IBIIR REPORT FOR THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER 1990

1. CONTINUING VIOLENCE ON THE REEF

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The violence in the Reef townships, which cost more than 500 lives in August, continued in September, pushing the death toll up towards the 800 mark. However, the violence seemed to be subsiding towards the end of September, after representatives of various community and political groupings and the South African Police had met in an effort to achieve peace.

The fact that the media has seized on the theme of Zulu versus Xhosa and portrayed the violence simply as black on black violence is simplistic and obscures the complete web of circumstances and actions which are at work in this arena. Such an interpretation suggests that the violence does not have pernicious origins or that it reflects any political or economic aspirations.
1.1.1 The Sebokeng incident of 4 September

The IBIIR has concentrated its efforts in monitoring and investigating the violence in Sebokeng, where 137 people had been arrested on 4 September after an attack on the Sebokeng hostels. This was the first incident since the violence had broken out at the end of July in which suspected attackers were arrested. Among those arrested, allegedly with an arms cache in the boot of his car, was Themba Khoza, Transvaal leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade. The IBIIR has been active in obtaining statements from eye-witnesses and in investigating the incident. A separate report on the Sebokeng incident, detailing statements and the events leading up to the incident on 4 September, has been prepared by the IBIIR.

After all 137 suspects were originally charged with 35 counts of murder and other offences totalling 52 charges on the strength of the evidence provided by the IBIIR, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal decided on 27 September to withdraw charges against 100 suspects. The remaining 37 suspects, many of whom were identified on an identification parade by witnesses provided by the Board, will still face a variety of charges. The 37 accused have been released on bail.
Later in the morning of 4 September, after the attack on the hostels by alleged Inkatha members, at least three people were killed when a SADF unit opened fire on residents assembled outside the hostel where the attackers had been trapped. In statements obtained by the IBIIR, it is alleged that the soldiers opened fire without provocation while the residents were sitting down with their hands in the air.

1.1.2 New trends manifesting themselves

New aspects of the violence that came to the fore, have been random killings on city trains and in the streets by gangs of armed men, sometimes seen in a white minibus. Also, reports have been received of white men seen in township attacks, sometimes alleged to be acting in collusion with Inkatha impis.

Separate incidents of attacks on train commuters are detailed below, in the chronological breakdown of incidents.

The worst of these incidents took place on Thursday 13 September, when an armed gang attacked passengers who were in a prayer meeting at random, shooting and hacking people to death.
According to the police, 26 people were killed and 100 injured, but the government-supporting daily Beeld put the death toll at 36 and the number of injured at 270. (Beeld 14/09/90).

A striking aspect of this attack was that the attackers seemed to be well trained. The attack also seemed to be well planned - they got onto the train at a pre-arranged station, methodically went their murderous way through the coaches, and got away before anything could be done to arrest them.

The stations where the attackers boarded and left the train, are very close to the inner-city George Goch and Jeppe men’s hostels.

When analysing the continuing train attacks and the apparent lack of protection of commuters, the very first of these attacks - on the night of the 1st and the morning of 2nd August - should be kept in mind.

On that occasion, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police were informed by lawyers beforehand that an attack on commuters had been planned by Inkatha. Nevertheless, no action was taken, the attack went ahead and a person was killed and more than 30 people injured.
While it is clear that the utmost should be done to protect commuters and to maintain law and order in this climate of violence, disturbing evidence has come to light of untrained or extremely badly trained "security personnel" being deployed on stations with live ammunition.

The IBIIR has a number of statements in its possession, detailing the recruitment of unemployed people by a private security firm. Without having fired one shot, and after the bare minimum of theoretical training in the use of fire-arms, these people were deployed on various stations on the Reef, armed with shotguns and other fire-arms and live ammunition. The recruits were also issued with fire-arm licenses.

The presence of white men in groups of armed attackers has been alleged by various eyewitnesses in different townships.

In Sebokeng, for example, witnesses have told the Board that a group of three or four white men wearing coats, with balaclavas over their heads and armed with rifles, were seen in the group of alleged Inkatha supporters who attacked the hostels on September 4.

Similar accounts were given to reporters by eye-witnesses on the East Rand, when the Phola Park squatter camp was attacked by hostel dwellers, and by eyewitnesses of the attack on the Tladi squatter camp in Soweto. (cf. Beeld 11/09/90).
A Catholic priest, Father Dermot Mills, has given the IBIIR a detailed account of six white men, armed with assault rifles and dressed in civilian clothes, who drove around Soweto and who refused to identify themselves or even to tell him whether they were policemen.

1.2. CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

In an effort to project an idea of what has been happening in other townships on the Witwatersrand, a chronological summary of events in September will be set out.

1.2.1 Weekend 1-2 September

A gang of armed people in a white minibus went on the rampage on the the night of Saturday 1 September on the East Rand, killing 21 people.
The gang was first seen in Tembisa on Saturday night, where they shot 9 people from the moving minibus. Then they moved on to Tokoza, where 12 more people were shot.
In Tokoza, eight people were shot at the Itafeng hostel. All of the deceased were Xhosa-speaking. Then the gang attacked pedestrians on the way with guns and pangas, killing four more.

(Beeld; Citizen; The Star; Sowetan 03/09/90).
Statements have been taken from victims of some of the attacks of the 1st September by the IBIIR’s lawyers. Some of these statements allege cooperation between policemen and Inkatha supporters.

Titima Kwhebani, of Ethafeni men’s hostel in Tembisa alleges that on the night of the attack, there were municipal policemen wearing brown overcoats and green caps in the group that attacked them. Some of the people in the group were wearing red headbands, indicating support for Inkatha.

Kwhebani’s statement is substantially corroborated in statements of Caswell Mqaba and Octavius Mqetha, also of Ethafeni Hostel. Mqetha says that shots were fired through his window on the evening of 1 September. He jumped out of the window and saw three men firing shots. All three were wearing blue overalls and red headbands. One of them, Mbhokodo, was well known to him.

Mlindi Nkabinde said that he saw a cream coloured bakkie and a Toyota Super 18 minibus driving along a back street in Tembisa on the night of 1 September. The occupants of the vehicles were firing shots at the houses as they drove past. Three people sitting in the back of the open bakkie were wearing blue overalls and they had balaclavas over their heads.

Although the South African Police at Tembisa were phoned and informed about the incident, they never arrived to investigate, according to the statements of Nkabinde and of Alfred Lebello.
Direct police collusion with Inkatha is alleged by Ngwako Mabelano, who says that two people with red headbands got out of a yellow police vehicle on the night of 1 September. A third person, who was also wearing a red headband, was identified as Dumisane Myeni, a municipal policeman.

1.2.2 Thursday 6 September

A group of armed men in a minibus roamed the streets of Soweto, killing six people. On the same day, two gunmen opened fire on commuters at Jeppe station. Victims said they saw a white minibus at the station. (The Star 11/09/90).

The attack occurred at 19:10 when the two gunmen shot wildly into a crowd waiting on the platform. Five people were killed and at least 14 injured. (The Star 07/09/90). It was later established that the weapons used were 9mm and 7.65 mm pistols. (The Star 07/09/90).

Earlier that morning, at about 05:30, groups of armed Inkatha supporters with red head-, arm- and legbands attacked commuters waiting to board the train at Merafe station in Soweto. (Weekly Mail 07/09/90).
Eyewitnesses alleged that the attackers had come from nearby Merafe hostel. Hours after the attack, police were seen negotiating with Mapetla hostel dwellers and their lawyer, where groups of armed Inkatha supporters had gathered. No attempt was made to disarm them. *(Weekly Mail 07/09/90).*

On the other side of the railway line, police converged on the Tladi squatter camp and fired teargas and rubber bullets at youths who had armed themselves with stones and petrol bombs. *(Weekly Mail 07/09/90).*

### 1.2.3 Weekend 7–9 September

In Soweto, a large band of armed men attacked the Tladi squatter camp. Eleven people were killed in Tladi and 26 more in greater Soweto. Residents alleged that white men with balaclavas over their faces were seen with the attackers, who were recognised as Inkatha supporters by their red headbands. *(Beeld 11/09/90).*

Before the attack, two white minibuses were seen at the entrance to Tladi squatter camp. About fifteen men wearing overcoats and balaclavas, of whom some were white, were reportedly seen alighting from the minibuses. *(Beeld 11/09/90).*
On the East Rand, at least 18 people were killed in ongoing fighting. (The Star 10/09/90). Houses of township residents in Katlehong were demolished by people described as "Zulu impis". (Beeld 11/09/90).

1.2.4 Monday 10 September

An unidentified man was shot dead by "a gang of Zulus" on a train between Katlehong and Germiston. (The Star 10/09/90). The man’s friend fell to his death when he tried to escape by jumping from the window of the moving train.

Overnight clashes in Katlehong left at least 12 dead. (The Star 11/09/90). According to Sapa’s correspondent in Katlehong, hostel dwellers armed with guns and crude weapons were seen fighting the township residents. More than 200 hostel dwellers had reportedly attacked the residents. (Business Day 11/09/90).
1.2.5 Tuesday 11 September

As fighting continued on the East Rand, State President FW de Klerk and ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela met, along with other representatives of the Government and the ANC, to discuss the violence in Natal and on the Reef. *(The Citizen 12/09/90).*

Residents in Vosloorus told reporters that "groups of Zulus were running amok" with AK-47 rifles, firing wildly at residents and shouting "shaya", meaning "hit" or "attack". *(Business Day 12/09/90; The Citizen 12/09/90).*

About 400 squatter shacks were burnt down in Phola Park, between Katlehong and Vosloorus, when the squatter camp was attacked at night, allegedly by Inkatha supporters. *(The Citizen 12/09/90).* Residents of Phola Park alleged that policemen had assisted the attackers. A witness said a police Casspir had been seen patrolling Phola Park before 18:00. About 30 minutes later, the same Casspir was seen on the main road about 500m away.

"The Casspir had its back to the squatter camp when we heard shooting from what appeared to be an AK-47 rifle. Thereafter the lights of the Casspir went on and off again.

"Minutes later, white men wearing dark overalls and gas masks and men from the Mshayeazafe hostel came from the direction of where the Casspir had been parked."
"They started firing at the houses and then set fire to our homes with something which looked like a gas torch. "As the women and children ran away, the men called one another and warded off the attack. The attackers retreated and ran towards the Casspir where they all boarded the vehicle and drove away. "Later, at an intersection near Eden Park, the same Casspir drove past us with men inside singing Inkatha songs," the witness said. (The Star 13/09/90).

Katlehong residents also said that a group of men, chanting the Zulu war cry, "Usuthu", attacked residents at Tsholo Section at about 19:30. Dozens of homes were damaged during the attack. (Sowetan 12/09/90).

In Soweto, five more bodies were found, bringing the death toll since the weekend to 42. (The Citizen 12/09/90).

More attacks took place on train commuters. A gang of panga-wielding men attacked commuters on the Johannesburg-Soweto train as it pulled out of Braamfontein station. The body of a man who was hacked to death was found under Queen Elizabeth Bridge. (The Star 11/09/90). Two more men were thrown from moving trains at Jabulani and Inhlazane in Soweto. (The Star 15/09/90).
1.2.6 Wednesday 12 September

The violence continued in Tokoza, Tembisa and Vosloorus on the East Rand, bringing the death toll on the East Rand to 48 since Monday. Houses in Tokoza were burnt down and shooting was heard throughout the night. (Beeld 13/09/90). About 6000 refugees fled to the Natalspruit hospital grounds in search of safety. (The Star 13/09/90).

In Vosloorus, the City Council started demolishing the hostel that had been used as a fort from which attacks were launched by Inkatha supporters. (Beeld 13/09/90).

In central Johannesburg, a gang of four men in a white-and-red minibus went on the rampage, killing three people and wounding five. The men fired indiscriminately on commuters and pedestrians along the road. (Business Day; The Star 13/09/90).

A white minibus with a red light on top, presumed by residents to be an ambulance, was seen escorting armed policemen in Soweto. After complaints by the Democratic Party in the Johannesburg City Council, the SAP gave Johannesburg Management Committee chairperson Ian Davidson the assurance that the matter would be investigated. (Business Day 26/09/90).
Three employees of the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg died and four others were wounded when gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles opened fire on the yellow minibus in which they were travelling to work from Soweto. The incident happened near the Nancefield Hostel. (Citizen 13/09/90).

About three hours earlier, a police constable was killed and three others wounded when two police vehicles were attacked by men armed with AK-47 rifles. (Citizen 13/09/90).

1.2.7 Thursday 13 September

In the worst train attack thus far, 36 people were killed and 270 injured when an armed gang indiscriminately attacked commuters on a suburban train. Some people were shot, others hacked to death with pangas, and some - among whom were two pregnant women - were injured or killed when they jumped from the moving train. Although the official police estimate was that 26 people had been killed and 100 injured, inquiries at hospitals and from ambulance personnel showed that the figure was much higher. (Beeld 14/09/90).

The attack brought the Reef death toll since the outbreak of violence to at least 757. (Citizen 14/09/90).
The attackers boarded the train at Jeppe station, according to the police. According to eye-witnesses, more killers boarded the train at the next station, George Goch. (Beeld 13/09/90). Both of these stations are close to inner-city single sex men's hostels that are seen as Inkatha strongholds. Shortly after the train pulled away from George Goch, the gang opened fire and started hacking at passengers. When the train stopped at the next station, Benrose, more murderers were waiting, killing off fleeing passengers. Then they also boarded the train, and the carnage continued. The train did not continue further, and the killers fled on foot. (Beeld; Weekly Mail; The Star; Business Day; The Citizen 14/09/90).

In Soweto, four people were found stabbed to death, bringing the Soweto death toll to 67 since the beginning of September. (The Star 14/09/90).

The death toll on the East Rand rose to 100 since Monday 10 September. Eight bodies were found in Tokoza and one in Vosloorus. (The Star 14/09/90). Residents in Vosloorus alleged that Inkatha members from nearby hostels had been dispatched by Casspirs at various points in the township before they attacked residents. (Weekly Mail 14/09/90).
1.2.8 Friday 14 September

Fifteen people were injured on two trains in Johannesburg. It could not be established whether they were flung off trains or whether they had jumped out in panic when fellow passengers stampeded, yelling: "The Zulus are coming!" The incidents happened between Braamfontein and Mayfair stations at 15:45 and between Jeppe and Ellis Park stations at 16:00.

Pressmen at Jeppe station said they saw what appeared to be a gang of black youths flinging people out of the moving carriages, but police could not confirm this. (Saturday Star 15/09/90).

Three people died when youths attacked taxi owners at two Soweto taxi ranks. (Saturday Star 15/09/90).

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk met urgently in Pretoria. After the meeting, Mr Mandela told a press conference that Mr De Klerk had conceded that the violence was not only a clash between black and black, Inkatha and the ANC, or Zulus and Xhosas, but that "some hidden hand" was at play which intended to destabilise the peace process. (Saturday Star 15/09/90).
Church leaders from the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Dutch Reformed, Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal and Apostolic Faith churches held a prayer service in Soweto and visited Tladi squatter camp and the homes of different victims of the recent violence. The group also visited Merafe hostel in Mapetla, the scene of violent clashes between hostel dwellers and local residents. (Saturday Star 15/09/90).

Four representatives of Women Against Repression met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in Pretoria. In a memorandum that was handed to Vlok the previous day, the women alleged that the Government continues to favour the evidence of the police and Defence Force above that of eyewitnesses, even though the Goldstone Commission found cause to criticise police testimony. (Saturday Star 15/09/90).

1.2.9 Saturday 15 September

The SA Police announced "Operation Iron Fist", comprising of measures to clamp down on suspected perpetrators of violence. It was announced that roadblocks would be set up at strategic points, where cars would be searched for weapons, that hostels would be cordoned off with barbed wire, and that a curfew would be imposed in certain townships. Police Casspirs were also to be issued with light machineguns.
Mr Nelson Mandela criticised the use of live ammunition by the SAP, saying that teargas and water cannons could be used to control large groups of people. (Beeld 17/09/90; Sunday Star 16/09/90).

Father Denton Mills, a Roman Catholic priest, told the IBIIR of an incident in Soweto where he saw six unidentified white men driving around with at least four long-barrelled guns, which appeared to be assault rifles.

Father Mills was returning from the Roman Catholic Church in Moletsane when a white man carrying a rifle stopped him. The man then motioned for two cars from a side street to move into the main street and he got into one of the cars. The registration numbers of the two cars are in the possession of the Board. Father Mills caught up with the two cars at a T junction. He saw two long-barrelled guns sticking out of the windows of each of the two cars. There were three white men in civilian clothes in each car. When Father Mills asked them whether they were policemen and whether they could show any identification, he was told to mind his own business.
1.2.10 Sunday 16 September

Rallies at Jabulani stadium in Soweto and in Tokoza were jointly addressed by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and Transkei President Tutor Ndamase.
Tens of thousands of armed Inkatha supporters reportedly attended the rallies. No attempt was made by the police to disarm them. *(Business Day 17/09/90).*

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok made an appearance at the Tokoza stadium and arranged an impromptu visit by Ndamase to squatters at Phola Park. Many of the squatters had reportedly been afraid to go to the rally because of the huge Inkatha presence. *(Business Day 17/09/90).*

Sapa reported that Vlok addressed the squatters and told them not to attack anybody. He promised them the police would everything possible to protect them. *(Business Day 17/09/90; Beeld 17/09/90).*

Many of the Zulu men in the stadium were in traditional battle dress and carried "traditional weapons" like assegais, shields and knobkieries, but many home-made axes, pangas and sharpened iron rods were also evident. *(Beeld; Business Day 17/09/90).*

When Vlok was challenged about the carrying of arms, he said: "You can’t expect us to start disarming the people here, just think what will happen." *(Business Day 17/09/90).*
Ndamase and King Goodwill called for an end to the fighting between hostel dwellers and township residents. (*Business Day* 17/09/90).

1.2.11 Monday 17 September

No incidents of violence were reported. President FW de Klerk announced after a meeting of the State Security Council that more measures to curb the violence would be announced.

1.2.12 Saturday 22 September

The Government announced that a night curfew would be imposed in most Reef townships from Tuesday 25 September. The move was condemned by the ANC, who charged that vigilante attacks could increase and that residents would be helpless in the circumstances to defend themselves. (*Sunday Star* 23/09/90).
1.2.13 Monday 24 September

Seven people fell to their death when they jumped from a moving train, apparently after a false alarm that passengers were being attacked.

A police spokesman said that other commuters caused confusion when they screamed that armed men were attacking.

Many Soweto train commuters have reportedly claimed that thugs are spreading false rumours about hostel-dwellers attacking passengers. When the panic-stricken passengers flee, the thugs steal bags and other items left behind. (Sowetan 26/09/90).

1.2.14 Tuesday 25 September

The 21:00 to 04:00 curfew imposed by the Government came into effect in Reef townships.

However, it was reported that people were walking around freely in the streets in Soweto after 22:00, although cars were stopped and reporters were asked to produce press cards. (Sowetan 26/09/90). No-one was arrested for breaking the curfew. (Business Day 26/09/90).

Streets in Tokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong on the East Rand were reported deserted after 21:00. (Business Day 26/09/90).
The Human Rights Commission reported on 26 September that 8 people were being held for allegedly breaching the Unrest regulations. All those held were members of the Azanian People's Organisation from Soweto. (Human Rights Briefing 32/90, 26/09/90).

The HRC also reported that approximately 46 people had been detained under the "Unrest Areas Regulations Act" in the previous two weeks.

According to the report, 35 people were detained in Ennerdale on 11 September. Of those, 19 were charged with public violence and arson, and 16 were released.

A group of 11 Soweto teenagers, allegedly including two 14 year old boys, were detained in Diepkloof Prison for 12 days and then released without being charged. They were apparently held under s 31(1) of the regulations governing "unrest areas". (Human Rights Briefing 32/90, 26/09/90).

1.2.15 Weekend 29-30 September

The bodies of three people who had been necklaced were found at Small Farms, Evaton (near Sebokeng) on Saturday morning 29 September. They were Isaac Mokoena (18), Daniel Nogie (19) and Albert Lesia. (Citizen 01/10/90).
On Sunday morning, 30 September, the body of another necklace victim was found at the Sebokeng hostels. *(Citizen 01/10/90).*

Four white people were murdered and their bodies were burnt out in Khutloanong township near Odendaalsrus in the Orange Free State on Saturday night, September 29. Basie van Niekerk (32), Michael Belelie (33), Shirley Basson (32) and Anthony Casey (32) were apparently murdered when they went into the township to visit a shebeen, *(Citizen 01/10/90).*

1.3. CONCLUSION

As more allegations of the presence of whites in attacking groups of Inkatha supporters emerged, suspicions of a "third force" acting to destabilise the current negotiation process deepened.

Suspicions are mounting that rightwing elements intent on derailing the peace process, either within the security forces or acting on their own, are fuelling the violence in attempt to destabilise the country. A similar tactic was used when Renamo was formed by South African and Rhodesian security forces in Mozambique, resulting in a prolonged civil war.
An investigation by the *Weekly Mail* claimed that an elite unit of Inkatha fighters had been trained in guerrilla warfare by South African army officers in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia, adding to the suspicions of a Renamo-type operation in South Africa.

According to the *Weekly Mail*, the base - called Hippo and located on the banks of the Cuando river 80 km west of Katima Mulilo - fell under the control of Chief of Staff Intelligence. The same division of the SADF took over control of Renamo from the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation in the 1970s and turned it into a clandestine destabilising force. (*Weekly Mail* 21/09/90). The clandestine Civil Co-operation Bureau, which was exposed in recent months, also fell under this division of the SADF. (See previous IBIIR memoranda on the CCB).

According to the *Weekly Mail*, the Inkatha training base fell under the command of Colonel Jan Breytenbach, founder of the SADF's 32 Battallion that specialised in cross-border raids into Angola. Second in charge was a Colonel Sachsen, who commands the Fifth Reconnaissance Commando in Phalaborwa. This commando unit has in the past been involved in support for Renamo and has recruited Mozambicans, Angolans and former Zimbabwean dissidents into its ranks. (*WM* 21/09/90).

According to their sources, at least 200 Inkatha guerrillas were trained at the base in 1986. The SADF officer in charge of training was Major "Jakes" Jacobs.
After training, the unit was reportedly divided into four divisions before returning to Ulundi, where some of them were required to train other Inkatha members. One of these units reportedly spent two weeks on a farm north of Pretoria, where they went on a refresher course. (WM 21/09/90).

2. THE GOLDSSTONE COMMISSION

In the report of Mr Justice Goldstone into the shootings in Sebokeng on March 26 that left 12 people dead, it was found that the commander of the riot squad unit had no control over the line of policemen and this led directly to the killings. Justice Goldstone found that only a few stones were thrown and "there appears no credible evidence to suggest the behaviour of the crowd was such that the policemen could have reasonably been in fear of their lives or personal safety."

"At most the behaviour of the crowd may have justified the use of teargas, and then only after a proper warning to disperse," Judge Goldstone found.

It was also found that the police riot-line contravened the force's own standing procedures on riot situations. The commander of the unit, Captain WJ du Plooy, had no control or discipline over the line which was "the direct cause of the shooting into the crowd". (Sunday Star 02/09/90).
In its 74-page report, the Commission found that of the 281 people shot on March 26, 127 were shot from behind. The judge recommended that the actions of all policemen who fired live ammunition that day should be investigated by the Attorney-General.

3. THE RIGHT WING

The fugitive deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party and self-styled leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, was arrested in Pretoria on 17 September when armed policemen who had been following him, surrounded his car. Rudolph's driver, Chris Beetge, a former journalist with the conservative Afrikaans daily, Die Transvaler, was also arrested. (Beeld 18/09/90). Rudolph was held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act. In a statement to a magistrate, he reportedly admitted guilt to a number of crimes. (Beeld 19/09/90). Rudolph, who claimed that he was a "political prisoner" and that he could claim amnesty, announced that he was going on hunger strike until he would be released or given amnesty. However, he called off the hunger strike after only five days.
Fanie Goosen (29) and Cornelius Johannes Lottering (24), two alleged members of the Rightwing "Order of Death" movement, appeared in the Rand Supreme Court after admitting to killing a black taxi driver and exploding a bomb at the flat of Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan, who had been suspected of having an affair with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche. Goosen and Lottering argued that these acts constituted "acts of war".

Mr Chris de Jager SC, Conservative Party MP for Bethal, and Dr Fanie Jacobs, CP MP for Losberg, withdrew as defence counsel for the two accused after informing the court that during consultation with their clients, their instructions changed and it would no longer be possible for them to continue as defence counsel.

The two accused, who appeared in court with Ku Klux Klan badges on their lapels, are charged with murder, attempted intimidation, escaping, robbery and the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. (Citizen 28/09/90).
4. THE HIEMSTRA COMMISSION

The findings of the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry into allegations of a spy ring operating in the Johannesburg City Council, was released on September 26.

Mr Justice Hiemstra found that the spy ring did exist and that it had spied on more than 100 individuals and illegally infiltrated at least 20 anti-apartheid organisations over four years. (Beeld 27/09/90).

The Council spent R1,8 million of ratepayers' money for the spy ring, the Commission found. (Business Day 27/09/90).

Judge Hiemstra confirmed that the City Council spies had worked in close co-operation with Military Intelligence and with the South African Police. (Beeld 27/09/90).

The four key members of the security information section named in the report were John Pearce (Public Safety Director); Manie Venter (town clerk); Brigadier Jan Visser (then Deputy Security Director); and Frik Barnard (Deputy Director of Operational Services in the security department).
Pearce, the Commission found, was "grossly negligent" in his duties.

Venter was not found to be grossly negligent, but the Commission found that he should have been more critical. In the meantime, it has come to light that Venter will go on a year's paid leave while staying on in his Houghton home that the City Council pays for. Thereafter, he will retire on full pension. (Beeld 27/09/90).

Brigadier Jan Visser, who now heads the security department, was assured by Venter that the information gathering was legal. However, the Commission found, he had said nothing about aspects of the security system, like personal profiles, "that should have raised his ire". (Business Day 27/09/90). Visser retired earlier this year.

Frik Barnard's bona fides were accepted by the Commission, but, said Judge Harms, Barnard "was full of suspicion about leftist bodies and in his enthusiasm overstepped the limits of his mandate." Barnard has since resigned from the council.

Former chairman of the management committee, Danie van Zyl, who instigated the spy ring, died last year.

The current chairman of the management committee, Ian Davidson, said that Pearce will face a municipal inquiry and that civil action is being considered against other city council officials implicated in the Hiemstra report. (The Star 28/09/90).
The spy ring in the Johannesburg City Council operated without proper control over cash funding. This was found by the Auditor-General, Peter Wronsley, who submitted a report to the council.

Wronsley found that the control of cash used by the security department was unsatisfactory, and he questioned the inherent risk of covert dealings undertaken by the security department. (Sunday Star 16/09/90).

Wronsley also criticised the inadequate system used by handlers to pay unregistered informers.

5. OTHER INCIDENTS

5.1 On the night of 2 September, two bombs exploded outside the offices of the Afrikaans Johannesburg morning newspaper Beeld. Commercial explosives were used, usually pointing at rightwing complicity. A man who claimed to be Piet "Skiet" Rudolph telephoned a Pretoria newspaper and said that the Orde Boerevolk was responsible for the blasts. (Daily Mail 04/09/90). The man accused Government-supporting Beeld of "lying propaganda".
5.2 On 11 September, a bomb exploded at the Avalon Cinema in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, where the Weekly Mail Film Festival was running. The film due to be shown that night was "How to make love to a Negro without getting tired." Commercial explosives were used.

5.3 On 12 September, a bomb exploded at the Waterkloof, Pretoria offices of the National Party. Commercial explosives were used. Piet Rudolph’s rightwing organisation, Orde Boerevolk, claimed responsibility for the blast.

5.4 On the night of Saturday 15 September, a 32 year old white man was arrested after he had allegedly fired shots at a group of about 30 black people standing outside the Star City discotheque in Pretoria. The disco is mainly frequented by black people.

5.5 On 26 September, Melanie Preddy, a Black Sash and ANC member in Uitenhage, received the latest in a number of death threats over the last year. At 01:45, her phone rang and the voice on the line said: "Melanie, jy’s ‘n dooie vrou, jy’s morsdood." ("Melanie, you’re a dead woman.")
A talk on violence is met with violence. But who planned it?

This meeting started with a bang, not a whisper.

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 Co-operation Bureau, and Almed Motala, 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 as "Philips Building (Opp. Rhodes—next to Eko Parking).

Ten minutes before the meeting started, 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 ruffled audience.

A large bomb had exploded across the road. Against the wall of the Philips Building, next to the Eko 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: "A 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 an 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 unresolved 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"