

The Star 8-5-92

# OAU observers to assess causes of violence in SA

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

In what is being seen as a breakthrough for foreign involvement in South Africa — although limited — an Organisation of African Unity mission is arriving in the country next week to investigate township violence.

The five-man delegation, which comprises members from Algeria, Congo, Uganda and Zimbabwe, will be led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu.

## Assault

The ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party have welcomed the announcement that an OAU task group would be visiting the country, while the Government has said it "was prepared to request the relevant South African authorities to assist the team in making an assessment".

The Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Tom Langley, strongly objected to the visit, adding it was "an assault on the sovereign integrity" of South Africa.

"The visit of the OAU is an ANC plan and an invitation to intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs," he said.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said that while the Government

was opposed to any form of foreign control of the South African security forces, it was not opposed to bona fide missions visiting the country to inform themselves of the facts.

"Not only has the SAP nothing to hide, but it would welcome an objective assessment of the facts and realities surrounding the violence," he said.

The matter had been discussed between President de Klerk and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Windhoek on March 20 1990 and was again raised during discussions between the State President and the Nigerian head of state and OAU president, General Ibrahim Babangida, in Nigeria on April 10 1992.

In its reaction, the ANC noted that an estimated 15 000 people had been killed as a result of violence, but efforts to expose the source of the violence had met with limited success.

The ANC earlier called on the international community to send independent monitoring groups to South Africa with the specific task of observing and investigating the violence.

The OAU group would complement efforts by the National Peace Committee and others to put an end to violence.

"The ANC reiterates its commitment to give the OAU monitoring group and the National Peace Accord structures all the necessary co-operation and assistance, and feels sure that all other parties and organisations

will do likewise," it said.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed to his party and the KwaZulu legislature to do everything to assist the OAU group.

Chief Buthelezi added: "We are totally opposed to international monitoring teams during the process of negotiations."

He supported the visit notwithstanding a concern that the OAU regarded the ANC and PAC as representing all black South Africans.

His other concerns were that the ANC and PAC had training camps in some of the member states of the OAU and that the IFP had never been able to give its version of the violence to the OAU.

## Facilitate

Chief Buthelezi said he had been informed by Mr Botha that a visit by the European Community was expected "for a general observation visit in order to meet leaders and to gain an impression of what is happening in South Africa (which includes the violence) in order to gain an impression to facilitate the final lifting of sanctions".

He also released the contents of a letter he had received from the high commissioner of Nigeria in Botswana, which said the OAU delegation would visit townships and hold discussions with liberation movements and political parties during its visit.



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# 'Did the powers read my judgment on Shange?'

By Guy Jepson

The then acting Supreme Court judge who sentenced killer policeman Khethani Richard Shange to 27 years in jail, yesterday spoke of his despair at the murderer's release after only nine months.

In May last year Mr Acting Justice David Gordon convicted Shange — a KwaZulu Police detective constable — for his part in murdering members of the ANC-sympathising Gumede family in KwaMashu in February 1990.

Judge Gordon sentenced Shange, whom he described as a "beast in a policeman's

clothes who was one of the main players in the reign of terror in KwaMashu", to 27 years in jail and refused him leave to appeal.

Shange was released by the Department of Correctional Services on February 14 this year.

He is on parole until May 28 2003.

Speaking to The Star yesterday, Advocate Gordon SC stressed that he no longer practised as a judge and therefore could not speak on behalf of the judiciary.

He said it was a "a terrible ordeal" for a judge to deprive a man of his liberty and to determine what pun-

ishment fitted the crime.

"My personal reaction is that one performs one's duty in the interests of society.

"My feeling (on learning of Shange's release) was ... was my effort to be just worthwhile when all the agonising over the decision and how to sentence the chap was just disregarded by the prison authorities?

"I would just like to know how the people who suffered because of this guy's actions feel," Advocate Gordon said.

The advocate added: "I am wondering whether the powers that be read my judgment."



# City declared unrest area

by LAKELA KAUNDA  
and IMRAN AMLA

THE Pietermaritzburg magisterial district and surrounding regions were last night declared an unrest area, following the week-long protest action that has included worker stayaways, marches and sit-ins in the city.

The regulations, announced by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last night, extend the powers of the security forces to arrest and detain persons in the unrest areas without producing warrants for their arrest, impose a curfew on non-residents of these areas between 9 pm and 4 am and restrict the holding of public gatherings.

The African National Congress was unavailable for comment last night.

Violent confrontation was averted in Commercial Road yesterday when Midlands ANC secretary Sifiso Nkabinde persuaded a huge ANC crowd to disperse peacefully, to avoid clashes with a large armed police contingent that blockaded Loop Street. The huge crowd was going to Loop Street police station to present a new memorandum and leave 30 women to stage a sit-in until their demands are met.

Nkabinde made an impassioned plea to the crowd not to "play into the hands" of the police "who are as you see eager to shoot us," adding that they (the people) struggle "so that we can live to see the results, when the situation changes like it has now, the time comes to change strategies and use those that will make us reach our goal. We do not want to return home without some of our comrades here," he said.



Midlands ANC secretary Sifiso Nkabinde negotiates with Ron Hardman of the Natal Provincial Administration at Natalia to gain entry for 30 Women's League members to hand over a memorandum and stage a sit-in. They were eventually allowed in. — Witness Photographer.

The crowd then sang *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and dispersed. Nkabinde had already spent an hour negotiating with NPA officials at Natalia to allow 30 women in for a sit-in. ANC marshalls and police battled to keep the crowd away from the glass doors as they became impatient.

By the time they reached the city hall for a sit-in it was locked and they proceeded to Loop Street.

Nkabinde requested the crowd to converge on Qokololo stadium in Edendale for a final report-back tomorrow at 9 am.

An urgent request has been forwarded to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation to come to the city and investigate allegations against the security forces in Imbali.

This follows intense negotiations between the ANC and allies, the Chamber of Commerce and other interested parties to attempt to resolve the dispute between Imbali residents and security forces which caused the week-long stayaway.

The residents demand the removal of the 32 Battalion, the riot squad and the Kwa-Zulu Police in Imbali who they accuse of fuelling conflict, and the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the killings of ANC members in the township.

Chamber president Des Winship said in a statement a request will be forwarded to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

He said the chamber has also recommended to their members not to dismiss any employee for absenteeism "in spite of the negative impact of this stayaway, and in recognition of the special circumstances prevailing during this week".

They said this undertaking is made on the understanding that employees will return to work as soon as possible but not later than Monday.

The chamber moved that to avoid similar occurrences, it is imperative that all parties work together towards the formation of a local dispute resolution committee in accordance with the National Peace Accord.

The chamber has also obtained a commitment from the security forces to step up their presence in the problem areas to facilitate safe movement of commuters on these routes.

The city council said they view the situation in Imbali with deep concern, adding that to create an atmosphere in which a peaceful and early solution to the stayaway can be effected, the councillors will call upon "all those responsible" to take immediate and appropriate steps to ensure that all taxis and buses and occupants are not attacked between Imbali and the city.

Part of the Imbali grievances are that commuters and taxi drivers are shot in Mhlankosi and Mbhelele Roads of Imbali.

Chairman of the Natal inland region for the Democratic Party Mike Tarr said last night he "hopes that the situation will not last for very long and will help stop deaths and stem the escalation of violence in the townships". Tarr said he also hopes "parties in Pietermaritzburg will show enthusiasm for a dispute resolution committee to be formed in the near future".

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# It's touch and go for Codesa 2

**T**HERE is tension in Codesa's corridors, and it has to do with time running out.

Delegates were hunkered down in conference rooms at the World Trade Centre this week — in the full knowledge that unless more agreement on the issue of transitional government can be achieved, Codesa 2 could degenerate into a slanging match come next Friday.

As the first deadline for an internal progress report on the matter passed on Wednesday, no agreement was in sight in the crucial working group. Tuesday has been set as a new deadline for agreement, and working group 3 is to hold an unscheduled meeting on Monday.

As delegates left the last

agreement, he hoped, would be on the incorporation of the TBVC states into SA. An important breakthrough was made on this in Codesa's working group 4 this week.

SACP negotiator Jeremy Cronin said Codesa 2 could reach significant agreement on key issues.

He said the second plenary session should be able to agree on phase one of the transition — a transitional executive structure to prepare for elections for a full-scale transitional government. He also hoped Codesa 2 would reach a "fairly tight"

scheduled meeting of working group 3 this week, feelings among the main political players on the likely success of Codesa 2 varied widely.

The Government, ANC and Democratic Party seemed sanguine to differing degrees, while the Inkatha Freedom Party expressed grave doubts.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers, hurrying out of the negotiating chamber, told The Star he was optimistic, but did not elaborate.

The DP's Ken Andrew was more forthcoming. He said he believed Codesa could agree on the first phase of interim government, and present a broad picture of what the second phase should look like.

Another major point of

agreement on elections for a constitution-making body.

But he said it was uncertain whether the Government was prepared to accept a large consensus in working groups 2 and 3. "Codesa 2 will test whether the regime is prepared to walk the last mile," said Mr Cronin.

By contrast the IFP's chief representative on working group 3, Walter Felgate, was extremely gloomy.

He said the IFP was unhappy because working group 3's draft proposals for a first phase of interim government took no ac-

count of the autonomy of regional authorities.

If the IFP were to agree, he said, the proposals would have to be completely rewritten. He also forecast that the ANC and the Government would fail to reach agreement on the all-important issue of how much power a transitional executive should wield.

Mr Felgate said he believed the ANC might use Codesa 2 as a public forum to isolate the Government on this issue.

He thought the ANC might do this by presenting a majority report of working group 3,

showing most parties were in favour of a transitional executive with real power — while the Government was against.

Codesa-watchers believe this would spark a public clash between the Government and ANC.

ANC negotiator Thabo Mbeki told The Star that Codesa 2 must agree on various key points in order to be pronounced a success.

It should put forward a detailed proposal for the first phase of the transition, including interim government structures and the time-frame when

these structures would become operational.

The ANC believed that the tricameral Parliament should pass all the necessary legislation and constitutional amendments to facilitate such an agreement before it went into recess next month.

Codesa 2 should also agree on a broad framework for the second phase, which involved an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature.

Mr Mbeki said some indication was also needed on the time-frame for the second phase. "We don't want phase one structures to continue in perpetuity," he said.

Various matters, such as the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations, should also be agreed upon at Codesa 2. "An

important element is that Codesa 2 should agree that all armed formations, including MK, the SADF and police forces, should come under the control of first-phase interim structures," said Mr Mbeki.

This meant that the security forces would be under the control of multiparty structures in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

Mr Mbeki said it was important to reach agreement on the second phase of the transition because without it the first phase would have no meaning.

Having delivered their predictions, the negotiators left and the huge debating chamber at the World Trade Centre was left waiting ... not at all sure of the type of spectacle it would be hosting a week from today. □

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**Attacks**

## point to uprising in Malawi

Star Africa Service  
Sapa and Reuter

In what may be the beginning of a popular uprising against the autocratic rule of President Hastings Banda, crowds have attacked shops and offices in Malawi associated with the government.

After workers at a textile factory in Blantyre began a rampage on Wednesday and looted shops, the disturbances spread yesterday to the capital Lilongwe.

A senior Western diplomat reached by telephone from South Africa said he understood that police figures showed 38 dead by yesterday morning at the start of a third day of unrest in Blantyre, as well as in Lilongwe. The envoy, who declined to be identified, stressed that the report was unconfirmed.

A spokesman for the Interim Committee of Democratic Alliance in Malawi said in Lusaka that eight people had died and more than 100 were arrested after a crowd of 3 000 marched to the High Court in Blantyre.

The headquarters of the ruling party are also reported to have been attacked.

There was no immediate indication of a military coup against the Banda regime, and the police and army appear not to have moved against the government.

Protesters are reportedly marching in protest at poor working conditions and the government's failure to put on trial the jailed opposition leader, Chakufwa Chihana.

However, diplomatic sources disputed assertions that the workers had marched to the High Court and that the march was politically inspired.

President Kamuzu Banda, (93) has ruled with an iron hand since Malawi's independence from Britain in 1964. He has outlawed political opposition, and human rights groups frequently have accused his government of torturing opponents. Dr Banda denies it.

Malawi radio, monitored in South Africa, reported at midday yesterday that police had issued a warning to "thugs, vandals and rogues" involved in unrest in the cities that "every measure possible" would be taken to restore order.

It is difficult for the outside world to know exactly what is happening, however, as the country is shrouded in secrecy and reporting is restricted. Information on the wave of unrest came mainly through telephone calls from neighbouring capitals.

South African ambassador to Malawi Josef Stroebel has dismissed as rumours reports that Malawi had undergone a coup yesterday.

Mr Stroebel said the embassy had advised South Africans living in the country to remain indoors and said their lives were not in danger at this stage.



# Bias against SADF

Some journalists obviously have biases when it concerns the SAP and SADF. This is probably so because so many journalists tend to look at government and all forms of authority as the enemy.

Many failed to enlighten their readers properly about Phola Park and its history of armed violence — usually aimed at law enforcement officers. In their reports about the “atrocities” allegedly committed by some members of 32 Battalion, not one reporter wrote about the number of policemen killed in armed attacks in and around Phola Park during the past two years. Nothing was said about the daily attacks on the security forces in that squatter camp. Recently, a municipal traffic officer was shot at with AK-47s at the entrance of Phola Park. He was critically wounded.

I hear a deafening silence when it comes to mentioning all the atrocities committed against the police patrolling Phola Park. The very same policemen are approached by the residents whenever they need them to investigate a crime. Still they attack and kill them on other occasions.

I have been following recent reports usually published on

page 5 (sometimes on page 3) of some newspapers that found the space to print only two, perhaps three, lines about a policeman killed in or near Phola Park. Usually, such reports are incorporated with the daily unrest reports. Obviously, some reporters and news editors believe that the killing of a law enforcement officer is of no importance anymore. The public feels otherwise. They want to be informed fully on such brutal killings.

During one of my recent SADF camps on the East Rand, I saw and experienced many armed attacks on the security forces patrolling in and around Phola Park. Snipers with AK-47 rifles often attack patrols during both the day or night. Hand grenades being hurled at patrol vehicles are not uncommon at all. Thank God for armoured vehicles!

Recently, I saw on television that policemen are now being lured into Phola Park by residents “wanting to report a crime”. The policemen, performing one of their primary tasks, the investigation of an alleged “crime”, are then ambushed and brutally killed; shot to pieces with AK-47s.

I believe that your readers

have the full right to know everything about Phola Park and its residents. The above-mentioned information should have formed part of the reports concerning the incident on April 8, involving 32 Battalion.

It is my contention that some reporters have, for reasons known only to them, portrayed the SADF as being brutal. The residents were portrayed, as can be expected under the circumstances, as being the innocent victims.

Some reporters even wrote that “the evidence proved” this or that. Everything said by some of the residents were obviously believed outright by many reporters. To my view nothing has been proved yet. No accused person or group have been afforded the fair opportunity yet to test the relevance or validity of the “evidence” in a court of law. The credibility of eye-witnesses and/or victims, SADF and residents alike, must still be tested in a court of law.

Pieter Marais

Johannesburg

*The Goldstone Commission this week started an investigation into the clash between Phola Park residents and members of 32 Battalion. — Editor.*



# The Shange scandal (2)

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**P**ERHAPS Adriaan Vlok should stop trying to explain his department's scarcely credible lapse in releasing a convicted murderer who had served only nine months of a 27-year sentence. Every time the Minister of Correctional Services opens his mouth on the subject, the move becomes more incredible.

Yesterday we commented on how Mr Vlok's concern seemed limited, remarkably, to the computer error which permitted the man's release three months ahead of his scheduled parole time. But then, questioned again in Parliament, Mr Vlok proffered more absurdities.

He produced a copy of the parole conditions which Khethani Shange signed when he left prison, undertaking not to cause unrest or "threaten the family of my victims". Who wouldn't sign such a paper — and even observe it for a while, as Shange has apparently done — when offered such a golden highway to freedom?

There was more: Correctional Services staff would visit Shange, or telephone him, at least twice a week; and he needs prison authority to change jobs or residence or leave his magisterial district. This too is supposed to allay the fears of potential new victims of the man whom a judge told: "There is little hope for your reformation."

We strongly doubt it will allay such fears. Nor will it allay disquiet in the wider community about such cavalier disregard of the courts. In sentencing Shange, Mr Justice Gordon had said he should be "removed from society for a considerable period of time".

To help salvage some respect for South Africa's judicial system, we would strongly support any legal moves to have Shange re-imprisoned. In any case, he should be immediately taken in to serve the remaining months which the computer error knocked off his reduced sentence. Then, his case and any similar ones should be closely reviewed. And it would be helpful if, from this point on, the minister — for Mr Vlok is responsible, even if the parole was approved under his predecessor — would cease insulting the public's intelligence.

## Exams threat

**S**EVERAL black school principals have confirmed they were threatened by members of the Congress of South African Students to support a boycott over increased examination fees prescribed by the DET. Cosas denies that the warning was accompanied by the words "or be met by the AK-47s", but the threats are disturbing enough.

There may be some legitimacy in the call to pupils to pay the old R54 fee, instead of the R66 or R71 demanded by the Department of Education and Training — even though white pupils pay similar examination fees. The fee structure itself, with its differential between a school-leaving certificate and a university pass, seems contradictory.

However, the intimidation of school principals should be condemned by all, especially the ANC to which Cosas is aligned. Failure to rebuke the organisation, or whoever made these statements, could be seen as support for this totally unacceptable behaviour.

There is no reason why black education should be disrupted once more, particularly as the negotiation process goes on apace. As apartheid dies, so will education structures created by that system.



The ANC may be trying to silence a haunting

echo from the past, writes Patrick Laurence

# Torture camps: will the truth out?

**T**HE African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Winnie Mandela, faces another potentially explosive crisis.

As the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents within its own ranks in the mid-1980s.

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, have in the main rejected overtures from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead, they have talked of "people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa" and demanded an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC, already accused of covering up for Mrs Mandela, who is awaiting the outcome of an appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis.

Its president, Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the

charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission to investigate the allegations.

Whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like Swapo in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture, remains to be seen.

One of the problems is that Mr Mandela's admission — made more than two years ago when complainants of torture first started to surface — has been partially blurred by the terms of reference of its own commission.

Where Mr Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents were tortured, the commission has not been mandated to inquire into the extent of torture but whether it took place at all.

Its terms of reference are to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the complaints "about the loss or destruction of their properties."

The members of the three-member commission are two respected lawyers, Louis Skweyiya,

SC, and Gilbert Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Bridget Mabandla. Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and to cover up its alleged atrocities.

Mr Skweyiya is related to Mr Zola Skweyiya, a member of the ANC national executive and of its legal and constitutional team. Their family ties, and Mr Louis Skweyiya's presumed ANC sympathies, have generated suspicions in dissident ranks that the inquiry is a charade.

Mr Marcus is assumed to be a relative of Gill Marcus, a senior member of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's national executive. Mr Marcus and Ms Marcus are not related but a majority of dissidents are convinced that they are.

Rodney Twala, a leading dissident and chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, is emphatic: he will not give evidence to the "ANC commission". His organisation has taken a decision not to testify be-



fore the commission and to insist, instead, of an independent judicial commission of inquiry.

Patrick Hlongwane, another dissident leader, reaffirms the same point: "We will not participate in the ANC's investigation as we suspect the ANC will attempt to use its normal methods of bribery and threats to get the answers it wants ... if the ANC really wishes to dispose of this matter there is only one way: an independent commission of inquiry must be appointed."

Another former ANC detainee, Mozolana S'khwebu, says of the three members of the ANC-appointed commission: "They are ANC members ... at the same time, they are appointed to investigate the evil done by the ANC."

Their scepticism is deepened by a number of additional factors: commission hearings are *in camera* and, in Mr Twala's view, in contravention of the maxim that justice must be seen to be done; the murder at least one dissident, Sipho Phungulwa, by suspected ANC agents since the ANC rebels began to trickle back to South Africa; and the belief that some

dissidents are still being detained in Uganda by, or at the behest of, the ANC.

Suspensions are heightened by their experience of an earlier commission appointed by the ANC to inquire into the causes of a mutiny by ANC fighters at guerilla camps in Angola in 1984.

As Stephen Ellis records in his book "Comrades Against Apartheid", the findings of the commission were never released, still less put on the agenda for discussion at the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia.

The failure to release the findings of the Stuart Commission are seen as evidence that instead of exposing the causes of the mutiny, including the brutal excesses of the ANC's security department, Mbokodo, the commissioners were more concerned to cover up and protect ANC leaders from their share of the blame.

Ellis writes: "All the members of the Stuart Commission were elected to the ANC's national executive committee the next year, which was generally interpreted as recognition for their work."

There are, however, guarantees

against the present Skweyiya Commission merely serving as a public relations exercise and then being locked away to protect the ANC from embarrassment.

The ANC has given a solemn undertaking in writing to publish its reports, subject only to the deletion of the names of persons if that is deemed necessary for their safety. Individual commissioners, moreover, have the power to write separate reports if they do not concur with the findings of their colleagues.

The Skweyiya commission has already held one session of hearings and is due to hold two more in June and August. It does not have the power to subpoena witnesses. Whether it will attract enough dissidents to give its findings credibility is as yet unclear.

If it does not, it will have served no useful purpose and demands will grow for an independent judicial inquiry.

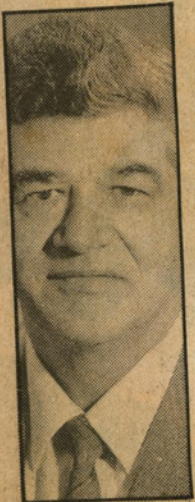
Already, these demands echo those faced over the years by the South African authorities for a judicial investigation into the torture and death in detention of anti-apartheid detainees. □



# Billions down

## the drain

### Massive corruption in Development Aid



De Villiers . . . dockets being considered.

CAPE TOWN — In a catalogue of graft, corruption and maladministration involving losses of possibly billions of rands of State funds, the Pickard Commission of Inquiry has found that the former Department of Development Aid was "rife with dishonesty and abuse".

In his report tabled in Parliament yesterday, Mr Justice B de V Pickard said an entire group of officials had made themselves rich through misconduct, theft and bribery.

He also said the performance of the department as a whole was "all but satisfactory".

"On the contrary, I am satisfied that management is not up to its task, that controls and control systems are grossly neglected, that personnel are inadequate in numbers and often quality, that planning is inadequate, that dishonesty and abuse are rife and that attitudes generally fall short of what is required of a huge organisation of this nature."

The department was "so terminally ill . . . that the time has now arrived to turn off the life-support system".

Indications were that a

group of about 10 officials were guilty of serious malpractices and criminal conduct.

Judge Pickard said he would not supply the names of suspects or give precise details of their crimes because "the birds might fly" and criminal or departmental proceedings might be prejudiced.

His report was handed to the Government on September 13 last year but was kept secret while criminal investigations were being completed.

In October, acting on the judge's recommendations, President de Klerk announced the abolition of the department.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Jacob de Villiers said investigations by the commercial branch of the SA Police into matters raised by the commission had now been completed, and the dockets were being considered by the attorney-general.

He believed that fewer than 20 dossiers were involved. These included only

two officials of the former department, who were at present under suspension. The remainder included people from the private sector.

Mr de Villiers said that because the terms of reference of a commission focused on irregularities, it was understandable that there could be a lack of balance.

He said in a statement that such a lack of balance might have been averted if an investigation were also conducted into the good results achieved through the "dedicated service of thou-

sands of officials".

"It is quite possible that more evidence on certain aspects of the report could have placed them in a different light. This state of affairs could have the result that, by implication, an injustice could inadvertently have been done to many officials — something which is naturally of great concern to me, because they are not in a position to defend themselves."

Judge Pickard said in his report that it would be an impossible task even to try to give an approximate figure of how many millions the State had lost.

"It is certainly not small change. It could even be billions if the extent of the

● To Page 2



De Klerk . . . abolished department.



## Billions lost through corruption in Development Aid

### ● From Page 1

department's budget and its activities are taken into account.

"The sooner the department and its satellites (the SA Development Trust and the SA Development Trust Corporation) are physically dismantled, their staff transferred to all ends of the civil-service earth and their functions distributed over as wide a spectrum as possible ... the better."

Among the judge's other findings were that:

- There was such massive mismanagement and corruption in the purchase and control of stores and equipment, and records were kept so badly, that it appeared impossible to determine what the losses were.

- A contract of R2 million with the department was exceeded by about

R12 million and an R80 000 contract by more than R1 million.

- A consultant had claimed nine hours' travelling time for each hour he spent on a departmental project.

- Some projects were grossly overused, such as powerlines at Soshanguve which were overloaded by up to 300 per cent so that they glowed in the dark, while other facilities such as an indoor stadium at Botshabelo and seven schools on the Makathini Flats were not used at all.

- A firm had arranged and financed hotel accommodation and deep-sea fishing for a number of officials — who then claimed travel and subsistence costs as if they had been at work.

- An official hired an earthmoving machine to a private person who

then hired it back to the department.

- Contractors were paid for houses never built.

- Thousand of toilets were lying unused at settlement projects in the wake of a toilet contract scam by two department employees.

- R1,7 million worth of wooden houses were bought for a resettlement programme in Ciskei after the Ciskei government had already rejected them.

- The daughter of the department's deputy director-general (development) had joined the department as an administrative assistant in November 1974 after qualifying as a teacher, had been a deputy director under her father since August 1989 "and will probably be promoted soon to director".

Judge Pickard said he had found a syndrome in

the department of trying to cover up unfortunate incidents or malpractices as far as possible, and to whitewash even to the extent that the true facts were concealed from or distorted to the department's minister.

Most of the officials involved belonged to middle management, some came close to top management and others were lower in the order of seniority.

"The fact is that there is considerable evidence which clearly indicates that for personal advantage and gain, these people — in co-operation with a number of different contractors, manufacturers, suppliers, people and bodies in the private sector — worked together in a corrupt, unacceptable and improper manner to obtain consid-

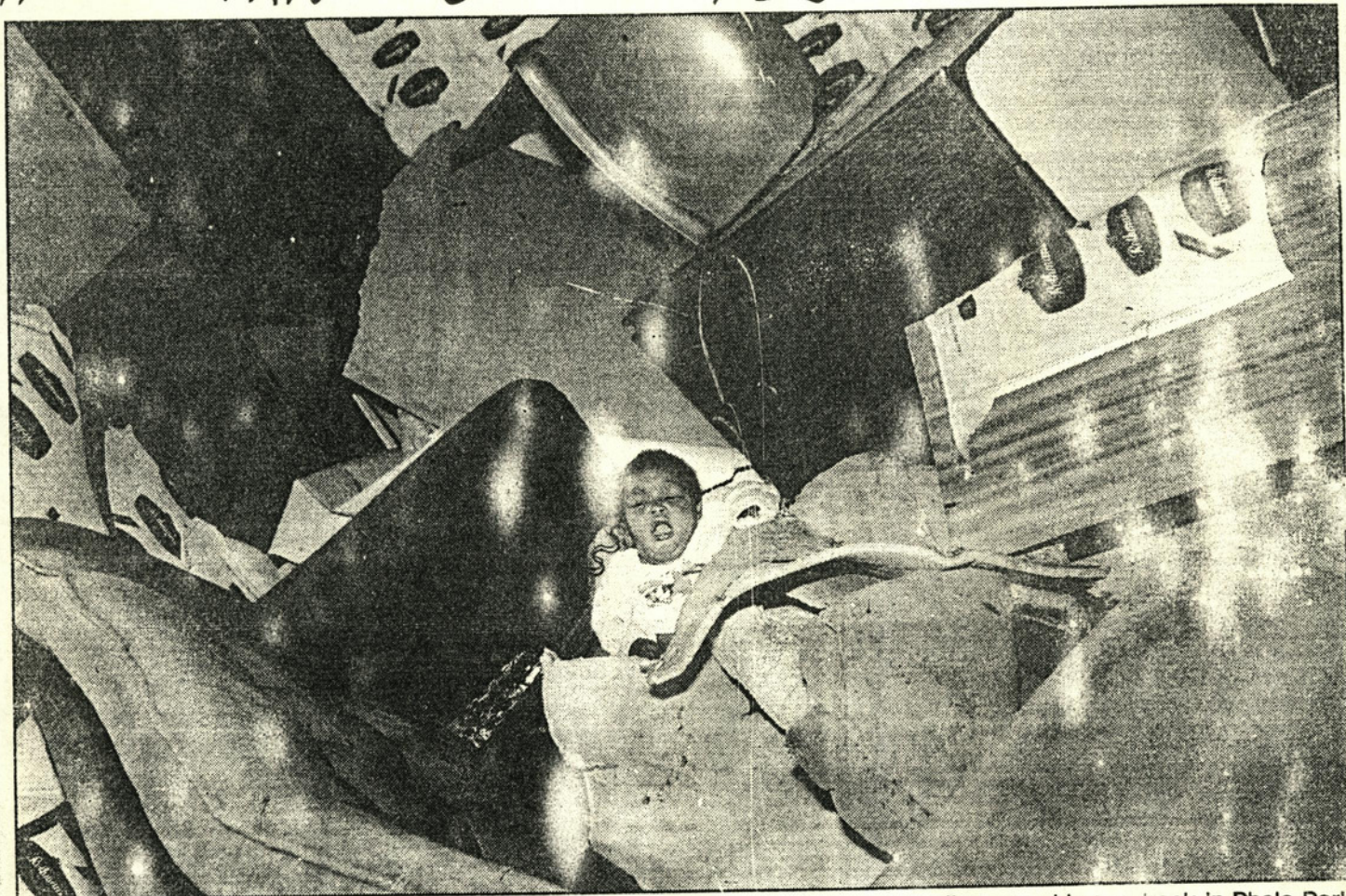
erable benefits for themselves and those who were working with them."

These matters had never been investigated properly before, and the judge was under the clear impression that there was a reluctance in the department to open up the issues and bring offenders to book.

It was difficult to pinpoint the reason for this hesitation, "but mention was made to the commission that it could turn out that too many senior officials are involved".

Even police investigations progressed badly because the people involved were in a position to make documents disappear, intimidate lesser officials and in general to make evidence vanish in the mass of facts and documentation of the department. — Sapa.





Devastation . . . a baby lies on the remains of a couch allegedly ripped apart by police searching a shack in Phola Park, on the East Rand, yesterday.  
Picture: George Mashini

## SAP raid angers Phola Park residents

By Monica Oosterbroek

Phola Park residents were angered and frightened during an intensive police search of the East Rand squatter camp yesterday in which three men were arrested and an AK-47 with ammunition was confiscated.

While tense residents gathered in groups, a convoy of police vans and Casspirs drove through the camp, searching homes and the surrounding bushes for arms caches, fugitives and drugs.

A helicopter circled over the camp for more than three hours. A man wearing a balaclava was seen pointing out shacks.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Warrant-Officer Andy Pieké said members of the East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad went to the area to find suspects involved in various criminal offences, including the spate of attacks on policemen.

A 69-year-old man, known only as Majolo, said about six policemen had broken into the three shacks where he, his wife and five primary school children live.

Beds were overturned and panels torn down, furniture was broken and picture frames were left shattered on the floor.

Wall units and their contents were thrown around the rooms, and drawers containing clothes

were emptied.

Residents complained that police wearing civilian clothes had not shown them search warrants, refused to identify themselves and did not respect their property.

A social worker, employed by the Catholic Church in the area, said: "Residents believed the old residents' committee was inefficient and corrupt, but since the new committee has been in power, the camp has had trouble with the police."

She and others in the camp believed an elderly committee member had become a police informer.

ANC branch vice-chairman Sally Pietersen accused police

of harassing residents.

Warrant-Officer Pieké said it was a "normal crime-prevention exercise". If property had been damaged, it should be reported and the matter would be investigated.

Phola Park made news headlines recently following allegations that members of 32 Battalion murdered a resident and raped or assaulted dozens of others.

Captain Mark Hermanson, commander of the accused platoon, told a committee of the Goldstone Commission last week that some of his men had admitted slapping and punching residents, but said this did not constitute an assault.



# Fear and loathing in the Boers' heartland

A series of motiveless murders plaguing the Orange Free State town of Verkeerdevlei has triggered a backlash, writes **David Beresford**

FOR a "Boer" farmer Nick Pretorius made a frail figure, as he stood on the roadside, waving my car down. He leaned down to the window, his skull shining brownly through his thinning hair, under the Free State afternoon sun. "I just want to say that she had no enemies."

He paused, as if uncertain about the point he was making and then repeated it: "She had no enemies, that's all I want to tell you." With that he stepped back, waved and trudged over to his van, on his way to start digging a grave for his 81-year-old mother.

The old lady, Jani Pretorius, was killed last week. A widow, she lived just outside the small town of Verkeerdevlei on the property she had farmed with her husband for most of their life together. The police have not given away much about the killing, even to her son. But it appears she was shot and that nothing was stolen except her pistol.

What makes the killing of Mrs Pretorius significant is that it was the latest of a series of murders of whites which have taken place in the *platte-land* (farmland) of the Orange Free State.

The epicentre of the murders is Verkeerdevlei, where six white farm people have been killed since December, in addition to several other attacks in which the victims escaped with

their lives. The baffling aspect of all of this is that there was no apparent motive.

Verkeerdevlei is a town of tumbleweed boredom, a tiny farming community served by a couple of churches, a couple of stores, a police station and not much more. The name translates directly as "the wrong swamp", but it would translate more appropriately as the "swamp of wrongs" — because to an outsider, at least, it seems haunted by an unarticulated sense of injustice.

It was a feeling first brought home at the police station, where a fresh-faced young constable was manning the charge office. He offered to call the local farmers' leader on the station's citizens band radio and, he began intoning the man's call sign. But the farmers' representative was not interested in making representations to the press. "They owe me nothing and I owe them nothing," he said cryptically.

The constable refused to give the name of the farmer. Part of the reason was possibly that the local press has previously identified him as the leader of a lynch-mob which killed a black man in the Verkeerdevlei area earlier this year. The killing took place when a group of farmers came to the rescue of an elderly couple who had been attacked. Three of the attackers were caught, one was beaten to death, the other two surviving

to make a battered appearance in court on attempted murder charges. Police said this week they had opened a murder docket on the mob killing, but although the identities of those who participated are seemingly well known, nobody has been charged after four months.

The anger — and fear — of the farmers of Verkeerdevlei is tangible. At the local Afrikaner Protestant Church the elders were just leaving a council meeting. One of them gestured to his colleagues, saying: "They are all carrying guns; you don't walk in Verkeerdevlei without guns anymore. Every night we patrol..."

A neighbour of the murdered Jani Pretorius, Chris Roux, is

— the former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC — gave assurances that no such strategy was being pursued.

Needless to say, the assurances are little believed. But if a story lying behind the worst of the Verkeerdevlei farm murders is anything to go by, the farmers may be faced by something more alarming than conspiracy.

Gabriel Mahakoe is currently under mental observation in Bloemfontein on the orders of a Supreme Court judge, after an extraordinary performance during his trial on charges of multiple murder. The 42-year-old farm labourer faces the death sentence for killing four

**'They are all carrying guns; you don't walk in Verkeerdevlei without guns anymore. Every night we patrol.'**

the commander of a reaction unit set up by the local commando (army reserve). Standing outside his home, Mr Roux was insistent that, although the killings might not have been "directly political" murders, they were inspired by the ANC. "For us it is very clear that it is not accidental," he said.

In fact the belief is widely shared among the white farmers of the Orange Free State that the murders are part of a strategy by the ANC to drive them off their land. Last month there was an unpublicised meeting of the Free State Agricultural Association, called by the police, at which Chris Han-

members of a Verkeerdevlei farmer's family.

He was sent for psychiatric observation after three days in the dock during which he shouted insults at the judge and his assessors, demanding that he be tried by a black man and represented by black lawyers.

Apart from his shouts at the judge ("hangman, Boer") Mr Mahakoe has not had the opportunity to explain why he carried out the murders. But he did offer something of an explanation in a statement at an earlier, magistrate's court hearing, in which he confessed to the farm massacre. It makes a bizarre reading.

Working as a labourer on the farm he described how he entered the house while the family was away and searched for a gun and ammunition, which he found.

"After that I sat down in the sacred room where a kaffir never sits and waited for them. The devil helped me and they came."

The family walked into the house and Mr Mahakoe confronted them, with the rifle levelled.

"Mauloje Afrika," he greeted them — "that means Africa comes back," he explained the magistrate — "then I went on with my work."

"What do you mean when you say you went on with your work?" asked the state prosecutor?

"I killed apartheid. I wanted to chop off the hand but I only succeeded in chopping off the fingertips..."

"How did you go about it?" "I started shooting. I said: 'I am not shooting you, I am shooting the name: dog, baboon — that is what we are called. They also kill us. Show the tribe of Africa, we can do it anytime. We are tired of being slaves.'"

"When they had all fallen, I saw that one was not dead. So I hit the one lying under her mother with the butt. She should also have been dead."

On the basis of the confession it might appear that Mr Mahakoe is insane. But whether the psychologists will find him so is open to doubt. Those who have watched him in court say he is a strikingly intelligent man who reserves his rancour for the white court officials. In his

dealings with blacks he is calm and gentle.

The courtroom has been packed with black spectators for his appearances. They have crowded around him during adjournments to shake his hand and talk to him; on one occasion a frustrated crowd locked out of the over-crowded court building threatened to enter and were dispersed by police with tear gas. Because Mr Mahakoe has become a cult figure in the townships of the Free State — having seemingly come to represent a deep-seated sense of grievance in the black population at past wrongs, whether real or imagined.

In the tiny black township servicing Verkeerdevlei, residents talk of unmarked graves in the area containing the remains of labourers murdered by white farmers over the years. "Even here, in the township, we have three people buried without identification," said the local branch chairman of the ANC, Neo Banyane. "We don't know who they are. They are people killed by the whites. The problem is the treatment the white people have passed on to the black people."

As I left the township, a van could be seen across the fields, parked alongside Verkeerdevlei's white cemetery. It was Nick Pretorius, digging a hole for a mother who had no enemies.

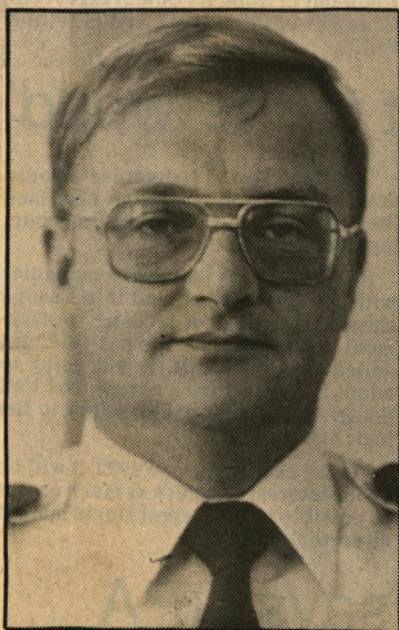
● The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, is moving from the black township of Soweto to a home in Johannesburg's white suburbs, a spokesman said yesterday. He refused to say where the new home was, other than in the plush northern suburbs.



# Police station occupied in tense protest

THE NATAL 8-05-92

The SAP have shown commendable restraint in their handling of nearly a week of protest in the city. Protection of innocents was their chief aim  
WYNDHAM HARTLEY reports.



COLONEL PIETER KITCHING

CITY dwellers were, last Monday, treated to the unusual spectacle of the South African police escorting an illegal protest march to the charge office so that they could deliver a memorandum to the station commander.

It was the start of the high drama of this week during which the police, with commendable restraint, have avoided violent confrontation with highly emotional protesters in the city centre.

Speaking on his role in the affair for the first time, Loop Street station commander, Colonel Pieter Kitching, said that the first priority on Monday, when things began happening, was to avoid death and injury in the city.

Kitching, as station commander charged with crime prevention and control in the central city area, said that the actions of the police during the

march on Monday should not be seen as condoning it. "In the interests of the broader Pietermaritaburg community, violent confrontation had to be avoided. There were innocent people going about their business who could have been caught up in it."

He said extensive negotiations, during which the crowd were told that any march was illegal, preceded the procession to the charge office — "we were trying to get them to abide by the law".

Kitching pointed out that the police were there to administer the law, not to make the law or ignore it. For that reason the offences committed in the illegal march on Monday are being investigated and charges against organisers could follow.

Throughout Monday night police restraint held as 25 women occupied a

room in the charge office. Allegedly the women stormed into Kitching's office, refused to hand over the memorandum until all their number were present, once done they refused to leave.

"At regular intervals through the night they were asked to leave and were warned that they were breaking the law," Kitching said. At noon on Tuesday senior officers decided collectively that the occupation was disrupting the operations of the charge office in a tense situation. A written warning on which law was being broken was read to the women. They were warned that if they did not leave within ten minutes they would be arrested. Two left and 23 were taken to court.

"There was nothing else that we could do. We tried negotiation for 21 hours," Kitching said.



SOWETAN 08-05-92

# Buthlezi rejects peace force plan

**THE Inkatha Freedom Party has come out in support of the Government's objections to an international peacekeeping force to monitor the violence in South Africa.**

IPF leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also rejected a proposal by the South African Council of Churches for a summit meeting on violence and that an international monitoring team be established in the country.

Buthelezi said South Africans were "quite capable of exposing whatever truth needs to be exposed".

On Wednesday Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said there was no need for a team of international

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

observers to monitor the violence. Kriel said it was up to the political leadership to sort out their differences.

Buthelezi said from Ulundi yesterday that his administration and party were "totally opposed to international monitoring teams during present process of negotiations".

"We state simply that there is no country in Africa with a Press that is more free than the South African Press. There is no country in Africa in which the churches of the land are more free to conduct inquiries, search for truth and proclaim it."

## Train boycott enters its fourth day

THE Reef train boycott remained fairly effective yesterday morning as it entered its fourth day, with an almost 100 percent boycott on the Soweto line.

A Spoornet spokesman reported that until 7am, the

Kwesine (Germiston) line was only carrying about 15 percent of its normal passenger load and Soweto about five percent.

Other sections such as Tembisa had peak-hour occupancy rates of about 50

percent, Daveyton between 60 and 65 percent and Randfontein between 45 and 70 percent.

The boycott was called by major black organisations to protest against the on-going violence on

trains.

● Soweto taxi fares will be reduced by 20 percent tomorrow in sympathy with the train boycott, the Train Boycott Steering Committee announced yesterday. - Sapa



# The ghost of torture claims haunts ANC

**AS the controversy over Mrs Mandela continues to swirl around and sully the ANC, the organisation stands accused of detaining and torturing dissidents within its own ranks in the mid-1980s.**

The dissidents, many of whom have returned to South Africa, have in the main rejected overtures from the ANC to come back to the fold and refused to allow the matter to fade into obscurity.

Instead they have talked of "people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa" and demand an impartial investigation into their treatment by ANC security personnel.

The ANC, already accused of covering up for Mrs Mandela, who is awaiting the outcome of an appeal against her conviction for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, has taken two steps to defuse the threatened new crisis.

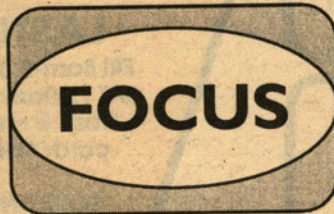
Its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has admitted that some of the charges of torture are true and it has appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the allegations fully.

## Charges

Whether these measures will succeed or whether the ANC, like Swapo in Namibia, will have to face a post-apartheid election with its image marred by serious charges of torture, remains to be seen.

One of the problems is that Mandela's admission - made more than two years ago when complaints of torture first started to surface - has been partially blurred by the terms of reference of its own commission.

Where Mandela admitted that some of the imprisoned dissidents



**The African National Congress, still tarnished by the adverse publicity surrounding its former first lady, Mrs Winnie Mandela, faces another potentially explosive crisis, this time over torture in its camps, writes Sowetan correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE.**

were tortured, the commission has not been mandated to inquire into the extent of torture but whether it took place at all.

Its terms of reference are to investigate the conditions under which ANC prisoners were detained, the "allegations of their maltreatment" and the "complaints about the loss or destruction of their properties".

The members of the three-member commission are two respected lawyers, Mr Louis Skweyiya, SC, and Mr Gilbert Marcus, and a member of the ANC's legal team, Ms Bridget Mabandla.

Its composition, however, has triggered suspicions among many dissidents that its primary purpose is to protect the ANC and to cover up its alleged atrocities.

Skweyiya is related to Mr Zola Skweyiya, a member of the ANC national executive and of its legal and constitutional team. Their family ties and Louis Skweyiya's presumed ANC sympathies have gen-

erated suspicions in dissident ranks that the inquiry is a charade.

Marcus is assumed to be a relative of Ms Gill Marcus, a senior member of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's national executive.

Mr Marcus and Ms Marcus are not related but a majority of dissidents are convinced that they are.

Mr Rodney Twala, a leading dissident and chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, is emphatic: he will not give evidence to the "ANC commission".

His organisation has taken a decision not to testify before the commission and to insist, instead, on an independent judicial commission of inquiry.

Mr Patrick Hlongwane, another dissident leader, reaffirms the same point.

## Bribery

"We will not participate in the ANC's investigation as we suspect the ANC will attempt to use its normal methods of bribery and threats to get the answers it wants."

... If the ANC really wishes to dispose of this matter there is only one way: an independent commission of inquiry must be appointed."

Another former ANC detainee, Mr Mozolana S'khwebu, says of the three members of the ANC-appointed commission:

"They are members of the ANC ... At the same time they are being appointed to investigate the evil done by the ANC."

Their scepticism is deepened by a number of additional factors:

- Commission hearings are in camera and, in Twala's view, in contravention of the maxim that justice must be seen to be done;

- The murder of at least one dissident, Mr Sipho Phungulwa, by suspected ANC agents since the ANC rebels began to trickle back to South Africa; and

- The belief that some dissidents are still being detained in Uganda by, or at the behest of, the ANC.

Suspicions are heightened by their experience of an earlier commission appointed by the ANC to inquire into the causes of a mutiny by ANC fighters at guerilla camps in Angola in 1984.

## Failure

As Mr Stephen Ellis records in his book *Comrades Against Apartheid*, the findings of the commission were never released, still less put on the agenda for discussion at the ANC's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia.

The failure to release the findings of the Stuart Commission are seen as evidence that instead of exposing the causes of the mutiny, including the brutal excesses of the ANC's security department, Mbokodo, the commissioners were more concerned to cover up and protect ANC leaders from their share of the blame.

There are, however, guarantees against the present Skweyiya Commission merely serving as a public relations exercise and then being locked away to protect the ANC from embarrassment. The ANC has given a solemn undertaking in writing to publish its reports, subject only to the deletion of the names of persons where deemed necessary for their safety.

The Skweyiya commission has already held one session of hearings and is due to hold two more in June and August. It does not have the power to subpoena witnesses.



Telephone (011) 474-0128

**W**E NEED a more substantive reason from the Government for its rejection of the deployment of an international peacekeeping force to quell the political unrest.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel says despite the SAP's 111 000 men and some 10 000 to 15 000 from the SADF, we are still having violence.

He continues to question the size this international force would have to be and, obviously, the costs involved.

It is because the SAP and SADF are failing that an international force is needed.

Also, we must now look at reasons why the local forces have so far failed.

These reasons are not hard to find. The Trust Feed judgment and the alleged rape of women and assault of squatters at Phola Park immediately come to mind. This, added to judgments in other parts of the country, for instance in the Eastern Cape, and continuing allegations of partisanship by the police in dealing with political violence, shows that the Trust Feed pattern is nothing new.

In short, the majority no longer has any confidence in the security forces. This is not surprising.

After all, were not these same security forces trained and armed to the teeth to fight the ANC, the PAC and to destabilise political life in the townships? How can they be expected to change overnight?

This being the case, and given that law and order must be maintained, we support the deployment of an international peacekeeping force to quell the violence in our areas.

**I**T is tragically comic for the head of the South African Rail Commuter Corporation, Mr Wynand Burger, to implore commuters to stop the train boycott.

Burger has released a curious and belated statement asking the Train Boycott Committee to "join hands and jointly search for solutions" to commuter violence which has left hundreds dead.

It is not only comic but downright insulting to talk of solutions now when so many have died. Commuters took the difficult option of boycotting the trains before action was taken.

We are the last to support boycotts and demonstrations which may lead to suffering and danger. But we cannot abide the terrible sight of people shot down by thugs in trains - thugs who have thus far escaped arrest. Some have been arrested and quickly released, a rather unfortunate way of indicating to others that mass murder is "easy and safe".



SOWETAN 08-05-92

## PAC and Azapo not consulted over stayaway

● From page 1

"But it is Azapo's principle that all the bantustans should form part of a unitary state of Azania and that it should not have been broken into pieces," he said.

A Cosatu spokesman said the decision was announced at May Day rallies held jointly with the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Nactu last week.

"I am sure the people who do not know about this action are those who did not attend the May Day rallies," he said.

In the statement released yesterday, Cosatu said the masses demanded the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into a new nonracial, non-sexist, democratic and unitary South Africa.

Teachers and pupils have been urged to go to school on Monday and health workers have also been exempted from the strike.

The statement condemned the Bophuthatswana government for refusing to allow workers to join trade unions of their choice.

"We condemn in the strongest possible terms the recent decision by the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court to deny our people freedom of association and assembly.

"The argument that our organisations have no standing in Bophuthatswana should be seen in no other way other than an attempt by the Bophuthatswana regime to stall the negotiation process," it said.



# MK rebels turn to gangsterism

The gap between the African National Congress leadership and rebel Umkhonto weSizwe groups is creating problems for the organisation and trouble in the townships. By **EDDIE KOCH**

**R**ENEGADE groups of Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas who act as a law unto themselves in many of the country's trouble spots are creating organisational problems for African National Congress branches in the townships as well as political embarrassment for the movement's national leadership.

The problem surfaced dramatically at the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand last month when a local defence unit, reinforced by rogue MK men armed with AK-47 rifles, staged a coup d'état and evicted the ANC-aligned residents committee.

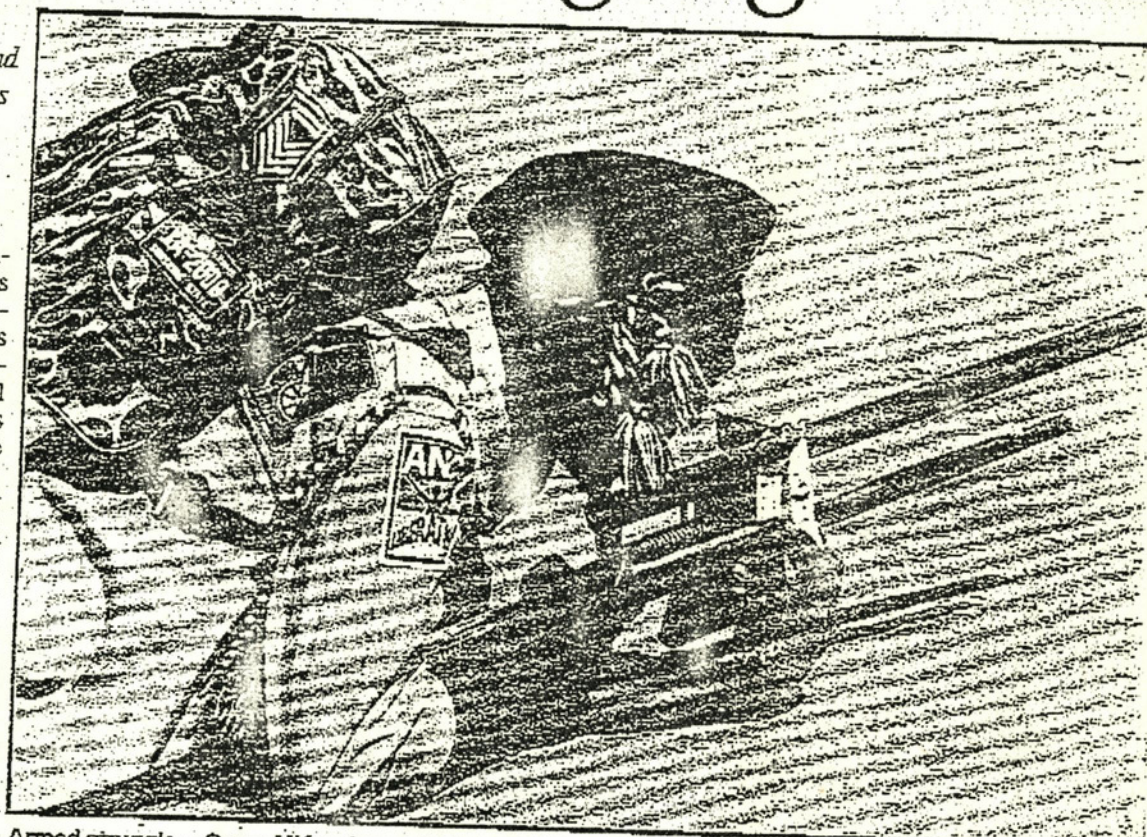
Since then reports have filtered in to *The Weekly Mail* about bellicose cadres of MK fighters in other townships who, after returning from exile, refuse to take orders from the ANC, quarrel with local civic leaders, and in some cases impose a reign of terror over the areas they live in.

Members of an MK cell in one of the townships south of Johannesburg this week told reporters they saw themselves as an "independent military force with our own methods for ending out the violence" that was not countable to political structures of the ANC.

The problem has become so widespread that it is causing serious concern in top echelons of both political and military structures of the ANC. It is about that irresponsible acts by *provocateurs* — such as sniping at police and army patrols — open way for brutal repression of the type that characterised the recent invasion of Phola Park by 32 Battalion.

And the ANC's leadership is worried about the way in which the government is making political capital by generating violence carried out by units and deflecting attention away from the activities of its own military forces on the eve of the next round of negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

In some cases the activities of these renegade MK groups reflect ideological disagreement with the political direction of the ANC on the part of militant youths who bear the brunt of the violence in the townships. They do not wish to overemphasise the fact that our members on the ground openly criticise the organisational tolerance in the face of



Armed struggle ... Some MK cadres submit to discipline, others do not

Photo: GUY ADAMS

the enemy's brutal murders suffered by the masses who are defenceless," says a document prepared by an MK cell in the Vaal region.

"Members of the underground who are heading the defence units should meet the MK leadership in order to plan a form of strategy to recruit and screen selected members within the community to be trained properly for defence units. We fully agree that negotiations are another terrain of struggle, but this should not be done at the expense of our lives."

There are more ominous reports, however, that some of these out-of-control cells operate in much the same way as township gangs to impose personal power and freedoms over areas they live in — except that they use the name of Umkhonto weSizwe and the prestige of being former freedom fighters to legitimate their activities.

The Phola Park rebels, for example, are clearly operating hand-in-glove with criminal groupings who are opposed to a sophisticated development scheme that was pioneered by the former residents' committee and would have brought some form of order to the settlement.

Activists in the Vaal report that a local warlord-type figure, who operates out of one of the hostels in the name of MK, runs a private army that has aroused considerable resentment by collecting levies for arms and imposing protection fees on residents.

"This is pure gangsterism parading as political activity," said one of *The Weekly Mail's* sources.

In some cases open tension, bordering on armed clashes, has erupted between MK cadres just back from exile and local youths and civic leaders who were engaged in above-board political mobilisation during the liberation war — and there have been reports of violent spats between returned "cadres" and resident "comrades" over the control of townships.

The problem is also reflected in the Natal Midlands.

The controversial statement by ANC leader Harry Gwala that "we kill Inkatha warlords" is backed by evidence that there is a highly-trained ANC squad carrying out professional hits on some of Inkatha's most notorious warlords in the region.

Gwala is clearly operating in response to a deep-felt militancy and impatience among residents about Inkatha-sponsored violence. There is no evidence that his groups are operating for personal gain.

But the lack of discipline and control over MK units probably also explains the mystery detentions this month of two armed groups in Swaziland whose members claimed to be ANC fighters on their way to Tanzania for military training — even though the movement's political leadership expressed genuine surprise and confusion about their claims.

Howard Barrell, a political analyst who is researching ANC strategic policy at Oxford University, says he is not surprised that these dynamics have surfaced in the townships.

"The phenomenon has its origins in the post-1976 period when there was a continual parallelism between the ANC's political and military operational structures characterised by dislocation and bickering," says Barrell.

"Apart from a small group of highly-trained operatives that conducted special hit-and-run missions, MK strategy consisted of sending small groups of three or more guerrillas into the country with AK-47s, a few score rounds of ammunition each, some hand-grenades and a few thousand rand."

Barrell's research indicates there was little attempt to link these military cadres to the political leadership that began to emerge in the mass movement and he argues this reflects an underlying belief in the top ranks of MK that political mobilisation was secondary to its military operations.

"A lack of command and control came to characterise these operations. Their resort to banditry and a form of warlordship has clear historical roots."

The government is taking advantage of the situation by using the work of wayward MK groups to weaken the ANC at the negotiating table and has signalled its intention to use their activity as a means of resisting demands for a revamp of the security forces.



# Death by the State

continued from page 7

made up of vigilantes, teachers, traders etc, leaves no one unalighted.

While damning in its implications, the contents of the Signal Message Form are hardly surprising given that it originates from one of the 11 regional structures of the JMC.

In understanding the role of the regional JMC's, it is important to locate the structures within the National Security Management System.

Conceived in 1978 with the election of PW Botha as National Party leader and then Prime Minister, the objective of the NSMS was "to defeat the revolutionaries and regain the (political) initiative".

Two basic principles guided the activities of the intricate security management structures spawned to achieve the NSMS's objective:

- the need to restore law and order and
- the need to implement socio-economic reform before any political reforms could be initiated.

This implied that security action and social reform would have to run their course before political reform could be implemented. Superficially, these objectives seemed legitimate for any government to pursue.

In South Africa's case, however, the implications were chilling. What flowed from this broad brief given to the security management system were assassinations, detentions, vigilante violence and the silencing of popular leaders.

All the time, the structures of the NSMS remained independent of the constitution and were therefore not accountable to parliament.

Despite its constitutional independence, the NSMS remained organically linked to the government, with the SSC at its apex.

The SSC brought together the most important cabinet ministers and the

country's security chiefs.

Its regular members were the State President as chairman, defence, foreign affairs, constitutional development, finance and justice ministers.

Included were a number of politically important ministers such as FW de Klerk, current chairman of the SSC.

Security officials regarded as permanent members of the SSC are at all times the incumbent heads of the various divisions of the SADF. This includes the chief of staff of the SADF, chiefs of the army, navy, airforce and medical services.

Director of the National Intelligence Service, Neil Barnard until recently, the commissioner of police, chief of the security police, the director of security legislation and the director-general of the office of the state president were also permanent members of this supreme command structure.

What is clear from this is that, of the 23 permanent members of the SSC, excluding the state president, 12 were security officials.

The council is known to have met every fortnight on Mondays, a day before cabinet meeting on Tuesdays.

Between June and July of 1985, at the height of the political resistance in the eastern Cape, the SSC is known to have met in Port Elizabeth on several occasions.

At least one SSC meeting, attended by PW Botha, Pk Botha and FW de Klerk is known to have been convened shortly before the crucial June 7 Signal Message, which proposed the assassinations, was sent to the secretariat of the council.

The secretariat represents one of four pillars of the SSC and is known to conduct the day-to-day affairs of the security council.

Personnel for the secretariat are drawn from the SADF, foreign affairs and NIS.

According to the Africa Confidential of 8 July, 1987, the secretariat was heavily

loaded with SADF personnel - it estimates that 70 percent of the secretariat's staff were drawn from the defence force.

Some of its major responsibilities were to interpret intelligence, formulate strategy and in fact, manage the security management system.

Implementation of strategy is diffused and occurs through at least 13 inter-departmental committees, covering almost every field of activity of the state. These include, manpower, security and civil defence committees.

Although implementation of strategy occurs through these committees, the Joint Management Centre network, with its 500 or so regional, district and local management centres, is the lifeblood of the National Security Management System.

This JMC network coordinates the activities of the SSC secretariat above it. There are all in all 11 regional JMC's, each corresponding to an SADF command.

And it is likely that it was at this level that the proposal for the assassination of the Cradock leaders was conceived. These JMC's are responsible for gathering information about political activists and their organisations, identifying their places of work and abode as well as their movements and links.

This information, together with analysis and proposals, is fed upwards to the SSC via the security council's secretariat.

The SSC in turn digests this information and forms a security plan. This informs its decisions on how to respond to a given set of conditions and instructions are then sent down through the secretariat to the JMC's for implementation.

It is now a known fact that the SSC had during its meetings in the Eastern Cape, given the instruction for everything to be done to bring the situation in the eastern Cape under control. And it was in all likelihood, in response to this order that, the Eastern Cape JMC, under Van der Westhuizen's command,

proposed the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe and Calata.

Given the fact that both leaders were killed within three weeks of the JMC's proposal being made to the SSC secretariat, it must be assumed, on the basis of the line of command in the SSC, that the council, chaired by FW Botha, had in fact sanctioned the plan of action.

The probable origin of the proposal could be narrowed down even further to one of four functional committees of the regional JMC - namely the Security Committee.

This was known to be the repressive arm of the National Security Management System. It acted on the information gathered by the Intelligence Committee.

Staffed by operatives from the riot police, security branch officers, military officers, officials of the municipal police, commando and civil defence units, it co-ordinated the implementation of security strategies formulated by the secretariat of the SSC and approved by the SSC.

The security committee was ostensibly scrapped when De Klerk renamed the SSC as the Cabinet Committee on Security and refashioned the JMC's as the Joint Co-ordinating Centres.

A question that remains unanswered is which structure of the JMC executed the order to kill the leaders. Once the proposal was approved by the secretariat, instructions to carry out the order to kill could have gone down to any one of a number of structures linked to the JMC's through the police and military intelligence representatives.

What is certain, is that everyone upward from Van Der Westhuizen, current chief of staff of military intelligence, associated with the National Security Management System, must be considered culpable in the eastern Cape assassinations in 1985.

## The message of death

The signal message form that turned out to be the death warrant for the eastern Cape activists was first sent anonymously to Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa. In the letter below, he communicates the documents chilling message to the Transkei's director of military intelligence.

TO: DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE: Lt Col Ndawwayiba

FROM: MINISTER OF DEFENCE: Major General B. Holomisa

TOP SECRET DOCUMENT IN MY POSSESSION

Please find attached hereto a copy of, the self-explanatory memorandum in Afrikaans. This document was amongst the opened mail for my attention without a covering note. I tried to reach the acting commander of the TDE, Brig. P. Matanzima but I was told that he has already left his office for the Easter Weekend.

My Observations:

This is a copy of a signal message from the Eastern Province command to state security council Pretoria, sent by Senior Staff Officer Intelligence, Lt L. Du Plessis.

This message was transmitted on 7th June 1985 through the Eastern Province Command Signal Unit in Port Elizabeth and signed by Du Plessis whose extension telephone number was 112. This signal message was for the personal attention of General van Rensburg who was probably one of

versation between General van Rensburg and Brigadier V.D. Westhuizen on 7 June 1985. If I can still remember correctly, Brigadier V.D. Westhuizen was the Commander of the Eastern Province command at the time.

It is clear that Brig V.D. Westhuizen called L. Du Plessis to confirm in writing the telephonic conversation between General Van Rensburg and himself - hence this written signal message.

The most striking aspect of this signal message is para 3 which categorically states the urgency for the PERMANENT REMOVAL OF MATTHEW GONIWE, MBULELO GONIWE AND FORT CALATA from the community. Matthew Goniwe has taught in Transkei for a number of years; he taught at Ngqamakwe and at Holomisa Senior Secondary School, Mqanduli. He was well known in Transkei and his mysterious death in Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage has aroused intense concern up to this movement here and beyond our borders.

I doubt very much if 14 days passed after this signal message was written before the Goniwe and Calata were found dead. The commemoration of their death always takes place in June.

Godolosi, Hashe and Galeia had disappeared and people are eager to know the mysterious circumstances surrounding their vanishing. The signal message para 4 envisages a wide reaction which can assume national proportions, in view of the importance of these persons, especially Matthew Goniwe, should they disappear like Godolosi, Hashe and Galeia (FESCO officials). Reaction of leftist politicians like Molly Blackburn. Protest in the case of Oscar Mphahlele in sympathy (with his arrest).

There is no doubt that the physical elimination of Goniwe and Calata was approved at the highest echelons of the state security council comprising President P.W. Botha, General Malan, Mr Adrian Vlok, Mr Pk Botha, the commissioner of police, the chief of the SADF and the head of

English. (Stem u saam?). The RSA government has hotly denied its complicity in perpetration of the atrocities. The job of the politicians concerned has been made very easier. Concerned groups can check and verify the authenticity of the document by calling on handwriting experts to prove the truth.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Bring this to the attention of the commander of the TDF Brig. TT Matanzima on his return from the Easter Holidays.

2. Because of the sensitivity of the matter, it should be brought to the attention of political organisations and lawyers for Human Rights for their scrutiny as well as the RSA president. Hopefully he was not a member of the state security council at the time.

3. If you concur with these recommendations, I will immediately dispatch this information to these bodies and persons. It is hoped that political organisations will learn the lesson of avoiding reliance on the state for the investigation of political murders in which it is deeply involved.

Finally I would like to state clearly that the attached copy seems to have been detached from files in South Africa. There is no doubt that it is the first copy (1 of 1 pages) of the original stamped on 7-6-85 at Eastern Province counsel signal unit, communication centre P.E.

Kindly advise

(H.P. Holomisa) Maj. Gen

Comments: I read the memo and the contents of the signal. I fully endorse the suggested actions. I'll brief the commander when he arrives.





# Violence not on decrease, says the HRC

**VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU**  
Political Reporter

THE Human Rights Commission has contradicted statements by Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers that violence is on the decrease.

In April Mr Scheepers, referring to violence figures for the first three months of 1991 and 1992, said that there was a 30 percent decrease in violence.

However, HRC figures for the same period showed an increase in violence, with 266 people killed in 1991 and 295 in 1992. The HRC also recorded an increase in the number of incidents reported for this period.

"The statements made by Minister Scheepers seem to support the view that more and more people are not even reporting incidents to the police, often because they have no confidence in these matters being handled properly," the HRC said in its latest bulletin.

The commission also reported that the death toll for last month was 91 with 114 people injured. This brings the total number of people killed in Natal since the beginning of the year to 368.

Areas in the North Coast were particularly hard hit, with 32 deaths recorded. The pattern of the hardest hit areas falling under KwaZulu continued.

Intimidation, armed marches, random attacks, threats, armed men being bused into areas and raids on people's homes were reported in almost all areas of Natal.

In almost all the cases reported the vehicles driven had false number plates and in many cases the people involved wore balaclavas.

In Empangeni there is growing concern over the safety of Cosatu offi-

cials whose names allegedly appear on a hit list. Since the beginning of the year at least three of these people have had their homes attacked. The main targets of these hit squads appear to be people who have recently returned from exile.

The HRC expressed concern over this month's attack on a bus carrying commuters to Masywase. The bus was stopped by gunmen and seven people were killed.

"Concern has been expressed that these kinds of random attacks are in fact on the increase."

During April there were continued allegations of misconduct on the part of the security forces. Most of these complaints concerned the KwaZulu Police.

There were at least seven reported cases in which members of the security forces were allegedly involved in unlawful actions, including attacks on communities, random shootings, assaults and abductions.

The HRC welcomed the call by Justice Andrew Wilson for a full, open and public inquiry into aspects of the Trust Feed investigation and alleged police "cover-up" following his judgement in the Trust Feed trial.

However, the HRC pointed out that KwaZulu policeman Khetani Shange, sentenced to 27 years' imprisonment for a series of murders, has been released after serving only nine months.

The HRC said that KwaMashu residents are afraid, following Shange's release, that Mr Justice Gordon had refused Shange leave to appeal after his original conviction. Justice Gordon had described Shange as a cold-blooded murderer and as a "beast in police force clothing".



THE NATAL WITNESS 8-05-92

# Huge losses loom, jobs under threat

by LESLEY VAN DUFFELEN  
Business Editor

LOCAL businesses face losses of hundreds of thousands of rands as a result of the continuing local stayaway; some are considering leaving the city and retrenchments are likely.

Yesterday, industries at Mason's Mill reported that on average 70% of the workforce stayed at home, and some considered closing their doors as they had no staff.

In other parts of the city, industries and commerce reported up to 35% stayaway — about five percent higher than on Wednesday.

The stayaway has caused some companies to lose major export orders and retrenchments are likely if the situation continues, warns the Chamber of Commerce and Industries. The Pietermaritzburg advice office reported that they have received at least five calls from employers saying they want to dismiss staff and asking about their rights. The organisation said an employer cannot summarily dismiss a worker for par-

ticipating in a stayaway.

Reggie Hadebe, deputy chairman of the midlands branch of the African National Congress, called on businesses not to penalise staff. Retrenchments will increase unemployment in the city and fuel violence, he said. He said the ANC will meet again with commerce and industry today and retrenchments are on the agenda. He said business should be looking at the real issue behind the stayaway — the people's demand for the removal of 32 Battalion, the riot police and the KwaZulu Police. He said 121 Battalion is accepted by the community and seen as a neutral unit, but they have been removed through "underhand" means.

Yesterday the Chamber of Commerce and Industry said the number of people who had not turned up at work had increased and put this down to intimidation. Examples of intimidation included a call to a company's canteen staff threatening to burn their homes if they did not leave work immediately; companies at Mason's Mill had their premises visited and note was taken of staff who were at work; a senior employee was intercepted on his way to work and forced to

drive to an ANC meeting in Imbali; another employee was prevented from leaving his house and the street was picketed by ANC members; others reported receiving death threats.

Ed Tillet, a spokesman for the Inkatha Institute, said there has been widespread intimidation, which he says is against the democratic right of people to work.

Virtually all industries have experienced some form of intimidation.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industries said meetings with the ANC, IFP, Cosatu and the Imbali Residents' Association have been arranged to discuss the situation.

However, Hadebe denied any form of intimidation has taken place, saying he has monitored the situation in all townships. There has been no violence, no stone throwing and where there have been road blocks people have been allowed to pass.

Acting mayor Rob Haswell has called an informal council meeting for this morning to update councillors on the crisis and discuss how to make it possible for the Imbali taxi service to be reinstated and address the township's problems.





## Wednesday

There have been few days in the annals of this historic capital on which the atmosphere in the city has been as tense as it was on Wednesday. With chanting busloads of aggrieved ANC members converging on the city hall amid rumours that their Inkatha opponents might be massing nearby, many minds were haunted by the images of last week's catastrophic ethnic conflict in Los Angeles and agitated by the explicit hint that such dreadful things could also happen here. At the end of the day, it was remarkable that the whole demonstration passed off peaceably, barring the failed attack on a group of senior Inkatha members, and the only casualty was a soldier tragically killed in a vehicle accident.

The community can take comfort that a situation so potentially volatile did not explode, or result in even minor eruptions. It says a great deal for the quality of the leadership on all sides, and encourages optimism that the formidable task of installing a democracy can ultimately be accomplished. On the other hand, the difficult problems that precipitated the demonstration have not been resolved. The possibility of violence remains high, and the temptation to resort to confrontation where negotiation seems fruitless remains strong. The leaders who ensured that Wednesday's demonstration of justifiable discontent did not turn into a riot must continue to exercise the utmost restraint.

## Dietrich

Marlene Dietrich was one of those rare entertainers who transcended professional success to become a legend. Perhaps this is partly a consequence of the times in which her reputation was established: the dark and traumatic days of World War 2. Perhaps it is partly a consequence of her own role in those times: the German star who exiled herself from her own vilely-governed country to encourage those who fought against its militant fascism. Perhaps, above all, it is a consequence of the extraordinary quality of her work. Certainly, half a century and more after she first achieved fame, a generation that has only scant acquaintance with her performances recognise her mythic stature, and people of her own times will be glad that she died gently, an old lady at home with her memories.

## SPCA

In this distressed country, where virtually every social institution and welfare organisation makes almost daily appeals for help, it is tempting to overlook the condition of animals. Cruelty to animals remains, however, one of the most despicable of human traits, and in a troubled society animals are too frequently the first casualties of carelessness, neglect, or the simple inability to go on caring. In its work, the SPCA provides a necessary service to the community, but its care for hurt and abandoned animals goes well beyond the functional. The support that a community gives to its SPCA branch says a great deal about its values, and the coming weekend provides a chance for a substantial demonstration of concern and support.

THE NATIONAL WITNESS 8-0592



4A • WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1991 • USA TODAY

## IN THE WORLD

### De Klerk and Zulu chief discuss S. Africa violence

South African President F.W. de Klerk on Tuesday summoned Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for urgent talks on South Africa's black township violence and said he would see African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela next. De Klerk said he told Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, he planned to curb the right of Zulu tribesmen to carry weapons. Inkatha says weapons such as spears and clubs are part of its culture, and it has rejected the ANC campaign to abandon them. At least 125 people have died in factional fighting this month.



COMMENT

## Heads must roll

**T**HE Pickard commission's damning indictment of the now disbanded Development Aid Department presents President de Klerk with one of the biggest corruption scandals of the grubby decades of apartheid. It is a sordid tale of dishonesty, deceit and coverup, of mismanagement and lack of control at the top. Senior officials may be prosecuted, but ultimate responsibility for their activities lies in the Cabinet.

The report lists fraud, theft and bribery as officials diverted huge amounts of public money to themselves, their families and their friends. It is also a catalogue of betrayal of public trust and of the millions of black people this huge bureaucracy was supposed to help.

Some in government used to pretend that the homeland policy of separate development gave apartheid a moral basis; the Pickard commission can find little morality in the department which effectively administered that policy. Development Aid was one of the biggest and most expensive departments whose aim was to develop black areas. The decision to shut it down was taken after government received the Pickard report last year.

Senior officials not only saw apartheid's billions as a tempting stream of easy money; the commission found it impossible to quantify the amount involved in corruption because of sloppy record-keeping and a departmental coverup. What has been detailed is a predictable list of what happens to public mon-

ey when controls are lacking: officials sent on jaunts by contractors, who are then overpaid for work inadequately done or not done at all; government equipment used on projects for which private firms are being paid; family members hired and promoted within departments; private hunts and missing vehicles.

So far some officials have been suspended, but none dismissed; the entire department of 5 000 was dispersed to other public service posts at the end of March. Officials must be held accountable administratively where criminal charges are not brought. Culpable public servants must not be used as scapegoats; there is apolitical accountability which government cannot escape.

The Pickard report reveals corruption from 1980 to 1990; for much of that time the department fell under the new Minister of State Affairs, Gerrit Viljoen. From 1984 until last week, Barend du Plessis was the Minister of Finance accountable for the money poured into this den of iniquity.

There is no suggestion of dishonesty on the part of these Ministers, and Du Plessis has retired because of exhaustion. Viljoen, too, is ill from overwork, but he bears responsibility for the lack of controls which allowed his officials to steal millions entrusted to his care.

Public money can only be protected by the vigilant; thieves must be punished, but those who failed to prevent the theft must be called to account.



BUSINESS DAY 8-5-92

## HOUSING CONFERENCE-

# Housing report will be sent to Codesa

NATIONAL Housing Minister Leon Wessels promised yesterday that the recommendations of a major commission of inquiry into housing policy would be left to a transitional authority to consider.

Wessels told a national housing conference in Sandton yesterday the De Loor Commission had completed its task and would hand its keenly awaited report to him next week.

The Civics Association of Southern Transvaal has criticised the commission, saying it and other community organisations were not properly consulted. It has also urged government not to implement the commission's findings.

Wessels said yesterday commission chairman Joop de Loor would brief role players involved in housing.

Wessels said he considered referring the commission's proposals to a transitional body established by Codesa to be a priority "in order that all political role players may accept joint ownership for a future housing policy".

Wessels said a future housing policy called for joint planning. Deficiencies in the provision of housing were being aggravated by the high unemployment rate, sanctions and lack of access to loans.

Government assistance in the past did

THEO RAWANA

not adequately focus on the needs of the lowest income groups and even now a significant portion of state assistance was directed at middle and higher income groups who could afford their own housing.

The Perm CE Hugh MacLachlan said there could be no quick-fix to the housing crisis. "Yes, there are innovative schemes, and Perm has been in the forefront of developing some of them. But the resolution of the home ownership problem is a long-term one."

MacLachlan said financial institutions were there to serve people who needed and could afford finance for home ownership and were prepared to save.

"Our responsibility is to ensure that we safeguard the funds that are invested with us — funds that come from all sectors of the population, to ensure that they too can be part of the developing social contract."

Government and local authorities also could not escape their responsibility in providing low-cost housing, he said. He stressed the importance of joint decision-making and co-ordination between the authorities, private enterprise, representatives of the communities, non-governmental organisations and service organisations.



Millions may never be recouped

# Govt officials cheated and lied — judge

CAPE TOWN — The now defunct Development Aid Department had been "rife with dishonesty and abuse", leaving a legacy of theft, corruption and maladministration costing millions in state funds that might never be recouped, the Pickard commission of inquiry has found.

"In my view, the sooner the department and its satellites — the SA Development Trust and the SA Development Trust Corporation — are physically dismantled, their staff transferred to all ends of the civil service earth and their functions distributed over as wide a spectrum as possible to as many other appropriate bodies as possible, with as few of the existing personnel moving over with the functions as possible, the better," Judge B De Villiers Pickard wrote in his report.

In similarly scathing language the judge catalogued, in his report tabled in Parliament yesterday, how a group of officials had enriched themselves through misconduct, bribery and theft.

His report was handed to government in September but not released. President F W de Klerk announced the abolition of the department in October and said that until police investigations were completed, the report would remain secret.

These investigations were now complete and, according to the ministry's former head, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers, about 20 dossiers were in the hands of the attorney-general.

De Villiers took over the department just before the inquiry was launched. The two previous Ministers responsible for the department were Stoffel van der Merwe and Gerrit Viljoen.

BILLY PADDOCK

De Villiers said only two members of the department, who were under suspension, were implicated in possible legal action. Others concerned were from the private sector.

In other instances officials who had been suspended were reinstated after being acquitted under the Public Service Act. Many of those concerned had now retired.

Pickard, referring to a Cabinet vote of confidence in what the department had done, said: "It goes without saying that I do not share the alleged 'appreciation and confidence the Cabinet has in the expertise and high quality of service which officials of the Development Aid Department has rendered'."

He said self-preservation in the face of criticism had become "of primary importance, even to the detriment of the very cause itself".

Management was not up to its task, controls and control systems were grossly neglected and planning was inadequate.

Because of the weak record-keeping in the department, it would be impossible even to try to give an approximate figure of how many millions the state had lost.

"I cannot put it better than to say that theft, dishonesty, fraud, negligence and irregular actions" resulted in losses "amounting to millions, if not billions, if it could be traced".

He said the time and money spent trying to trace the losses would result in higher costs than could be recouped.

Pickard said malpractices had been covered up and whitewashed to such an extent

□ To Page 2



## 'Cheated and lied'

□ From Page 1

that the true facts were hidden even from the Minister. Indications were that about 10 officials were guilty of serious malpractices and criminal conduct.

There was ample evidence that these people — in co-operation with a number of different contractors, manufacturers, suppliers and others in the private sector — worked together in a corrupt manner to obtain benefits for themselves and those working with them.

Despite numerous investigations into and reports on the department's activities between 1984 and 1991, showing mismanagement and corruption, action was never taken.

He was under the clear impression that there was a reluctance to bring offenders to book.

Even police investigations progressed badly because people involved were in a position to make documents disappear and to intimidate lesser officials.

Sapa reports that the judge's other findings included that:

□ A contract of R2m with the department was exceeded by about R12m and an R80 000 contract by more than R1m;

□ A consultant had claimed nine hours' travelling time for each hour he spent on a departmental project;

□ Some projects were grossly overused, such as powerlines at Soshanguve which were overloaded by up to 300% so they glowed in the dark, while other facilities such as an indoor stadium at Botshabelo and seven schools on the Makathini Flats were not used at all;

□ A firm arranged and financed hotel

accommodation and a deep sea fishing expedition for a number of officials — who then claimed travel and subsistence costs as if they were at work elsewhere;

□ An official of the department hired an earthmoving machine to a private person, who then hired it back to the department;

□ Contractors were paid for houses that were never built;

□ Thousand of toilets were lying unused at settlement projects throughout SA in the wake of a toilet contract scam by two department employees;

□ R1,7m worth of wooden houses were bought for a resettlement programme, in Ciskei when it was clear that the Ciskei government had already rejected them;

□ The daughter of the department's deputy director-general (development) had joined the department as an administrative assistant in November 1974 after qualifying as a teacher, had been a deputy director under her father since August 1989, "and will probably be promoted soon to director"; and

□ A typist was promoted to deputy director because "she did grocery shopping for the director-general", helped decorate the kitchen at his home and collected his wife from the airport.

At a news briefing yesterday De Villiers said that there was obviously a lack of balance in the report because its terms of reference were to find what was wrong in the department.

If it looked at what was right, then there would be have been lots of evidence of how much good the department had done.

● Comment: Page 10



# For Mandela, it's home sweet Houghton

THE ANC had paid more than R500 000 for a plush Johannesburg home for its president Nelson Mandela, the organisation confirmed yesterday.

The heavily secured double-storey house, situated on an oak-lined avenue in Lower Houghton, was not officially put on the market. The previous owners are understood to have accepted the ANC's offer when the organisation approached them through an agent.

In a statement the ANC said Mandela had in the past been subjected to threats on his life, and it hoped the media would not

LINDEN BIRNS

publish his new address.

A high brick and wrought-iron wall surrounds the property, which has extra protection in the form of high-tech electronic surveillance and alarm devices.

Mandela's new neighbours include the Portuguese consul-general. Others said yesterday Mandela was currently moving into the house, which was being fitted out yesterday with light fittings. Furnishings, including bookcases and chairs, had already been delivered.

The ANC confirmed the house was being renovated and refurbished to accommodate Mandela. A designer from the interior design firm Armazem declined to say who the house owner was or how much the refurbishment contract was worth, and threatened to call the police when Business Day visited the property.

A team of labourers yesterday busied themselves polishing the wooden floorboards and the upstairs windows. Others were touching up the paintwork.

At the property's entrance is what ap-

**BUSINESS DAY 8-5-92** To Page 2

## Mandela

☐ From Page 1

pears to be a normal intercom, but closer inspection shows a miniature closed circuit television camera mounted on the speaker, behind a strip of dark glass.

Estate agent Lesley Said confirmed yesterday he had sold the house for "a figure in the mid-500 000s", but was unable to name the buyer. "As far as I know Mandela never came to look at the house."

He said the buyers did not raise a bond to

cover the purchase, but did present the sellers with guarantees in time for the transfer to go through.

Neighbour Theresa Beyers said all the neighbours knew Mandela was moving in, and that they were glad to welcome him to their neighbourhood.

"All I can say is that I respect his privacy and his dignity. This is the new SA, and we'll welcome him as a new neighbour."

● Picture: Page 3



Sowetan 08-05-92

# Inkatha, police ambushed

Sowetan Correspondent

A PARTY of armed Inkatha members escorted by the police was ambushed at Edendale, near Maritzburg, late on Wednesday as they travelled through the area.

The attack followed a day of tension in which thousands of ANC supporters crowded into the city for a mass meeting at the market square.

The shooting broke out after an open truck - in which Midlands Inkatha leader Mr David Ntombela was also travelling - passed a crowd of people coming from the ANC meeting which had been held earlier.

The two parties began taunting each other. The truck was pelted with rocks, followed by the burst of gunfire.

There was pandemonium as people scattered in all directions as the two parties exchanged fire.

Police spokesman Captain Harry Budhram said that the police had returned fire in the direction of the shots.

The shooting lasted a few minutes. Other security force vehicles in the area joined the police convoy escorting the Inkatha party.

Thousands of workers vowed at that meeting to continue their stayaway in protest against the presence in the townships of security forces, police riot units and the KwaZulu Police.

Schools in the predominantly ANC areas remain closed, though schools in the nearby "Inkatha" areas remain open.

Ntombela, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for Vulindlela, has called a mass meeting at Vulindlela today to find out what the response should be to the ambush.

A few KwaZulu Transport buses and taxis were operating yesterday. The worker stayaway is creating disruption and loss of production in Maritzburg and civic and industrial leaders have called for a quick resolution to the problem.

Ntombela said yesterday that all schools in the Henley, Vulisaka, Gesabuza, Taylor's Halt and Elandskop areas remained open.

Meanwhile, at Wednesday's market square meeting, attended by thousands, there was a massive vote in favour of a continued stayaway for the rest of the week until the demands were met. Many police members were present.

At the meeting the Joint Security Management System came under fire when ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala said it was responsible for the deployment of the security forces which he said were "eating up and killing residents in Imbali".

He said the recent sentencing of former police captain Brian Mitchell proved security forces were used to destabilise communities.

D. NEWS 14-05-92.

## Large police team swoops on ANC offices in Durban

Political Reporter

POLICE searched the Durban offices of the African National Congress today in what has been described by ANC officials as "a return to the bad old days of harassment and intimidation".

A large team of policemen from the Criminal Investigations Services and the Reaction Unit arrived at the ANC offices in Umgeni Road and proceeded to search for arms and ammunition.

A spokesman for the South African Police, Captain Bala Naidoo later confirmed that police had searched the offices, but could not give further details.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisane Makhaya said that the claimed search for arms and ammunition was a "pretext for something else".

Mr Makhaya said the search was too coincidental, coming as it did in the wake of allegations of State security involvement in the killings of United Democratic Front activists.

"They claim that they are searching for arms and ammunition and they have found nothing. Instead they have been checking our faxes and other papers that they have come across in our offices. This is just sheer intimidation."

Mr Makhaya said that the search was also ill-timed, with Codesa 2 sitting tomorrow.

He described the members of the search team as "arrogant".

ANC regional executive members arriving for work and visitors to the offices were body-searched.



SOWETAN 08-09-92

## Buthelezi offers plane for exiled Zulu prince

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has offered to send a private aircraft or a car to help self-exiled Prince Mwayizeni Zulu return to KwaZulu from Lebowa.

The former Zulu royal family regent is reported to have told the Lebowa police he had fled from KwaZulu because of a feud between him and Buthelezi and also because he had joined the African National Congress.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday Buthelezi denied this and said Mwayizeni had always been welcome in KwaZulu.

He said he would be happy if the prince could be reconciled with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, with whom he had quarrelled.

Buthelezi made the offer after the Lebowa commissioner of police had informed the KwaZulu administration that Mwayizeni was becoming a financial burden to his country.

The commissioner asked KwaZulu to make the necessary arrangements for the well-being of the Zulu prince. - Sapa

## STAR 15-05-92 Phola Park swoop angers squatters

By Monica Oosterbroek  
Crime Staff

Nine men were arrested and a baby was injured during a massive police search at the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand yesterday.

One of the suspects is alleged to have been involved in nine murders.

A baby was slightly injured when police fired teargas at a shack. The mother, who was breastfeeding the child, ran out screaming for help. A car passing by the camp took the child to the Natalspruit Hospital.

Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman first denied that police had used teargas, but in a subsequent statement said "small amounts of tearsmoke" were used to disperse "aggressive people". He confirmed the baby was "affected in a slight way without any apparent lasting ill-effects".

Captain Opperman said they were searching the area for suspects involved in the spate of attacks on police, men and other people. They were also looking for illegal weapons, ammunition, drugs and stolen goods.

He said the camp had been targeted because residents

had been involved in 325 unrest-related attacks since the beginning of the year.

Five policemen have been killed in Phola Park this year, a further three have been badly injured and police officers have been involved in 24 other attacks.

The large police contingent was backed up by more than 250 SADF members, which included soldiers from 32 Battalion. A police helicopter circled overhead.

Soldiers surrounded the camp with guns at the ready.

Women and children were put on one side of the camp and men were body-searched in a large enclosure.

Shots were fired during the search, but Captain Opperman said he did know by whom.

He said several rumours spread through the camp about police allegedly beating up residents, but no assaults had been reported "as yet".

Phola Park made headlines recently following allegations that SADF members of 32 Battalion murdered a Phola Park resident and raped and assaulted dozens of others. The allegations are being investigated by the Goldstone Commission.



# EXPOSED!

A document in our possession (on the left), shows that the State Security Council (SSC) ordered the 1985 assassination of four Eastern Cape activists who were leaders of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradon).

The man who signed their death warrant is General Cipriano de la Torre, the SA Defence Force's (SADF) Military Intelligence Chief of Staff, and one of the most powerful men in the army.

Until this week, the state remained safely cocooned in its web of secrecy, which was fortified by the lack of documented evidence. But damning State Security Council documentation, containing the death warrants of prominent Eastern Cape civic leaders has come into the possession of New Nation.

The message suggests that

DRUMMER'S NAME: L. du Plessis

### Translation of the main aspects of the Signal Message Form

certain reaction could be expected from the community if these activists were "put away" in the same way as had happened with the disappearance of (Qaqawul) Godalazi, (Sipha) Haslie, (Champion) Gafela. The three, who were leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), disappeared without trace in May 1985.

The document, "Signal Message Form" was apparently drawn by a Ldn Plosts of the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre (EPJMC). It was transmitting a message regarding a telephone conversation between a Brigadier CP van der West-

Julzen who was the Commanding officer of the Eastern Province Command and a General Van Rensburg, then serving in the Secretariat of the State Security Council (SSC) in Pretoria.

SADF spokesman, Colonel John Roll, declined to comment on the contents of the document, and this was in spite of the fact that NEW NATION gave all the details of the document, including the number and the date on which it was issued, the person who transmitted it, the receiver, as well as the contents of the letter.

**TURN TO PAGE 8**

New Nation 8/5/92



# inside Nation

Culture ♦ Comment ♦ People ♦ Politics

new nation

8/5/92

## Death by the State

### State President's Office

### State Security Council

Chaired by the state president, it includes senior Cabinet ministers responsible for foreign affairs, defence, law and order and finance. (Meets every two weeks)

### THE SECRETARIAT

(Manages the activities of the Joint Management Centres below it)

Four sub-branches:  
1) Administrative 2) National Intelligence  
3) Strategic Communications 4) Strategy

### NATIONAL JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRE

Chaired by the state president, it includes the cabinet ministers responsible for foreign affairs, defence, law and order and finance.

### REGIONAL JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES (11)

Sub-committees:  
1) Monitoring and control  
2) Joint operational readiness  
3) Community liaison and intelligence  
4) Security committee

### SUB-JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES (60)

Sub-committees:  
1) Violence (Security)  
2) Security (Political, transport and police)  
3) Community (Community and police)  
4) GOS (Joint operations)

### LOCAL MANAGEMENT CENTRE

Headed by SAP district commander and SADF company commander, these centres cover the area of jurisdiction of the police station.

### COMMUNITY LIAISON FORUM

These forums are the only security officials directly implicated in the Signal Message Form, the line of culpability goes much further.

### WORKING GROUP

Established by the state president, it includes the cabinet ministers responsible for foreign affairs, defence, law and order and finance.

### JOINT LIAISON FORUMS

The security committee of the regional joint management centres is the only security officials directly implicated in the Signal Message Form, the line of culpability goes much further.

### JOINT LIAISON FORUMS

The security committee of the regional joint management centres is the only security officials directly implicated in the Signal Message Form, the line of culpability goes much further.

### INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES (13)

These committees are established by the state president, they include the cabinet ministers responsible for foreign affairs, defence, law and order and finance.

### MINI-JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRES (350)

Sub-committees:  
1) Violence (Security)  
2) Security (Political, transport and police)  
3) Community (Community and police)  
4) GOS (Joint operations)

### JOINT LIAISON FORUMS

The security committee of the regional joint management centres is the only security officials directly implicated in the Signal Message Form, the line of culpability goes much further.

Graphic based on material in the book 'South Africa at the End of the Eighties - Policy Perspectives 1987' published by the Centre for Policy Studies, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of the Witwatersrand

There is little doubt that the State Security Council (SSC), the central command structure of the National Security Management System (NSMS), has been and remains at the centre of violent destabilisation inside and outside South Africa.

But much of blame for the assassination of political activists, that has been heaped on the SSC, now refashioned as the Cabinet Committee on Security, has been little more than a product of careful speculation and analysis.

And the failure to progress beyond accumulating circumstantial evidence has enabled the government to rebut allegations of its culpability in the numerous political killings.

Until this week, the state remained safely cocooned in its web of secrecy, which has fortified by the lack of documented evidence.

But damning State Security Council documentation, containing the death warrants of two prominent eastern Cape civic leaders, Matthew Goniwe and Fort Calata, has come into the possession of NEW NATION.

And for the first time since the military intelligence and the security police gained ascendancy in the management of state security, there is unquestionable proof of the state's hand in the assassinations.

Part of the evidence that has come to light, is in the form of an official "Signal Message Form" containing the proposal to eliminate Goniwe and Calata.

Originating from the security committee of the Eastern Cape joint management centre, the Signal Message Form, contains an unambiguous but chilling proposal - Goniwe and Calata must be permanently removed from society.

The Signal Message Form, dated June 7, which details a dialogue between a General Van Rensburg of the SSC secretariat and the then commander of the Eastern Cape joint management centre, Brigadier C. von der Westhuizen, was signed by an L du Plessis.

Marked for the personal attention of a General Van Rensburg, the proposal was communicated to the secretariat of the SSC in Pretoria.

Three weeks later between June 29 and July 3, 1985, Goniwe, Calata and two fellow activists travelling with them, Sparrow Mkhonto and Silela Mhlauli, were brutally executed.

Although Van der Westhuizen, Van Rensburg and Du Plessis are the only security officials directly implicated in the Signal Message Form, the line of culpability goes much further.

An analysis of the line of command, which stretches down from the state president, as chairperson of the SSC, to Community Liaison Forums,

continued on page 8

**9** In face the Nation, we speak to Sam Shikova, assistant general secretary of Cosatu, on the future of the alliance between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu as we move towards interim rule

**10** Double act - the need to identify the source of white hegemony that continues to marginalise black theatre talent, plus the Triennial reviewed and Cultural Corner

**25** Pick of the Week - your handy entertainment guide, plus a review of 'The Birth of a New Afrikaner' and focus on controversial British



New Nation 8/5/92

## Death order from the general

2  
**FROM PAGE 1**

Colonel Rolt was also asked to arrange for an interview between NEW NATION and the officers whose names feature in the document, but said he could not help. He said that Van der Westhuizen would not be available until mid-June. Du Plessis and General Van Rensburg had retired and their addresses were not known.

Commenting on evidence of state involvement in the assassinations, ANC president Nelson Mandela told NEW NATION: "The real question that the SADF, the SA government and, ultimately the SA people must face is that people who were responsible for ordering the killing of a brilliant leader of the people are still in the army, probably in higher positions today.

"How can these individuals be supportive of the peace process now?" Man-

dela asked.

"It is these kinds of individuals who constitute the third force. They must be weeded out of the army as a matter of urgency.

"The liability does not end with the officers involved in the incident. The politicians who constructed the total onslaught theory and thereby authorised the assassination of Goniwe and others are equally liable," Mandela said.

There had been a worrying avoidance of covering such issues by the South African media, especially the SABC, he added.

Transkei military leader, General Bantu Holomisa, said the authenticity of the document was beyond question.

He said he had always believed that organs of state were responsible for the violence racking the country.

"That is the reason why I declined to sign the National Peace Accord (NPA). I stated that for so long as the Peace

Accord is silent on the State Security Council, we are still far from resolving the question of violence in this country," said General Holomisa.

Democratic Party spokesperson on defence, General Bob Rodgers, said an independent judicial commission of inquiry should be immediately appointed to investigate the contents of the document.

"These are extremely serious allegations against the defence force and it can't just be ignored," said General Rodgers.

He suggested that such an investigation would also help find out what happened to the missing three Pebco leaders.

NEW NATION has also established that former Military Intelligence Operative, Dr Ben Conradie, who has been running several front companies in the eastern Cape, had told the WEEKLY MAIL that Du Plessis knew about Goniwe's assassination.

National Party leader FW de Klerk was asked to comment on the contents of the document, but was said to be unavailable.

NEW NATION asked De Klerk whether he was a member of the SSC at the time when Goniwe's assassination was ordered and whether he had attended an SSC meeting in Port Elizabeth shortly before the death warrant was issued and sent to the SSC's secretariat.

He was asked if he was a member of the SSC at the time; whether he recalled any discussion having taken place within the SSC about the assassinations and about the procedures which were supposed to have been followed after such a proposal was made to the SSC by the army officers.

He was also asked what action he would take now that evidence of state involvement in the assassinations had been uncovered.



new Nation 8/5/92

**EXCLUSIVE  
NEXT WEEK:  
INKATHA LEADER  
CONFESSES TO  
KILLINGS ON THE REEF**



# Codesa tantalisingly close to accord

**T**HOUGH bargaining lies ahead in the last week before the next plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa II); but settlement can still be reached on the two steps to democracy — clearing the way for elections and a national assembly to replace the tricameral parliament and draw up a democratic constitution.

Agreement on the national assembly, the central feature in a deal on transitional arrangements, is tantalisingly close.

Members of working group two agreed two weeks ago to report back to their principals on an accord that would provide for an elected interim parliament that would double as a con-

stituent assembly.

At the core of this accord is an agreement on a single-chamber constitution-making body elected on the basis of proportional representation, with half of the delegates drawn from national lists and half from regional lists.

A key feature of the accord is the acknowledgement that the constituent assembly will sit for a definite period of time, though this has still not been specified.

The fact that the government will not be able to determine the time frames and the falling away of the second parliamentary chamber should remove the last vestiges of a National Party veto of the constitution-making process.

*As Codesa II looms closer the working groups negotiating a transition to democracy are close to arranging a deal.*  
By **PAUL STORER** and  
**PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

This working group reassembles early next week to report back on the responses of their principals. At this point it is expected that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) could reject the accord, despite the substantial compromises that have been made to ensure regional representation.

The precedent, going back to the first plenary session of Codesa, is that

the IFP alone could not block sufficient consensus. The larger question is what the government, which could prevent sufficient consensus, will do if the IFP does attempt to block the accord: side with the IFP or the African National Congress?

If there can be agreement on that document, it will be an agreement in principle, leaving Codesa to put meat on the bones of what will be an interim constitution to replace the tricameral parliament.

Without an agreement on the national assembly and interim government, the intense debate raging in working group three on the powers of the multi-party councils in the first preparatory phase will be academic.

That debate, which is essentially

over creating a level playing field for the elections, could go all the way to the wire next week.

Two months ago, the working group agreed Codesa should appoint an interim executive which would, in effect, oversee government structures. The technical details were to be worked out at further meetings.

This week the group continued in deadlock about exactly what powers the transitional executive structure will have. It spent an extra day negotiating on Wednesday and will meet on Monday in an attempt to adopt a final recommendation to Codesa II.

Some delegates have suggested that the working group may be forced to present two reports: a minority report presented by the government and

Inkatha and a majority report, in favour of the recommended transitional executive structure, presented by the majority of parties.

Much hinges on this agreement as well, including a reciprocal accord which will see the issue of land handed over to the Sizwe family settled in exchange for multiparty control over the security forces during the election campaign.

In a further key breakthrough this week, all the parties in working group four, which deals with the future of the TBVC states, agreed that they had no objection, in principle, to the reincorporation of the homelands.

In a creative solution to the impasse around testing the will of the TBVC citizens, they will vote in national elections and the results used as a measure of whether they are keen on reincorporation of the homelands. TBVC governments will be part of transitional arrangements.

w. mail 8/5/92



Sowetan 8/5/92

## Buthelezi offers plane for exiled Zulu prince

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has offered to send a private aircraft or a car to help self-exiled Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu return to KwaZulu from Lebowa.

The former Zulu royal family regent is reported to have told the Lebowa police he had fled from KwaZulu because of a feud between him and Buthelezi and also because he had joined the African National Congress.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday Buthelezi denied this and said Mcwayizeni had always been welcome in KwaZulu.

He said he would be happy if the prince could be reconciled with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, with whom he had quarrelled.

Buthelezi made the offer after the Lebowa commissioner of police had informed the KwaZulu administration that Mcwayizeni was becoming a financial burden to his country.

The commissioner asked KwaZulu to make the necessary arrangements for the well-being of the Zulu prince. - Sapa



The Star 8/5/92

# 'Hold me, I'm dying, my shot wife said'

A committee of the Goldstone Commission has heard how a Phola Park mother of three asked her husband to hold her in his arms before she bled to death.

John Msimango yesterday told the committee — chaired by Solly Sithole — that his wife died after they were both shot while trying to go to sleep in their shack on April 8.

Mr Msimango said his wife had earlier gone to visit a neighbour. When she came back she told her husband she had heard gunshots in a section of the squatter area. Because this was an area far away from them, Mr Msimango told her not to worry.

She later suggested they sleep on the floor and not on the bed. But before they could do this they were hit by gunfire. Mr Msimango was shot below the knee and his wife sustained a severe leg wound.

They heard screams and people running near their shack and before they knew what was happening, they heard loud knocks on their door.

"I opened the door and saw a group of men in military uniform who immediately came into my shack," Mr Msimango said. One of them assaulted him with the butt of a rifle before he was thrown out of the shack.

He went to seek help from neighbours, but because the area was cordoned off by members of 32 Battalion, most of the people were too afraid to venture outside.

Mr Msimango told the committee that he waited for the men to leave before returning

to his shack.

When he got there, his wife told him she had been raped and that their 12-year-old son, who was also in the shack, had been slapped in the face.

Mr Msimango said he tried to without success to stop the blood flowing from his wife's injured leg. A few minutes later she said: "Hold me, I am dying."

● It is suspected dangerous weapons are being smuggled on to trains by women because they are not searched, a Goldstone Commission committee heard yesterday.

Colonel Alexander Stapelberg of the Soweto Internal Stability Unit said the police were examining the idea of establishing special rooms at railway stations where women suspected of carrying weapons could be searched.

The colonel said commuters identified themselves with certain political, religious or ethnic groupings and one had to take a coach among his or her group to feel safe on a train.

He said that acting on tip-offs, police sometimes stopped trains and conducted searches, but they had little successes in finding weapons probably because commuters threw them out before the trains stopped.

Brigadier Johannes J Arpin, commanding officer of the Transport Policing Unit in South Transvaal, told the same sitting that during rush hours commuters entered the station from different directions, including cut fences, to avoid being searched.

The sitting was adjourned until today. — Pretoria Correspondent-Sapa.



THE STAR 8-5-92

# 'Did the powers read my judgment on Shange?'

By Guy Jepson

The then acting Supreme Court judge who sentenced killer policeman Khethani Richard Shange to 27 years in jail, yesterday spoke of his despair at the murderer's release after only nine months.

In May last year Mr Acting Justice David Gordon convicted Shange — a KwaZulu Police detective constable — for his part in murdering members of the ANC-sympathising Gumede family in KwaMashu in February 1990.

Judge Gordon sentenced Shange, whom he described as a "beast in a policeman's

clothes who was one of the main players in the reign of terror in KwaMashu", to 27 years in jail and refused him leave to appeal.

Shange was released by the Department of Correctional Services on February 14 this year.

He is on parole until May 28 2003.

Speaking to The Star yesterday, Advocate Gordon SC stressed that he no longer practised as a judge and therefore could not speak on behalf of the judiciary.

He said it was a "a terrible ordeal" for a judge to deprive a man of his liberty and to determine what pun-

ishment fitted the crime.

"My personal reaction is that one performs one's duty in the interests of society.

"My feeling (on learning of Shange's release) was ... was my effort to be just worthwhile when all the agonising over the decision and how to sentence the chap was just disregarded by the prison authorities?

"I would just like to know how the people who suffered because of this guy's actions feel," Advocate Gordon said.

The advocate added: "I am wondering whether the powers that be read my judgment."

## FW 'lost his marbles'

SIR — De Klerk has now proved that he has lost his marbles. He thinks Mandela and the ANC would be content to share power. He should know that with them it is all or nothing.

Although the media never mentions the fact, the blacks were given 21 seats out of an 80 seat parliament in Rhodesia, but refused, as they wanted the lot. With the aid of the Western world and the media, they got the lot.

Recently he said that in no circumstances would he permit sport to be controlled by politics. We all know that unless Mandela and the ANC give the green light for South Africa to take part in anything, we are out.

Never a day goes by without a white being murdered, or there is a

big robbery, yet De Klerk assures us he has the situation in hand. No-one ever remarks that before Mandela and the ANC were released, law and order had control.

No-one has the guts to state the murder, rape and robberies are all part of the ANC plan to make the country ungovernable. Let the ANC or the commies murder the police, that is OK. Let the police retaliate and they are in court and in the soup.

The ANC control this country and in a very short time either De Klerk will hand government over to them or they will take it.

God bless our new South Africa, though even that name will be changed, soon.

G MEACHER

THE NATAL MERCURY  
6-5-92



# For Mandela, it's home sweet Houghton

THE ANC had paid more than R500 000 for a plush Johannesburg home for its president Nelson Mandela, the organisation confirmed yesterday.

The heavily secured double-storey house, situated on an oak-lined avenue in Lower Houghton, was not officially put on the market. The previous owners are understood to have accepted the ANC's offer when the organisation approached them through an agent.

In a statement the ANC said Mandela had in the past been subjected to threats on his life, and it hoped the media would not

LINDEN BIRNS

publish his new address.

A high brick and wrought-iron wall surrounds the property, which has extra protection in the form of high-tech electronic surveillance and alarm devices.

Mandela's new neighbours include the Portuguese consul-general. Others said yesterday Mandela was currently moving into the house, which was being fitted out yesterday with light fittings, furnishings, including bookcases and chairs, had already been delivered.

The ANC confirmed the house was being renovated and refurbished to accommodate Mandela. A designer from the interior design firm Armazem declined to say who the house owner was or how much the refurbishment contract was worth, and threatened to call the police when Business Day visited the property.

A team of labourers yesterday busied themselves polishing the wooden floorboards and the upstairs windows. Others were touching up the paintwork.

At the property's entrance is what ap-

**BUSINESS DAY 8-5-92**

## Mandela

pears to be a normal intercom, but closer inspection shows a miniature closed circuit television camera mounted on the speaker, behind a strip of dark glass.

Estate agent Lesley Said confirmed yesterday he had sold the house for "a figure in the mid-500 000s", but was unable to name the buyer. "As far as I know Mandela never came to look at the house."

He said the buyers did not raise a bond to

☐ From Page 1

cover the purchase, but did present the sellers with guarantees in time for the transfer to go through.

Neighbour Theresa Beyers said all the neighbours knew Mandela was moving in, and that they were glad to welcome him to their neighbourhood.

"All I can say is that I respect his privacy and his dignity. This is the new SA, and we'll welcome him as a new neighbour."

● Picture: Page 3

## BUSINESS DAY 8-5-92

### 'Cheated and lied'

☐ From Page 1

that the true facts were hidden even from the Minister. Indications were that about 10 officials were guilty of serious malpractices and criminal conduct.

There was ample evidence that these people — in co-operation with a number of different contractors, manufacturers, suppliers and others in the private sector — worked together in a corrupt manner to obtain benefits for themselves and those working with them.

Despite numerous investigations into and reports on the department's activities between 1984 and 1991, showing mismanagement and corruption, action was never taken.

He was under the clear impression that there was a reluctance to bring offenders to book.

Even police investigations progressed badly because people involved were in a position to make documents disappear and to intimidate lesser officials.

Sapa reports that the judge's other findings included that:

☐ A contract of R2m with the department was exceeded by about R12m and an R80 000 contract by more than R1m;

☐ A consultant had claimed nine hours' travelling time for each hour he spent on a departmental project;

☐ Some projects were grossly overused, such as powerlines at Soshanguve which were overloaded by up to 300% so they glowed in the dark, while other facilities such as an indoor stadium at Botshabelo and seven schools on the Makathini Flats were not used at all;

☐ A firm arranged and financed hotel

accommodation and a deep sea fishing expedition for a number of officials — who then claimed travel and subsistence costs as if they were at work elsewhere;

☐ An official of the department hired an earthmoving machine to a private person, who then hired it back to the department;

☐ Contractors were paid for houses that were never built;

☐ Thousand of toilets were lying unused at settlement projects throughout SA in the wake of a toilet contract scam by two department employees;

☐ R1,7m worth of wooden houses were bought for a resettlement programme, in Ciskei when it was clear that the Ciskei government had already rejected them;

☐ The daughter of the department's deputy director-general (development) had joined the department as an administrative assistant in November 1974 after qualifying as a teacher, had been a deputy director under her father since August 1989, "and will probably be promoted soon to director"; and

☐ A typist was promoted to deputy director because "she did grocery shopping for the director-general", helped decorate the kitchen at his home and collected his wife from the airport.

At a news briefing yesterday De Villiers said that there was obviously a lack of balance in the report because its terms of reference were to find what was wrong in the department.

If it looked at what was right, then there would be have been lots of evidence of how much good the department had done.

● Comment: Page 10



The Star 8/5/92

## ANC wants inter-faith prayers at Codesa 2

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

The African National Congress insisted yesterday — after consulting with religious leaders — that the plenary session of Codesa 2 be opened with inter-faith prayers, as with Codesa 1.

The opposition to inter-faith prayers by the National Party and its allies in favour of observing a moment of silence "betrays their intolerance and unwillingness to accept all South

Africans without qualification", a statement from the organisation's publicity department said.

"The Nationalists' claim to be concerned with minorities rings hollow when they refuse to be in the same room where prayers are said by the leaders of the various minority religions."

The ANC said inter-faith prayers at Codesa were an important statement affirming the plurality of South Africa, and its rich variety of people and faiths.



Sowetan

8/5/92

## Buthelezi offers plane for exiled Zulu prince

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has offered to send a private aircraft or a car to help self-exiled Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu return to KwaZulu from Lebowa.

The former Zulu royal family regent is reported to have told the Lebowa police he had fled from KwaZulu because of a feud between him and Buthelezi and also because he had joined the African National Congress.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday Buthelezi denied this and said Mcwayizeni had always been welcome in KwaZulu.

He said he would be happy if the prince could be reconciled with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, with whom he had quarrelled.

Buthelezi made the offer after the Lebowa commissioner of police had informed the KwaZulu administration that Mcwayizeni was becoming a financial burden to his country.

The commissioner asked KwaZulu to make the necessary arrangements for the well-being of the Zulu prince. - Sapa

The Citizen 11/5/92

## Car shot at: 3 die in blaze

By Carol Mills  
FRANCOIS Pretorius (29), of Totius Street, Marland Extension 7, Germiston, his son, Deven (5) and his girlfriend, Belinda Nel

(25), died gruesomely when their car was shot at and set on fire.

Mr Pretorius had apparently lost his way and had taken a road between Zonkisswe and Vosloorus.

Internal Stability Unit policeman patrolling Katsibong discovered the burnt-out blue Alfa Romeo alongside the road at 8 am yesterday.

The occupants were burnt beyond recognition.

The child was so badly charred neither its age nor sex could be determined initially.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer, Lt-Colonel Dave Bruen, said there were seven bullet holes in

the car. Four spent 7.65 mm pistol cartridges were found at the scene.

The man and the woman were lying outside the front doors on either side of the vehicle. The child was inside the car behind one of the front seats.

When The Citizen visited the home of Mr Pretorius last night, the people there refused to comment or supply photographs of the victims.



# De Klerk linked to activist's slaying

May 8/92

Chief of military intelligence ordered 1985 assassination, newspaper charges

BY PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK  
Special to The Globe and Mail

JOHANNESBURG — President F. W. de Klerk faces damaging new allegations about the conduct of his security forces, including a report that one of the country's most senior generals was personally involved in the 1985 murder of a prominent anti-apartheid activist.

Coming a week before the next full-scale convention on de-

mocracy, the allegations are likely to put Mr. de Klerk on the defensive and strengthen black demands for concessions, especially the call for multiparty control of the security forces.

The newspaper New Nation charges this morning that the present chief of military intelligence, General C. P. van der Westhuizen, ordered the assassination of Matthew Goniwe, one of the country's pre-eminent

anti-apartheid leaders.

The newspaper is to publish a military document revealing that Gen. Van der Westhuizen urged that Mr. Goniwe, a relative of his, Mbulelo Goniwe, and another activist, Fort Calata, be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency."

The disappearance of the Goniwes, Mr. Calata and two other activists, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlau, and the discov-

ery of their mangled and charred bodies on a roadside near Port Elizabeth was one of the most notorious events in the township rebellion of the mid-eighties.

The murder of Matthew Goniwe, the United Democratic Front leader in the town of Cradock, ranks in infamy with the death in detention a decade earlier of Steven Biko.

Please see DE KLERK — A10

## De Klerk faces damaging allegations

• From Page A1

Anti-apartheid groups pointed fingers at the state, but the government said the murders were a result of "black-on-black" factional fighting.

The document leaked to the New Nation is marked "extremely secret" and is in the form of an army message summarizing a telephone conversation between Gen. Van der Westhuizen, then a brigadier commanding the army in the Eastern Cape, and a General Van Rensburg of the State Security Council.

In it, Gen. Van der Westhuizen warns that "widespread reaction can be expected, locally as well as nationally, because of the importance of these persons, especially the former [Matthew Goniwe], to the enemy."

It is dated June 7, 1985 — two weeks before the disappearance of the four. The State Security Council, which included senior cabinet members and military and police chiefs, wielded immense influence during the rule of President P. W. Botha.

New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu said yesterday that the State Security Council met a month before Gen. Van der Westhuizen's "suggestion" to plan a strategy for dealing with the burgeoning rebellion that was centred in the Eastern Cape. Present at the meeting were President Botha, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Mr. de Klerk, then a cabinet minister.

The murders were followed by a crackdown on activists and a state of emergency declared on the day of Matthew Goniwe's funeral, which was attended by tens of thousands of

people.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force refused yesterday to confirm or deny the authenticity of the document. By late yesterday, Mr. de Klerk's office had not responded to the newspaper story.

However, any attempt by the President to brush aside the document by relegating it to ancient history has been pre-empted by the publication in another newspaper, the Weekly Mail, this morning of allegations that the South African Police have been operating a secret base to plot assassinations of African National Congress activists.

According to the Weekly Mail, the SAP operated out of a house in Vanderbijlpark using code names, false car registrations and company names as cover. They had township residents brought to the house, where they tried to recruit them.

One recruit, Daniel Kolisang, said he was taken to the house in January. A white man known only as Brian was reported to have offered him weapons training and money to carry out attacks on ANC and Communist Party activists.

Among those listed as targets was Saul Tsotetsi, an ANC member and field worker for the South African Council of Churches, who was killed by a grenade in March.

The allegations come at a time when ANC activists in the area say they feel increasingly endangered. In April alone, seven members in the Sharpeville area were shot by unknown gunmen.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellett, assured ABC News this week that

covert political operations by the police had ceased "totally, but totally."

Law and Order Minister Hennie Kriel announced yesterday that he would refer the allegations to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, which is investigating political violence in South Africa.

Meanwhile, a scandal has deepened over a succession of police officers sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment for murders but released after only serving a fraction of their sentences.

It was disclosed yesterday that another Natal policeman, Constable Thulani Philip Choeni, was released early this year after serving 17 months of an 18-year sentence for two counts of murder.

Constable Choeni had been convicted of shooting two people and attempting to shoot a third in response to a minor car accident. He had tracked the three down after they bumped his car, and shot two at pointblank range.

A week ago it emerged that Inkatha Freedom Party member and police detective Khethani Shange, described as a "beast in policeman's clothing" by the judge who sentenced him to 26 years for five murders, was released after serving nine months.

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok told Parliament on Wednesday that Detective Shange was a "special case." He said his release was "done not only for Inkatha but also for the ANC and it was done for the good of the country, the benefits of which we are already reaping today." He did not elaborate.



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## SAP raid angers Phola Park residents

By Monica Oosterbroek

Phola Park residents were angered and frightened during an intensive police search of the East Rand squatter camp yesterday in which three men were arrested and an AK-47 with ammunition was confiscated.

While tense residents gathered in groups, a convoy of police vans and Casspirs drove through the camp, searching homes and the surrounding bushes for arms caches, fugitives and drugs.

A helicopter circled over the camp for more than three hours. A man wearing a balaclava was seen pointing out shacks.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Warrant-Officer Andy Ploke said members of the East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad went to the area to find suspects involved in various criminal offences, including the spate of attacks on policemen.

A 60-year-old man, known only as Majolo, said about six policemen had broken into the three shacks where he, his wife and five primary school children live.

Beds were overturned and panels torn down, furniture was broken and picture frames were left shattered on the floor.

Wall units and their contents were thrown around the rooms, and drawers containing clothes

were emptied.

Residents complained that police wearing civilian clothes had not shown them search warrants, refused to identify themselves and did not respect their property.

A social worker, employed by the Catholic Church in the area, said: "Residents believed the old residents' committee was inefficient and corrupt, but since the new committee has been in power, the camp has had trouble with the police."

She and others in the camp believed an elderly committee member had become a police informer.

ANC branch vice-chairman Sally Pieterse accused police

of harassing residents.

Warrant-Officer Ploke said it was a "normal crime-prevention exercise". If property had been damaged, it should be reported and the matter would be investigated.

Phola Park made news headlines recently following allegations that members of 32 Battalion murdered a resident and raped or assaulted dozens of others.

Captain Mark Hermanson, commander of the accused platoon, told a committee of the Goldstone Commission last week that some of his men had admitted slapping and punching residents, but said this did not constitute an assault.



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# Ministers linked to killing of ANC men

From John Carlin in Johannesburg

THE present chief of staff of South African military intelligence, General CP van der Westhuizen, was directly involved in the assassinations of four leading anti-apartheid activists in 1985, according to a report published today in Johannesburg's *New Nation* newspaper.

The assassinations, which provoked an international outcry at the time, were carried out with the blessing of the State Security Council (SSC), a body headed then by former President P W Botha and three cabinet ministers still serving today.

The allegations are based on a top-secret SSC document obtained by *New Nation*, and made available to *The Independent*. The document is a copy of a message addressed to the Secretariat of the State Security Council and concerns details of a telephone conversation between then Brigadier van der Westhuizen and General van Rensburg, a senior member of the secretariat, on 7 June 1985. Three names are mentioned: Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata.

The document says: "It is proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society, as a matter of urgency." On 27 June 1985, Matthew Goniwe (a powerful United Democratic Front leader in the Eastern Cape), Calata (another prominent UDF leader) and two political associates, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlau, were forced out of a car and assassinated. Their bodies were found charred, stabbed and mutilated.

At the time the police — promoting the "black-on-black violence" theory — tried hard to prove the killings had been carried out by the UDF's political rivals in the liberation movement, Azapo. But both in South Africa and abroad a clamour went up denouncing a "third force" within the state. The Foreign Ministry issued a statement on 5 July 1985 saying that "the South African government takes the strongest possible exception to callous insinuations" about the killings.

One of the cabinet members sitting on the SSC at the time was Pik Botha, who remains Foreign Minister to this day. Another was Magnus Malan, Defence Minister until last August and now in charge of water and forestry, and Kobie Coetsee, who has been Justice Minister since 1980.

It was Mr Coetsee who in July last year authorised the release after one year in prison of a policeman and Inkatha member, Kheta Shange, sentenced to 27 years for the murder of an ANC supporter.

During the eighties the SSC was the most powerful body in South Africa. The SADEF, which refused yesterday to comment on the *New Nation* report, provided the core of the SSC's intelligence and operational resources.

Today President F W de Klerk presides over the security council, which he has renamed the Cabinet Committee on Security.

The allegations raise fresh questions as to how far up the present South African state struc-

ture complicity in political violence goes. For Gen van der Westhuizen, in his capacity as head of South African Defence Force intelligence, controls a huge secret budget authorised in March this year by Mr de Klerk's Cabinet.

The Special Defence Account, controlled by Gen van der Westhuizen, amounts to 4,380m Rand (£850m), or half the national defence budget. Its spending is not publicly accountable, but military sources have said that more than R2,000m of that goes on intelligence projects — which have included funding of the right-wing Inkatha Freedom Party, the most visible aggressors in the bloody township wars of the last six years.

Since August last year, Mr de Klerk admitted he had been aware that military intelligence funds had been used to try to influence the first post-independence elections in neighbouring Namibia. Since then repeated allegations have been made linking military intelligence and the Special Forces to the relentless slaughter in the black townships.