

Independent Board of Inquiry Into Informal Repression

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IBIIR REPORT FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1990

1. The Harms Commission.

The Harms Commission will resume sitting in Pretoria in the first week of August to hear arguments on the alleged existence of hit squads in the South African Police and the South African Defence Force. The IBIIR has handed in Heads of Argument, totalling some 223 pages, to the Commission.

On the eve of the resumption of the Harms Commission, it was announced that the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) is being disbanded. The Chief of the S A D F, General Jannie Geldenhuys, announced on the 31st July that the members of the C C B have been transferred from Special Forces to the South African Army where the administrative processes regarding the final disbanding will be completed. He said that the C C B has already ceased operations. Aspects directly related to the Harms Commission will only be dealt with after the judicial process has been completed, Geldenhuys said.

The Board welcomes the decision to disband the CCB. This Board has repeatedly called for the disbanding of the C C B over the last few months and has stated that its continued existence is a threat to the current negotiations.

The Board is concerned that the disbanding of the C C B should be properly and independently supervised to ensure that there is a complete cessation of all C C B activities and a complete dismantling of C C B machinery.

The public remains entitled to a full disclosure of all past C C B activities and an assurance that the activities of the organisation will not continue in any form.

On Saturday, the 21st July, the body of Brian Ngqulunga, an Askari who testified for the police at the Harms Commission, was found in the veld between Lethlabile and GaRankuwa in Bophuthatswana.

Ngqulunga was named by Dirk Coetzee, Almond Nofemela and David Tshikalange as a member of the hit squad that murdered Griffiths Mxenge in Durban in November 1981. When called to testify, Ngqulunga denied any involvement in the murder, but admitted that he was an Askari (a former A N C member) working for the Security police at Vlakplaas. At the time of his death, Ngqulunga was still based at Vlakplaas. Several AK 47 casings were found near his body. Ngqulunga was 41 years old.

An advocate who appeared for former CCB member Willie van Deventer at the Harms Commission, Pieter Leeuwner, has been missing since July the 2nd, when he was last seen at his home in Arcadia, Pretoria.

On the 17th July, IBIIR researcher Anton Steenkamp addressed a meeting on the issue of hit squads in East London.

The other speaker at the meeting, which was organised by the East London branch of the End Conscription Campaign and the Black Sash, was Ahmd Motala, litigations Director of Lawyers for Human Rights, who had appeared for Dirk Coetzee and Almond Nofemela at the Harms Commission. About 10 minutes before the meeting was due to start, it was changed to a venue across the road from the original one, due to the size of the audience. As the speakers were about to begin, a bomb exploded against the outside wall of the original advertised venue. Several windows were shattered and a car belonging to the Institute For a Democratic Alternate for South Africa (Idasa) was damaged. No one has accepted responsibility for the blast.

The Commission for a judicial inquiry into hit squads - consisting mainly of Afrikaans speaking white professionals from Cape Town's northern suburbs - organised a march to Security Police Headquarters and to the Castle in Cape Town on Saturday 28th July. They called on State President F W de Klerk to extend the terms of reference of the Harms Commission to cover acts of violence committed outside the borders of South Africa and to disband the C C B and similar organisations.

They also challenged President De Klerk to a television debate on the hitsquads, but he declined.

The previous Chief of the Army and Commanding Officer of Special Forces, Lieut-Genl AJ ("Kat") Liebenberg, has been appointed as the new Chief of the South African Defence Force.

The CCB is an unit of the controversial Special Forces, which Liebenberg headed from March 1983 to November 1985.

Liebenberg's successor as Commanding Officer of Special Forces, who was also head of the CCB, Maj-Gen AJM Joubert, testified at the Harms Commission on March 6 that the order to form the CCB or a similar unit was given before November 1 1985 by the then Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys. It appears highly unlikely that Liebenberg would not have been aware of the covert actions of the CCB or its predecessor, 3 Reconnaissance Commando, and it has even been claimed that Liebenberg headed such a unit.

2. Rightwing Activities.

As the Rightwing gathered momentum, a new spate of bomb blasts and attacks attributed to Rightwing elements took place this month. Among the targets were Democratic Party and National Party councillors, a Jewish Synagogue, Hotels, Newspaper and Union offices, and even rival Rightwingers. In most of these cases, commercial explosives were used. It appears that Rightwingers working on the mines have easy access to commercial explosives. (see separate list of incidents at the end of this report).

A number of known Rightwingers were arrested in connection with some of these attacks.

Over the weekend of 6 - 8 July, 10 people were arrested. Daryll Stopforth and former regional leader of the AWB in Johannesburg, Leonard Veenendal, were arrested on the 6th July. Both Stopforth and Veenendal are also sought by the Namibian police in connection with the deaths of an Untag security guard and a Namibian policeman last year.

A third man, David Israel Rootenberg (42) was arrested on the same day. Rootenberg, who was brought up in a Jewish home, is a former commander of the AWB's Aquila unit.

The previous day Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder's home was raided by police, who confiscated some documents.

Piet Bester, Chief training officer of the Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB), the military arm of the Boerestaat Party, is also among those arrested.

On the 9th of July, three men appeared in court on charges of illegal possession of ammunition. An arsenal of arms and explosives, including Claymore mines, dynamite sticks, plastic explosives and hand grenades was allegedly found in possession of Norman van Biljon, Julio Aruma and Michael Street.

Dawie de Beer (39), a former AWB member, was sentenced to an effective year in prison or R1 000 for the illegal possession of a shotgun and six rounds, more than 200 R4 rounds and tear-gas grenades on the 14th July. De Beer said that, like ANC cadres, Piet Rudolph and mass murderer Barend Strydom should also receive amnesty.

The fugitive Deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, Piet (Skiet) Rudolph, sent an affidavit to Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder on the 23rd July, in which he exonerates the detained Rightwinger Jan Meyer for the blast at Melrose House on the 23rd May this year. Rudolph says that he was personally responsible for the blast, and Meyer, who is held in connection with the incident, should be released.

The African National Congress has described growing Rightwing violence as an obstacle in the way of a negotiated settlement. Senior A N C official Ray Suttner told a meeting of the National Union of South African Students:

"The rise of Rightwing violence and the failure to create an investigations process capable of getting to the bottom of the CCB leaves us very vulnerable to assassination and there has been an inadequate attempt to prosecute vigilantes, war lords and other assassins." (Daily Mail 5/7/90).

It is expected that the issue will be addressed at the next round of talks between the Government and the A N C on the 6th August.

A more comprehensive memorandum on Rightwing Organizations, compiled by the IBIIR, is enclosed with this report.

3. Sebokeng Clashes.

On Sunday 22nd July, 24 people were killed after clashes between Inkata members and supporters of the A N C and Cosatu following an Inkata rally in Sebokeng in the Vaal triangle.

Cosatu officials claimed afterwards that the South African Police assisted Inkata in attacking residents, and that police were warned of plans to attack A N C and Cosatu members in Sebokeng at least 3 days before the outbreak of violence. The police were asked to take preventive measures in letters to the Minister of Law & Order and senior police officials. Lawyers acting for Cosatu said that they were told of a meeting held on the 10th July where it was said that "areas of Sebokeng should be attacked by all Zulus".

Police liaison officer Lt Col Frans Halgryn said the day after the rally that police could not disarm Inkata members because "it is Zulu custom to attend meetings armed with assegai, shields and knobkieries".

The IBIIR is investigating the events. Statements have been taken from a number of people in Sebokeng and the investigation is continuing.

4. General.

The United Nations report on the progress made in the implementation of the UN Declaration on Apartheid was released by the Secretary General of the United Nations this month.

The report mentions the fact that the majority of Organizations interviewed believed that the continued escalating violence in South Africa remained an obstacle to the creation of a climate for free political discussion and progress towards negotiations.

The report also refers to documents submitted by the IBIIR and the Human Rights Commission, providing a conservative estimate of 176 persons killed and 1 563 injured as a result of police action during some 70 demonstrations between February 2nd and June 2nd of this year.

The UN expressed concern about increasing vigilante violence,

including black vigilante activities in Natal, the activities of the covert death squads of the C C B and overt acts of the far Rightwing.

The IBIIR was approached by lawyers in Boston, U S A and Amsterdam in the Netherlands to provide information concerning applications for political asylum by South African refugees in these countries. The Board has been able to assist in acquiring the necessary information and documentation.

With the help of the Legal Education Action Project (LEAP) at the University of Cape Town, various Organizations and Advice offices throughout the country have undertaken to supply information concerning Rightwing violence and attacks on people in the rural areas to the Board. Questionnaires have been sent out to Advice offices in rural areas, and the Board has already received some response. On Saturday the 4th August a Researcher for the Board will attend the launch of the South Western Transvaal Monitoring Committee in Klerksdorp.

An attorney acting for the Board, Norman Manoim, addressed a workshop group at the July festival of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) on the issue of Hit Squads and the Harms and Hiemstra Commissions. Board researcher Anton Steenkamp also took part in a workshop on the Rightwing at the same festival.

5. List of Incidents of Informal Repression in July 1990.

1. On the 1st July, offices in Highlands North, Johannesburg, belonging to Democratic Party city councillor Clive Gilbert were damaged by a bomb explosion. The explosion occurred two days after a bomb exploded at Gilbert's home in Lower Houghton. The Wit Wolwe have accepted responsibility for the blast at Gilbert's home. In both cases, commercial explosives were used.

2. On the same day, a bomb exploded at a Jewish Synagogue in Rosettenville, Johannesburg. The bomb caused damage of about R3 000.

Anti-Semitic slogans were written on the walls of the Synagogue in red paint, such as: "Jews are the same as Mandela", "I declare war on J D L" (apparently aimed at the Jewish Defence League), "Prepare for war" and a Swastika. (Beeld 2/7/90

3. A bomb exploded at the home of Johannesburg National Party city councillor Jan Burger on the 3rd July. The Wit Wolwe accepted responsibility for the blast. (Radio 702 3/7/90, Daily Mail 4/7/90).
4. The same morning, a bomb exploded at the Kagiso home on the West Rand of a trade unionist, Serge Mokonyane. (The Star 3/7/90).
5. On the morning of 4th July, the offices of Vrye Weekblad in Johannesburg were damaged by a bomb. Commercial explosives were used. A man purporting to be an A W B member accepted responsibility for the blast. (Daily Mail 5/7/90).

6. On the night of the 4th July, Sam Mabe, Deputy Editor of the Sowetan, was shot dead. Mabe, a known P A C supporter, had dropped two friends off at a house in Jublani, Soweto. Two gunmen fired shots through the back of Mabe's car, hitting him in the neck. The gunmen then ran away. A police spokesman said that robbery seemed to be the motive, but nothing was stolen. (Sowetan 5/7/90).

7. On the 5th July, a home-made bomb was found at the Oberholzer offices of the National Union of Mineworkers (Carletonville). The bomb was found in a cardboard box in the office before it was detonated. (Daily Mail 6/7/90).

8. On the 10th July, the President of the Congress of Tradition Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, was shot at and questioned, allegedly by Askari's. Maphumulo claims that policemen who held him overnight at C R Swart Square in Durban and interrogated him, included former A N C members. The same policemen also allegedly shot at him when he was travelling on the highway. (Daily Mail 11/7/90).

9. In the early hours of the 14th July, a bomb exploded at the Richmond Hotel in Roodepoort. A waiter at the hotel, Right Ngoma (51) was killed in the explosion. Commercial explosives were used. (Sunday Star 15/7/90).

10. On the night of the same day, a hand grenade was flung into the bar of the Roodepoort Hotel. A guest at the hotel, Kelvin Netsware (25) was killed in the explosion. (Business Day 16/7/90).

11. On the morning of the 14th July a bomb exploded at the Randburg home of Rightwinger Hendrik Binneman (41). Binneman is suspected to be a member of the so called Order of Death, an organisation that was suspected of planting a bomb at Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan's flat after allegations of an affair with A W B leader Eugene Terreblanche last year. Commercial explosives were used. (Sunday Star 15/7/90; Business Day 16/7/90).

12. About 15 minutes after the explosion at Binneman's home, another bomb exploded at the Cyrildene home of Rightwing sympathiser Enricho Francocci.

Francocci admitted that he had put the fugitive Piet Rudolph up in his home for two days as a favour to David Rootenberg. Commercial explosives were used. (Daily Mail 17/7/90).

13. On the 14th July at about 17.15, A Dhlamini and another man were hitch-hiking on the road to Cullinan from Pretoria, when shots were fired at them from a passing car. Dhlamini claims that the two white men who fired at them were wearing SADF uniforms.

The men were driving a white 1983 or 84 model Mazda 323. Dhlamini was wounded in the incident. (Business Day 16/7/90).

14. On the 22nd July, a bomb blast occurred at the Willows National Party offices in Bloemfontein. Five kilograms of commercial explosives were used. (Daily Mail 23/7/90).

15. A sign-post with the word "Amandla" on it was vandalised on the Tweefontein farm near Bapsfontein belonging to Mr Marius Labuschaigne on the 23rd July. Shots were fired at the sign-post with a shotgun and a skull and crossbow and the letters "O B" were painted in red on the sign-post. (The Ossewa Brandwag or O B was a militant organization formed by Afrikaners opposed to South Africa fighting against the Germans during World War 2). Amandla is the name of the mill run by Mr Labuschaigne on his farm.

16. Japie Metabogo (45) died in a Klerksdorp hospital on 23rd July, a day after police arrested him for drunkenness in Ventersdorp. A white police constable has been suspended following Metabogo's death. (Daily Mail 25/7/90).

17. A thirteen year old black child, Andries Nkala, was killed on the 24th July when two white children threw stones at him from the back of a bakkie. The white children were seen throwing stones at several black pupils returning from school in the Senekal district. (Beeld 25/7/90).

18. A school pupil of the Dr Cingo High School in Maokeng, near Kroonstad, was shot dead on the school playground by two white men dressed in khaki on the 26th July. Taylor Ntsuka (17) was killed and his friend, Tota Malakoane (16) was wounded in the thigh and hand when the men drove past the school during break and allegedly started firing without warning. The two middle-aged men were driving a white Toyota minibus. The police know who the men are, but they have not been arrested. (Beeld 27/07/90).

19. On Sunday night the 29th July, Penuell Maduna, a senior African National Congress official, was assaulted and shot at in Soweto. Maduna had just stopped at a Soweto garage for petrol with some family members when a yellow Mazda 323 with four men in it rammed his vehicle. The passengers got out and began smashing his car. Then one man hit him above the eye with a brick. Maduna fought back and was struck on the back of the head with a panga. He lost consciousness and as he came too, he was shot at.

He noticed a powder-blue car containing two white men speeding away. Maduna was taken to Baragwanath hospital with bullet wounds in his right upper arm. He had to receive stitches over his nose and in the back of his head. Maduna said afterwards that he believed the attack was politically motivated because he was singled out for attack while his brother was left unharmed. He is a member of the joint steering committee scheduled to meet the Government for another round of talks on the 6th August.

A number of officials of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organization have been involved in car accidents this year. Foul play has not been ruled out.

On 17th April 1990, Japhta Masemola, executive member of the P A C, was killed when a truck collided with his VW Beetle on the road between GaRankuwa and Sandfontein in the Northern Transvaal.

On 27th April, Ismael Chand died in a road accident on the way to the funeral of his brother, Sam (a P A C member), and of Sam's wife and two children, who were killed in an attack on their home in Kgatleng, Botswana on 23rd April 1990.

The General Secretary of the P A C, Benny Alexander, and an executive member of Qibla, Cassiem Christiaans, were injured when their car left the road outside Hopetown, hit a culvert and then rolled, on 3rd May 1990. Mr Alexander was returning to Johannesburg from Cape Town, where he had addressed a MayDay rally.

On 3rd July, Muntu Myeza, projects co-ordinator of Azapo, was killed when his car veered off the road and collided with an iron pole 40 km outside Bloemfontein.



For the Board.

The president is sanctioning CCB actions, says attorney

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

AS long as President FW de Klerk failed to "liquidate" groups such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau and the special security police unit of "turned" guerillas which operated from the farm Vlakplaas near Pretoria, he was sanctioning their actions.

This was said at a public meeting in Johannesburg last night by local attorney David Dison.

He said: "These groups were sanctioned under the PW Botha regime — they remain sanctioned under the De Klerk regime until they are liquidated.

"I believe that until we find a forum in which South Africans who have been involved in hit squads are properly brought to account, the process of reconciliation which we are striving for will not become a reality."

The meeting, called to demand that the authorities "come clean on the CCB", was organised by human rights groups and organisations subjected to secret surveillance by government structures.

Cast in the glare of harsh criticism along with De Klerk were Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Orange Free State attorney-general Tim McNally, who is leading evidence before the Harms Commission.

Shortly before the meeting, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression issued a challenge to Malan to account for the alleged unlawful activities of the CCB and for the "crucial missing documents" which had seriously undermined the Harms Commission's proceedings.

It was announced last week that neither Malan nor Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok would testify before the Harms Commission.

The repression board's Peter Harris said: "The board and its constituent organisations state that it is necessary, and in the public interest for Malan to give evidence (to the commission).

"Members of the CCB have admitted to carrying out certain unlawful activities and the public expects, and is owed, an explanation."

Democratic Party MP for Houghton, Tony Leon, said the Hiemstra Commission on the alleged spy-ring in the Johannesburg city administration had succeeded in throwing "the harsh sunlight of disclosure on the darker reaches of civic government". Uncontradicted evidence had shown how the security department of the council engaged and paid agents to infiltrate trade unions and political organisations and to conduct surveillance of private individuals.

ECC told Harms inquiry allows cover-up of CCB

Daily Dispatch Reporter

18/7/90

EAST LONDON — The terms of reference of the Harms Commission were "severely restrictive" and allowed the "ludicrous" cover-up of Civil Co-Operation Bureau (CCB) hit squads to continue, an End Conscription Campaign meeting in the Rhodes University building here heard last night.

A researcher for the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) and former Vrye Weekblad journalist, Mr Anton Steenkamp, criticised the commission in that it empowered Mr Justice Harms only to investigate politically-motivated acts of violence committed within the borders of South Africa and the independent homelands.

He said this was despite the fact that CCB operatives had testified that the primary aim of the CCB was to "maximally disrupt the enemy outside the country."

He said although the majority of these acts were presumably planned inside South Africa (an offence in itself), the State President had declined to extend the terms of reference of the commission to acts committed in neighbouring and other countries and Mr Justice Harms had refused to even hear evidence on these acts.

CCB operatives had admitted to taking part in, for instance, the car bomb attack in which Mr Albie Sachs lost his arm in Maputo.

Mr Steenkamp said the commission would not be the avenue through which the truth about this and other similar incidents would be established.

He said a bizarre situation had been created by the one respect in which Mr F. W. de Klerk had extended the commission's terms of reference, namely to establish whether Mr Anton Lubowski

was indeed an agent of the South African Defence Force as alleged by General Magnus Malan.

Mr Justice Harms may establish whether Mr Lubowski was an SADF agent, but not whether he was killed by agents of the same SADF, and two CCB members directly implicated in the matter had not had to answer a single question about the incident before the commission in Pretoria, he said.

Mr Steenkamp said the commission was a ludicrous cover-up, where one self-confessed CCB member after another appeared in ridiculous disguise, under a false name, merely to answer a few "innocuous" questions and to refuse to testify on any serious incidents on the grounds of "self-incrimination".

He said, according to evidence by General Eddie Webb, there were more than 200 CCB operatives, only seven whose real identities were known.

One could not ever be assured that the activities of these operatives had ceased if one did not even know who they were, he said.

Gen Webb himself had said under oath that the CCB was involved in 200 current projects.

Even more sinister was the fact that vital documents and project files were "inexplicably and irretrievably" missing, and CCB officers had merely "passed the buck" from one "keyless and clueless officer" to the next.

The fact that Gen Malan had not been called to testify was cause for grave concern, Mr Steenkamp said.

Senior SADF officers had told the commission that all CCB projects with "political or strategic implications" were to be approved by Gen Malan.

He asked why it was that Gen Malan was allowed to blithely discount any knowledge of these operations without being cross-examined at the commission.

In at least one plot of planned right-wing violence, which had become a grim reality in the past two weeks, CCB collaboration had been alleged, he said.

CCB's managing director, Mr Joe Verster, had admitted that he did not support Mr De Klerk's reforms, and that the CCB saw the ANC and the SACP as "the enemy".

Mr Verster had also admitted that the CCB had access to large amounts of arms, a claim which was backed up by former CCB regional director, Mr Pieter Botes, who told the Vrye Weekblad of schemes by the CCB to buy arms overseas.

Mr Steenkamp said the frightening reality was that more than 200 trained people were "running around", most of them armed, almost all unidentified, and it seemed, many of them with right-wing sympathies.

He said as South Africa entered the process of negotiations, it was imperative that the remnant of the days of "total warfare" was removed.

To do this, CCB members should be identified, all CCB operations should be stopped and the organisation disbanded, and CCB members against whom there were prima facie cases of having committed unlawful acts should be prosecuted, Mr Steenkamp said.

● The lawyer representing Captain Dirk Coetzee at the Harms Commission, Mr Ahmed Muthala, told of numerous internal and external CCB operations in which security branch police operating from Vlakplaas, 15 kms from Pretoria, were allegedly involved.

Vlakplaas, he said, was the brainchild of Brigadier Viktor and Colonel Jan du Preez in the late 1970s.

He said there were 12 Askaris (former ANC or PAC members now acting for security police) on the farm when Capt Coetzee took over control of operations there.

From 1981 onwards, black policemen and white security police officers formed groups with a few Askaris and were assigned an area, a system which appeared still to be in operation, Mr Muthala said.

Security headquarters appeared to be divided into a number of sections, section C of which related to the ANC/PAC. Each of these sections were sub-divided and section C1 was Vlakplaas, he said.

Members of Vlakplaas groups had been implicated in numerous incidents of terror in the evidence of Capt Coetzee and Mr Almond Nofomela before the commission.

and the white militants

Seeley 11/27/74

and into the Right Out of uniform

Kitt Katzin and Steve McQuillan

NEW research shows that a strong, disturbing military influence is emerging within the swelling ranks of the right-wing movements.

A detailed study of extremist political activity highlights the growing and close links between the ultra-rightist groups and former military officers and policemen.

This chilling assessment of the status of the right wing comes in the form of a 21-page report by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIRR).

The report emerges against the backdrop of a wave of terrorism in which 67 people have died in just one month.

'Seize power'

Many of the acts of violence have involved bomb blasts — perpetrated, police believe, by right-wing activists whose leaders have publicly declared they will not hesitate to seize power "through the barrel of the gun".

Allegations of the para-military connection have been strengthened by the apparent ease with which SA Defence Force weapons have been stolen from military arsenals.

Against the background of growing public fears that most members of the security establishment support the Right, the IBIRR, a watchdog group made up of academics and lawyers which monitors the right-wing threat, has released a report evaluating these claims.

The document names at least 27 ultra-rightist movements, many of which have become prominent after President de Klerk's watershed speech in Parliament on February 2 in which he announced the unbanning of political organisations and the release of political prisoners.

The groups range from relatively harmless "think-tanks" to shadowy "armies" intent on urban terrorism and, ultimately, a "third freedom struggle" for the Afrikaner.

Among former members of the security establishment who play key roles in the white revolutionary movement are:

- Colonel Servaas de Wet, a former member of the SAP and one-time bodyguard of former State President John Vorster. He is commandant-general of the AWB commandos and deputy leader of Magsaksie Afrikaner-Nasionalisme, formed to patrol the streets of Pretoria.
- Brigadier Theuns "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, a former policeman

and commander of Aquila, the former military wing of the AWB which now fulfils a security function and guards AWB leaders and property.

● Keith Conroy, an Irishman believed to have been trained by the British SAS and military training commander of Aquila members in the Cape.

Anti-Semitic

Mr Conroy has been named as a distributor of the anti-Semitic publication Cape Rebel.

● Colonel Poon Jacobs, retired SADF officer and commander of the AWB/Boerestaart Party joint commando.

● Hendrik Steyn, one-time regimental sergeant-major in the SADF, is a former organiser of Blanke Veiligheid (White Security), a Welkom vigilante group.

Mr Steyn, a mine captain, was arrested in June in connection with the bombing of the Welkom offices of the NUM.

● Eugene TerreBlanche, a former SAP sergeant who heads the AWB.

● Three national servicemen appeared in court in April in connection with the arms theft from Air Force headquarters in Pretoria for which fugitive Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, deputy leader of the Boerestaart Party, has claimed responsibility.

According to report, right-wing leaders are confident they

have the support of the rank and file in the SADF and SAP.

Leaders such as Mr Rudolph and Robert van Tonder, the Boerestaart Party leader, have claimed publicly that the Right could count on support of the majority of officers and men in the security forces.

Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, recently said the majority in the security forces supported the CP.

Among the militarist movements named are the Witkommando (White Commando), responsible for a series of bomb blasts; the Wit Bevrydingsleër (White Freedom Army), which claimed responsibility for the Johannesburg taxi-rank bomb blast on July 6; and the underground Nazi organisation called the Afrikaner National Socialist Movement. Its head, Koos Vermeulen, celebrates Hitler's birthday every year.

Others are: Orde van die Dood (Order of Death), which planned to kill President de Klerk and three Cabinet Ministers; Orde Boerevolk (Order of the Boer People), which claimed responsibility for the Melrose House bomb blast in May and appears to be headed by Piet Rudolph.

Declared war

The Boere Weerstandsbeweging (the Boer Resistance Movement), the "military wing" of

the BSP; the BSP itself, which has declared war on the Government; and the Blanke Front (the White Front).

Not named in the report, but known to exist, is the Afrikaner Fascist Coalition, a new right-wing group based in Pretoria.

Known militarist groups include the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (Boer Freedom Movement). A former member of the latter, Leon van Rensburg, was arrested last month in connection with various bomb blasts. He is a technical control officer at Pelludaba, an Armscor subsidiary.

Lesser known groups on the Right, but which are not necessarily military in character, are listed by the independent board.

They are:

● The Gemeente van die Verbondsvolk (Congregation of Covenant People). Based in the western Transvaal, the group adheres to the belief that the "lost tribes of Israel" are not Jews, but Afrikaners. The movement's main protagonist is Ds FW Nester of Vereeniging.

● The Flaminke (Flamingoes), a vigilante group in Odendaalsrus and Virginia. A spokesman, CP supporter Davis Naude, claims a membership of 2 500.

● The Odal Clan, which was the youth wing of the Anglo-Afrikaner Bond, formed by former Hitler Youth member Rudolf Schmidt. He recruited white children to work for racial domination and white purity.

Hitler his hero

One of the last known leaders of the Odal Clan was Jan Posthumus, whose heroes he once named as Hitler, Mussolini, and Hendrik Verwoerd.

● Wêreld Apartheidsbeweging (World Apartheid Movement) which claims affiliations with dozens of right-wing organisations worldwide. It claims to produce right-wing propaganda in seven languages.

● Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Association of Real Afrikaners), whose representatives met President de Klerk last month.

● Brandwag (Sentinel), a vigilante group in Brits formed by former AWB executive member Manie Maritz. It patrols and guards the properties of whites.

● Blanke Veiligheid (White Security) formed in Welkom in February ostensibly to fight crime by patrolling the streets.

The IBIRR report shows that most right-wing groupings were also openly anti-Semitic, and reflected a sharp increase in the number of anti-Jewish incidents.

1/11/2019/10

A talk on violence is met with violence. But who planned it?

THIS meeting started with a bang, not a whimper.

On the first night of a week-long seminar on conflict and violence in South Africa, organised by the East London branch of the End Conscription Campaign, the focus on this issue was brought home rather more forcefully than most members of the audience in the normally quiet town of East London expected.

The first meeting, on Tuesday, was to be a discussion on hit squads. I was going to talk about the Civil Cooperation Bureau, and Ahmed Motlala, litigation director of Lawyers for Human Rights, would share his knowledge of the South African Police's Vlakplaas hit squad, formerly under the command of Captain Dirk Coetzee, with the audience.

The venue of the meeting was given

The ECC was to hold a seminar focusing on violence.

It was met with violence

One of the speakers,

ANTON STEENKAMP

writes about the blast that narrowly missed the gathering

as "Philips Building (Opp. Rhodes — next to Elco Parking)".

Ten minutes before the meeting was due to start, the organisers decided to move to a bigger venue in the Rhodes Building across the road, as it seemed the audience would be larger than expected.

The meeting began and the local organiser of the Black Sash, Charlene Grange, introduced us.

I got up to speak but was prevented

from doing so by the loudest blast I've ever heard.

"That is what we are about to discuss," was the first thing I could tell the rattled audience.

A large bomb had exploded across the road. Against the wall of the Philips Building. Next to the Elco Parking.

An ECC organiser and local doctor later related his account of what had happened. He had been working and was late for the meeting. As he passed the parking lot, the bomb exploded. He stopped, jumped out of his car, and rushed into the Philips Building. He went inside and as the dust settled a piece of paper fluttered to his feet: "Meeting on CCB moved to Rhodes Building across the road."

No one was injured. A car belonging to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa)

was damaged, the windows of an interior-decorating shop were blown out and valuable stained-glass windows in the 110-year-old St John's Anglican Church were damaged.

Presumably, the perpetrators of this violent act do not care much for old stained-glass windows in a church. Do they care for the lives of people committed to peace, attending a legal meeting?

The police were on the scene within minutes — the police divisional headquarters are situated on the other side of the car park.

One hopes it will not merely be added to the long list of unsolved incidents of unlawful acts directed at people who are working for a just and peaceful South Africa.

■ Anton Steenkamp is a researcher for the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression



Researcher Anton Steenkamp ... He planned to talk about hit squads until the bomb went off.

Collection Number: AG1977

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

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