to operate openly."

CP's 'last chance' to press its case

Star 25/6/93

By Chris Whitfield
and Esther Waugh

The crunch for the Conservative Party comes on Tuesday when it will be given "the very last opportunity" to convince the Negotiating Council of the viability of an Afrikaner state.

The party's thrust for self-determination in a confederal state left it isolated in negotiations yesterday.

The CP refused to give details of the boundaries of its proposed state. It also elaborated only slightly on its definition of an Afrikaner, with negotiator Fanie Jacobs saying that some English-speakers would also be granted citizenship.

But the CP has undertaken to answer by Tuesday questions raised yes-

terday and in a report by a negotiations technical committee.

In a rejoinder to his fellow Cosag member, IFP delegate Joe Matthews said it required much self-control from many to hear arguments about freedom of Afrikaners when the entire thrust of the process was the achievement of freedom for blacks.

"The basic reason we are here is to ensure the freedom and emancipation of the black majority. We must never deviate from that principle," said Matthews.

After an appeal to the council not to ignore the claims of Afrikaners, Jacobs added a veiled threat, saying the process "should not negotiate a course that will lead to destruction, strife and even civil war".

Right to hold demo at talks

Star 25/6/93

Political Staff

Thousands of Afrikaner Volksfront supporters were expected to protest outside the World Trade Centre as negotiators begin their work this morning.

Police, defence force and emergency service staff have been put on alert at the venue.

The Negotiating Council was told last night that the Kempton Park Town Council had given permission for between 1 000 and 3 000 demonstrators to protest outside the centre between 6 am and noon.

A council report said organisers agreed that no firearms would be allowed. A strong SAP and SADF contingent would be present on the roads and highway leading to the centre, negotiators were told.

Five demonstrators would be allowed to enter the World Trade Centre to present a memorandum on their demand for an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The Volksfront also hopes that Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen will be allowed to address the council — a request which was refused last night.

PAC still vague on struggle

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Confusion over the PAC's position on the armed struggle is dragging on and the matter remains unresolved after a meeting at the World Trade Centre between the PAC and the Government.

The conflict stems from a difference of interpretation of a declaration on the cessation of hostilities and suspension

of armed action.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night told the Negotiating Council that the PAC delegation could not clarify its position on the armed struggle.

The PAC denied this but promised to seek further consultation with its leadership as to at what stage it would cease hostilities.

Calls made for *Star 25/6/93* rapid rethink ~~SADF~~ SADF on MI roles

The roles and responsibilities of Military Intelligence (MI) and those of other components of the military intelligence community must be urgently redefined in a new South Africa.

This view was shared yesterday by ANC security head Joe Nhlanhla and the SADF's former Deputy Chief of Staff of Intelligence, Major-General Chris Thirion, at a public seminar on future requirements for military intelligence and special forces in a post-settlement South Africa.

The seminar, held in Johannesburg, was organised by the Midrand-based Institute for Defence Policy.

Nhlanhla said the MI community possessed a vast and bloated bureaucratic structure and its size was disproportionate to its current responsibilities and the size of other staff structures.

He suggested the establishment of a technical committee to probe the restructuring of the MI function and advise either the proposed transitional executive council's sub-council on defence or a post-election defence ministry.

Nhlanhla said concrete consideration should be given to the restructuring and rationalisation of

certain MI functions.

He added: "The intelligence personnel of the TBVC armies, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army should also be identified and concrete preparations made for their integration into a future defence force."

Thirion argued for a future joint military intelligence structure which would include non-governmental structures.

For MI to fulfil its role, short-term problems and longer-term command and managerial requirements had to be addressed by the "broadest possible multi-party forum".

He emphasised the importance of MI as there was always an "unmistakable interplay between major political events and the internal security situation".

When campaigning in the run-up to the election gained momentum, security could deteriorate. This could see a rise "in military force levels deployed", he predicted.

Thirion, one of several SADF officers put on early retirement earlier this year after revelations of MI "dirty tricks", concurred that "MI had been involved in activities they should not have been involved in".

— Sapa.

PAC still vague on struggle

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Star 25/1/68

of armed action

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The PAC denied this but promised to seek further consultation with its leadership as to at what stage it would cease hostilities.

(84A)

Clash on armed struggle expected at talks

Staff 21/6/193

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

A showdown over a declaration on the suspension of the armed struggle and the cessation of hostilities is looming tomorrow in the 26-party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday her organisation would not sign the declaration but was prepared to sign an amended version.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer served notice on Friday that the Government would to-

morrow urge the council to take a decision on the continued participation of parties which refuse to commit themselves to the declaration.

The declaration, which flowed from the deadlocked talks between the PAC and the Government, was discussed in the council on Friday but a decision has been deferred until tomorrow.

The Government insists that the PAC suspend its armed struggle, while the PAC will only discuss the mutual cessation of hostilities.

However, the declaration can potentially be signed by all 26

parties in the council.

Negotiations passed a baptism by fire last week but more hiccups could emerge in the run-up to a meeting of the Negotiating Forum on Friday.

Compromise

The council will have to decide within the next four days on two vital issues which caused the walkout last week by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Negotiators will have to strike a compromise on whether the transition should be a single or a two-phased process.

Cosag parties demand that the multiparty Negotiating Forum draft a final constitution which will be put to a referendum. In terms of this scenario elections for a representative government will be held by September next year.

Most negotiating parties are demanding the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to prepare equal ground for all parties in the first democratic elections of April 27 for an interim government of national unity.

Key negotiators have warned that "difficult moments" lie ahead this week.

MK men slam 'ANC nepotism'

CIPRESS 27/6/95

By ZANELE VUTELA

WARNING signals flashed for the ANC leadership this week

after disgruntled Umkhonto we-Sizwe leaders on the East Rand broke open a can of complaints, bringing simmering internal dissent into the open.

Dumisani Mjekula (alias Zonile Didike) the commander of MK's KwaThema, Duduza and Tsakane zone on the East Rand, told City Press a "special message" containing complaints and demands had been delivered to Nelson Mandela.

The MK officer was interviewed in the company of five other MK members including Andrew Phiri, a member of the zonal command structure.

Mjekula described the men as "dedicated members of the ANC". He said the press had been approached because the soldiers "wanted people to know what was happening".

His group had demanded that:

- Winnie Mandela be returned to the ANC leadership;
- The ANC addresses the plight of MK members; and
- The ANC holds a conference prior to the general election.

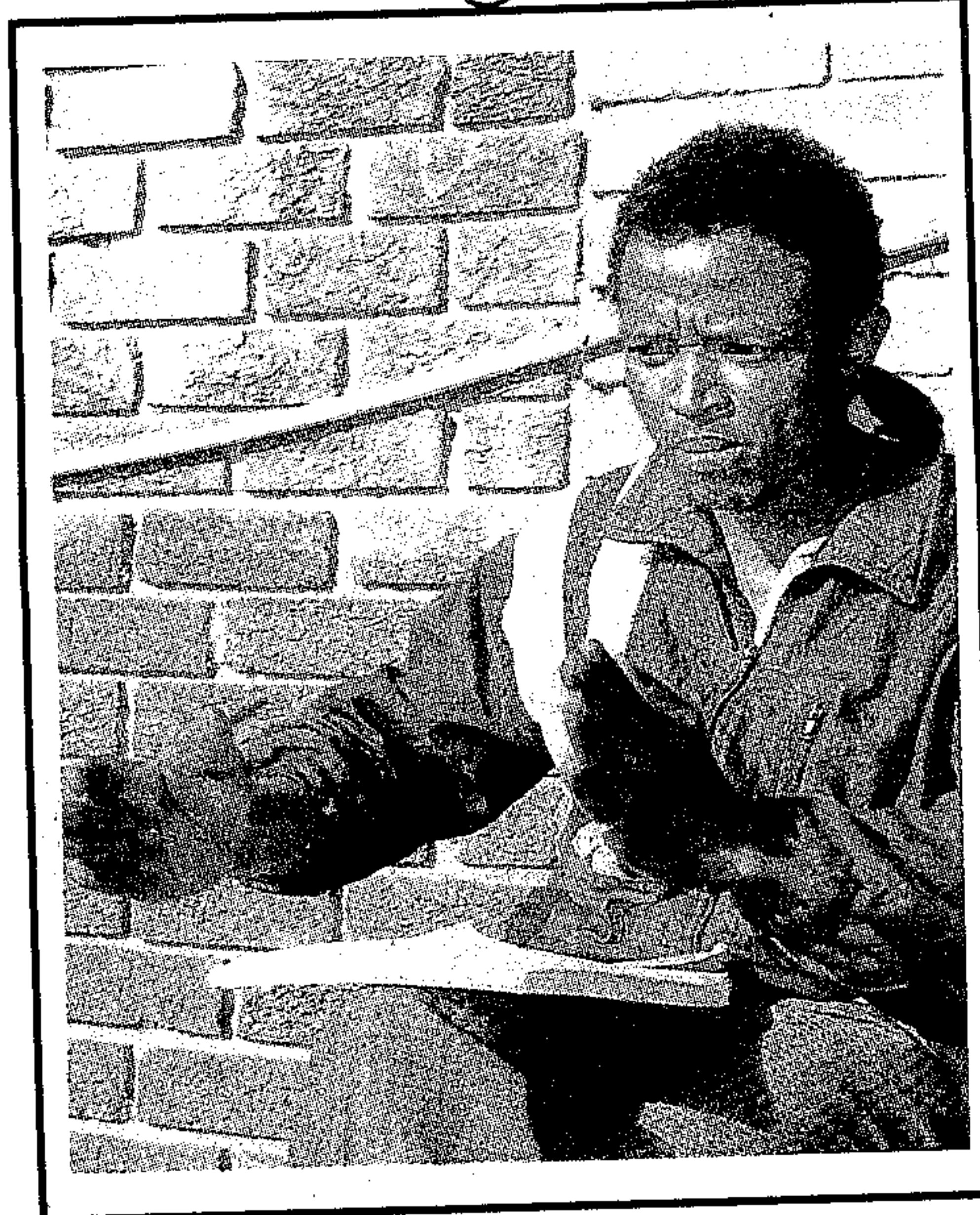
He said that going public could be costly as there were "people who will try to harm us".

He said: "We are speaking out because we value life and these are realities that must be addressed."

He said: "The ANC's position towards Winnie Mandela is very unfair. She was forced out of the National Executive Committee when there are people within the ANC, indeed in most parties, who have authorised killings, but still maintain positions of leadership and are negotiating SA's future."

In the past 27 years Winnie Mandela had increased the membership of the ANC and that of MK and had "helped so many families who were destitute, homeless and whose children could not go to school. Her position at this stage must be in the struggle and in the leadership".

"When Nelson Mandela came out of prison he glorified the role of the youth in the struggle, especially that of MK and, when the leadership took the decision to suspend the armed struggle, the cadres were



DISCARDED ... East Rand MK leader Dumisani Mjekula protested to Nelson Mandela. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

promised that they would be given the necessary help to re-settle if they came home.

"Now its different, the people who are being accommodated are in the leadership and they live a luxurious life that even the white working class cannot afford. They take their children to the most expensive schools while we are hungry and cold. Two years after coming home we still wear the second-hand clothes that we wore in exile."

"When soldiers come back from war they are given something. Even blacks got match-box houses when they came back from World War 2 and our grandfathers got red bicycles, boots and coats when they returned from the First World War."

He said some cadres had died and their destitute families had been given no help with the burials. Instead, they were told the ANC was "not a burial society".

The ANC had only provided cash for the burial of one cadre whose family were destitute but only after the cadres had threatened to take the body to the ANC's Jo'burg headquarters.

He said it took three weeks to bury one Mazambane of Thembisa - and only after neighbours had donated money.

He said members of his zone had staged a sit-in at the ANC's Shell House head office on May 13 where they met with Nelson Mandela, Joe Nhlanhla and Joe Modise. The MK men had presented Mandela with a 10-point memorandum which dealt with their lack of accommodation, housing, food, shelter, employment and reintegration into their communities.

The leaders had promised to look into their problems. "We are still waiting," he said.

"The ANC leadership has been sharing among itself the millions that were collected for returning exiles."

"The leadership and its surrogates are living in the suburbs because they are running away from the violence."

"They only want to come in the morning when the dust has settled and the corpses are lying all over and say: 'We condemn ...'

"They live in town because they have become rich ... they don't want people to see that they have become bourgeois."

However, ANC information department official Ronnie Mamoepa rejected the allegations.

He told City Press it was untrue the ANC was doing nothing for returned exiles.

The ANC had emphasised skills training for those who did not have the opportunity to acquire skills in exile.

Mamoepa said the ANC had also placed emphasis on educating the children of returned exiles. It had placed 1 992 of their kids in primary schools, 721 in secondary schools, 192 at technical and vocational institutes and 255 at universities.

He said the ANC had also assisted people in getting jobs and accommodation for those who did not have families.

Mamoepa said the ANC had set up self-help projects. There were sewing projects in Soweto, Germiston and Springs. After training, the women were provided with sewing machines to start their own businesses.

He said following the NCCR's collapse, the ANC's welfare department had provided financial assistance for those whose who needed it, although he said: "We expected the UN High Commission for Refugees to assume its task of resettling returning exiles."

Mjekula also alleged that the ANC had a tendency "to put people it has confirmed as agents of the government in top positions without explanation".

He mentioned the name of one Mshengu whom he said was denounced officially by Oliver Tambo as having been "a highly trained enemy agent since 1975".

"When we were repatriated, this man was made Chris Hani's secretary when Chris was Chief of Staff. There are many like him."

The ANC's security department declined to comment on this claim.

Mjekula maintained that the country could not afford to go into the future while some NEC members still held office.

He said the ANC had to hold a conference before the elections where changes had to be made to the leadership and departments had to be restructured in order to end rampant nepotism.

Mamoepa said a national conference was due to be held next June, which was "the regular time for conferences, unless the NEC decides otherwise".

Military men agree to form peace force

By EDYTH BULBRING

The SADF's top generals and Umkhonto we Sizwe military commanders have already agreed to a key demand by political parties following the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre this week.

In a series of secret meetings in recent weeks, delegations led by SADF chief Kat Liebenberg and MK Commander Joe Modise agreed to the establishment of a national peace-keeping force which will police the run-up to elections.

Several of the participants at the World Trade Centre talks have insisted on multi-party control of the SADF and all the country's armed formations in the period leading up to elections.

They reiterated this demand following the SAP's perceived unwillingness or inability to prevent the right-wing assault on the World Trade Centre.

While the generals have agreed that the peace force, a body of possibly 5 000 to 7 000 people, will comprise the best personnel from all the country's police forces and armed formations, their proposals first need to be endorsed by the multi-party forum.

The generals are discussing the involvement of an international agency in an intensive training programme for the peace force and its involvement in the command structure, which would include senior

To Page 2

Peace force

From Page 1

officials of all the participating formations.

The generals have agreed the peace-keeping force will fall under the multi-party sub-council of defence. This sub-council will have political executive control over all armed formations in the country.

While they have ruled out operational control, or interference in the day-to-day running of the individual armies, the generals have agreed there will be a code of conduct for armed formations in the run-up to elections.

The sub-council on defence will also be able to control policy of the armed formations and ensure they are subordinate to the sub-council rather than individual political parties.

Once the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-council on defence have been established, various "confidence-building" measures will be taken to prepare the armed forces for integration into a new defence force.

General Liebenberg confirmed yesterday he was holding bilateral meetings with MK but declined to comment further.

Mr Modise also declined to comment.

27/6/93

MK men slam 'ANC nepotism'

City Press 21/6/95

By ZANELE VUTELA

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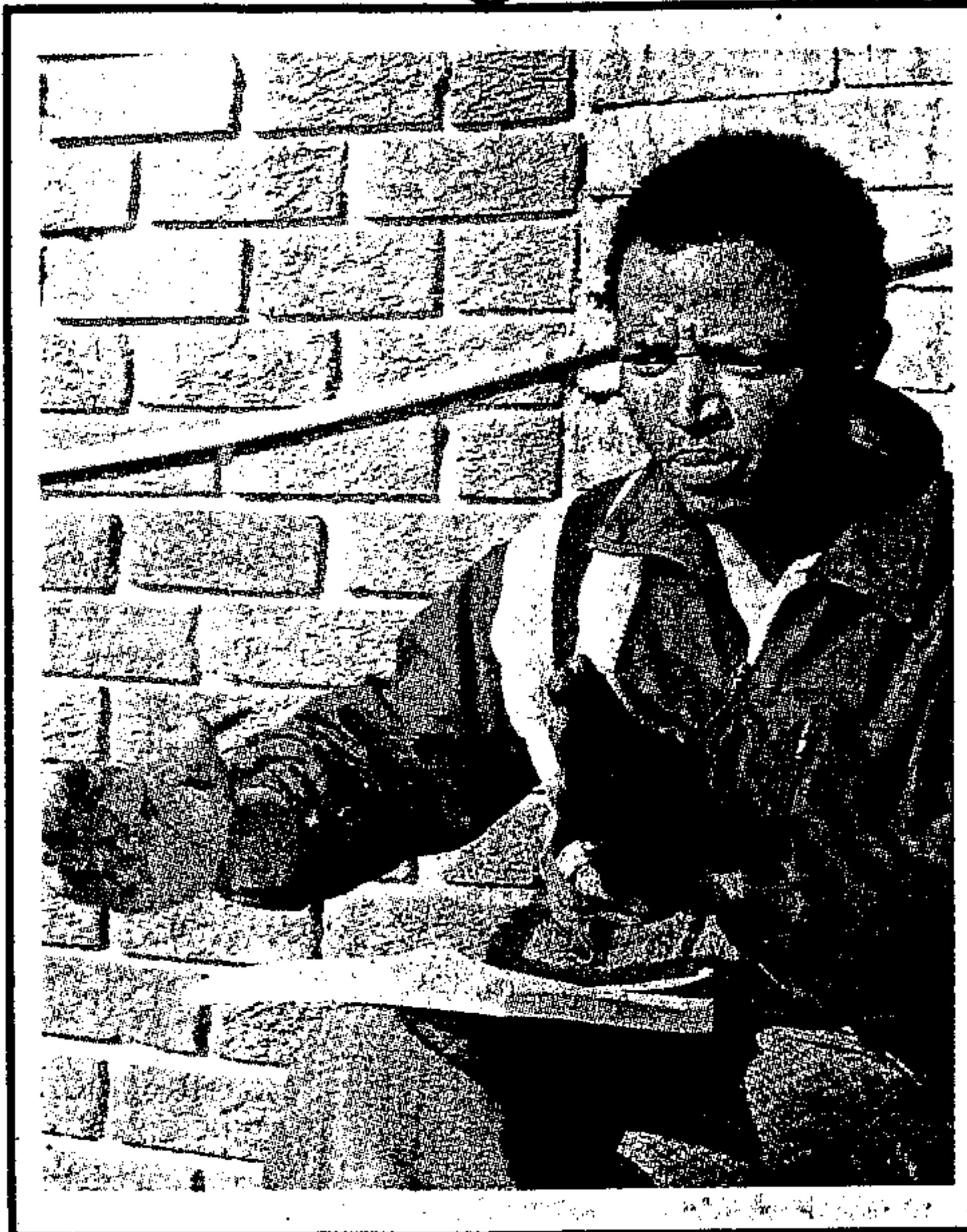
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Apla to fight on, 'even if we lose 5-m'

Star 28/6/93

SABELO PHAMA, PAC secretary for defence and Apla commander, believes the armed struggle must be intensified rather than abandoned. He calls those who have abandoned it "a bunch of opportunists."

Phama (44), born in Umtata, Transkei, describes himself as the custodian of Apla unity. He sees it as his responsibility to ensure that the military policy of Apla is maintained, that the strategic objectives are clearly defined and that the military priorities of the movement are carried out.

Phama says it is necessary for the PAC to press on with the struggle even if more lives are lost. "Even if we lose 5 million out of the 30 million, we must make sure that the other 25 million will be free. Then it will be

RUTH BHENGU of The Star Africa Service interviewed the PAC's defence secretary in Dar es

Salaam (84A)

a sacrifice worth making," he said in an interview in Dar es Salaam.

Asked whether the PAC's ideals have changed over the years, Phama said: "As far as I know the PAC has not changed. That is why it is being accused of being rigid, militant and so on. It is simply because the ideas of decolonisation in the continent are still paramount. If you look at the strategic goals of the PAC, the issue of politi-



Sabelo Phama . . . "armed struggle must be intensified."

cal power, the issue of land, there is no change.

"There has been a tactical change, however. There was a time when we had to have some

of our cadres in the urban areas because the enemy was pushing its own serious onslaught on the townships. Our tactical offensive was still very weak. But now we are moving towards a strategically offensive position because we are moving straight into the countryside. This has always been our basic approach, because that is where the enemy is at his weakest and where we are able to replenish ourselves."

Phama accuses the media of not presenting a true picture of the political situation and of suggesting that independence is just around the corner.

"But it does not mean that when people are freed from the small prison of Robben Island and put in the bigger prison of South Africa they are free.

After a few months people were able to see from the action of the enemy that there was absolutely no change in the lives of our people.

"Some people are saying they are going to be in Parliament. Even if it is the kitchen of the Parliament. They say it is better than being outside.

"What we are going to do is maintain the pressure and let the minority who are prepared to accept crumbs go ahead as they did with the bantustans. Some of them even opted for independence but there was no change. Instead they moved from bad to worse.

"And others even refused independence but continued to take crumbs from the master's table and that still did not work out." □

SADF-MK merger talks hit obstacles

Star 28/6/93 (84A)

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

Top Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SADF officers have been discussing a national peacekeeping force, but talks have hit a snag. Sources yesterday revealed that obstacles had arisen but declined to give details.

The MK and SADF delegations have met at least three times since the beginning of April but sources on both sides have kept a tight lid on the talks. However, they have indicated that discussions were at a "sensitive" stage and progress was being made.

Demands for joint con-

trol of the security forces increased after Friday's right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre and criticism of the police handling of the incident.

SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg told The Star yesterday that a peacekeeping force — to police the run-up to elections — was "one of the aspects" discussed during bilateral talks with a number of parties. But he said "there has been no finalisation" on the issue, which would have to go to the multiparty negotiations for a decision anyway.

The main thrust of the bilateral discussions was

"the rationalisation of military and paramilitary forces".

MK commander Joe Modise yesterday refused to comment.

A negotiations technical committee on violence last week proposed a national peacekeeping force to the constitutional talks. But the idea was immediately opposed by some delegates, who argued that such a multiparty force would undermine the SAP.

It is understood that the SADF and ANC are in the process of identifying members for a national peacekeeping force. Talks have not been concluded.

Interim constitution target mid-August

Star 28/6/93

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

An interim constitution for South Africa's transition could be completed by mid-August, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

In an interview with The Star, Meyer said he would propose this week that the 26-party Negotiating Council agree to a declaration of intent on the target date for the interim constitution.

The Government would want the council to agree to constitutional principles, the transition process and a framework of a constitution for the transition before Friday's important meeting of the Negotiating Forum, he said.

The Government and the ANC have both said that Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers has underscored the need for urgency in the process.

The Government and PAC meet again today to clarify the latter's position on the armed strug-

gle. After first agreeing to the declaration, the PAC told the press that it had not suspended the armed struggle, but had taken a political decision to do so. The implementation of a "cessation of hostilities" was, however, still to be discussed with the Government.

On Thursday the Government refused to discuss an earlier Negotiating Council resolution urging it to return PAC property until the organisation had clarified its position on the struggle.

Tomorrow the Conservative Party faces the crunch on its demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland. The issue was extensively debated in the council on Thursday, 24 hours before the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre.

The CP agreed to provide, by tomorrow, details of the "external features" of its proposed separate state. All other parties in the talks appear opposed to the demand for a confederal Afrikaner state.

ANC plan on self-rule put to the Right

Star 28/6/93

By Chris Whitfield

ANC president Nelson Mandela has made a proposal on self-determination for Afrikaners in a regional dispensation.

But he warned that if ultra-right organisations resorted to violence "we are ready for that".

Although he did not spell out details, he said on SABC's Agenda programme last night he had put a proposal on self-determination to Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers.

"If they address it seriously we might be able to solve this problem," said Mandela.

He was adamant the ANC would not accept an Afrikaner state within a confederation.

"We can't split South Africa up into fragments. We are prepared ... to consider giving certain powers to the regions."

Mandela said 90 per cent of Afrikaners "are decent people who would like peace and to resolve problems with their black brothers".

Kriel's new plan to curb AK-47s

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa and Mozambique could soon be co-operating in a joint campaign to stem the flow of deadly AK-47s being smuggled into the Republic.

Police have identified Mozambique as the main source of weapons being smuggled into the country and have expressed deep concern at the number of AK-47s in South Africa and their use in crime.

On Monday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel hosts Mozambican Internal Affairs Minister Colonel Manuel Jose Antonio, on an official visit to South Africa, for a meeting on the issue.

"We intend discussing a joint plan to control the smuggling of weapons into South Africa," Kriel told Saturday Star yesterday.

International role

He declined to discuss what proposals the Government would be putting on the table. "We will be discussing various plans that we have worked out," he said.

But he did suggest that the international community could assist in combating the scourge by buying weapons in Mozambique. "If they really want to make a contribution, they should assist in buying up weapons," said Kriel. He added that it was difficult "at this stage" to assess whether the majority of AK-47s in South Africa had been smuggled in or had come from long-established arms caches.

Figures in the recently released annual report for 1992 of Police Commissioner General Johann van der Merwe gave an indication of the scale of the problem. "In 1992 there were 127 cases where (South African Police) members were fired upon by people using AK-47 rifles," he said.

Of all the policemen killed on duty last year, 43,6 percent had fallen victim to AK-47 rifles, compared with 17,4 percent in 1991, Van der Merwe said. Last year 891 AK-47s were seized by the SAP.

However, police believe that these

● TO PAGE 2.



TAKING PIRATES BY THE HORNS: AC Milan midfielder Demetrio Albertini tries a bit of Pirates magic at the tea Airport yesterday. The Italian club champions are here for a one-off match against the Ducs today. ● Photogr

AK-47s

● FROM PAGE 1.

are just a small proportion of such weapons in the country. ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said recently that many of the weapons filtering into South Africa were originally sent by the South

African Government to support Renamo forces in Mozambique.

The only statistics available on the number of weapons in the region are from Harare, where press reports quoted military sources as estimating that at least 1,5 million AK-47s had been introduced to Mozambique since the beginning of the civil war in 1975.

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Feeble response to AK-47 campaign

Biday 28/6/93

ADRIAN HADLAND
and THEO RAWANA

PRETORIA — The SAP's campaign to rid SA of AK-47s and other illegal weapons had produced disappointing results so far, a police spokesman said at the weekend. (ESP)

Almost a month after the campaign was launched, only eight AK-47s, one Uzi and 176 rounds of AK ammunition had been handed in.

A police spokesman said yesterday five AK-47s and the Uzi had been handed in in the western Cape, one AK-47 in Natal, another and the rounds of ammunition at Krugersdorp and one at Nelspruit.

The launch of the campaign coincided with the implementation last month of the Arms and Ammunition Act of 1993. (84A)

According to the Act, citizens have been given two months to hand in illegal weapons — including AK-47s, machine pistols, hand grenades, rockets and explosive devices — without fear of prosecution.

Thereafter, from August 1, those caught in possession of weapons stipulated by the Act face a minimum jail sentence of five years and a

maximum of 25.

At the launch, police spokesman Gen Leon Mellet said R260 000 had been spent on 8-million stickers, posters and advertisements.

The use of AK-47s in bank robberies, theft, rape and political rivalry was "one of the biggest crises ever to hit SA", Mellet said.

Between June 1992 and May this year, 532 people had been killed by AK-47s and 549 had been injured.

Police were hopeful that during the coming month more weapons — with up to R6 000 reward money available for each one — would be handed in.

A police spokesman said numerous arrests for possession had taken place in recent weeks, but confirmed that only eight AK-47s had been handed in voluntarily.

No rewards were paid for these weapons as they had been handed in by their owners. The offer to pay rewards was intended for information on the firearms only.

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Challenge to will fees law

Biday 28/6/93

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE Association of Trust Companies is intensifying its lobbying of government to end the monopoly attorneys have on charging fees for drawing up wills and testaments.

Association deputy president and Syfrets GM John Doidge said at the weekend trust companies had the lion's share of the business, drafting about 500 000 wills a year. However, they were proscribed from charging for their services. (25)

Section 83 of the Attorneys Administration Act (1979) stipulated only attorneys might charge for the drafting of wills.

Doidge said association members — Absa, BoE, First National Bank, Standard Bank, Syfrets and others — were attracting business for the wrong reasons: their service was free.

The trusts, employing large numbers of staff with legal qualifications, were entitled to recover their costs of the services they provided. (21)

His concerns were echoed by Institute of Chartered Accountants spokesman Len Norval, who said there was no good reason why only attorneys should be allowed to charge for wills. Many accountants were called upon to provide the same service when arranging the financial affairs of their clients.

Doidge said the Justice Department had called for representations from trust companies and the legal profession after an

approach by the association in 1990. The Association of Law Societies (ALS) had opposed a preliminary finding which would have allowed any person possessing the right academic legal qualifications to be admitted as a will-maker.

Members of the Association of Law Societies standing committee charged with representations to government on the issue were not available for comment.

ALS director-general Andre van Vuuren said the debate centred on what government regulation was required to ensure unqualified people were not taking work away from attorneys.

The issue had a long history with existing legislation stemming from the time when attorneys were the only people drawing up wills, before the proliferation of trust companies.

However, Cape Law Society member Jimmy Yeowart said all qualified people entitled to draw a will should be able to do so and charge for the service.

Banks and trust companies received distorted publicity because their service was so-called free. The Cape Law Society voted overwhelmingly in favour of the change at its 1991 annual meeting.

Justice department spokesmen contacted would say only the matter was still under investigation.

Star 29/6/93

More AK-47s confiscated

QwaQwa police arrested a man and confiscated six AK-47 rifles and two handguns near Monontsha at the weekend. And, at Alberts Nek south of Komatipoort, a woman collecting firewood found three AK-47 rifles at the weekend. — Crime Reporter and Sapa.

(10)

(84A)

Govt breaks off talks, wants PAC restricted

Star 29/6/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Government has broken off talks with the PAC and is to urge the Negotiating Council to take steps to restrict the organisation's participation in constitutional talks.

The PAC last night told the Government it accepted the cessation of hostilities in principle. But the decision would be implemented only once agreement had been reached on a transitional authority and an elected constituent assembly, and after the start of elections.

The Government in turn warned the PAC that the SAP would act against it and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, said Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer (S.A.)

The PAC was asked to clarify its position regarding the armed struggle after it had agreed last Tuesday to a declaration on the cessation or suspension of hostilities. Confusion reigned when

the PAC later told the media it still had to discuss the implications of the cessation of hostilities.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said after last night's bilateral talks that the Government had told the PAC it would urge the Negotiating Council to expel the PAC. This would be a "terrible mistake", she said.

However, it is understood the Government would rather ask for steps to restrict the PAC's participation in the council.

De Lille said the Government had not yet returned all PAC property seized in the police crackdown last month.

Meyer noted last night that the PAC was asked on Thursday when it would "stop killing policemen and civilians".

The PAC's response was unacceptable, Meyer said, because it meant that the PAC "would want to continue with its policy of killing policemen and civilians while at the same time wanting to continue with negotiations".

PAC sticks to guns

SOWETAM 29/6/93

■ ARMED STRUGGLE Apla set to continue

armed action, says PAC:



THE Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, would continue its armed struggle, the PAC said after its latest bilateral meeting with the Government broke down last night.

"We will cease armed action only when agreement has been reached on a constituent assembly and a transitional authority," PAC negotiator Ms Patricia de Lille told a Press conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

"Once we go for elections, there will be no need for armed struggle," she said.

Chief Government negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer told a Press conference that the PAC's position was "unacceptable to the South African Govern-

ment. "It means they would want to continue with their policy of killing policemen and civilians and at the same time continue with negotiations for the next few weeks and months," he said. The Government, he said, would therefore ask the 26-party negotiating council, which had instructed the two parties to meet bilaterally in a bid to resolve their differences, "to take relevant steps as far as their (the PAC's) continued participation (in negotiations) is concerned".

Meyer would not hint on what exact steps the

Government had in mind, except to say it would prepare a "package of relevant measures" for the negotiating council to consider.

The PAC accused the Government of trying to have the organisation kicked out of the talks.

"The political process and armed struggle go hand in hand," De Lille said. The latest round of bilaterals were held to, clarify the PAC's position on a declaration on the cessation/suspension of armed struggle it agreed to "in principle" last week. — *Sapa*.

NEWS Roelf Meyer warns P

Armed struggle under focus

Sowetan 29/6/93

Sowetan Correspondent

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THE armed struggle will come under sharp focus at a two-day seminar in Johannesburg tomorrow and on Thursday.

Organised by the Community Development Foundation, the "Armed struggle/action: its relevance to the transitional period and the post-apartheid era" seminar comes barely a week after rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park where they abused delegates and threatened war if their demand for a white homeland were not accepted.

The seminar will bring together renowned political analysts, academics and speakers from a wide range of organisations, including the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the African National Congress.

Also represented will be the South African Communist Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party and the newly-formed Afrikaner Volksfront, which spearheaded Friday's attack at the World Trade Centre.

Speakers at the seminar will include analysts Mr Eugene Nyathi, Mr Siphon Maseko of the University of the Western Cape and Mr Phil Mthimkulu of Unisa.

FOCUS Sabela Phama, custodian of Apla's unity ● Keeping people living well

'Intensify armed struggle'

Sowetan 29/1/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ PRESS ON Even if we lose 5 million

lives we ensure other 25 million will be free.

DAR ES SALAM — Mr Sabelo Phama, PAC secretary for defence and Apla commander, believes that the armed struggle must be intensified rather than abandoned.

He calls those who have abandoned it "a bunch of opportunists".

Phama (44) born in Umlata, Transkei, describes himself as the custodian of Apla unity. He sees it as his responsibility to ensure that the military policy of Apla is maintained, that the strategic objectives are clearly defined and that the military priorities of the movement are carried out.

According to Phama it is necessary for the PAC to press on with the struggle even if more lives are lost.

"Even if we lose five million out of the 30 million, we must make sure that the other 25 million will be free. Then it will be a sacrifice worth making," he said in an interview here.

Asked whether the PAC's ideals have changed over the years, Phama said: "As far as I know the PAC has not changed. That is why it is being accused of being rigid, militant and so on. It is simply because the ideas of decolonisation in the continent are still paramount. If you look at the strategic goals of the PAC, the issue of political power, the issue of land, there is no change."

"There has been a tactical change, however. For instance there was a time when we had to have some of our cadres in the urban areas because the enemy was pushing its own serious onslaught on the townships. So we had to push deterrent operations because we were at the time in a strategically defensive position."

Basic approach

"Our tactical offensive was still very weak. But now we are moving towards a strategically offensive position because we are moving straight into the countryside. This has always been our basic approach, because that is where the enemy is at its weakest and at we are able to replenish ourselves."

Phama accuses the media of not presenting a true picture of the political situation.

"For instance, when there was the euphoria of the unbanning (of liberation movements) many people, including the media, were saying that independence is just around the corner."

"But it does not mean that when people are freed from the small prison of Robben Island and put in a bigger prison of South Africa they are free. After a few months people were able to see from the action of the enemy that there was absolutely no change in the

lives of our people.

"Some people are saying they are going to be in Parliament. Even if it is the kitchen of the Parliament. They say it is better than being outside."

"We as Apla could say let them go through the charade only to say: 'You see, we told you'. But to call those people again and ask them to take up arms would be a big problem."

"What we are going to do is maintain the pressure and let the minority who are prepared to accept crumbs go ahead as they did with the Bantustans. Some of them even opted for independence but there was no change, instead they moved from bad to worse."

"And others even refused independence but continued to take crumbs from the master's table and that still did not work out."

Asked to explain the idea behind the Year of The Great Storm, Phama said: "This is called the stormy year because this is when people will see the serious clash (between Apla and Government forces) and a clear polarisation of the reactionary, moderate line and the revolutionary, progressive one."

"Though some people were talking of an interim government, saying come 1993 we are going to have elections, there are no elections even this year and they are still a long way off," said Phama.



Sabelo Phama - 'the PAC has not changed'.

Star 30/6/93

Only eight AKs from amnesty

Staff Reporter

Halfway through the two-month amnesty on illegal weapons, only eight AK-47 assault rifles have been handed over.

Police acknowledged yesterday that part of their publicity blitz to encourage people to hand over their weapons may instead have driven weapon-holders underground.

The amendment to the Arms and Ammunition Act came into effect on June 1 and made provision for amnesty for anyone handing an illegal weapon to the police before July 31.

By yesterday, eight AK-47s, one Uzi sub-machine gun and one Russian-made pistol had been handed over.

A spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Captain Louis le Roux, agreed that part of the problem may have been the poster.

This read: "Warning. Possession of illegal weapons could condemn you to: up to 25 years in jail, community and family rejection. Please hand it in — for the sake of your com-

WARNING

**Possession of
illegal weapons
could condemn
you to:**

**UP TO 25 YEARS IN JAIL,
COMMUNITY AND
FAMILY REJECTION**

**PLEASE
HAND IT IN**

For the sake of your community

Part of the problem? . . .
the police poster.

munity."

The poster neglects to say that if people do hand their weapons in, they will escape the consequences outlined on the

poster
Le Roux agreed the poster could be read to imply that people should hand over their guns and face the consequences.

"But it is too late — the posters have all been printed and put out," he said.

He said the amnesty did not extend to people found in possession of illegal weapons or arms caches.

"But if they come in themselves and willingly hand over the weapons we will not do anything to them," Le Roux said.

The SAP have also offered a R6 000 reward for information leading to the seizure of illegal weapons.

● The indemnity in terms of the Arms and Ammunition Act for people who have not yet applied for licences for weapons in their possession expires at midnight tonight.

Weapons of war like AK-47s, RPG-7 missiles, hand grenades and limpet mines do not fall under the indemnity as they cannot be licensed. But they can be handed over before July 31 in terms of the amnesty.

Moment of glory

Sowetan 2/11/93

By Ruth Bhengu

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army's agreement to lay down its arms, following yesterday's meeting with the South African Government, is thanks to Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana.

For someone who has been contemptuously dismissed as a puppet of the South African Government, Ramushwana has certainly scored a major victory by getting high-ranking members of both Apla and the Nationalist Government to sit together in one room.

The public will surely notice that he has successfully brokered this high-powered meeting.

Sources close to Ramushwana have revealed that the first letter to South

African Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel, suggesting a meeting between him and Apla, was ignored.

It was only after the second letter, and after Zimbabwe had agreed to host the meeting between the two parties, that Kriel considered Ramushwana's request. (84A) (84A)

As Pan Africanist Congress defence secretary Sabelo Phama and Kriel were locked in a room in Harare trying to find common ground yesterday, Ramushwana told *Sowetan* that he was pleased that everybody had listened to him.

The soldier-turned-leader who, in the space of two years, became a millionaire, is enjoying his moment of glory.

Any nightmares that might have been caused by the pension scandal must have vanished, for a while at least.

'Azanian army' claims it planted Pretoria bombs

Biday 2/11/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — As talks between Apla and Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel started in Harare yesterday, another organisation with black consciousness sympathies claimed responsibility for a recent spate of bomb blasts in Pretoria.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said it had placed the two bombs that destroyed a BP petrol station in Pretoria's Menlo Park suburb early yesterday morning, police said. (84A)

In a telephone call to Sapa, a man claiming to be a commander of the movement's armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, said the bombs had been placed in protest against the negotiations process and in solidarity with fuel price protests.

The attack, in which nobody was injured, was virtually identical to the one two weeks ago at an Engen station in Pretor-

ia's Kwaggasrand suburb.

Police spokesman Capt Evan Johnson said although investigations were still at a preliminary stage, there was a "very strong possibility it was the same people".

The movement was founded in exile in the late '70s.

Azapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa said yesterday that while an umbilical cord of links and contacts existed between Azapo and the movement, the two "sister" organisations retained their autonomy.

Azapo was unaware of the movement's plans and was not involved in its decisions, Mabasa said.

Johnson said: "We have taken note of the allegations and will be investigating the matter."



TAKING A BREAK ... Azanian People's Liberation Army commander Mr Sabelo Phama (right) and PAC Foreign Affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim (left) leave the conference room during a break at the summit with the South African Government in Harare.

PIC: AFP

Govt and PAC agree to ceasefire

Sowetan 2/11/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

■ JOINT STATEMENT Moratorium on violence agreed upon by parties:

HARARE — The Azanian People's Liberation Army yesterday agreed it would declare a ceasefire but this would depend on the outcome of further negotiations with the Government.

The decision came after a meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, between the Pan Africanist Congress, led by its defence secretary and Apla chief commander Mr Sabelo Phama, and the Government, whose delegation was led by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel.

Government officials present at the meeting said the agreement was a breakthrough.

PAC foreign secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim said it was the beginning of working towards ending violence.

A joint statement read: "Both sides believe that we have a duty to do everything within our power to stop further

violence and hostilities in our country." The statement said both parties realised that discussions to address relations between the Government and the PAC/Apla could not take place in an atmosphere of violence.

"It is, therefore, necessary to place a moratorium on violence. Both parties will refer these viewpoints to their principals with a view to arranging urgent talks devoid of violence," the statement said. (849) (251)

Ebrahim later told journalists that he would meet Kriel later this week for further discussions. The PAC would also consider participating in the proposed Transitional Executive Council pending the outcome of the talks.

Bilateral meetings between the security forces and Apla to "improve the understanding" between the two would

be initiated.

Zimbabwean Defence Minister Mr Moven Mahachi, opening the meeting earlier, said the fact that the two parties could meet showed the willingness to resolve the problem of violence in South Africa and overcome their differences.

Sources at the meeting said the Government delegation submitted proposals contained in the Transitional Executive Council Bill on the sub-council on law and order. This calls for the creation of a multiparty peacekeeping force which Apla has rejected as co-optation.

In exchange, the PAC gave the Government a document which it said contained "concrete suggestions towards the mutual cessation of hostilities".

This is believed to include a call for the control of all security forces by an international body.

I'll return, says defiant Apla man

Sowetan

3/11/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

HARARE — Azanian People's Liberation Army chief commander Mr Sabelo Phama could return to South Africa any day as long as his security was guaranteed, he said yesterday.

"You who are inside Azania right now are trapped inside the belly of a beast," he said. He said by that he meant South Africans were in the midst of a war which Apla was fighting with Pretoria.

"I will return any day when the Pan Africanist Congress deems it necessary for me to be operational there," he said.

Phama is also the PAC's defence secretary and led a delegation which met the Government in a ground-breaking meeting on Monday.

He said Apla had not suspended the armed struggle as was suggested in the "varying interpretations" of the agree-

ment reached in Harare.

844A

"That meeting did not suspend or end Apla activities but set the stage for negotiations on a mutual cessation of hostilities. It is the PAC that will decide on ending the armed struggle.

"What we said there was that it was necessary to declare a moratorium on violence and this has to be worked at. We as the PAC did not say we declare a moratorium on the armed struggle.

"As opposed to the armed struggle, violence in the country is orchestrated from several quarters and it is not a secret that the rightwing element is a potential threat, for example," said Phama.

Phama said Apla wanted a conference of generals involving the various armed formations in the country.

"What we are doing is to create a nucleus for a future army as we are looking beyond the elections," he said.

...LAURE... regarded as 'criminals' who should be arrested

The long road to Harare

By Themba Molele
Political Correspondent

■ EQUAL PARTNERS ^{Southern} ^{4/11/93}
Govt has

been reluctant to negotiate with Apla.

MINISTERS of Law and Order Mr. Hennus Kriel stopped short of dancing for joy after the Government accepted with the African People's Liberation Army on Monday.

The embattled Minister, who is regarded as being one of the hawks in FW de Klerk's Cabinet, had reason to feel triumphant; he had committed the "terrorists" to work on ending their violence.

On the other hand, Apla chief commander and PAC defence secretary Mr. Sabelo Phama was comfortable that the "Boers" now look them seriously enough to even entertain their proposals on ending hostilities.

Taken further, the PAC's position at the World Trade Centre might be viewed in a fresh light by the negotiat-

ing government. The Government was reluctant to negotiate with Apla as equal partners because, according to its laws, they were "criminals" who should be arrested on sight.

In fact, several alleged Apla cadres are either awaiting trial or detained in terms of the Internal Security Act. If not with this in mind that the Government decided Kriel, and not the Minister of Defence, should handle Apla.

This is why the first two attempts — in Nigeria and Botswana — ended in deadlock over the agenda. The attitudes might have changed on both sides but the perceptions have certainly not. It has been a long way to Harare.

The PAC's stance remains the same, Phama says; the armed struggle can only be ended by the organisation and only when its self-determination principles have been achieved.

He takes it further by saying that there is a difference between "violence" as defined in terms of the carnage in black townships and Apla's "war" with Pretoria. It was therefore urgent that violence, as Phama defined it, be eradicated if negotiations over a settlement can bear fruit.

Phama makes it clear that the ending of violence was a prerequisite to ending hostilities. Hence, as far as the PAC was concerned, "hostilities" did not necessarily mean "violence" if taken in the South African context.

To the Government violence is violence and Apla is carrying out violent activities. Kriel put it thus before he led his



Sabelo Phama, defence secretary and military commander of Apla.

delegation to Harare: "I am committed to negotiating the ending of violence with anybody." His spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, added: "We want an end to Apla's terrorist activities, that's why we are talking to them."

Definitions notwithstanding, the Government agreed with the PAC that there should be an end to hostilities and even went further.

It agreed that security forces — and this includes the SADF — should talk with Apla to "create a better understanding" between the two.

So out goes the "criminal" element from the issue. The two sides agreed that a solution should be found before elections on

April 27.

On a hopeful note, Phama said in an interview on Tuesday: "We obviously are aware that elections cannot be free and fair if violence prevails and we are still waging the armed struggle."

"It is for this reason that we have convinced the Boers to listen to our point of view. We are committed to peace and a democratic outcome."

And so will the PAC's input on modifying the clauses on the sub-council on defence in the TBC be heard at Kempton Park?

The process will be meaningless if Apla were to remain outside the proposed multiparty force during transition.



South Africa's Law and Order Minister Hennus Kriel and PAC's Gora Ibrahim during a meeting in Harare on Monday to discuss the situation between South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress. PIC: AP

Phama makes it clear that the ending of violence is a prerequisite to the ending of hostilities.

Search of truck uncovers arms

CAPE TOWN — Six men and five women arrested on the Namibian/SA border for arms smuggling last week were from Khayelitsha and Thokoza, Namibian police have said. *3/Day 5/11/93*

The alleged smugglers, all Xhosa-speaking, were detained after a "routine" search of a furniture truck at Nakop border post.

This search uncovered an arms cache of 14 AK-47s, a G3 rifle and more than 100 rounds of ammunition, Kimberley police spokesman Lt Johan Kruger said yesterday. The destination of the weapons was not known.

He denied any co-operation between the Namibian police and SAP in the arrests last Thursday. *(S/A)*

The arrested men and women told Namibian police they were on their way to Thokoza to sell the weapons, which they had traded for old clothes at Rundu, on the

Own Correspondent

Angolan border.

Namibian police said the alleged smugglers were from Khayelitsha and Thokoza.

Kruger said the men were being held in Upington and had not yet been charged.

Namibian police inspector Coenraad du Preez said his forces had monitored the group after they entered the country on October 6, and then tipped off the SAP.

Namibian police said they were determined to stop Namibia from being used as a springboard for arms smuggling to SA.

Chief Inspector Sean Geysler said police were investigating the possible involvement of a syndicate in the transport of arms across Namibia.

The civil war in Angola and mass starvation there had made that country a rich source of cheap weapons for sale in SA.

Alleged

Azanla

cadres

Sowetan 11/2/93

arrested

**By Russel Molefe and
Don Seokane**

THIRTY-NINE alleged cadres of the Azanian National Liberation Army were arrested on Monday in a swoop on an underground cave by security forces at Donkerkloof near Lebowa-kgomo in the Northern Transvaal.

The group, including a woman and four others whom police claim to be commanders, were allegedly undergoing military training at the cave which stretches for about 2km underground.

Police liaison officer for the Far Northern Transvaal Major Arno Vogel said yesterday the suspected Azanla cadres were found in possession of an AK-47 rifle, R1 rifle with 12 rounds of ammunition and a Z88 pistol.

Azanla is the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. (S.A.) (S.A.)

Vogel said police had swooped on the cave after receiving information from unnamed sources.

Trained to disrupt

The group is in the custody of the South African Police in Pietersburg and is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The Act empowers the police to detain suspects for not more than 30 days.

They were initially held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Vogel said there were indications the group was being trained to disrupt next year's elections.

Police yesterday took journalists to the cave which is situated about 70km southeast of Pietersburg.

Soldiers on a truck mounted with searchlights were also on the scene to launch a search for more weapons.

The cave has a single entrance and the cadres were camped about 2km inside. Stockpiles of clothes, food, water, cigarettes and other essentials could be seen inside the cave. The cave is said to have been used by Chief Sekhukhune of the Pedis as a hide-out during the war with the Boers in the last century.

The general secretary of the Harare-based BCMA, Mr Mpontsheng Kgokong, said the movement was unaware of the arrests and the existence of the alleged "training camp".

Police swoop on alleged training camp

THE SAP yesterday arrested 39 people who were allegedly undergoing military training in a remote area of Lebowa in order to disrupt next year's election.

The raid on caves in the Strydpoort mountains, about 80km north of Pietersburg, also netted weapons, including an AK-47 and an R1 rifle, and ammunition, said SAP far northern Transvaal media liaison officer Maj Arno Vogel (SUA).

He said that after questioning it was believed that four of the suspects were members of the Azanian National People's Liberation Army (Azanla), the armed wing

Brisay 1112 1973

LLOYD COUTTS

of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). "It looks like they were busy with military training with a view to disrupting the election next year."

It was not known how long the alleged training had been taking place. Police were still searching for further evidence.

The arrests were carried out by the SAP, with support from Lebowan police. The 38 men and one woman, aged between 18 and 20, are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

NEWS
Fund to stimulate black business

Massive boost for development aid

Star 11/2/93

■ BY BRUCE CAMERON

Cape Town — Billions of rands in foreign and local money is about to be unleashed for social and economic reconstruction and affirmative business action, ANC head of economics Trevor Manuel announced yesterday.

Plans include:

- Establishing a special fund in co-operation with US fund managers to fund social infrastructure development and the stimulation of black business.
- An initiative to be announced "within days" by a major, unnamed South African life assurance company to release millions of rands for socially responsible development projects.

SOCIAL and economic reconstruction projects in South Africa will benefit from billions of rands of foreign and local money

Star 11/2/93

■ A post-election, international, special reconstruction bond to allow foreigners interested in SA to help fund development.

Manuel announced the plans at a breakfast of the Independent Business Forum in Cape Town.

Visiting US Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, who made an unscheduled appearance at the

breakfast, announced it was the intention of President Bill Clinton to move rapidly to provide economic assistance and advice to ensure economic as well as political equality.

He said a special section of an investment agreement under the auspices of the American foreign assistance agency, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, scheduled to be signed by himself and Finance Minister Derek Keys yesterday would make provision for affirmative action investment by US businessmen.

Manuel said a new government would also do everything it could to encourage foreign and local investment.

SABC to get new blood

Star 11/2/93

■ BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH

The SABC Board is expected to announce the appointment of four new senior executives at the corporation tonight.

The appointments are likely to be finalised during the monthly meeting of the board today.

Two of the positions will be new. One is that of assistant to group chief executive, Wynand Harmse, and the other is an assistant to the chief executive: television, Quentin Green.

It is not yet known who the new executives will be, but sources

indicated that some top journalists and media specialists are in the running for the jobs.

The board was criticised in some quarters earlier this year for renewing Harmse's contract for another year and not introducing new blood at management level.

Other positions to be filled are those of chief director: personnel and manpower which became vacant last month when Dan Esterhuyse died in a aircraft accident, and a chief director of radio — vacant since Carel van der Merwe left.

SA to give India mobile clinic

Cape Town — South Africa was going to supply a mobile surgical theatre to India for use in the area hit by the recent earthquake, the chairman of the House of Delegates, Dr Bhadra Ranchod, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Administrations' Adjustments Estimate, he said the unit would be paid with contributions of R500 000 from the Administration and R500 000 from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The unit had been acquired and was in the process of being shipped. — Sapa.

39 held after cave raid reveals guns

Star 11/2/93

■ BY DIRK NEL
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL BUREAU

Pietersburg — Police have arrested 38 men and a woman in a cave in the Strydpoort Mountains, south east of Pietersburg for allegedly conspiring to disrupt the coming election and the illegal possession of firearms.

SAP spokesman Major Arno Vogel said four men claiming to be commanders of the group were evidently members of the Azanian National Liberation

Army (Azanla), the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Journalists taken to the cave yesterday were shown where detectives had found an AK-47, an R1 rifle, a Z88 pistol and large amount of ammunition.

Police received a tip-off from hikers who had explored the cave and found evidence of the presence of the fugitives.

The 39 were arrested on Monday and are being questioned.

The cave in the Donkerpoort

area, about 70 km from Pietersburg, is obscured by dense bush. The group had put a steel door at the entrance. (S4A)

Another passage from the entrance leads into several large chambers, and the living quarters used by the group is about 800 m into the cave.

The general secretary of the Harare-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Mpontsheng Kgokong, said he was unaware of the existence of the alleged training camp.

DAY, Friday, December 10 1993

Groups declare war on ANC and police

Biday 10/12/93

THE ANC, SAP, SADF and big business were named as targets by two radical organisations yesterday.

The SA Republican Army, a breakaway wing of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, claiming responsibility for the killing of nine people at Bhambayi, near Durban, on December 1, said this was a "declaration of war" against the ANC. (SFA)

Reuter reports chairman Pat Hlongwane said: "We are responsible for the killing of nine people in Durban in the place called Bhambayi... We want to clear the name of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the (police) internal stability unit. They are not involved in that."

The ANC at the time accused Inkatha and the police of responsibility for the Bhambayi massacre.

Hlongwane said more attacks would follow. His returned exiles group, now in bitter opposition to the ANC, belonged to the Freedom Alliance and would strenuously resist next April's elections, he said. "Our aim is to spread our campaign all over SA. The aim is to clean all the places where there is ANC."

The group's slogan was: "One bullet, one communist. Kill the ANC leaders and kill the communists. Kill the sellouts."

An ANC intelligence official said the Republican Army was a very small group modelling itself on the IRA.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said police would investigate Hlongwane's claim.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that PAC youth wing Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) announced yesterday that it had resolved to attack SAP and SADF targets,

as well as big financial institutions.

National chairman Mosotho Petlane said his organisation had resolved at a weekend conference in Venda to give its defence council powers to intensify the military struggle.

"The workshop, after considering the carnage against our African people by the regime and its surrogates, resolved that Azanyu must fully transform its defence structures into offensive structures.

"SAP, SADF, big financial institutions and people who can be identified and who will be seen as assisting the regime will also come under fire," said Petlane.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that an SADF soldier was killed and another body was discovered on the East Rand yesterday, lifting the violence toll in the area since Wednesday morning to 14.

SADF Witwatersrand Command's Col Neels Visser said SADF members were shot at while on a foot patrol after a request by the internal stability unit for SADF reinforcements.

Earlier, police reported eight men and boys were shot and hacked to death in Katlehong on Wednesday in what police believe was a people's court execution.

The bodies of the unidentified people, three of them teenagers, were found in Moleleki section on Wednesday. Seven were found with their hands bound. A decapitated body was found apart from the other corpses, its hands also tied.

□ Cosatu negotiations co-ordinator Jayendra Naidoo is to announce at a function in Johannesburg today details of 1994 as SA's year of peace, organised by the National Peace Campaign.

Journal