



Angola

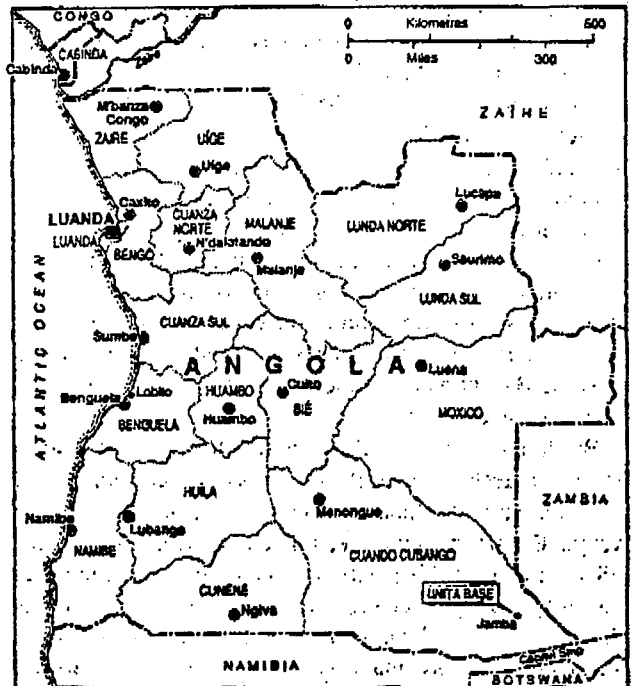
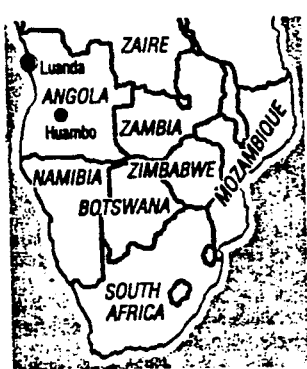
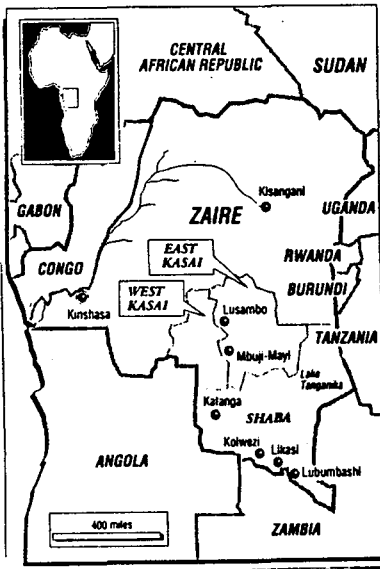
12 January 1993

Angola is in the throes of renewed civil war. An agreement of May 1991 ended (it was hoped) the 16-year-old contest between the MPLA and UNITA. Nation-wide elections on 29/30 September 1992, in which 91% of Angolans voted - a record indication of the deep desire for peace, resulted in the MPLA achieving 53.7% of the vote for a parliament. UNITA got 34.1% and several smaller parties the rest. However, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos with 49.6% narrowly missed topping the 50% required for election as the new president of Angola. UNITA's Jonas Savimbi racked up 40.1%. Plans for a UN-monitored run-off commenced.

An embittered Savimbi declared the elections fraudulent - totally at odds with the judgment of 400 United Nations observers, 400 other foreign poll watchers and foreign governments, including the USA. UNITA's leader called for new elections, withdrew his generals from the Angolan national army and sent his rebel troops into assaults against provincial cities. UNITA almost surrounded Angola's capital, Luanda. The government after savage fighting repelled the rebels. All the while a stream of planes from South Africa overflew neighboring countries carrying war materiel for Pretoria's ally, Savimbi.

The newly elected Angolan parliament has been installed. The Angolan prime minister is coming to the USA this weekend to ask for diplomatic recognition and an exchange of ambassadors between Washington and Luanda. A prime task for:

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



Scapegoats in the divisive world of Zaire politics

Monday January 4 1993
THE GUARDIAN

Chris McGreal reports from Likasi in Shaba province on the plight of refugees trying to escape 'ethnic cleansing'.

About 40,000 people have been terrorised into leaving their homes as President Mobutu cynically attempts to repeat that he is the only person who can hold the country together

AS the weekly train pulls past the stacks of furniture and thousands of people jostling for position on the platform at Likasi station, Kabwe Kand-Kand faces a stark choice. Does he join the sometimes deadly crush to escape the only place he has called home? Or does he risk his family's safety by remaining another week, hoping they can get away with more than just the clothes on their backs?

He is one of about 40,000 people in and around Likasi station trying to flee the "ethnic cleansing" in Zaire's southern Shaba province of those with roots in the neighbouring provinces of eastern and western Kasai. Some of those not burned out of their homes, just terrorised into leaving, have brought everything they own.

As the train nears the station, refugees pour down an embankment from the vast "city" of 10,000 camped under green plastic sheeting. On the platform, thousands more scramble over the furniture to get a grip on one of the carriages. The train has room for only 2,000 and most are left to wait. Three people were asphyxiated in the crush for last week's train. Typically, a dozen die on the five-day journey north to Kasai, a place they are told is home but which few have seen.

The man immediately respon-

sible for this misery is Shaba's governor, Kyungu wa-Kumwanza. He would have outsiders believe the expulsion is born of Shaba's deep-rooted desire for secession which led to United States and United Nations military intervention in the 1960s in what was then known as Katanga. Although various tribal groups are caught up in the confrontation, all concerned talk only in terms of Kasaians and Katangese.

The governor paints a picture of Kasaians that would be fam-

iliar to Mobutu Sese Seko's waning authority. In the increasingly divisive world of Zairean politics, President Mobutu's opponents were able to appoint their man, Etienne Tshisekedi, as prime minister in August. Mr Tshisekedi is from Kasai. The man he replaced, Nguza Karl-i-Bond, is from Shaba. Governor Kyungu, a Mobutu appointee, is a close ally of Mr Karl-i-Bond.

President Mobutu hopes his divide-and-rule tactics will allow him again to claim only he can hold Zaire together. It is

Kolwezi. Dozens died, thousands like Kabwe Kand-Kand, his wife and four children, including a 15-year-old daughter with a young baby, were driven out of their homes by organised gangs. He had to abandon his job as an electrician.

As the attacks increased, tens of thousands of others fled to the camps. The military offered protection until, in October, Shaba's governor ordered the refugees expelled.

"The military said everybody had to leave and go to the

them better workers than the Katangese. The Kasaians rose in stature and importance within the industry and branched out to other businesses. By independence, Kasaians were a crucial element of Shaba's economy.

The governor likes to equate Kasaians with colonisers. "Let's stop the Kasai colonisation of Katanga," he railed in one of his radio speeches before demanding Kasaians be dismissed from their jobs at the huge state-owned copper min-

ing find many of the things they used to in the town's market.

Over the last few hundred yards to the railway station, the sounds of industry swell. Refugees have occupied the railway workshops, turning out metal boxes for sale. In a clearing hundreds of people bang out pots while children play draughts with bottle tops.

But the cost for others has been high. A two-month measles and dysentery outbreak killed up to 10 children a day before it was brought under control shortly before Christmas. Now they face hunger. MSF estimates about one in five is suffering from malnutrition. Although food is plentiful at the station market, aid workers complain Kasaians are not doing enough to help one another.

Octogenarian Mukuba Valentin sits alone in front of a hesian shack staring at the food he cannot afford to buy. Occasionally nuns bring him something to eat. Sometimes at dusk a stall holder will throw him rotting tomatoes that will not sell. He, too, was burned out of his home.

"The first who is responsible is Mobutu. He doesn't like his people. He says he is father of the nation. If he was a good father, he would visit his children. His attitude shows he doesn't care about the nation," he says.

The governor paints a picture that would be familiar to Asians driven from Uganda: 'The Kasaians must go and the Katangese can have the nice jobs'

iliar to Asians driven from Uganda or Jews oppressed in Europe. The industrious and business-minded Kasaians are portrayed as exploitative and money-grubbing. The governor considers them lucky to be allowed to leave alive.

"The Kasaians must go and then the Katangese can have the nice jobs and nice houses. The Kasaians have looked after themselves; they have done nothing for us; so they must go. They must get out and if they don't we will make them pay," Mr Kyungu said.

But the persecution amounts to little more than a cynical political ploy to bolster President

a dangerous game and the toll of human misery and economic instability is proving high.

Mr Kyungu's crusade includes the petty, such as renaming Avenue Kasai in Shaba's main city, Lubumbashi. A few blocks away he has erected a monument to Moise Tshombe, defeated leader of Shaba's secessionist drive.

But what disturbs Kabwe Kand-Kand is less benign. Weeks of verbal denunciations by the governor turned to physical attacks in September in the three cities where people of Kasai origin account for more than one-third of the population: Likasi, Lubumbashi and

school. We stayed there two weeks and then they told us the governor said we had to leave Katanga. There was general panic and everybody just rushed to the station," Kabwe Kand-Kand said.

Thousands of people have made it to Kasai by train and lorry. The Belgian medical relief agency, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), says it is helping 30,000 people who have arrived having known nowhere but Shaba. Kabwe Kand-Kand has visited his ancestral home in Kasai only once.

The Kasaians were brought to Shaba by colonial Belgian mine-owners who considered

ing house, Gecamine, which provides the financial life-blood of Shaba and Zaire.

Gecamine is already in serious trouble, its finances bled dry by President Mobutu and unable to repay foreign loans. Production is less than half its potential. Expelling the skilled Kasaians is a further blow.

The effects on Shaba's economy are all too evident. Shops and businesses closed or seized were given to Katangese who sold the remaining stock and abandoned them. Kasaians dominated the best market in Likasi. It has now shifted to the railway station. Katangese dare not venture near, but cannot

GALLANTRY and GRIT

Helen Joseph, 87-year-old South African freedom fighter, died in Johannesburg on Christmas Day 1992 - after over 40 years of singular dedication and witness in the struggle for a just and democratic South Africa.

The British-born Helen Joseph, after teaching English at a girls' school in India, came to South Africa in 1931. She was shocked at encountering the horror of racism firsthand. During World War II she became more and more involved in the resistance to apartheid, first delving into the inequities of education, national incomes and agriculture. After the war, divorced and childless, she engaged in setting up community centers, co-operatives, orphans homes and adult schools. She was taken on as secretary of the South African Garment Workers' Union by the late radical trade unionist, E. S. (Solly) Sachs.



In 1953, she joined the Congress of Democrats, the white organization allied with the African National Congress. She was a founding member of the pro-ANC Federation of South African Women. When Pretoria moved to extend the pass laws, which controlled the movements of black men, to include black women, she and her close friend, the late Lillian Ngoyi, spearheaded a protest march of 20,000 women to the very heart of the apartheid regime, the Union Buildings in Pretoria, proclaiming 'You Have Struck A Rock!'

This 1956 event was followed the same year by the massive Treason Trial in which 156 South Africans from all walks of life faced the power of the state. Helen Joseph was Accused Number 2. After four years the trial ended with the acquittal of all the charged. The vengeful Pretorian authorities struck the next year: Helen Joseph was banned for five years. She was restricted to Johannesburg, could not be quoted or teach or speak in public or work for a journal or trade union. After the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960 she was one of the 20,000 South Africans detained: Helen was jailed for five months

When her ban expired in 1962, Helen Joseph immediately set out from her home in Johannesburg on an 8,000 mile journey all around the country, seeking out and writing about the people who had been condemned - without any due process whatever - to internal banishment. Her book, TOMORROW'S SUN, described her journey and the plight of the banished. It was published in Britain and the United States. Pretoria's wrath descended: within six months she was again banned for five years. This October 1962 order was especially severe: she became the first South African to be 'house arrested'. She was confined to her home every evening and on weekends; friends could only visit her one at a time. A security policeman moved into the house next her small home in a Johannesburg suburb. Helen's comment: 'At least my house won't be burgled while I'm at home and the police are watching.' The police nearness did not prevent rocks and rifle shots being fired at her house nor a bomb (fortunately unexploded) hung on her front gate.

Helen Joseph's banning order was lifted in 1971 when she had an operation because of cancer. In 1978, she refused to answer questions about a visit to the then banished Ms Winnie Mandela and was jailed for two weeks, prior to which she entertained her friends at a 'going in' party. She was banned again in 1980. She was later 'listed' which meant she could not be in any way quoted. A South African newspaper reported about a protest meeting over the demolition and evacuation of the people at Crossroads camp outside Cape Town that Helen 'spoke for 30 minutes, in a quiet voice which shook with emotion, (but she) may not be quoted.' Helen had dual British/South African citizenship. She relinquished the former lest she be deported.

(continued, over)



1957 ... Helen leaving court during the Treason Trials.

'Because she was not wedded to any ideology, she later studied theology by correspondence with London University. Religion - especially Christianity - became the focal point of her life.' - close friend Amina Cachalia.

Helen Joseph was closely associated with the late Dean Gonville Ffrench-Beytagh, Dean of the Cathedral of St. Mary the Virgin (who later was convicted by a South African court of terrorism because of his aid to prisoners and their families). After 30 years as what Helen called a lapsed Christian, she became a committed Anglican.

She was also close to Bishop Simeon Nkoane, who died several years ago, and other members of the Community of the Resurrection who in later years celebrated communion at her home.



1980 ... Helen at Mrs Lilian Ngoyi's funeral.

Friends writing in the South African press note one of Helen's enduring qualities was that there was no separation between her public and private life. The loyalty and devotion she gave the struggle for liberation was the same as that she gave to her many friends who became her family.' She took into her care the children of those South Africans sentenced to prison or banishment - Nelson and Winnie Mandela's daughters, Bram and Molly Fischer's younger daughter, the child of exiles Eli and Violet Weinberg, Sheila. She mourned close friends Rick Turner and David Webster - both murdered by Pretoria's hit squads. She regularly visited Carl Niehaus in prison (he is now an ANC official) and was close to Jansie Lourens, who spent four years in jail. She adopted as sisters the wives of political prisoners, Caroline Motsoaledi, for instance. She was particularly devoted to Winnie Mandela.

Helen was plagued by physical pains in addition to her political suffering. After the operation for cancer, from which she recovered, she had to undergo extremely painful operations on a knee, which had to be replaced. Three years ago she had a stroke, from which she slowly recovered. She got about with crutches and later with a walker, which escorted her into her beloved garden to have tea with friends and to talk and talk. She loved parties, valuing her birthday, April 8, and Christmas Day. Her friends in Johannesburg gathered as usual this past Christmas to toast friends - those gone, those once imprisoned or banished. Two hours later Helen Joseph, in a coma from another stroke, died at Johannesburg General Hospital.

Helen Joseph was an honorary patron of the United Democratic Front and had been granted an honorary fellowship at King's College, London. She was a member of the Order of St Simon of Cyrene of the Anglican Church and holds the highest honor of the African National Congress, Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe. The funeral is at St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, on 8 January 1993. Helen Joseph is buried in Soweto's Avalon cemetery near her old comrade, Lillian Ngoyi.



VETERAN political campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph with Mr M K Malefane, a member of the OFS executive of the United Democratic Front.

The South African President has finally exposed the 'third force'. But how much did he know?

De Klerk stirs up a nest of plotters

THE South African government has finally confirmed the story it dismissed for years as a newspaper fantasy, left-wing propaganda and the ravings of renegades and criminals. Although President F W de Klerk still will not use the words "third force", yesterday he admitted that such a force existed.

Military personnel and their associates "have been involved, and in some cases are still involved, in illegal and or unauthorised activities and malpractices", the President said. "There are indications that some of the activities and some of the individuals might have been motivated by a wish to prevent us from succeeding in our goals."

In confirming that there was a conspiracy inside the South African Defence Force to destabilise black politics, Mr De Klerk was not telling his countrymen something they did not already know. So much evidence has emerged in the past two years that it had become almost impossible for anyone but the government to deny it. But the President's press conference yesterday will have left one question on everybody's lips: how much did he know?

His line is that elements of the security forces were out of control, ministers were not told what was going on, and that the buck stops with the generals — six of whom are to pay with their jobs. They are at the very least to blame for failing to stop it, and may indeed have been deeply involved, in which case they will be tried.

But the evidence has long been so overwhelming that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he could have escaped knowing about it only by deliberately averting his gaze.

The charge against the security forces, and in particular against Military Intelligence (MI), is that they stoked and manipulated the township violence that has cost a

minimum of 5,000 lives. There are lesser charges: of assassination, intimidation, smear tactics, disinformation and general espionage, all directed against the ANC and its offshoots.

None of these has Mr De Klerk specifically admitted. Under great pressure at yesterday's press conference, he would say only that SADF members and agents had indulged in illegal acts that probably led to deaths.

But the floodgates are open. The "third force" is acknowledged, if only implicitly, and prosecutions are almost certain to tell us more.

The idea of a "third force" grew out of the manifest bias shown by the security forces in the long-running conflict between African National Congress and Inkatha supporters in Natal. When the violence spilled over into the townships around Johannesburg in 1990, the same bias was apparent, and the first suspicions were voiced that the killing was being orchestrated.

The first hard evidence of this, did not, however, emerge until June last year, when a former MI officer, Nico Basson, told the *Independent* that MI was arming Inkatha and deploying agents to stir up violence.

The following month, a more direct link was revealed when Felix Ndimane, a former sergeant in an army Special Forces regiment, said he had taken part in massacres on commuter trains and other attacks on black civilians. His unit was under MI command.

Mr De Klerk appointed a general to investigate, there was a whitewash and the "mischief-making press" was condemned. In January, Mbongeni Khumalo, a former member of Inkatha's central committee, revealed that he and other senior Inkatha members had received training from MI. Then in May, a climax was reached when the *New Nation*

newspaper alleged that the chief of Military Intelligence, General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, had authorised four political assassinations in 1985.

While these stories made headlines, supporting evidence was tumbling out of South African courtrooms. It was, by the middle of this year, to paint a detailed picture of MI thinking, operations, tactics and structures, all designed to undermine the process of reform and damage the ANC. Bloodshed on an appalling scale was involved.

This, however, was not enough to shake the government's public faith in the probity of its soldiers. The odd bad apple was up to no good, ministers admitted grudgingly, but that was all.

The chain of events which finally forced a "shocked" Mr De Klerk to make his confession yesterday, began with a former policeman named Ferdi Barnard. A convicted murderer who had spent four years in jail, Barnard worked for several years for the Civil Co-operation Bureau, a violent clandestine organisation run by MI. Last month he was accused in court of murdering an ANC activist, David Webster, in 1989.

Last year, Mr Barnard set up and directed an operation to infiltrate, subvert and discredit the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. It had ready access to government data, from criminal files to tax records, and to private sources such as credit bureaux. It enlisted bugging experts, prostitutes and night-club managers.

This first came to light in court, when a man charged with possession of a machine-gun explained that he had been given it by Barnard, who worked for MI. Further

details of Barnard's activities were unearthed and published by the Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*.

Lurid as it is, however, this tale of a murderer leading a security forces dirty tricks operation was just one of many such tales. What made it different was that it was taken up by Richard Goldstone,

the Appeal Court judge appointed last year by Mr De Klerk to chair an inquiry into political violence. Justice Goldstone, who is known for his scrupulous impartiality and fearlessness, set his investigators to uncover the full truth about Barnard. Documents were seized from an MI opera-

tions centre, and the resulting 13-page report landed on Mr De Klerk's desk last month like a sizzling stick of dynamite.

Not only did it confirm the worst about Ferdi Barnard's operations, it also showed that he had been recruited by General "Witkop" Badenhorst, a former chief of MI. Worse, Judge Goldstone went out of his way to show that the Minister of Defence at the time of the *Beeld* revelations, Roelf Meyer, who is still in the government, had issued a "false" denial of the story. There had been a cover-up.

The President appointed an air force general, Pierre Steyn, to carry out an inquiry into MI activities, and the first result was seen yesterday: two full generals, four brigadier-generals and 10 other security force members sacked, and seven more suspended pending further investigations. It is a massacre among the top brass. It

is also a vindication of the work of Judge Goldstone and his team of lawyers and journalists who have chronicled the manifestations of the "third force", and, above all, of the whistle-blowers — defectors, witnesses and exiles — who risked their lives to provide the evidence.

Proof of the risks they ran was vividly demonstrated in recent weeks during the inquest into the death of Bheki Mlangeni, a lawyer killed by a parcel bomb last year. The bomb was intended for Dirk Coetzee, a former South African policeman who defected to the ANC with stories of political death squads. Papers produced during the inquest showed that an MI team pursued Mr Coetzee to London and used contacts in the Royal Ulster Constabulary to set up another hit.

How far the "third force" might go to protect minority rule came out in evidence from a former MI colonel, Gert Hugo. "Under lock and key at every group headquarters is an operational contingency plan," he said. "It's a contingency plan for a coup."

Col Hugo said that at the time of Nelson Mandela's release, a top-secret signal from Pretoria warned of the threat of anarchy and revolution. "The hidden message, but it was absolutely clear, was that we had to make contingency plans for a total military take-over when this happened."

President De Klerk this weekend came as close as he ever has to acknowledging the devoted to disrupting constitutional negotiations. **David Beresford** reports on the 23

South Africa spares hardliners

existence of a 'third force' within the state security services officers to be punished and the ones who escaped

in purge of military

SUSPICIONS of a continued cover-up of South Africa's "third force" controversy persisted yesterday when it emerged that President F. W. de Klerk's dramatic "purge" of the military does not include key officers implicated in the long-running scandal over dirty tricks.

Officials were yesterday contacting senior officers, many at holiday homes around the country, to inform them that they were among the 23 whom the president had decided to suspend or prematurely retire for alleged involvement in illicit political activities, including murder.

Tensions in South Africa arising from the purge were compounded yesterday by renewed attacks on whites in the eastern Cape and Orange Free State. Police reinforcements were rushed to the Lesotho border and roadblocks

thrown up on the Transkei border after two incidents in which a 14-year-old girl was killed and five members of an Afrikaner family wounded.

The girl died when three men launched a gun and grenade attack on a white farm near Ficksburg, the second attack in the area in 10 days, before fleeing across the Lesotho border. The local MP, Charl Hertzog,

said yesterday that his right-wing Conservative Party would launch "retribution" raids across the border unless the government neutralised bases of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress, which he claimed were situated in the former British protectorate.

The five whites were wounded earlier on Saturday about five miles inside the Transkei homeland when gunmen opened fire on their car from a passing vehicle. The attack follows a series of seemingly random attacks on whites in the region over recent weeks, including a gun and grenade attack on a wine-tasting dinner in King William's Town in which five people were killed. Apla has claimed responsibility.

Although the authorities yesterday refused to confirm names of those involved in President De Klerk's purge of the military, it emerged that the most senior officers axed were Major-General Hennie Roux, chief of staff of the army, and Major-General Chris Thirion, deputy chief of staff intelligence.

Significantly, the president failed to act against the hard-line chief of the defence force, General "Kat" Liebenberg, the highly controversial chief of

the army, Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring, or the head of military intelligence, General

Joffel van der Westhuizen. Others who are to go reportedly include two senior intelligence officers, the director of army communications operations, Brigadier Ferdie van Wyk, and the director of covert collections, Brigadier Tolletjie Botha.

It was last month's raid on the secret Pretoria base of the Directorate of covert collections by the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the causes of political violence in South Africa which led to investigations culminating in the weekend's purge. Judge Goldstone found that Brig Botha hired a notorious killer, Ferdi Barnard, to head an operation aimed at discrediting the African National Congress. Brig Van Wyk has also been named as a key planner of a smear campaign against the ANC, code-named Project Echoes, intended to show links with the IRA.

But Gen Meiring, who seemingly has not been sacked, was also implicated in Project Echoes, having personally authorised the operation. The general has also made a series of overtly political statements in recent months, showing himself to be extremely hostile towards the ANC.

It is regarded as unlikely that Gen Van der Westhuizen, who has also been publicly accused of responsibility for the murder of four anti-apartheid activists in the 1980s, was unaware of the project. It is also difficult to see how Gen Liebenberg can escape command responsibility for the actions of senior staff, if only as the country's top-ranking military officer.

His hawkish reputation, coupled with his background as a former chief of special forces — the section of the military at the centre of the "third force" scandal — makes him, understand-

ably, a subject of much suspicion.

The purge of the military is the closest the government has come to admitting the existence of a conspiracy in the security forces aimed at derailing the negotiating process. At his hastily-arranged press conference on Saturday announcing his crackdown, President De Klerk continued to deny there was evidence of a formal third force.

But he conceded that "there were indications that some activities and individuals might have been motivated to prevent success in constitutional goals". The president also said that the investigations would "lead to the conclusion that some activities led to the deaths of people".

While declaring that the information at his disposal "indicates a serious and unacceptable state of affairs", he did not "think the extent of actions could lead to the jeopardy of state security".

Despite this playing down of fears of a military coup, there is likely to be some speculation that the timing of his crackdown reflects sensitivity to the threat of a fullscale mutiny in the security forces.

At this time of the year South Africa comes to a virtual standstill as black migrant workers head home to the countryside and whites flood to the coast for the summer holidays. Most senior military officers would have joined the exodus from offices and military bases, making any backlash difficult to organise. The decision not to act against the likes of Gen Liebenberg and Gen Meiring may also be seen as an attempt to avoid any rebellion in the ranks.

The minister of defence, Gene Louw, issued a placatory statement aimed at the military yesterday, emphasising "that only

a small group has been involved" in "irregularities".

The Conservative Party, which has a huge following among whites in the armed forces, yesterday described the purge as "a calamitous blunder" and "treachery". It was "an intimidatory tactic aimed at forcing remaining SADF members to toe the party line and to accept the government's solution to their alliance partners, the ANC, and permit the amalgamation of the remains of the SADF with the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Apla killers."

The ANC, congratulating

President De Klerk for finally acting against the military, said his action nevertheless disclosed "a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiating process". It said that "transparency is essential" to continued investi-

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Head Office: Transvaal
P.O. Box 32723 Broomfontein
2107 Johannesburg South Africa
Tel: (011) 403-4450/1
Fax: (011) 339-1422

Eastern Cape
Room 502, Alfin House, Main St.
North End, Port Elizabeth 6001
Tel: (041) 546-284
Fax: (041) 547-394

Natal
Room 66, Ecumenical Centre,
20 St. Andrews Str. Durban 4001
Tel: (031) 305-9460
Fax: (031) 305-7380

Western Cape
Industria Hse, 350 Victoria Rd,
Salt River 7925
Tel: (021) 47-4767
Fax: (021) 47-4744

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

PRESS STATEMENT NO 92/26

14 DECEMBER 1992

HRC STATEMENT ON DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY

The HRC feels compelled to enter the debate on the issue of deaths in police custody. Our records reflect that 117 such deaths have been reported this year so far, supporting Dr. Jonathan Gluckman's contention that the incidence of deaths in the hands of the police (over 2 a week on average) is cause for considerable alarm. By deaths in police custody we mean those deaths that occur on arrest, during transport to a police station, during interrogation and while being held awaiting trial in a police lock-up as distinct from in a prison; in short, during the period when the well-being of the detainees is the responsibility of the police (not Prisons).

The appended list summarises details of 61 deaths in police custody reported for 1992, including 15 for which the names of the victims have not been disclosed, but other details are known. Fuller details of all of these 61 deaths are available by referring to our Human Rights Updates for the relevant months, and to the source references noted there.

Furthermore, the police announced in late July that 68 people had died in police custody during the first 6 months of 1992, without giving any details. At that point the HRC had recorded reports and details of 12 deaths (see appended list) so that the police were then in possession of information on at least 56 more deaths. Despite Minister Kriel's announcement at the time that he had ordered a report on every death in police custody over the past two years to be made available within 14 days, this has still not happened, and the public is none the wiser about these additional 56 deaths, or any others.

An analysis of the 61 deaths for which some details are known, reveals the following alleged causes of death, as reported by the police themselves or by relatives or friends of the victims: -

* Assault by police	12
* Shooting by the police, or self (including 1 by unknown assailant)	10
* Found hanged in cell	18
* Medical reasons	2
* Various other reasons	5
* No details revealed	14

The continuing procession of deaths in police custody gives great cause for concern and the Human Rights Commission urges Minister Kriel to urgently address the root causes of the problem rather than expend energy and time in fruitless debate about how many cases in Dr. Gluckman's files are relevant to the issue or not. He will find the root causes in the training and mental attitudes inculcated in the police force, and the remedy in the total transformation of the force into a body accountable to the community it serves.

Since this statement was prepared, a further 2 cell deaths have been announced, underlying the emergency with which this matter needs to be addressed.

THE GUARDIAN
Friday December 11 1992

Bugs at office of SA pathologist in police death row

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

THE offices of the leading South African pathologist, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, who is at the centre of a furious row over deaths in police custody, have been found to be bugged with sophisticated surveillance equipment.

The disclosure comes in the wake of a formal government denial of Dr Gluckman's allegations that police killings of detainees have become routine.

The minister of law and order, Hernus Kriel, claimed yesterday that not only were Dr Gluckman's allegations false but that investigations had shown 14 of the people whom the pathologist claimed had been killed were still alive.

Dr Gluckman said later the suggestion "that I mistakenly performed post-mortems on living persons" was "the most

bizarre charge that has been levelled at me in a long career".

The graduate of Bart's, a former president of the South African Medical Association who won international renown for testimony in the Steve Biko inquest, told the Guardian yesterday that he had his office swept for bugs because of suspicions that he had been placed under surveillance as a result of the controversy.

Technicians discovered bugs behind skirting boards, in the lights and in the ceiling as well as evidence that his private line and main switchboard were being monitored. They reported that the people responsible for surveillance would have had to have access to telephone lines in the roof of the Johannesburg office block in which Dr Gluckman's rooms are situated.

More than 200 people have died in police custody this year. In July, Dr Gluckman precipitated a storm when he com-

plained that he had written three times to the state president asking for action without success.

Mr Kriel announced an investigation into the allegations. At the end of last month the government-supporting newspaper, Rapport, published what appeared to be a leak of the findings, alleging that 14 of the "dead" named by the pathologist were alive. Dr Gluckman then issued a statement explaining that a police constable who collected files from his office had insisted on taking all his files, despite the fact that his secretary had pointed out some related to consultations with living patients, which were irrelevant to the inquiry.

But yesterday Mr Kriel persisted in the allegation that Dr Gluckman had mistakenly numbered living people among the victims of police killings. He also told a Pretoria press conference that in only 34 of 118

cases obtained from Dr Gluckman's office had people died in police custody.

Among the other deaths, 26 died as a result of police action outside custody; six in the custody of the prisons department and two as a result of South African defence force action. Others were outside the jurisdiction of the police or had nothing to do with them.

Mr Kriel said the government would establish a board under the chairmanship of a judge to investigate suspected criminal actions by police as one measure to prevent deaths in custody.

Dr Gluckman said the minister had issued the statement without any attempt to contact or consult with him. He said he had been tied up yesterday "in a police murder case" and did not know details of Mr Kriel's statement. But, he said, "I continue to nurse the concerns that prompted me to write to the

state president: that almost every week people continue to die while in the custody of those whose duty it is to protect life."

● Mr Kriel said yesterday that the government would be prepared to sanction cross-border raids "as a last resort" against Zimbabwe and Transkei if necessary to prevent the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress, from continuing attacking whites in South Africa.

The Transkei leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday that there were no Apla bases in the homeland so there was no justification for such operations.

Mr Kriel, estimating Apla numbers at 120, said he was pleased at a statement by the Zimbabwean government telling the PAC not to make inflammatory declarations in the country.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

ANC CONCERN ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES AND AMBITIONS

The African National Congress is deeply concerned about reports emanating from Europe and the United States about South Africa's nuclear activities and ambitions.

The reports disclose the following:

1. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has determined that South Africa secretly produced several hundred kilograms of High Enriched Uranium (HEU).
2. This large HEU inventory indirectly confirms that South Africa has an active and secret nuclear development programme, since no South African nuclear facility requires uranium enriched to levels above 45% U-235.
3. Given new estimates of the amount of fuel needed for a country to make a nuclear weapon - Iraq planned to make a bomb with about fifteen kg, South Africa's presumed inventory could fuel about 25 nuclear weapons.

This estimate is consistent with the calculation done by Leonard Specter of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In 1987 he stated that South Africa possessed about twenty nuclear weapons.

4. IAEA inspectors recently visited on short notice an abandoned facility near the Pelindaba uranium enrichment complex. They are said to have found equipment used to work on the shape of spherical fissile cores for a nuclear explosive device.

5. This site, known as "Building 5000", was long suspected by western governments as a nuclear weapons development centre in the 1970's.

6. Based on what it has learnt about activities at the nuclear weapons site, the US is reported to have asked South Africa to declare that it had a nuclear weapons program.

7. A CIA report made public under the Freedom of Information Act is said to reveal that Jacobus de Villiers now the Chairman of the AEC had been "directly involved in weapons design work at the Pelindaba nuclear research centre" period to 1979.

These reports raise some disturbing questions:

Is the De Klerk government deliberately concealing the possession of weapons grade material?

Has the weapons program been stopped?

The NP government must declare the extent of its nuclear weapons program now. To continue their policy of secrecy and uncertainty amounts to holding the people of South Africa hostage to a possible nuclear threat.

Waldo Stumpf, the Chief Executive of the AEC is reported to have stated in response to a question on SA's possession of nuclear weapons, "You must be naive if you think I'm going to answer that question". Statements of this nature by Mr. Stumpf and his colleagues are designed to leave South Africa and the international community guessing in the hope that the mere thought of the regime possessing nuclear weapons will act as a deterrent and have a restraining influence on voices calling for democracy in South Africa.

On both points, hiding High Enriched Uranium from the public and the possession of nuclear weapons, South African officials have stated that they are not compelled to disclose any information in terms of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). But the responsibilities of the government to the people of this country are much greater than what is contained in the NPT.

The De Klerk government and the AEC must reveal to all South Africans and the international community the nuclear program that it has pursued in the past, and is still pursuing. Stubbornly clinging to one interpretation of the NPT contributes to their continued crisis of legitimacy and suspicion of their motives for wanting to conceal nuclear capabilities. By revealing the extent of the nuclear program, all South Africans will be able to see what has been done in their name in the past, and it will help us to deal with this serious issue in the future. Furthermore, by disclosing the extent of South Africa's nuclear program prior to signing the NPT,

The bang that almost went unheard

by Harold Jackson in Washington

THE GUARDIAN, November 4, 1979

THE AMERICAN government was caught badly on the hop in two ways by the reports of an atomic explosion in the South Atlantic.

In the first place the evidence was enigmatic at best in that only one set of the world-wide network of instruments responded on September 22 and there did not seem to be any confirmation from other sources. In the second place, the ABC television network got hold of this nugget and made it public long before the State Department was ready to go on record. The experts of the National Security Council and the Pentagon were still trying to piece together the bits of the puzzle.

The result was the extremely cautious formal statement issued late on Thursday night which pushed official language to its furthest limits of uncertainty. There was, the world was told, "an indication suggesting the possibility" of a small nuclear test somewhere in an area roughly the size of China. The name of South Africa was not mentioned.

The United States has long been concerned that Pretoria was actively engaged in developing an atomic weapon and had three of its Embassy officials thrown out for spying in April. No one in Washington ever confirmed, of course, that that was what they were doing but the prime minister, Mr Botha, alleged that a concealed camera under the co-pilot's seat in the American Ambassador's plane had been used to photograph "some of our most sensitive installations."

The most sensitive installation likely to have been of interest to America is only 15 miles from the South African capital — the nuclear research plant at Valindaba and its associated uranium enrichment facility at Pelindaba nearby. The ostensible purpose is to produce the fuel for the two French reactors which were bought three

years ago and are due to come into operation generating electricity next year. Originally the fuel was going to be supplied by the US but the deal was cancelled because of South Africa's refusal to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The reason the South Africans would not sign, by their own account, was that the Valindaba plant had discovered a new and secret way of enriching uranium. The treaty's requirement for international supervision of all nuclear installations could mean that this commercially valuable process would be stolen by unscrupulous rivals. It never sounded very convincing to Washington and the suspicion grew that Valindaba was in the business of turning out weapons grade uranium.

This belief was not simply based on ingrained scepticism but on solid evidence from a fairly unlikely source — the Soviet Union. In August 1977 the Americans had been alerted by the Kremlin that a South African nuclear test was imminent. A Russian spy satellite had spotted an apparent test site in the Kalahari Desert. The Americans conducted their own satellite reconnaissance which confirmed the Soviet findings and a frenzy of diplomatic activity ensued. On August 22 the French foreign minister issued a public warning that a South African test would have "serious consequences," a warning apparently taken sufficiently seriously for the test to be abandoned.

But no one thought that was the end of the matter; not least because of a speech by the South African finance minister, Mr Owen Horwood. In spite of the government's efforts to damp down the issue, Mr Horwood told a rally of the party faithful on August 30, 1977 that the country would develop a bomb if it seemed necessary. "If we

wish to do things with our nuclear potential, we will jolly well do so according to our own decisions and our own judgment. America cannot pressure us. We will not allow it."

So the facilities which America has deployed around the world to detect nuclear explosions have also been trained on the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. There is a wide variety of alternative instruments and the one possibility that does not seem to have been considered is that they would produce different answers.

The prime method of surveillance is the network of military observation satellites constantly circling the globe. As was plainly demonstrated during the Kalahari flap, both superpowers co-operate in pooling their information when the issue is of equally vital concern to each. These satellites can not only make visual observations but are also equipped with radiation detectors.

To back up this system, and to serve both as a confirmation and a cross-reference, there are a number of acoustical and seismic monitoring stations around the globe, some of them planted on the sea bed.

Finally there are the U-2 high-flying aircraft — still flying after nearly 30 years — which patrol on a 24 hour basis. One version of the plane, known as the HASU-2, is used to monitor the high air samples near its maximum ceiling of 80,000 feet. It is equipped with special filters which enable it to collect the radioactive debris inevitably thrown out by any atomic explosion.

In the case of this latest episode the problem seems to arise because only one set of instruments recorded anything that might be associated with a nuclear test. The past month has apparently been spent in trying to find either clearer readings from the other monitors or reliable evidence from

what are being called "human sources" — spies to anyone else.

The swift South African denial is not regarded as evidence by anyone. Pretoria was bound to make it whatever the facts: the eruption of a South African atomic device on the international scene at this stage of history will have totally unpredictable effects on Southern Africa. More cogent in assessing the probability is an official assessment by the Central Intelligence Agency, revealed "by mistake" 18 months ago that South Africa "could advance with a nuclear weapons programme if seriously threatened." That report was written in September 1974 and the evidence available suggests that Pretoria has not been sitting on its hands in the past five years.

An even more sinister possibility is raised by the CIA document and by its later statements. The agency concluded in the document that the Israelis had built atomic weapons at that time — in 1974 — and two years later expressed its belief that they then had between 10 and 20 warheads.

In a world of almost universal hostility one of the few nations which has maintained close ties with South Africa has been Israel. There have been persistent, though totally unconfirmed, allegations that the two nations have cooperated in atomic research. The description of the explosion on September 22 is that it was "a nuclear device," a phrase commonly used to denote something less than a workable weapon. This, for example, was the way the Indian test was described.

So the nasty thought is around that two countries deeply involved in two of the world's most intractable trouble spots may have decided that this was the time to get together for their mutual wellbeing. It is not a happy prospect for the rest of us.

South Africa can set a good precedent for other nations to follow.

The African National Congress is deeply concerned that South Africa could still be involved in secretive nuclear activities at a time when the country eagerly awaits the introduction of a democratic government. To continue to act clandestinely and give ambiguous answers on nuclear matters undermines the important process of building the confidence of all South Africans in the process of democratizing our country.

The ANC has long been opposed to the militarism of the apartheid regime. We have also stated our opposition to the building, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. We believe that secret control of nuclear facilities, of undeclared stocks of weapons grade material, and possibly nuclear weapons by the minority regime and its military and intelligence agencies holds potential dangers for the people of our country and the whole Southern African region.

Control of nuclear facilities is a matter which should be taken up at an early opportunity by the transitional and interim government.

We are of the view that adherence to the NPT requires full cooperation by South Africa and other countries. In particular, we cannot allow our country to exclude some of its nuclear processing facilities and their complete records from inspection by the IAEA.

The assertion by the NP government that the Valindaba plant has been mothballed and is therefore exempt from inspection is suspect. If there is no activity at the plant there can be no reason for not opening it to inspection. Furthermore, to say that the NPT does not require South Africa to reveal nuclear activities prior to signing the agreement and that therefore such information will not be disclosed is tantamount to a confession of an ongoing nuclear conspiracy.

We are deeply concerned that weapons grade fissile material, and even nuclear weapons, may be concealed from our people and the international community.

The De Klerk government must admit the full extent of their nuclear weapons program and weapons grade uranium stockpile now.

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P O Box 61884

Marshalltown

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