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REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT BOARD OF INQUIRY FOR THE MONTH OF
OCTOBER 1992

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION:.....1-3

II. STATE INSTITUTIONS:

1. The South African Defence Force.....4-6

2. The Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).....6-9

3. National Intelligence Service (NIS).....9-11

4. The South African Police (SAP)

Carletonville.....11-16

BOARD MEMBERS: Prof Laurie Ackermann, Dr Alex Boraine, Mrs Judy Chalmers, Rev Dr Frank Chikane, Dr Max Coleman, Mr Brian Currin, Prof John Dugard, Mrs Sheena Duncan, Mr Peter Harris, Mr Peter Kerchhoff, Mrs Lydia Kompe, Mrs Emma Mashinini, Br Jude Pieterse, Archbishop Desmond Tutu

III. THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION:

1. Undercover SAP houses in the Vaal.....16-17
2. Boipatong Inquiry.....17-18

IV. ASSASSINATIONS:

1. Reggie Hadebe.....19-20
2. Prince Mhlambi, Mpati Machitje, Sampo Mofokeng,
Anna Kgwedi and Mokgele Sebete.....20-21
3. John Cele.....21-22

V. NATAL:.....22-23

1. Mooi River.....23-24
2. Joao Alberto Cuna.....24-25

VI. TRAIN VIOLENCE:.....25-27

VII. REEF VIOLENCE:

1. Thokoza.....27-29
2. Vaal.....29-30
3. Swanieville.....31-32

VIII. CISKEI AND BORDER REGION:

1. Ongoing Violence.....33-36
2. The Pickard and Goldstone Commissions.....37-38
3. Military Intelligence in Ciskei.....38-41
4. Destabilisation of the Transkei.....42-44
5. The Goniwe Murders.....45
6. The Andre de Villiers murder.....45

IX. CONCLUSION:.....46

I. INTRODUCTION

Press reports of a baby being thrown into a fire and dogs eating "enemy" corpses are just some of the horror stories emanating from Natal as the province moves closer and closer to full scale civil war. The violence in Natal has gathered a momentum of its own with over 150 people losing their lives in October. Since September there have been nine massacres in the area.

Among those killed was the deputy chairperson of the ANC's Midlands region , Reggie Hadebe. Hadebe was shot returning from a peace meeting in Iphoxo. Following, Hadebe's death, an attempt was made on the life of IFP leader Simon Ntombela, who co-incidentally was also returning from a peace meeting.

State President FW de Klerk has ordered more security forces into the area but the carnage continues unabated. Peace structures in the province are collapsing at an alarming rate as the violence becomes increasingly impossible to control.

Frantic top-level efforts are underway to reverse the slide into anarchy. National Peace Secretariat chairperson, John

Hall has held separate meetings with both ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yet a meeting between the two seems unlikely. Buthelezi is insisting that Mandela apologise for his comments to the United Nations where he accused the IFP of being a surrogate of the government before any meeting can take place. Mandela on the other hand is not prepared to have bilateral discussions with Buthelezi until all the signatories of the Peace Accord have met.

Peace monitors in the area talk of a "complete breakdown of law and order" with heavily armed self-defence units taking the struggle into their own hands and a growing lack of communication between the leadership and the grassroots supporters on both sides (Weekly Mail 30/10/1992).

Revelations by IFP leader Bruce Anderson that he was involved in smuggling AK47's supplied by Renamo bandits to military units set up by the IFP in hostels along the Reef come shortly after he was deported to Britain. Official investigators according to the Weekly Mail believe that the movement of Renamo rebel fighters into Natal war zones may have played a vital role in the spiralling violence in the

province. Anderson has agreed to give testimony to the Goldstone Commission. The IFP however, have denied Anderson's allegations as well as any link to Renamo.

The East Rand continues to be a flashpoint on the Reef with at least 17 people being killed between October 10th and 27th in Thokoza. Among the dead were former Phola Park squatter camp leader Prince Mhlambi and Thokoza Civic Association (TCA) assistant general secretary Yusi Tsabalala. After a brief respite on the trains, at least 20 commuters were killed during October. Passengers continue to be attacked despite the SA Rail and Commuter Corporation (SARCC) spending R11.5 million on improving security on trains and at stations.

October also saw the start of the long awaited inquest into the death of academic Dr David Webster. The inquest has been hampered by witnesses giving testimony and then under cross-examination either retracting their testimony saying they had lied or clamming up and refusing to answer questions. Startling revelations about the police investigation in to Dr Webster death have come to the fore as well as the possible role of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) in the assassination for more details see pages 6 - 9.

II. STATE INSTITUTIONS

1. South African Defence Force

Newslink, the Gaborone-based newspaper which closed down four months after its links with Military Intelligence were exposed in the Weekly Mail, is believed to have cost the government up to R3.4 million in start-up and running costs. Within days of President FW de Klerk announcing on July 30 last year the curtailment of 41 secret projects a monthly subsidy of around 200 000 Pula, necessary for the newspaper to break even suddenly dried up. Casper Venter, the president's press secretary confirmed that Newslink was funded from the Special Defence Account, which last year had a budget R4,17-billion for secret projects. Funds for Newslink are believed to have been channelled from the SADF via Strelley Investments, a front company based on the island of Jersey.

An investigation by the Weekly Mail has revealed that while the project was conceived in 1988, under PW Botha's rule, expansion of the project was recommended by chief of the army Lieutenant general AJ "Kat" Liebenberg on February 12 1990.

At that point, the day after the release of Nelson Mandela, the army saw the project as crucial to counter the "twisted and false perception of Umkhonto weSizwe against South Africa" in Africa. The newspaper was launched on August 31 1990: well after the government and the ANC had entered negotiations.

A Military Intelligence feasibility study, under the heading "Rationale behind starting a newspaper in Botswana", the State envisaged the project fulfilling 11 specific roles: The primary ones being:

*"As a measure to counter anti-SA propaganda.

*"As a platform from which to launch counter-propaganda attacks against revolutionary groups.

*"As a means of attending conferences and meetings (ANC, SADAC, Commonwealth, EEC and others) throughout southern Africa and possibly internationally. This could lead to information and intelligence gathering.

*"As a platform from which to attack certain organisations or individuals."

Abel Rudman, the man the government entrusted with the worldwide disinformation campaign is has now admitted for the first time his bitter battle for compensation with the SADF and the office of the State President. The SADF for its part is demanding its money back. Rudman is furious that the government pulled the plug, but failed to protect assets of the front company or its employees. Rudman says the state's claim that it is attempting to recover assets and minimise losses was sheer hypocrisy.

2. Civil Co-operation Bureau

In perhaps one of the most dramatic moments of the David Webster inquest which has been punctuated by startling revelations, the former CCB chairperson Major-General Eddie Webb admitted that he had lied under oath in testimony to the 1990 Harms judicial inquiry into alleged hit squads. Judge Michael Stegmann also heard that the the SADF's shadowy CCB did plan political murders within South Africa's borders belying all evidence to date that assassinations were carried out only externally.

Several witnesses told the court that David Webster was more than likely gunned down in front of his home in Troyville on

May 1 1989 on CCB orders or by CCB agents acting on their own volition. The court also heard that the CCB was formed to "maximally disrupt" the enemy by methods ranging from breaking windows to killing people.

Witness, Corrie du Plessis, told the court that on the opening day of the inquest he had recognised Webster's killer in the court building. Du Plessis said he immediately recognised the man as the person who on May 1 1989 sat at the back of the white Opel Ascona and who fired the fatal shot at Webster. Du Plessis was so intimidated by the mans' presence in court that the hearing went into camera to hear further testimony.

In earlier evidence, the senior investigating officer in the case General Joep Joubert, told Judge Stegmann how Brigadier Krappies Engelbrecht second in command of the SAP's Special Branch at the time told CCB agents Ferdie Barnard and Calla Botha to "shut up" while they were being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. After learning of Engelbrechts' visit, General Joubert put an "extra lock on their cell doors".

General Joubert said that he was convinced that the same people who killed Webster were responsible for Swapo leader Anton Lubowski's death and that those responsible were from the CCB.

Former special forces soldier, General Eddie Webb began his testimony by telling the court that he was aware that the CCB had been monitoring United Democratic Front (UDF) leader Dullah Omar and journalist Gavin Evans as far back as March 1990 but withheld this information from the Harms Commission and acknowledged that he had not been able to exercise full control over CCB agents. Webb also confirmed that certain CCB projects required authorisation from the highest level within the SADF.

Former Military Intelligence chief General Witkop Badenhorst, contradicted Webb's evidence. He flatly denied that he had ever been in a meeting where CCB head Colonel Joe Verster had admitted plans for the assassination of Omar and Evans. Questioned about Engelbrechts' gag order on Botha and Barnard, he said that he did not think it necessary that an SAP officer withdraw from the internal investigation of the CCB. He admitted under cross-examination that he omitted to

mention to the Harms Commission that he had received a report from Barnard's handler that Barnard and Botha were involved in Webster's murder.

Colonel Verster was due to testify in camera but failed to arrive at court. His counsel said, Verster had "gone abroad to wrap up certain CCB projects" and would be available for testimony only on November 23. Judge Stegmann said it was not for Verster to decide when he could attend court. A warrant was issued for his arrest.

The inquest was postponed until November 16 1992.

3. National Intelligence Service

The National Intelligence Service (NIS) agents admitted they kidnapped top ANC official Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim in Swaziland in 1986, according to a former acting head of the security police Brigadier Johannes Broodryk.

Broodryk's testimony poses a delicate legal problem for Ebrahim. He is suing the ministers of justice, defence and law and order, while the NIS falls under the State President's office. Ebrahim is claiming R652 000 in damages.

Ebrahim claims he was tortured during more than four years of illegal detention and imprisonment after he was kidnapped. In 1987, Ebrahim was convicted of high treason and sentenced to 20 years in jail, but he was freed in 1991 when the Appellate Division overruled the judgment.

Brigadier Broodryk told the court two NIS men had interrupted a braai at his Pretoria home to ask him what they should do with Ebrahim, who was in a car parked outside. Broodryk said he then phoned security police headquarters in Pretoria and asked Brigadier Cronje, commanding officer of the security police, to determine whether Ebrahim should be held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Broodryk indicated that NIS often conducted investigations for the security police, conceding that it was possible that they had collaborated on Ebrahim's case.

Ebrahim said that when he had complained to Brigadier Willem Schoon that he had been kidnapped, Schoon replied: "That is merely of academic interest now. The important thing is that you are here and you are going to tell us everything about

the ANC". Ebrahim said that he also complained to Captain Naude who allegedly told him that such things were allowed.

No finding has yet been made as regards the civil claim.

4. The South African Police

Carletonville

In September the Board reported that the 13 policemen suspended in July last year following an in-depth investigation into torture and extra-judicial executions in the area were back on duty. The Board has since established that most of those suspended are still facing serious charges.

Head of the former Welverdiend Unrest Unit - Warrant Officer Johan Van Graan is currently facing five charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The case has been postponed to early December. Van Graan is currently serving in the crime investigation unit at Carletonville.

Constable Petrus Matolo is facing sixteen charges of assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm and one charge of theft as well as a charge of pointing a firearm and one of interfering in a case. Matolo has already been found not guilty on eight charges of assault and other cases have been postponed. Matolo is currently serving in the uniform branch of the SAP in Rustenburg.

Constable Joseph Lebokeng is facing 22 charges of assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm. He has been found not guilty on eight charges and one charge was withdrawn. Fourteen assault charges have been postponed until the end of the year. Lebokeng is currently serving in the dog unit in Carletonville.

Constable Ephraim "Bully" Nkosi was facing three charges of assault with intent to do grievous harm, as well as a charge of pointing a firearm. He was found not guilty on two assault charges. The other case was postponed until December 7. Nkosi is serving in the vehicle theft unit in Klerksdorp.

Constable Joseph Oosthuizen is facing 15 charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and one charge of attempted murder. All cases were postponed. Oosthuizen is currently serving in the uniform branch of the SAP at Carletonville.

Constable Deon Oosthuizen is facing 15 charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. All cases have been postponed to later this year. He is currently serving in the uniform branch of the SAP in Carletonville.

Constable Hansie de Jager is facing two charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The cases were postponed until later this year. De Jager is serving in the dog unit in Carletonville.

Constable April Tswaedi is facing three charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The cases have been postponed until the end of the year. Tswaedi is a detective in the Klerksdorp SAP.

Constable Thomas "Timmy" Mkhonza is currently facing 18 charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. One charge was withdrawn and he was found not guilty on two others. The remaining 15 have been postponed until December. He is currently based in Rustenburg.

Constable Solomon Nyelele is facing eight charges of assault. He was found not guilty on one charge and the rest have been postponed until December. He is currently based at the stock theft unit in Stilfontein.

Constable Steve Modibedi is facing seven charges of assault. He was found not guilty on one charge and the remaining six have been postponed. He is serving at the stock theft unit in Carletonville.

Warrant Officer Ben Mogosi (he was not suspended) is facing one charge of assault. He is currently serving in the uniform branch in Khutsong.

Constable Gerhard Erasmus (he was not suspended) is facing one charge of assault. In the meantime he has been promoted to lance sergeant and is currently serving in the uniform

branch of the SAP at Carletonville.

Constable Andries Havenga is facing two charges of assault. He is currently based at the dog unit in Carletonville.

Constable Samuel Mkhambule is facing four charges of assault. All cases have been postponed to the end of December. He is serving in the uniform branch of the SAP at Carletonville.

5. Eugene Mbulawa's Inquest.

At the inquest into the death in custody of 15 year-old Eugene Mbulawa - Constable Deon Oosthuizen denied that he had kicked the ANC activist on the head and body. Mbulawa died at the Leratong Hospital in Krugersdorp on July 13 1990. A post mortem showed that he had died of head injuries. Oosthuizen told the inquest that Mbulawa was injured after he had struck his head against a safe at the Welverdiend Police Station during a scuffle with another suspect William Makajae. Makajae himself is now dead after he was shot by members of the SAP in May last year while allegedly attempting to escape. A statement made by Makajae before his death on the death of Mbulawa expressed concern that his life would be in

danger if he dared speak about Mbulawa's death. Makajae alleged that they were told that three of them would die like Mbuselo Phiri. Phiri a friend of Makajae died in custody at Oberholzer in January 1990.

State pathologist Vernon Kemp said that Mbulawa's life could have been saved had he received treatment for his injuries in time. A second police witness Constable Vincent Kotelo said that he only noticed that Mbulawa was sick when they returned to Oberholzer Police Station. Kotelo's evidence in court contrasted with his written statement on a number of points. Particularly around the question of who helped Mbulawa to the cells after he was allegedly hit by Makajae.

The inquest was adjourned until November 23.

III. THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION:

1. Undercover SAP houses in the Vaal and their role in planning and instigating violence.

The Goldstone Commission has found that the allegations by the Weekly Mail newspaper of planing and instigating of

violence by the SAP in the Vaal area were devoid of truth. The commission's report released in Pretoria found no justification for the newspaper's allegations that the SAP operated a base where assassinations of political campaigners were planned. The report said that statements by Daniel Kolisang and Solly Mngomezulu, whose allegations of SAP involvement in violence and assassinations were the basis of the Weekly Mail reports were totally false. The Commission also said the attempts by newspaper staff to get police comment had been inadequate.

However, the one man investigation by advocate RM Wise also recommended that covert operations aimed at obtaining intelligence in relation to crimes of violence should be investigated by a "non-police, impartial agency" and that guidelines should be laid down for the implementation and supervision of these.

2. The Boipatong Inquiry:

British intelligence specialists at one of the world's most technically advanced intelligence gathering facilities were responsible for findings that the erasure of the "Boipatong

tapes" may have been deliberate. The analysis of the tapes which Judge Richard Goldstone rejected as being "speculative" was conducted at the Government Communications Head Quarters at Cheltenham. The tapes were analysed by intelligence operatives and may go some way as to explain why they are unwilling to testify before the Commission. Even in British Courts elaborate procedures are used to protect the identities of intelligence agents. Judge Goldstone would like them to testify and suggests that their unwillingness to do so undermines their findings.

The analysis of the erased tapes was designed to shed light on whether the police may have had advanced knowledge of the attack or whether they themselves took part as alleged by township residents. The carefully worded British report said the superimposition of material of the recordings "may not have been accidental". It added that "the technical evidence suggests that this may have been done deliberately and hurriedly to obscure the contents." Some of the superimposed material was recorded at non-standard speed and some of it backwards, the report said. A foreign office official in London said that they had informed Goldstone in advance that their personnel would not appear as witnesses before the commission.

IV. ASSASSINATIONS

1. Reggie Hadebe

The ANC deputy chairperson of the Midlands was killed on Tuesday October 27 and Dambuza chairman and regional executive member Shakes Cele was wounded in an ambush on the Richmond/Ixopo road. Hadebe (35), Cele and deputy secretary John Jeffrey were ambushed at about 14h30 near the Umkomaas bridge while returning from a peace meeting with the IFP and the police. It is understood that Hadebe was on his way to meet senior ANC representatives to discuss the organisation's possible participation in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Local Government Forum.

Jeffrey who was driving the car when the shooting took place was not injured. Hadebe was shot in the neck and Cele was shot in the back. Police recovered 11 expended 7.62 cartridges and a wad from a shotgun cartridge at the scene.

Hadebe was a former IFP member who joined Inkatha in 1976 and quickly rose in its ranks. He differed with the IFP leadership and resigned in June 1978. He served the ANC as media officer and spokesperson on local government. He is survived by his wife and six children.

2. Prince Mhlambi, Mpati Machitje, Mokgele Sebete, Anna Kgwedi and Sampo Mofokeng.

Prince Mhlambi the former leader of the Phola Park squatter camp and four others were ambushed on Saturday October 10 in Thokoza. According to a witness two gunmen opened fire on the car killing Mhlambi, Machitje and Mofokeng instantly. The Board has since handed a statement over to the SAP in which a witness positively identifies the two attackers.

According to the community one of the alleged attackers was arrested but the police seem to have no record of the arrest.

The SAP are also investigating claims by witnesses on the scene that the police took over three hours to arrive despite getting detailed directions to the scene and that when

the police finally arrived on the scene at 01h05 they were drunk. This complaint has been forwarded to Lt Colonel David Bruce who is currently investigating.

3. Vusi Tsabalala

Tsabalala the deputy secretary of the Thokoza Civic Association was gunned down on Tuesday October 27, one day before his 28th birthday. Tsabalala was walking with a friend when an unidentified gunmen fired a shot in to his head. The gunmen then callously fired three more shots into Tsabalala's body. A witness to the incident has given a statement to attorneys. The witness says that he recognised the person who shot Tsabalala but does not know the suspects name.

4. John Cele

South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) organiser John Cele was allegedly shot while in police custody. KwaZulu police claim that Cele had committed suicide by shooting himself while in custody. The union said the death needed to be investigated as it was unlikely that a

suspect would have been left in possession of a gun. Saccawu said that Cele's death was no ordinary death in police custody and claimed that Cele had been called to the Umlazi police station on the pretext that it concerned a family problem. The union has instructed an attorney to handle the investigation.

V. NATAL

Much attention has been focused on the violence in Natal this month yet the nine massacres in two months have barely raised an eyebrow. In at least one massacre on a South Coast shack settlement -three whites, two in security force uniform have been identified by survivors as taking part in an Inkatha attack which left 11 people dead. The attack took place in the early hours of the morning of October 18 at an ANC dominated shack settlement in the Shlazeneni reserve in Umgababa. According to survivors the main attack was launched by an impi and one of the survivors says that one white man was in a camouflage uniform another in a brown SADF uniform and a third in dungarees.

An attack on a traditional ceremony in Folweni on October 24 left 22 people dead. The homestead of Mbona Sabelo was attacked shortly while a traditional ceremony of induction for Sabelo's daughter who was to become a sangoma was underway. The press immediately reported that the dead were members of the IFP and this was later confirmed by IFP chairperson Frank Mdlalose. However Sabelo claimed that he was not an IFP member and that he doubted that the attack was politically motivated.

Senseless attacks continue unabated in Natal and the government has charged that cadres of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe were infiltrating Natal from Transkei and fermenting the violence. Defence Minister Gene Louw said that there was "undisputable information" that MK and the PAC's armed wing APLA were conducting operations in Natal and the Eastern Cape from Transkei

1. Mooi River

Former Mooi River Station Commander Lieutenant George Nichas who was charged with the murder of two people in Bruntville township in 1990 as well as using a firearm under the

influence of alcohol was found not guilty in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court this month. Presiding judge Booyesen said that never in his 34 years as a judicial officer had he heard so many witnesses tell so many lies. He said this made it impossible to find beyond reasonable doubt that Lt Nichas had done what was alleged he had done. The judge said that police witnesses seemed to give evidence as they thought their seniors would want them to.

2. Joao Alberto Cuna alias Malefetsane Johanne Mokoena

The Vrye Weekblad newspaper claims that a Mozambican man by the name of Joao Cuna was given money and a firearm by a member of the SAP and taken to Natal. There he and two other men one black and one white were given AK 47's and told to attack a house. They were driven past the house four times in a township near Durban, Cuna does not know the name of the township but was able to describe the house. A person who Cuna describes as a white farmer said that people in the house were ANC members "In the house there were seven to nine people most were men. We then opened fire on the people .. I heard screaming... I can't say if everybody was

dead as we did not go into the house but I did see three people fall". Cuna then said that they drove back to a taxi rank where they opened fire again on people. The following day Cuna was driven back to Johannesburg and given R4000.

Cuna claims he was then given a passport in the name of Malefetsane Johanne Mokoena and that he returned to Mozambique for two months. According to the Vrye Weekblad Cuna is prepared to testify before the Goldstone Commission.

Plans are now afoot for Cuna to return to Natal to try and identify the area and possibly the house he attacked. According to a church group known as Practical Ministries Cuna could have been involved in one of five possible attacks which took place between the end of March and early April in the KwaGcaba-Murchison area. Cuna's description on how they drove to the murder scene fits in with this area.

VI. TRAIN VIOLENCE

In a month that saw the public relations division of the SAP attack both commuters for their apathy in apprehending train

attackers and the SAP for their lack of commitment when it came to investigating violence more than 20 commuters lost their lives.

Commenting on the train violence Lt Col David Bruce said that some policemen were "less motivated than others". He also said that the biggest problem facing the police in combating violence on the trains was the lack of co-operation from the commuters. He said when an attack took place witnesses were unwilling to stop and point out perpetrators to the police and usually answered in the negative when asked if they could identify the perpetrators.

Since the beginning of the year 231 people have been killed and 434 injured in violent attacks on trains. Most incidents occurred on the Johannesburg-Soweto and Kwesine-Katlehong lines. Lt Colonel Bruce said that 363 attacks had been reported between January and October. He said the police had recovered 4 298 weapons during patrols and policing of the trains. He also said that 121 arrests had been made related to train violence since April 1. Bruce also said that 52 people had been arrested for possession of dangerous weapons. He also said that five murder cases were pending.

Two Soweto men have been ordered to stand trial in the Rand Supreme Court on murder and attempted murder charges relating to train violence. The two Icam Mazibuko (24) and Michael Mguni (26) both of Mapetla Hostel, face one murder charge and seven attempted murder charges. The State alleges that the men were part of a group of armed men who boarded a train travelling from Germiston to Johannesburg station and attacked passengers on October 17 last year. The men boarded at George Goch and started attacking passengers with assegais, knobkerries and pangas. The State claims a man who was allegedly murdered, Thapelo Tsotetsi, was encouraging other passengers to sing "freedom songs" on the coaches. He was allegedly attacked and killed by members of the group which included Mazibuko and Mnguni.

VII. REEF VIOLENCE

1. Thokoza

In what can only be described as low intensity warfare at least 17 people lost their lives in Thokoza in October. Much of the violence in Thokoza is retaliatory because the SAP in the area seem to be unconcerned. The Board along with the

local Civic have held a number of meetings with the police but until concrete results like the arrest of alleged perpetrators of crimes can be achieved, the violence in the area will continue. In many senses the violence seems to be endemic and feeds on itself and without justice being seen to be done there will be no end in sight. The advent of self-defence units in the area which fall under no specific structure have compounded an already complex situation. But community leaders cannot call for the disbanding of such units unless they can offer an alternative.

The Board's researcher and the local Civic have tried to counter police apathy in the area by assisting police investigations in whatever way we can. However, this can put us in precarious situation if the police fail to follow-up on information.

On October 11, Themba Xaba the South African Communist Party (SACP) chairperson in Thokoza was shot and injured in the chest face and arm when unknown gunmen opened fire on the vehicle he was travelling in. The gunfire allegedly came from the direction of Mshay'azafe hostel in Khumalo Street. Apart

from Xaba two other people were injured in the attack. Four days later Xaba's younger brother Sello was gunned down outside their home in Slovo section, Thokoza. At least three people were killed in separate incidents in Lusaka section. Residents in this section have often complained of harassment and intimidation from nearby hostel dwellers. The Board is currently investigating all the above incidents.

2. Vaal

Recently the Board took a statement from a young Sebokeng activist David Pabe. He was allegedly kidnapped by residents of the Kwamadala Hostel. Following his ordeal he was placed in the protective custody of the ANC for two to three months. He later returned to the township and on Thursday October 29 he was found shot and dumped in Zone 13 Sebokeng.

The Board has been unable to work in the Vaal lately as the situation in the five Vaal townships is extremely volatile. The situation in the area has led the Vaal Council of Churches to seek a summit with the liberation movements operating in the area. Top of the agenda will be the control of self-defence units and inter-civic strife. The Reverend

Israel Qwelane of the VCC said the violence directed at communities and businesses was often perpetrated by faceless gangsters falsely claiming to be from one liberation movement or another. Many residents in the area claim they are being held to ransom by rampaging youths and ill-disciplined members of self defence units.

The reign of terror by youths purporting to be members of SDU's was highlighted when two schoolgirls, Rose Mohalane (19) and Jacobette Rantso (18) were executed by youths who alleged the girls were residents of the KwaMadala hostel. A family spokesperson said the youths who claimed to be ANC members snatched the girls from their parents homes at gunpoint on Monday October 5. The youths promised to bring the girls back. The youths allegedly accused the girls of being "midlwembe", local slang for spy. The girls bullet riddled bodies were found the following day at the Juventas soccer grounds - 500m from their home.

No arrests have been made.

3. Swanieville

A West Rand detective was branded a liar by a member of the legal team defending seven IFP members facing 28 charges of murder, 27 charges of attempted murder, arson and public violence relating to the Swanieville massacre on May 12 last year.

The accused - Vumisani Majola (35), Siswe Majola (48), Joseph Khanyile (42), Bakhiti Dlamini (29) and Pheyi Nhlapo (49) of Kagiso Hostel No 1 and Mzanywa Sithole (34) of Wattville Hostel have all pleaded not guilty. According to the defence all men were forced to make confessions. In one instance three of the accused were forced to make a statement at night in a police station because according to a Major Dicks no magistrate had been available.

Defence counsel AS Burger argued that the men were booked out of the Krugersdorp prison to force them to confess. He said the two Majolas and Khanyile were blindfolded and given electric shocks and assaulted.

Dicks denied taking the three men out at night but the occurrence book showed that the men had been booked out after 18h00.

The trial continues.

VIII. CISKEI AND BORDER REGION

1. Ongoing violence.

Since the Bisho massacre of early September, the level of violence in the Ciskei has remained very high and seems likely to continue. There is an undeclared war between the Ciskei government, the government-linked African Democratic Movement (ADM) and the South African force on the one hand, and the African National Congress and its supporters on the other.

Several trends have emerge over recent weeks.

Firstly, the level of violence has increased dramatically. For the past 18 months there has been violent conflicts between the Ciskei government and its opponents but appears to be escalating to a Natal-style conflict. The recently established Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) reports that between the begining of September and October 21, there were 51 deaths. Of these, 43 were ANC members (including the 29 shot during the Bisho massacre) and 13 were government supporters.

The ADM listed 106 killings on its members and government supporters between April 1991 and September this year, with 40 of these occurring in the 11 days after the September 7 massacre. The Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) supplied figures to the NIM, claiming that there had been 700 incidents in the months following the massacre.

Secondly, the type of violence has changed. Of the 106 attacks the ADM lists against government supporters, 72 involved arson and 8 involved guns and hand-grenades. This is now changing, with more sophisticated weaponry being used by both sides. Limpet mines have been used against members of the armed forces: the car belonging to the CDF Chief of Operations, Colonel Horst Schobesberger, was blown up, days later an explosive device was found in the government buildings in Bisho which house the Ciskei military office and limpet mines were found on police vehicles in Mdantsane. There are indications that Umkonto weSizwe (MK) guerillas were involved in some attacks and that, due to the severity of attacks on ANC members, the armed struggle has quietly been resumed in the region.

There has however been speculation that some of the explosives - which have not injured anyone - were planted by the Ciskei or South African authorities to provide them with an excuse to take action against MK guerillas in the region. The regional commander of MK, Lindile Yam, was detained on October 15 by Ciskei authorities. Two days earlier, South African Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, told parliament that elements of MK wanted to return to the armed struggle and has already identified members of the South African Police (SAP) and South African Defence Force (SADF), police stations and hostels as legitimate targets.

Thirdly, there have been savage attacks on people who are not prominent opponents of the Ciskei government but who had contact with other senior ANC officials or independent monitors. In one case, the acting managing director of Radio Ciskei, Mhleli Matyila, had his house extensively damaged by three hand-grenades on October 14, the night after he had met with the ANC in their regional offices in East London. In a second case, a hit squad of men wearing balaclavas attacked two homes in Alice in Ciskei with guns and hand-grenades on October 15, killing four people including an 11 year-old girl after failing to find the victims they were searching for.

Earlier, family members had met with Black Sash workers to discuss the violence in Alice. In a third case, on October 18, a prison warder who is a member of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU) had his home attacked with a hand-grenade and automatic rifles, the attack was blamed on the CDF.

The violence has polarised the region, with the ANC effectively banned and the soldiers and the police regarded as targets. Most police and soldiers appear to have fled their homes within seven days of the Bisho massacre - the CDF claimed on September 7 that the homes of 61 soldiers had been burnt - while residents of villages and township have fled government attacks to find refuge with sympathetic organisations in nearby South African towns.

The SA and Ciskei forces are running joint operations in Ciskei. The SADF has also now been accused of involvement in attacks on government opponents although this has been denied.

2. The Pickard and the Goldstone Commissions:

In Ciskei, Chief Justice Benjamin Pickard investigated the Bisho massacre, while in South Africa (SA) the Goldstone Commission also looked into it. The Pickard Commission was largely ignored with most parties cooperating instead with the Goldstone Commission as this was seen to be more impartial. Pickard subsequently found that a "large amount" of the blame for the massacre lay with the ANC.

Although Goldstone condemned the shootings by the Ciskei soldiers, he did not touch upon the widely publicised allegations that the shooting had been a deliberate ambush planned by Ciskei authorities on the orders of the SA Military Intelligence (MI). On October 1, Ciskei announced that murder docketts had been opened following the shootings at Bisho on September 7. The government refused to accept that its troops had acted "unacceptably and reprehensively" as the Goldstone Commission said and claimed the soldiers were "obliged" to open fire.

Ciskei said that there would not be an investigation into the conduct of CDF chief, Brigadier Marius Oelschig, who allegedly gave the order to open fire.

3. Military Intelligence in Ciskei:

At the beginning of October, the acting general-secretary of ADM and political advisor to the military ruler Brigadier Gqozo, Basie Oosthuysen, resigned from both positions. It is believed that Oosthuysen's resignation was due to a clash with Gqozo, particularly over Gqozo's links with the far-right Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) headed by Eugene Terre'blanche. Gqozo has justified this alliance by stating that the AWB has not been responsible for any deaths in Ciskei.

Oosthuysen has been linked to SA's MI, leading to speculation that the ADM was at best set up with MI assistance and at worst is an MI front.

The man who took over from Oosthuysen, Thamsanqa Linda, also has MI links. Both Oosthuysen and Linda worked for the Eastern Cape branches of Adult Education Consultants (AEC), a company exposed in December 1991 by the Weekly Mail as a front for MI.

Oosthuysen set up and ran Dynamic Teaching CC which was the Port Elizabeth and East London presence of Adult Education. In May 1991 Oosthuysen moved from Dynamic Teaching to Ciskei where he was hired for three months by another MI linked covert operation, International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS). It was during this period that the ADM was launched in Ciskei. Three days after the launch the Ciskei government ordered that IR-CIS be paid a single amount of R200 000 "for professional services rendered".

On July 27, IR-CIS and its links with former SADF members was thoroughly exposed at a press conference in Umtata by Ciskei's then chief of Military Intelligence, Colonel Gert Hugo, and by the end of July Oosthuysen had moved from IR-CIS and was working directly for the Ciskei government as a political advisor. At the same time he was acting general-secretary of the ADM and appears to have been the key person behind it, a position he held until his resignation.

Linda was recruited in 1987 as an operative for another branch of Adult Education Consultants, Eduguide. According to educationist, Dr. Ben Conradie, who told the Weekly Mail last year how he had run Eduguide for MI, Linda was given a car and expenses. He was supposed to recruit for a "moderates" organisation which would be in opposition to the United Democratic Front (UDF) which existed as the main extra-parliamentary grouping at the time.

The ADM also echoes other projects supported by MI: it claims to be a cultural movement, pushes a strong Christian and anti-communist line, focuses on "moderates" and organises in areas which are supportive of the ANC.

The ADM was very clearly set up as Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's base for claims to a political future in a "Christian moderate" alliance with Buthelezi at the helm.

Even more ominously, the ADM seems to be following in its predecessor's footsteps by becoming involved in protracted and bloody conflicts with its opponents. Conradie previously told how MI promoted organisations which were implicated in township violence, using front companies to create, train and assist groupings that would foster "black-on-black" violence in the ANC strongholds in the Eastern Cape. One of these was Ama-Afrika, which operated in the Eastern Cape townships and was involved in a long and bloody conflict with the UDF, in a way that the ADM is now involved in a bloody dispute with the ANC.

4. Destabilisation of the Transkei

Transkei has come under verbal attack by SA authorities over recent months, in what may be attempts to pave the way for an armed attack on the territory.

In July, an SAP memorandum which was later sent by President FW de Klerk to the Transkei government accused the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) of using Transkei as a base for launching attacks against police stations and civilians across the border. The memorandum also accused two human rights workers in Transkei, one as being a member of APLA's High Command and the other as assisting the guerillas.

In August, Five Ciskei policemen were gunned down in two separate incidents within hours of each other. The SAP claimed that a car identified as being used in one incident was followed from the outskirts of East London to the Transkei border, with the raiders escaping to Transkei and allegedly turning to shoot back at their pursuers once over the border.

Questions have arisen from the incident: how did the SAP - who are provided with radio communications in their patrol vehicles - manage to follow their target for a distance of approximately 80 kilometres, on a national road past several police stations and at least one army base, to a border which is also manned by police, without managing to stop them? Speculation is that the car was followed but allowed to "escape" in order to provide further evidence of Transkei "involvement" in such attacks.

Also in August, APLA was accused of using Transkei as a base of moving in the north-eastern Cape and starting fires on white-owned farms. The AWB subsequently ran armed patrols in the region which the police, although publicly criticising the AWB, seemed powerless to prevent.

On September 16, Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa wrote to President De Klerk to complain about the "destabilisation of Transkei by SA forces". Holomisa alleged that people including Angolan nationals were being trained at the Lohatla military base in Kimberley "for the purpose of toppling the Transkei government in September/October this year.

He claimed that the SA Military Intelligence and the Security Branch members "paid thousands of rands to Transkei nationals in the Transkei government establishment to facilitate overthrowing of our government". Holomisa also said that since he had disclosed the military signal which implicated MI chief, General CP van der Westhuizen, in the 1985 murder of activist Matthew Goniwe, there was "bound to be an increased vendetta campaign" against his government, and hinted at further disclosures of Van der Westhuizen's involvement in the destabilisation of black communities.

By early October, the SAP and Transkei police had revived an earlier forum of combating cross-border raids, with the SAP saying that the co-operation showed that the presence of the AWB on the SA/Transkei border was unnecessary.

On October 14, the police announced a R200 000 reward for information leading to the tracing of the murderers of Mathew Goniwe and his colleagues.

5. The Goniwe murders

Acting attorney-general of the Eastern Cape, Mike Hodgen, said that the reward was valid for one month only. Meanwhile, Deputy Justice Minister, Danie Schutte, said that the New Nation and Major-General Bantu Holomisa were now obliged to present evidence on their claims of state complicity in the deaths of Goniwe and others.

6. The Andre de Villiers murder

Police said the post-mortem on Addo murder accused Xolani Ncinane confirmed that he had died of natural causes. Ncinane died in custody on August 16. He was accused of the murder of Addo farmer, Andre de Villiers, who gave the ANC information relating to the Hammer unit which has been implicated in the Goniwe murders shortly before his death. Police said the state and private pathologists confirmed that Ncinane had an Aids related illness. His co-accused, Thamsanqa Mali and Lindile Stimela, will appear in court again on November 12.

IX. CONCLUSION

There seems little hope that the violence in the country will end with a face to face meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The political violence that engulfs the country is but a drop in the ocean if one considers the recent crime statistics supplied by the Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel. In an address to the Institute for Strategic Studies in Pretoria, the Minister said he wanted to "squash the myth" that most violent deaths in South Africa resulted from political violence. Non-political murders accounted for a far greater number of fatalities. "Last year 2 240 people died in 'unrest related' incidents, compared with 14 693 'other' murders during the same period.

The minister confirmed that crime had rocketed in the past five years, and that incidents of political violence had also risen sharply from 4 880 in 1987 to 8 815 last year.

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