I. INTRODUCTION:

Running battles between members of the South African Police (SAP) and rightwingers in the Western Transvaal farming town of Ventersdorp, which left three dead and scores injured has been termed by many rightwing organisations as the beginning of the "Derde Boer Oorlog" (The third Boer war).

The rightwingers had gathered in Ventersdorp to stage a protest outside the Kommando Hall where State President FW de Klerk was due to give a speech. The ensuing clashes saw white members of the SAP using their weapons against white protesters to protect innocent black civilians. The incident has put paid to speculation that in a conflict situation with the rightwing, members of the SAP would fail to act.

Three members of the radical rightwing organisation the Orde Boerevolk have according to their lawyer reached the point of
no return in their hungerstrike protest. One of the hungerstrikers, British citizen, Henry Martin, has passed his 50th day on strike. All three men are seeking indemnity following their involvement in the bombing of black taxi rank in Pretoria and the sending of a parcel bomb that killed computer technician Nicholas Cruse in Durban.

The men have vowed to fast till their death if they are not granted indemnity. Despite the men being close to death the Government has stood firm and there is every possibility that the men will become martyrs to the rightwing cause.

Despite rightwing organisations refusing to participate in the recent church - and - business brokered National Peace Initiative a major breakthrough has been achieved. The government, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have agreed on codes of conduct for the security forces and political parties. They also reached binding agreements on the establishment of a peace secretariat with an attendant monitoring and dispute settling mechanism at regional and local levels and the identification of socio-economic problems contributing to violence.
Although the initiative has given renewed impetus to the peace process without an accompanying education plan the lofty ideals of codes of conduct will have no standing among the people who have borne the brunt of attacks from rival political factions.

II STATE INSTITUTIONS

1. The Funding Scandal.

A week after the initial funding allegations were published, the Weekly Mail of July 26 provided the public with further information. It emerged from documents published in this edition that the United Workers Union Of South Africa (UWUSA) was a police project under joint control of the SAP and the Kwa-Zulu Minister of the Interior Steven Sithebe. It also emerged that UWUSA's finances were in such a state of chaos that the police had ordered an investigation. In response, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) stated that since the formation of UWUSA, COSATU members had been attacked numerous times by members of that organisation (Weekly Mail 26/7/1991).
Other information that emerged was that the Auditor General admitted that he was unable to "fully audit" secret funding (Sunday Star 28/7/1991) and that Major Botha now says that he drew "certain wrong conclusions" about Buthelezi's knowledge of the funding.

In response to the crisis State President FW De Klerk announced that Ministers Malan and Vlok would be moved to new portfolios, namely Forestry and Water Affairs and Correctional Services respectively. He also announced the termination of the covert funding of political parties and the establishment of new measures to ensure independent control of future government spending, especially the establishment of an advice committee from the private sector.


A former Military Intelligence Agent, Nico Basson, was subpoenaed under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which required him to reveal the whereabouts of Felix Ndimene.
Ndimele alleged that members of his unit, the Fifth Reconnaissance Commando (5 Recce), had been involved in acts of violence in the reef townships. In court Basson said he did not know where Ndimele was and the court granted him indemnity from prosecution. Basson said that his organisation, Soldiers for Peace, which was established for former members of the Security Forces who wished to make allegations about State atrocities, would not co-operate with the police until indemnity was guaranteed for such witnesses.

The State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, confirmed that the SADF had trained a unit of 150 Zulu fighters in 1986. The Weekly Mail had run this story last year and it had been denied by the SADF. The men were allegedly trained for "security work and V.I.P protection". According to De Klerk training had long since ceased and the people had been incorporated into the KwaZulu Police (Weekly Mail 2/8/1991).

However further allegations are now emerging in this regard. Members of the training group claim they were used by the IFP to attack ANC supporters in Natal. The Weekly Mail uncovered an abandoned camp in Northern Natal which was allegedly the base for this unit.
The members have also alleged that they were not trained in VIP protection but in urban and guerilla warfare (Weekly Mail 9/8/1991). Senior IFP members have denied these allegations.

3. The South African Police

1. SAP and Inkatha

Further allegations of security force and state involvement with Inkatha were published in the Weekly Mail of August 2. According to Martin Dolincheck former agent for the now defunct Bureau of State Security (BOSS), BOSS worked actively from 1974 to promote the image of Inkatha and particularly Buthelezi. The aim was to bolster moderate black leaders at the expense of the ANC. No evidence exists to suggest that Buthelezi knew he was dealing with BOSS rather than any other state agency. The allegations have been vehemently denied by officials of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

2. Torture

Allegations of torture and extra-judicial executions by members of the SAP continue.
The Board and the Khutsong ANC branch have been assisting the SAP appointed special investigation team to investigate allegations of torture and extra-judicial executions made against members of the Welverdiend Riot Unit. The Board prepared a detailed document regarding the deaths of 17 people in the Khutsong township near Carletonville. All 17 were allegedly killed by members of the SAP based at Welverdiend. Four of the deaths occurred while the victims were in custody and the remainder in the township itself.

Since the start of the investigation 10 policemen have been suspended and the Welverdiend police station dubbed the "House of Horrors" by the media has been closed down. On Wednesday August 21 1991, an identity parade was held in Khutsong township.

Sixty witnesses came forward to attend an identity parade which included policemen who they alleged tortured them by means of electric shocks. Other victims claim they were hanged. Some of the witnesses were there to point out members of the force who were allegedly involved in the shootings of township residents.
The investigation however has not been without its problems. On July 23 1991 only six days before the first five policemen were suspended and Welverdiend shut down, four residents were detained by the Welverdiend riot unit. They allege that electric shocks were administered and this was only stopped once they had agreed to sign confessions. The four were accused of murdering a white man who’s body had been found in the township in early July. While the four men were being tortured it emerged that three men had already appeared in the Carletonville Magistrate’s court charges in connection with the above mentioned murder. The four were all later released without charge. The four have subsequently laid charges against certain members of the SAP. Of importance is the fact that the four allege that they were tortured by a Lt Viljoen who had recently been appointed the unit’s new head.

Friday August 23 1991 saw the suspension of a further five policemen. The policemen were suspended shortly after an identity parade was held. One of the policemen suspended on Friday, shot and injured a 20 year old youth in the township.

The investigation is continuing and a second identity parade is to be held on Tuesday September 3 1991.
The Board and the local ANC branch have worked very closely with Colonel Dirk Stear, who is heading the investigation and he along with his team seem to be committed to resolving the numerous allegations of torture and murder against the unit. The Board welcomes the suspension of the 10 members of the Welverdiend Riot unit and the closure of the police station but hopes that once the dockets are forwarded to the attorney-general prompt action will be taken.

III. RIGHT WING

Tensions between the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB) and the National Party (NP) came to a head on August 9 at Ventersdorp, in the Western Transvaal, when State President FW De Klerk addressed a NP meeting there.

Anti-government feeling in the area has been running high ever since the attack on the Goedgevonden squatter camp in May of this year (see May report). Shortly prior to the meeting the Conservative Party (CP) requested that it be cancelled as it would lead to conflict. The CP stressed that they would not take any physical action against the meeting, but that they could not speak for other organisations.
The NP maintained that they had every right to hold the meeting (The Citizen 2/8/1991).

Later in the week the AWB announced that they would attend the meeting "in their thousands" and that "tragic consequences" would follow should they be prevented from doing so (The Citizen 7/8/1991). A group calling themselves "Ventersdorp Afrikaner Krisis Aksie" (Ventersdorp Afrikaner Crisis Action) planned to hold a meeting on the ninth but permission for the meeting was not granted by the local magistrate. After this the AWB warned that they would not allow the SAP to intimidate or assault their members on August 9 (Beeld 8/8/1991).

It is still not clear exactly what happened on the night of the ninth nor in what order. Police officials claim that a large group of right wingers (approximately 2000) including many prominent AWB officials attempted to storm the hall where the NP meeting was being held. They were repulsed with teargas and rubber bullets and replied with teargas and stones. Shots were then fired at the SAP and several policemen were injured. The police started firing in return and several right wingers were injured.
At some stage the town's lights went out briefly. After this the right wingers turned on Black civilians in the town, including a passing taxi and running battles ensued between the right wingers and the police as the latter attempted to come to the aid of the former's victims. After the incident it emerged that three right wingers had been killed, one shot and two struck down by a taxi and over fifty right wingers, policemen and Black civilians were injured (Saturday Star 10/8/1991). The AWB claimed that the police fired on the protesters with sharp point ammunition. This claim has been denied by the police.

Reaction to the events was widespread. African National Congress President, Nelson Mandela, blamed the violence on the fascist ideas of the AWB and the associated culture of political intolerance (Sunday Star 11/8/1991). President De Klerk said he regretted what had happened in Ventersdorp but not that he had gone to speak there as this is every party's democratic right. Andries Treurnicht, CP leader, blamed the President for the violence saying his presence along with so many policemen had been provocative. AWB general secretary Piet Rudolph said that the AWB now no longer had any option but to turn to war (Rapport 11/8/1991).
Later in the month the CP demanded that a judicial commission of inquiry be appointed to investigate the incident (Beeld 13/8/1991). The South African Council of Churches (SACC) condemned the actions of the rightwing, particularly the attack on innocent black civilians. This was a "demonstration of blatant racism which must be uprooted from our society" Sowetan 13/8/1991). Leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, said that the Ventersdorp attack was planned by De Klerk to turn the police against the Boer nation (Citizen 16/8/1991).

The other focus of rightwing activity this month was the issue of the three Orde Boerevolk (OB) members who are on hungerstrike. The three are Adriaan Maritz, Henry Martin, and Lodewyk van Schalkwyk. They are facing charges of murder and attempted murder following the bombing of Pretoria taxi rank and a Durban computer consultancy company last year. The three's condition has deteriorated to such an extent that they are all in hospital, and doctors have described their condition as critical. The OB has warned that if any of the three die, violence will erupt (The Star 20/8/1991). On August 28, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee announced that under no circumstances would the three be granted indemnity.
He did add however that the State would not oppose a bail application on their behalf (*Citizen* 29/8/1991).

The most sinister thing to emerge from the whole issue is the possibility that the group may have links with the security forces. In an article published in the *Vrye Weekblad* of August 23 1991 the hunger strikers claimed that a security policeman was part of their cell and that he gave the orders for the Durban parcel bomb to be sent. In addition Martin and Maritz claim to have been operatives for military intelligence. The police have responded to the allegations by announcing that charges against a Pretoria policeman are being investigated and that the man has been suspended from duty. The Board will be investigating these allegations.

**IV. ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS**

Attacks on individuals continue, particularly on trade unionists and ANC activists. The Western Cape has been the focus of many of these attacks. On Wednesday August 14, the wife and three children of prominent ANC activist, Solomon Tshuku, were killed in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.
The death of Florence Tshuku, her sons Lundi (18), Mncedisi (20) and daughter Abigail (17) follows the death of ANC activist and Khayelitsha community leader Michael Mapongwana on July 8 1991.

Police in Cape Town have according to The Star of August 1 1991 arrested two men, both members of the Western Cape Black Taxi Association, in connection with the assassination of Mapongwana.

Fears are growing among trade unionists and activists following the disappearance of Lawrence Mufamadi at the end of Cosatu’s national congress last month. Mufamadi (34) disappeared in central Johannesburg after accompanying a friend, Amon Ngolele to a taxi rank. Both were in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) delegation attending Cosatu’s national congress. Political activists and his family which includes ANC executive member, Sydney Mufamadi, fear that Lawrence may have been kidnapped by anti-ANC elements.
V. REEF VIOLENCE:

1. Alexandra

Violence flared again in Alexandra township in the early weeks of August. The first rumblings occurred shortly after the lifting of the 9h00 to 04h00 curfew. Residents in the area believe that the order declaring Alexandra an unrest area was lifted on Friday July 30 1991 to enable the IFP to conduct a "clean up" operation in the area. The clean-up on Saturday July 31 1991 turned sour when resident's claim Inkatha members began throwing stones. The armed procession ignored heaps of rubbish as it moved down 17th Avenue, turned into 16th Avenue, and flowed back to Roosevelt Road. According to a reporter on the scene the group attacked the 11th Avenue squatter community with bricks. Police moving in Casspirs allegedly took no action to apprehend the culprits except to shout "Stop! Stop!".

In the early hours of Saturday August 11, three people were shot dead at a squatter camp in the township.
Members of the community claim that preparations for the attack began on Friday when a group of armed black men were seen disembarking from a casspir at the entrance to the township. The men were later seen moving towards the hostel. Once again it was alleged that police stood by and did nothing while the attack was taking place. Once squatters started defending themselves the police allegedly started shooting teargas and rubber bullets and they then escorted the attackers back to the hostel. The registration numbers of the police vehicles were later given to the police but a spokesperson for the police said that the registration numbers they received did not exist.

On Sunday August 12 the squatter camp near East Bank was attacked. Residents claim the attackers were white and were accompanied by two black men in uniform. The attackers moved through the squatter camp shouting anti-ANC and civic slogans. Residents said that the voices they heard clearly belonged to white men. Squatters at the camp say they saw four white gunmen.

The bloody weekend left 24 people dead and 53 injured. According to the police most of the dead had been shot.
The violence has led to Alexandra being declared an unrest area once again, only sixteen days after it was first lifted.

The Board is currently in the process of taking statements from Alexandra residents regarding the attacks. Residents have refused to give statements to the police because they have no confidence in them.

2. Daveyton

An inquest into the death of 14 people killed during a clash between ANC supporters and policemen in Daveyton on the East Rand in March began on Monday August 5 1991 in the Rand Supreme Court. (See March Report).

3. Ermelo

Allegations have come in about a vigilante group which is aligned to Inkatha and which seems to operate with impunity in the Kwa Dela township near Ermelo. Residents claim that far from being protected by the SAP, members of the SAP seem to be actively involved in the attacks on ANC and civic members.
Residents say the vigilantes are bussed into the township by "inkatha warlord" NL Mkhonza, mayor of the township. The vigilantes are allegedly bussed in from Wesselton an Inkatha stronghold in the Eastern Transvaal. The mayor of KwaDela has admitted to bringing Inkatha members to the township but has denied that they are involved in any violence. He said that they were brought into the township to protect him and other IFP members from attack by the ANC.

The Inkatha vigilantes apparently attack residents at random and burn and stone homes, most of the victims have been ANC activists and their families.

The police claim they are aware of the allegations against their members and are currently investigating. But the SAP maintain that to date no record of police involvement has been found.

4. Vaal

Violence continues to simmer in the Vaal townships.
On July 29 1991 two people died and several houses were damaged when scores of armed men attacked residents in Boipatong township near Vanderbijlpark. Residents allege that the attackers left immediately after a search light was switched on and three whistles were heard.

One resident claimed that the attackers came from KwaMadala hostel which is owned by Iscor. An Iscor employee who has house in the township claims that he recognised the men as coming from the hostel.

On Saturday August 3 1991 at least two people were killed and several others injured in Biopatong during a funeral of alleged Inkatha member Billy Mokotedi. Residents once again claimed that trouble erupted in the township after police in Casspirs escorted scores of inmates from the KwaMadala hostel to the funeral. Witnesses allege that several bystanders were injured when shots were fired from the casspirs. The Board is currently obtaining statements from people who saw this incident. One witness claims that he immediately pointed out the policeman involved to a senior officer on the scene.
5. Mshenguville

On July 7 1991 the Inkatha Freedom Party held an open air gathering at a soccer field near Mshenguville in Mafolo, Soweto. Mshenguville is one of the largest squatter camps in Soweto and was set up by the former mayor of Soweto and now Inkatha member ET Tshabalala. Witnesses say that IFP members wearing T-shirts tried to force local residents in the camp to attend the meeting. Residents who refused to attend the meeting were threatened with assault.

On July 22 1991, IFP members allegedly went around the camp telling all men to attend an Inkatha meeting in Block 4. At the meeting, residents claim they were told that Mshenguville was now under the control of the IFP. The meeting was addressed by a man known as Ngidi who is allegedly from Dube hostel. He told all Zulu speakers to join Inkatha or face death. Following the meeting, attacks on the community continued on July 24, Vusi Mbatha's shack was burnt, on July 26 the Reverend Edward Nkomo was shot dead while standing outside his shack.
On July 27 1991 a man, described by squatters as an Inkatha activist was arrested by the SAP after they found two SAP uniforms, a pistol, two home-made shotguns, axes, pangas and several rounds of ammunition in his shack in the squatter camp.

Attacks continue in the camp, the majority against ANC members and sympathisers. In August two bombs exploded in the area. The first in the squatter camp itself and the second at a bottle store owned by ET Tshabalala. On August 21, the squatter camp was the scene of a hand grenade attack which killed one person and injured five others. On the same night there was an attack on the Ipelegeng community hall where squatters fleeing the violence had sought shelter. The Board is currently working in the area. The atmosphere is tense and those squatters who have refused to join the IFP have all but left the area. Those who remain are the subject of continual harassment and attacks.

VI. PEACE INITIATIVES

The Government, ANC and Inkatha representatives will meet at
It outlines the mechanisms by which the codes will be monitored and put into effect.

* A commission of inquiry may be established to define causes of conflict.

* Regional, local and national dispute-resolving committees would be set up to deal with disputes as they arise. For instance, if one party wished to hold a march and an objection was raised saying this would cause conflict, such a committee could bring the people in question together to try to resolve problem areas (Weekly Mail 16/8/1991).

VII. NATAL

In Natal more evidence has emerged of police complicity in the violence that has racked the area since 1985. Captain Brian Mitchell was arrested in connection with the killing of 11 people in 1988 during a funeral vigil in Trust Feeds near Pietermaritzburg. The arrest followed information being given by two former SAP special constables who are suspects in the case.
a Peace convention in Johannesburg on September 14 following preliminary agreement on a draft peace accord.

The accord is the result of meetings between political representatives brought together by churches and business in a bid to commit all political parties to peaceful political competition. The three parties are expected to sign the accord which consists of recommendations on codes of conduct for security forces and political parties, socio-economic developments and monitoring mechanisms (Business Day 16/8/91).

Some of the features of the agreement are:

* Claims made and language used which may incite violence will attract penalties. According to the Weekly Mail, these will include public apologies and, depending on the circumstances, the taking out of newspaper advertisements to set the record straight.

* The 70-page document details the codes of conduct for political parties and other organisations as well as security forces, with separate attention given to the police.
The two men alleged that the attack was carried out on Mitchell's orders and that he accompanied them to the site of the incident. Police sources say that other former policemen are also being sought in connection with the incident (The Star 5/8 1991). On August 22 1991 another policeman was arrested, Captain JP Van den Heever (Citizen 23/8/1991).

VIII. THE BORDER/CISKEI/TRANSKEI REGION:

Introduction

The focus in the region this month has been on allegations that South Africa is using the Ciskei authorities to destabilise the region. At the centre of the allegations is the Ciskei military government, especially its covert military unit which was originally known as International Research (IR) and is now called Ciskei Intelligence Services (CIS). There has been increasing exposure of IR/CIS, it's role in the region and South African knowledge of the operations.
Several events this month have highlighted these issues: the defection of Ciskei Military Intelligence (MI) chief Colonel Gert Hugo to Transkei; the Transkei trial of those accused of involvement in the November 1990 coup attempt and new coup allegations from Ciskei in response. The effect of these developments has been to isolate Ciskei.

South African government officials have been putting pressure on the Ciskei government to restructure or close down the covert military grouping and Ciskei and Transkei are at loggerheads over new coup allegations.

2. International Research/Ciskei Intelligence Services

IR/CIS was set up by Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo around August last year. The head of the unit is former SADF Colonel Jan Anton Nieuwoudt and his deputies are former SADF Major and ex-deputy mayor of East London Ted Brassell and former SADF officer Clive Brink. The group has been accused of involvement in several operations which resulted in the deaths of at least three people.
More information about the grouping was made public by Colonel Hugo, at a regional peace conference and in ongoing exposes in the Daily Dispatch.

3. The Hugo Defection

Colonel Gert Hugo fled from Ciskei on July 22 and appealed to the Transkei authorities for assistance. His defection was made public at a press conference in Umtata, called at his request, on July 26.

Essentially, Hugo stated that he had left Ciskei because of IR/CIS. He said that he was in fear of his life from this grouping and gave details of the unit’s members, involvement in operations and their influence over Gqozo. While little of the information he gave was new to people in the region, much of it had not been published before and his corroboration made it possible to publish this.
The Peace Conference

This conference was held on July 27 1991 in East London and was hosted jointly by the Border Business Action Committee and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance. The conference appears to be a direct response from the business sector to the recent month long consumer boycott in an attempt to deal with the issues which sparked off the boycott.

The conference, chaired by the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, examined the security situation in the Border area and discussed the unstable political situation, particularly in Ciskei, the potential for violence in the region and the depressed state of the regional economy. Participants included the Democratic Party, the National Party, church groups, Lawyers for Human Rights, civics, white local authorities, the Transkei military government and South African government observers. Ciskei declined to attend, with Gqozo referring to the conference as nothing short of a "kangeroo court". In Ciskei's first public reaction to allegations of destabilising the region, Gqozo stated that: "My government maintains law and order. There is no violence or instability in my country."
If violence comes now it is clear it will have been initiated from outside." A steering committee was set up to carry forward proposals made by the conference.

On August 06 a high level SA delegation met with Ciskei officials. Deputy-director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, and Chief of the SADF General Kat Liebenberg met with the Ciskei Council of State for what Ciskei later described as "confidential discussions on matters of mutual interest". It is believed that the delegation met to discuss the restructuring of IR/CIS with a view to either disbanding it by incorporating it into the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF), or giving SA greater control over it. Evans said there was "nothing unusual" about the meeting as it was part of his responsibility to ensure "a sound administration" for the Ciskei government. He further stated that there was nothing "sinister" in Liebenberg’s presence as the SADF chief had wanted to meet with Gqozo as this was the first opportunity he had had to do so (Daily Dispatch 07/08/1991). Evans subsequently acknowledged that IR/CIS had been mentioned in the "wide-ranging" discussions and denied Ciskei allegations that he had leaked information about the meeting (Daily Dispatch 08/08/1991).
It seems likely that SA was finally forced to take some action over the unit after the issue were highlighted by Hugo, the Peace conference and accompanying publicity. Prior to this, SA embassy officials had simply stated that although they were aware of the existence of IR/CIS, they had no knowledge of its actions. There is also speculation that SA is putting pressure on Ciskei to drop charges against Hugo in return for Hugo’s silence.

A total of 18 alleged plotters, including former Transkei president Chief Kaiser Matanzima, appeared in the Umtata regional court this month and the case was postponed to September 4. The case relates to the abortive November 1990 coup attempt in Transkei, led by former military council member Colonel Craig Duli and his bodyguard Boetie Davis, who were both killed in the attempt.

Allegations surrounding documents linking Matanzima to the coup were exposed by New Nation on August 9. The documents were allegedly drawn up by the "Transkei group" involving Matanzima. They detailed three ways in which Major-general Bantu Holomisa’s military government could be unseated and the Transkei group installed;
* Firstly, using constitutional powers vested in the Transkei state president to dissolve the government on the pretext of "national interest". This included an SADF blockade of military bases in Umtata and Port St John's;

* Secondly, by stripping government members of military powers by transferring them to civilian positions;

* Thirdly, through a coup brought about with the help of South Africa and the Transkei police:

* A guerrilla war was mentioned as a final effort.

The documents were allegedly sent to State President FW de Klerk. Foreign Affairs official Chris Venter, one of the men Transkei authorities said they wanted to interview in connection with the Duli coup attempt, confirmed that the Transkei group had sent requests for assistance to South Africa but denied that the group had been given any aid. Venter said the documents had been filed away in the archives and he denied that he personally had had direct correspondence with Matanzima.
On August 16 another document was leaked to the press and run in *New Nation*. This was the Transkei intelligence report on the interrogation of coup suspect Nkosekhaya Gobingca, a close associate of Mbotoli. Gobingca was arrested in April. Gobingca implicated Gqozo, members of IR/CIS, Anton Niewoudt and Ted Brassell, former Transkei Defence Force commander Zondwa Mtirara, SADF member Fanie du Toit and SABC’s East London journalist Danie Malan in the coup attempt. According to the document, Gobingca, drew up a draft constitution aimed at uniting Transkei and Ciskei. Gobingca showed this constitution to Gqozo, Mbotoli, Niewoudt, Du Toit and another soldier at a meeting held in Gqoza’s office. Arrangements were subsequently made for IR/CIS to buy a vehicle for Gobingca and he was ordered to report to Brassell. The document also detailed how a Lieutenant Jordan of the Queenstown security police was instructed by General Griebenauw in Pretoria not to have anything to do with the coup attempt. Jordan subsequently telephoned Gobingca to warn him not to get involved. After Mbotoli was allegedly kidnapped and taken to Transkei, Brassell told Gobingca to find out where he was being held and told Gobingca that the attack on Transkei would now be delayed.
The document also states that Brassell told Gobingca that they would carry on with their operations regardless of South Africa's thinking as the operation would be launched from Ciskei soil.

Ciskei denied the allegations in the Gobingca document. In a press conference in Bisho some days later Gqozo, surrounded by over 30 soldiers, his ministers, heads of parastatals, his legal advisors and a representative from the South African embassy, refuted the claims and instead announced allegations of a Transkei plot against Ciskei. During the press conference members of IR/CIS were outside the building. Gqozo stuck to his claim that the Gobingca document was forged but would give no reasons for this allegation. He claimed that "certain elements are involved in yet another plot to overthrow the Ciskei government. The present plot is clearly more sophisticated and professional". However, he would give no details at all.
XI. CONCLUSION

The Board notes with concern the continuing trickle of information linking security forces to political violence across the South African political spectrum. There is an urgent need for a full and thorough investigation of such allegations. Otherwise they will continue to emerge piece-meal and the possibility of true confidence in the security forces as impartial and apolitical bodies being restored will remain remote. There are some encouraging signs that the police are prepared to act against their own members and the hope is that this will not stop at a few token arrests and suspensions.

It is impossible at this stage to predict the long term political effects of the Ventersdorp incident. It is however extremely disturbing to note that subsequent to this incident the National Party had to cancel a meeting in Parys in the Orange Free State due to possible rightwing intervention. The possibility that Ventersdorp could become a rallying point for the rightwing should not be discounted.
The danger of a catalyst for the rightwing is increased by the possibility of the hungerstrikers becoming rightwing martyrs.

Finally, we note with concern that the Ventersdorp incident in which three people were killed occupied pages in the local newspapers for days after the incident. However on the same weekend violence broke out in Alexandra leading to death of 24 people. Yet, this at most, received a few paragraphs in the local media. The suggestion is that black lives are cheaper than white and that people who are not directly affected thereby are becoming inured to violence in the black townships.