

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, MR HERNUS KRIEL.

KEMPTON PARK - 1993-05-27.

EMBARGOED: 20:00 OR AGAINST DELIVERY.

In view of developments after this week's action by the SA Police against the PAC and APLA, I wish to take this opportunity to place the stance of the Government and the position of the SA Police in the proper perspective.

At the heart of the issue lies the principle that no one can be allowed to carry out a declared policy of violence and murder - with a blatant disregard for universally acceptable laws of the land - whilst at the same time participating in negotiations aimed at finding peaceful solutions to South Africa's problems.

These two processes are not only completely divergent but are mutually exclusive.

Yet this is exactly the policy of the PAC. They are talking peace at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park whilst unashamedly propagating and waging a racist terrorist campaign against civilians and the Security Forces in the rest of South Africa.

Government, which ultimately bears responsibility for maintaining law and order, believes that this policy is morally indefensible in any country claiming civilised values. This PAC policy also

places an intolerable strain not only on law enforcement, but on the negotiation process itself.

A structured policy of violence or so-called "armed struggle" and the negotiation process are therefore incompatible.

It is extremely important to note that from the outset the negotiation process was based on the fundamental principle that any policy of armed action is indeed incompatible with the negotiation process. The Pretoria Minute agreement of 6 August 1990 and the Groote Schuur agreement of 5 May 1990 between the Government and the ANC are a case in point.

These quite unambiguously highlight the principle of a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a PEACEFUL process of negotiations.

It is therefore clear that a common commitment to a PEACEFUL solution is vital if negotiations are to succeed.

Although the PAC is not a signatory to these agreements - nor to the National Peace Accord - the Government believes that the principles contained in them should apply throughout the negotiation process and to all parties involved in it.

Government has therefore on numerous occasions attempted to break

the deadlock with the PAC on the issue of negotiations because it believes that the talks should be as representative as possible. Five meetings were held between PAC and Government representatives, including two meetings in Gaborone, Botswana. I was personally involved in three of these meetings, including one Botswana meeting.

Despite these efforts, the PAC has stubbornly refused to even suspend its "armed struggle". It was undertaken by the PAC/APLA in Gaborone to consider placing a moratorium on its "armed struggle" and that they would consult and then come back to Government. To date we have heard nothing from them except that they have intensified their atrocities and inflammatory propaganda campaign.

There can by now be no doubt in anyone's mind that the actions of APLA, the military wing of the PAC, represent official PAC policy.

Although the PAC has at times attempted to create the impression that it cannot be blamed for the actions of its military wing, this stance is inconsistent with statements made by its own leadership and the findings of the Goldstone Commission.

The Goldstone Commission has found that APLA is in fact the military wing of the PAC, that the PAC controls its budget and that APLA's policy is to attack members of the SA Police and SADF and white civilians in general. APLA was also operating from the

Transkei, the Goldstone Commission found.

In addition, the PAC has made no attempt whatsoever to distance itself from extremely inflammatory and provocative statements and slogans such as "One Settler One Bullet".

An NEC member of the PAC, Mr Mazwell Nemadzivhanani, as recently as May 24 was quoted as saying: "We will always be after the farmers who have so illegally occupied our land and it will serve them right until they pressurise De Klerk for the total liberation of Azania.'

He was speaking at the funeral of an APLA member who led an four-man APLA Task Force in the murder of Mrs Sandra Swanepoel on her smallholding near Tzaneen in April.

Yet this callous murder was presented as an heroic military action in which the dead suspect "fell in the field performing his duties".

I would like to say quite clearly that no amount of propaganda can disguise the fact that actions such as these are not military, but represent cold-blooded murder against which action must be taken. The PAC's armed struggle is therefore nothing but a glorification of murder and crime in support of political objectives.

Mr Nemadzivhanani has also been quoted as saying: "The policemen

are robots of the system and should be sought out and destroyed."

"The SA Police is at the forefront of the repression of our people and is a legitimate target."

Further evidence pertaining to the PAC policy of violence and crime is contained in "ANNEXURE A".

Direct evidence of APLA involvement in a wide range of crimes has been mounting steadily for a considerable period prior to Police action against the PAC/APLA this week.

In this regard a list of another 49 incidents which the SA Police attributes to actions by APLA is attached as "ANNEXURE B" to this document.

It was therefore unavoidable and inevitable that the SA Police would at some or other stage be forced to take action against those who plan, carry out or assist such a policy of systematic lawlessness, murder and terror.

The duty of the SA Police, as a professional and apolitical police force acting without fear or favour, is clear-cut and unambiguous - it must enforce the law regardless of who or which organisation is breaking it. No person or organisation is above the law.

The SA Police has in fact never hesitated to act against any organisation or political party or members of any organisation or political party who were involved in crime or violence.

EXHIBIT

The SA Police therefore had no choice but to act as it did this week. It would in fact have failed in its duty had it not acted.

I wish to again state that no political decision was made to arrest PAC/APLA members and this action was taken on the initiative of the SA Police in line with normal law-enforcement principles.

The action was taken after extensive and exhaustive investigations which reached the stage last week where arrests were necessary.

These investigations have produced information that members of APLA are instructed to commit robberies and to steal vehicles to be sold in neighbouring countries in order to finance their campaign of crime and violence. Information received by the SA Police indicates that training was given to APLA members in Tanzania on how to carry out armed robberies.

Because of this week's Police action, valuable information has been obtained which will assist the SA Police in its duty to protect the public against crime of any kind.

One of those detained, a member of APLA, has admitted that he was instructed by a senior APLA commander, now in the Transkei, to observe pubs where whites gather, with the purpose to attack and murder such people. He further admitted to killing a black man in order to rob him of his vehicle, which was to be used by members of APLA. He also held a police station under observation with the object of attacking it and the members on duty.

The actions of the SA Police this week undoubtedly thwarted these planned attacks by APLA.

Over and above the fact that five members of the PAC top structure are presently being detained due to their possible involvement in several of the crimes mentioned above, or that they possess information on them, a number of specific crimes are also being investigated against them.

Their names and the alleged crimes are:

* Enoch Zulu: a murder allegedly committed in 1977; two charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition; charges in connection with the possession of illegal passports and providing funds for the purchase of firearms.

* Maxwell Nemadzivhanani: Two charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition; information is being investigated that

he may be an accomplice in the murder of Mrs Sandra Swanepoel in Letsitele on April 28 (Information was received that he on April 2 met with the leader of the APLA task force which carried out the attack); that he has applied for and received three identification documents.

* **Abel Dube:** He is possibly connected to a murder in the Western Cape and must still be questioned in depth on this; as the intelligence chief of the PAC, he allegedly drew up plans for attacks on police stations as well as a namelist of SA Police and SA Defence Force members to be eliminated. It is suspected that he possesses information, which he has not revealed, on 12 AK-47 rifles.

* **Jackie Seroke:** a charge of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition is being investigated.

* **Waters Toboti:** His involvement in the crimes already mentioned above in this statement is being investigated.

* **Solly Skosana:** He is allegedly involved in co-ordinating APLA task forces on the East Rand and also the housing, funding and medical care of APLA members. Documentation has been found confirming the existence of these task forces. A further report was seized detailing activities of these task forces, including the planned murder of seven SA Police members, six of SA Defence Force members and several other attacks on members of the SA Police.

The detention of these persons should not be seen in isolation. Masses of documentation must still be processed and should further arrests be made it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated.

Thusfar documents containing sketched plans of various police stations have been analysed, as well as a list of names and addresses of SAP and SADF members to be eliminated.

During investigations into the murder of Mrs Swanepoel of Letsitele, Police seized sketch plans of various Police stations, Defence Force bases and the Gazankulu Parliament Building.

With regard to allegations made by the PAC in connection with the manner in which the Police actions were carried out, it is unfortunately unavoidable that such actions must be carried out in the early hours.

The reasons are the following: This is the only time that persons are normally at home; it prevents persons from being arrested at their work and must then be transported to their homes; it prevents such actions from taking place in public and it prevents suspects from fleeing or destroying evidence.

I have taken note of allegations by Mr Bennie Alexander and other

PAC leaders that Police searches took place in an uncontrolled fashion. According to the Commissioner of Police, ~~14~~ sworn statements have been taken from policemen who deny doing so at Mr Alexander's home.

I have nevertheless instructed that these allegations be thoroughly investigated and that statements be taken from Mr Alexander and others who can substantiate these allegations.

I wish to give the assurance that this matter will be thoroughly investigated and should it emerge that the SA Police acted incorrectly, action will be taken. However, should these allegations prove to be unsubstantiated or made with malicious intent, the matter will be presented to the Attorney-General with a view to further action.

In conclusion, I wish to say that a seat around the negotiation table does not give any person or political party or political organisation the right to commit murder and other crimes.

Law and order must, in the interests of all South Africans and irrespective of race, colour or creed or political affiliation, be maintained.

This is the duty of the SA Police, this is the duty of the Minister of Law and Order and this is the duty of the South African Government.

We have every intention of performing this duty. ~~-----~~

We trust that the other participants in the negotiation process will also accept their duty in condemning crime, no matter by whom it is committed.

PAC : POLICY OF VIOLENCE

ANNEXUR

A

- The PAC and APLA's strategy and practice is based on Mao Tse Tsung's theory of protracted people's war. Its aims are :

* Guerilla warfare through attacks on selected targets and the creation of so-called liberated zones inside the Republic of South Africa. ("... They will strike the first decisive blows against the unprotected, isolated settler farmers and force them to flee the land Their abandoned farms will be taken over by the people." - Report of the National Executive Committee Meeting, Moshi, Tanzania, 19 to 22 September 1967);

* Mobile warfare - the escalation of the conflict to include large scale military operations from the so-called liberated zones, and

* conventional war, which means a further escalation of the conflict.

(Pan Africanist Visions : The Impossible Revolution? Ivan Mantzaris, Indicator SA., Vol 7, No 3, 1990).

- During the plenary session of the Central Committee of

the PAC held in Iringa, Tanzania from 9 to 20 August 1986 the following call was made :

"To the entire Azanian people - ARM YOURSELVES BY ALL MEANS NECESSARY OR POSSIBLE! SEIZE EVERY AVAILABLE OPPORTUNITY TO GET COMBAT TRAINING FROM APLA FIGHTERS! DEFEND YOURSELVES AGAINST THE OPPRESSOR'S BRUTALITY BY EVERY MEANS AT YOUR DISPOSAL, BOTH MODERN AND PRIMITIVE WEAPONS AND BOTH MODERN AND TRADITIONAL METHODS AND TACTICS OF COMBAT! HELP APLA FORCES TO DEVELOP OUR WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION WITH EVERYTHING YOU HAVE! UNITE IN ALL YOUR ACTIONS AND DO NOT ALLOW ANYONE TO DIVIDE YOUR RANKS! DEFEAT ALL DIVISIVE MANOEUVRES OR TACTICS OF THE ENEMY AND FALSE FRIENDS OF YOUR STRUGGLE! HELP EACH OTHER IN ALL YOUR DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION!"

- There is no doubt that PAC officials play a significant role in the coordination of APLA activity. Mr Benny Alexander, Secretary-general of the PAC, is on record as claiming that the PAC is responsible for the channelling of funds to APLA. Mr Barney Hlatswayo, APLA chief of Staff addressed Mr Clarence Makwethu, President of the PAC, as "commander in chief of APLA" in a minute dated 13 May 1991.
- The sort of mental and verbal acrobatics by the PAC political leadership to dissociate themselves from responsibility for the armed and terror attacks by

APLA are completely unconvincing, especially since they refuse both to condemn APLA's activities and also to abandon armed struggle. Both PAC and APLA official documents and publications are full of policy statements refuting and contradicting PAC / APLA denials on the subject of responsibility for armed attacks and terrorist activities.

- In an editorial in the Azania Combat Issue No. 13 of 1991 for example, Johnson Mlambo, Commander in Chief of APLA, is quoted as follows :

* "The formula has always been an integral part of the PAC's overall strategy of People's War being waged on all fronts, including the armed front", and further :

"In the view of APLA, the armed struggle is the continuation and not a substitute for political mass action".

- It is stated further in the editorial that :

"The PAC political leadership, in the pursuance of the Constituent Assembly formula, has never called on APLA or even suggested that the guerrilla army should lay down arms" (own underlining).

- In another article in the same publication, under the heading "APLA hits at 'watchdogs'", Sabelo Phama, APLA

commander, is quoted as saying :

"APLA, the military arm of the PAC, is under the leadership of the organisation and will, therefore, never be party to any tendency that runs across the correct PAC political line and action."

- The following statement in the editorial of the Azania Combat, Issue No. 15 of 1992, also leaves no doubt as to where APLA seeks political guidance for its armed activities :

"And so we wish from the outset to state once more here that the AZANIAN masses, led by the mighty Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, cannot abandon the bullet until the ballot is secured to contest for political power in South Africa.

What that means, simply, is that APLA, the armed force of the PAC, will continue mounting attacks against the pillars of the South African White settler-colonial minority regime, the main direct targets being the security and related forces of the regime."

It appears that unarmed civilians and other innocent people are now also regarded by the PAC as "related forces of the regime".

- In an article in the same issue of Azania Combat,

under the heading "War continues despite talks, Nemadzivhanani", Maxwell Newmadzivhanani made the following statement:

"The current exploratory talks between the PAC and Pretoria will not lead to the suspension of the armed struggle being waged by the organisation through its guerrilla wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, ..."

- In an undated circular signed by the national organiser of the PAC, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, the following instruction is given to all regional secretaries and branch secretaries of the PAC :
"Branches must provide logistical support to APLA. They must cloth (sic) feed and accommodate their vanguard army of liberation. Safety channels must be established at branch level to direct assistance to APLA."
- There can be no question about the fact that APLA's "Peoples War" is aimed not only at the security forces but also at the white civilian population of the RSA.
- Mr X in his testimony before a committee of the Goldstone commission investigating attacks on the South African Police testified as follows :
"What is the attitude of APLA towards policemen in South Africa? ... to attack the police."

Individual police, or is there a strategy to attack police? Well, they say a policeman who does duty in uniform must be attacked because he is in there, in the interest of the oppressive government. Who taught you that? ... High commander of APLA, Sabelo Pama, the Secretary of the Defence of APLA. When you entered South Africa, you said you had to - perhaps I could just put the question this way around : Did you receive any instruction when you enter to kill specific policemen, or just policemen in general? ... Now from 1976 to 1980 it was directed at whites because they were the settlers. In the 90's the strategy was changed to include or direct and attack against the blacks because they were regarded as being the same. When you talk of attack policemen, do you include the white members and the coloured members and the black members and the asian members? ... Yes any police."

- In an interview with SAPA as reported in "The Citizen" of 7 December 1992, an APLA military intelligence Deputy Commander, Mr Congo Jibril said the following:
- "White people form part and parcel of the oppressive regime which makes them a legitimate target for APLA military operations ... APLA has been requested by the people to intensify the

attack against whites so that they can cease their support to the South African Police and the SA Defence Force who are the legitimate targets of APLA."

- According to the report Mr Jibril confirmed :

"This was a declaration of war on all whites, but crèches and primary schools had been exempted from military action."

- He further said :

"All whites have been taught a culture of spying and hostile attitudes towards the liberation movement, therefore they qualify as our targets."

- Several inflammatory statements by various PAC leaders and members have been made in the recent past :

* Mr Romero DANIELS, Political Commissar of APLA said on 7 November 1991 (The Star) that the military onslaught will continue "... until all government structures, including the SA Defence Force and the SA Police, has been destroyed and the Government overthrown".

* Mr Maxwell NEMADZIVHANANI, National Organiser of the PAC told The Star on 11 January 1992 that "the SA Police is at the forefront of the

repression of our people and is a legitimate target. The policemen are robots of the system and should be sought out and destroyed".

- "Beeld, December 2, 1992

Mr Johnny Majozi, leader of APLA in Harare, Zimbabwe, said to a SAPA correspondent that it is strange that everyone is making such a big fuss about an attack in which only 4 whites were killed. (It was said after the King Williams Town attack.) He continued by saying:

* "Duisende Afrikane word byna daaglik vermoor sonder dat belonings uitgeloof word of polisieversterkings binne enkele sekondes na die toneel gestuur word."

"Ons wil wit Suid-Afrikaners graag daaraan herinner dat daar 'n oorlog in die land aan die gang is en dat hulle nie so verbaas moet wees nie. Daar gaan nog sulke aanvalle en baie meer daarvan in veral wit gebiede wees."

- Business Day December 3, 1992

According to SAPA reports, APLA vowed to attack white suburbs in retaliation for every vigilante attack in black townships.

A man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the APLA High Command said the only way to solve "African violence" in the townships was to take that violence to white

areas.

- Rapport, December 6, 1992

"Blankes moet hulle gereed maak vir nog aanvalle soos dié van verlede naweek op 'n Kerspartytjie op King Williams Town", threatened Mr Johnny Majozi, a leader of APLA in Zimbabwe.

- Die Burger, December 8, 1992

According to Mr Maxwell Nemadzhivanani, the PAC's National Organizer, "everytime a policeman dies, it is another victory for the masses on the road to freedom."

- In "The Citizen" of December 9, 1992 the PAC secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said the PAC would not abandon the armed struggle. "The PAC cannot abandon armed struggle until the objectives of the struggle have been realised."

- In his "Christmas and New Year message" dated 23 December 1992, Mr G G T Matshayana, regional chairman of the PAC in Transkei wrote :

"The entire Regional Executive Committee would like to reiterate its commitment to armed struggle ... During this period of peace and goodwill, we would like to remind our people that they have never known any peace they must prepare for war."

- Daily Despatch, February 1, 1993 :

During a PAC conference in the Transkei, Zinginsa Mkabile of the PAC questioned the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

He also said that the PAC will continue the armed struggle.

- Vrye Weekblad, February 10, 1993

Wally Mbhele, a journalist of the Vrye Weekblad conducted an interview with an APLA cadre. According to the Vrye Weekblad, the newspaper had independent confirmation of the APLA-man's authenticity. He tells why APLA attacks policemen and white farmers. Black policemen, he says, are attacked because they form "a very dangerous part in the system of oppression in the townships". White farmers are targeted because they still control "a very big part of land they took from blacks by force". He also said : "Our strategy is that we are going to hit them hard until the land is taken back to its owners."

- In a recent interview (February 1993) with Clarence Makwetu, conducted by David Frost, Mr Makwetu made the following statements :

* The King Williams Town deaths are a minor compared to 14 000 people killed already in the struggle.

* He could not discard the slogan "One Settler, One

Bullet", when it is still applied in the struggle against the regime.

* He cannot see why he should order APLA to discard the armed struggle, while South African mercenaries are killing black inhabitants.

On the grounds set out hereunder the South African Police attributes the following incidents to actions by APLA:

1. On 22 February 1991 the staff of a shop at B-section Botshabelo, in the Orange Free State, was held up in an armed robbery by a robber carrying an AK47 assault rifle. The robber was, however, arrested by the shopkeeper and identified as Christopher Neo MOHLOMI. During questioning by the South African Police he informed them that he was a member of APLA who had received military training abroad. He claimed that he was sent to the RSA to carry out robberies and to deliver the stolen money to his commander. MOHLOMI was granted bail pending his trial and he thereafter absconded.
2. On 18 June 1991 an armed robbery was carried out at the Ramahutsi Post Office at Botshabelo. A total amount of R2 993,00 was stolen. Vusi NDLOVU was arrested in connection with this robbery on 1 July 1991. At this arrest he was found to be in possession of an AK47 assault rifle with five magazines and 150 rounds of ammunition as well as a Chinese stick grenade. During questioning by the South African Police he told them that he is a member of APLA, and that he was trained abroad.
3. On 17 February 1992 a robbery was conducted at PEP Stores, Botshabelo by three armed men and an amount of R8 495,12 was stolen. In the ensuing follow-up operation, two police assistants were shot and killed by one of the robbers with an AK47 assault rifle. The robber was also killed during the shootout. He was identified as Zukile TOLIBADI from Engcobo in the Transkei. Information received by the South African Police confirmed their suspicions that TOLIBADI and his two fellow robbers were members of APLA.

4. On 19 October 1991 Constable EAGLE attached to Radio-Control, Soweto was shot and killed in an attack for which APLA later claimed responsibility.
5. On 2 November 1991 Constable M J VAN WYK of Soweto was shot and killed whilst he was searching a motor-vehicle with his colleague Constabel M M TUGE. Constabel TUGE was wounded in this incident. APLA accepted responsibility for this attack.
6. On 10 December 1992 at approximately 22h30 the house of Mrs C G ROOS of 143 Veld Street, Ficksburg, was attacked. Three petrol bombs were thrown into the house and nine shots were fired at the house. A M26 handgrenade was also thrown into the children's bedroom. Fortunately the two children were with their mother in her bedroom at the time. When the police arrived at the scene, shots were fired at them from the direction of Lesotho. Sergeant COETZEE was wounded in his left leg, whilst travelling to the scene in a patrol van. The house in question is situated approximately 500 metres from the Lesotho border. At the same time shots were also fired at a minibus-taxi. An occupant of this taxi was also wounded in the back. An unexploded petrol bomb was later discovered outside the house. The petrol bomb was similar in construction to petrol bombs found at other scenes where houses were attacked by APLA members. It was also established that a shotgun was used during the attack. The modus operandi and the construction of the petrol bomb used in this attack, support the inference that APLA members were responsible for this attack.
7. On 14 December 1991 the Batho Police Station was attacked with a handgrenade. At the same time a Chinese stick grenade exploded on the roof of the Municipal Police Station in Mangaung. On 18 December 1992 Jerome DLAMINI handed himself over to the police at Zastron and admitted his complicity in

the attacks. Two other persons, Velile ~~MXHOSANA~~ and Lebohang MAY were arrested on the same day. In a statement to the police and later in evidence in Court, DLAMINI admitted that he was a member of APLA. He stated that he had received military training in Tanzania in inter alia the handling of the AK47, G3 and SK-5 assault rifles, Scorpion machine pistol, and RPG-7 rocket launcher. Thereafter he was sent for further military training to Guinea. He returned to Tanzania and during October 1991 he infiltrated the RSA through Botswana together with other APLA members. They first went to Soweto and from there they proceeded to the Transkei. In the Transkei he met several APLA members and after he had stayed at various places in the Transkei for a few weeks, he was taken to Bloemfontein by a fellow APLA member. In Botshabelo they met other APLA members and they were instructed by Happy LETLAPA, presently the Chief APLA Operations in the Transkei, to carry out attacks on the Batho Police Station, the Mangaung Municipal Police Component and on policemen at the square in the centre of Bloemfontein. He was instructed to accompany LETLAPA to the square whilst the other four would proceed to the Batho Police Station and the Municipal Police Station respectively. The attacks on the police stations were carried out, but as there were no policemen on the square, LETLAPA and himself took no action. He thereafter returned to the Transkei with one of his colleagues where he again met up with LETLAPA. One of the other attackers, Gilbert LEFU, who was arrested later, also made a statement to the South African Police. He stated that he had received military training with a group of others in the Transkei at Coffee Bay, Umtata and Sterkspruit between 16 October 1991 and 2 November 1991. He was instructed to take part in the attack on the Municipal Police Station. He did so by throwing a Chinese stick grenade onto the roof of the police station. On the 17th December 1991 he was instructed by LETLAPA to join him at

Sterkspruit in the Transkei. Velile ~~MXHOSANA~~ also made a statement to the S A Police in which he admitted that he was a member of APLA and that he had received instant training in Harare, Zimbabwe during 1991 and a further "crash" course in the Transkei.

8. On 23 December 1991 at 21h00 members of the South African Police travelling in Zola Street Soweto, were shot at from a moving car with an AK47 rifle. Constable M Z MACHATE was fatally injured in this attack, whilst Constable M D HADEBE was seriously wounded. APLA accepted responsibility for this attack, claiming that three policemen were killed in the attack in an article published in the "Azania Combat" (A copy of the news report is attached hereto as Annexure BB).
9. Two members of the South African Police, Orlando, were wounded in an attack on 1 January 1992 for which APLA accepted responsibility.
10. On the 2nd January 1992 two Municipal Policemen were killed in Dobsonville, Soweto. APLA later claimed responsibility for this attack.
11. On 3 January 1992 two members of APLA attempted to stop a vehicle on the road between Aliwal North and Sterkspruit, inside the Transkei. When the vehicle failed to stop, shots were fired at it and two black females were wounded. Later the two APLA members robbed another traveller on the same road of his Mazda bakkie. This vehicle was used by the two APLA members to attack the Lady Grey Police Station with an M-26 handgrenade and an R5 assault rifle. One member of the force was slightly injured in the attack. This attack was carried out by Steven Vusumzi DOLO, Happy LETLAPA and Velile MAFILIKA, all three members of APLA. After the attack, the attackers fled back to the Transkei. Steven Vusumi DOLO, a trained APLA member was later convicted in

connection with these crimes.

12. On 30 January 1992 the homestead on the farm Fairview in the Lady Grey district was attacked with firearms. A motor vehicle parked in the garage on the farm was set on fire and another's windscreen broken. No-one was injured. In a statement made to the police, Gilbert LEFU, a member of APLA, admitted complicity in this attack and Steven Vusumzi DOLO also admitted complicity during questioning by the South African Police. According to LEFU this attack was carried out on the instructions of Happy LETLAPA and after the attack had been carried out they all fled to the Transkei.
13. On 31 January 1992 a member of the South African Police was injured in an attack in Maroka for which APLA has accepted responsibility.
14. On 17 February 1992 twelve Municipal policemen, on their way to the police station at Katlehong were attacked from another vehicle with rifle fire. The driver of the police vehicle, as well as one of the passengers on the back of the bakkie were fatally wounded. AK47 rifles and 9mm side-arms were used in this attack. Four passengers were wounded of which one later died in hospital. APLA accepted responsibility for this attack.
15. On 21 February 1992 three policemen were wounded in an attack with AK47 assault rifles and Makarov pistols on the Moroka Police Station. APLA accepted responsibility for this attack.
16. On 18 March 1992 at approximately 07h15 Mr Fanie SMIT from Zastron, an employee of Frasers Furnishers at Sterkspruit, Transkei, was attacked on the main road to Sterkspruit approximately two kilometers from the Transkeian border. Mr SMIT was shot and killed and the vehicle in which he and other employees of Frasers Furnishers were travelling, was

thereafter attacked with petrol bombs. Empty R4, R5 and 9mm cartridges cases were found at the scene. The motor vehicle was completely destroyed by fire. Steven DOLO, confirmed the information that this attack was carried out by himself and other members of APLA.

17. On 26 March 1992 the homestead on the farm Wilgespruit, Lady Grey district, was attacked with petrol bombs. The homestead and its contents were completely destroyed by fire. The APLA member, Steven DOLO, was later convicted of this crime.
18. On 30 May 1992 two members of the Stock Theft Unit of the South African Police stationed at Barkley East were attacked by APLA members in the Sterkspruit area. They succeeded in evading their attackers.
19. On 15 June 1992 at approximately 04h00 the homestead on the farm Draaihoek in the Zastron district was attacked with petrol bombs. Fortunately the petrol bombs exploded outside the homestead. Three unused petrol bombs were found outside the house. No damage was consequently caused to the house. Based on information received, which information is confirmed by the modus operandi of the attack, the only conclusion is that APLA members were responsible for this attack.
20. On 15 June 1992 at approximately 05h00 the homestead on the farm Kromhoek in the Zastron district was also attacked with petrol bombs. The homestead was completely destroyed by the ensuing fire. Based on information received as well as the modus operandi followed in this attack, the inference is inescapable that the same APLA members who attacked the farm Draaihoek, were also responsible for this attack.
21. On 22 June 1992 the homestead on the farm

Hefersdraai in the Zastron district was attacked with twelve petrol bombs. The four black persons occupying the house at the time, were fortunately not injured in the attack. The modus operandi followed in this attack, supports the inference that APLA members were responsible for the attack.

22. During the period 19 to 25 June 1992 the homestead on the farm Naudeley in the district of Lady Grey was attacked with petrol bombs in the absence of the residents. The remains of seven petrol bombs were found outside the house and three inside the house. Based on information and the modus operandi followed in this attack, it is clear that APLA members were responsible.
23. On 21 July 1992 two members of APLA were fatally injured in a shoot-out with police near Jane Furse in Lebowa. Two Chinese stick grenades and an AK47 rifle was seized during this incident. Both the deceased were identified as members of APLA.
24. On 10 August 1992 at 00h20 the homestead on the farm Klutha in the Xalanga area, Elliot, was attacked with rifle fire and petrol bombs. No-one was injured. R4, R5 and AK47 assault rifles were used in this attack. Based on information received and the modus operandi followed in the attack, the inference is that APLA was responsible.
25. On 10 August 1992 at 08h45 the homestead on the farm Cluny in the Xalanga area, Elliot, was attacked with rifle fire, a handgrenade and petrol bombs. 9mm cartridges, SSG shotgun cartridges and remains of an M26 handgrenade were found at the scene. Based on information received and the modus operandi the inference is that APLA members were involved in this attack.
26. On 6 September 1992 at approximately 02h00 the homestead on the farm Avondale in the Queenstown

district was attacked with petrol bombs. No-one was injured in this attack and damage to the value of R1 000,00 was caused. Based on information received and the modus operandi the inference is that members of APLA were involved in this attack.

27. On 29 September 1992 at 02h00 the house of Mr and Mrs KOEN at 51 Bosch Street, Ficksburg was attacked with a petrol bomb. Damage to the amount of R5 000,00 was caused in this attack. A short while later a further attack was carried out at the house of Mr J G LEWIS at 162 Brand Street, Ficksburg. A handgrenade was thrown into one of his vehicles which completely destroyed the vehicle. During the investigation of these two attacks, 35 home made petrol bombs in three bags were found in the street in front of the house at 51 Bosch Street. In the street in front of the house various pieces of wood, through which nails were driven, were also found. In the course of the police investigation the inference based on the modus operandi, that APLA members were involved in both these attacks, was confirmed.
28. On 10 October 1992 the homestead of Mr and Mrs MIDDELTON in the district of Fouriesburg was attacked with petrol bombs. An M26 handgrenade was also thrown at the homestead. This fortunately exploded some 25 meters from the homestead. Damage to the value of R10 000 was caused in the attack. Also in this instance the modus operandi points to an attack by APLA members.
29. On 3 November 1992 at 05h00 Mr Ben VAN ROOYEN was attacked at Coville with petrol bombs. Information obtained afterwards confirmed the inference from the modus operandi that members of APLA were involved in this attack. Mr VAN ROOYEN was not injured.
- ~~30.~~ On 18 November 1992 at approximately 05h50 Mr GRIESEL and two companions were attacked near the

Mayaputi bridge across the Orange River by three men. Shots were fired at their vehicle. Mr GRIESEL refused to stop despite the fact that he was wounded several times during the incident. R4, R5 and 9mm cartridges were later found at the scene. Information obtained confirmed that APLA members were responsible for this incident.

31. On 19 November 1992 at approximately 07h20 Mr Peter SCHROEDER and Mrs Shirley BRUMMER were attacked at Coville near Herschell. Mr SCHROEDER was killed and Mrs BRUMMER was permanently paralysed as a result of injuries sustained during the attack. R4, R5 rifles and 9mm side arms were used in the attack. Information confirmed the inference from the modus operandi that APLA members were involved. Immediately after this incident a Mr TSHABANE arrived at the scene and he was also shot at. The vehicle he was driving left the road after Mr TSHABANE was fatally wounded. A Mr Douglas SHIRLEY then arrived at the scene and he was also shot at. Mr SHIRLEY was wounded in the incident. An Isuzu light delivery van, the property of Judith BOOYSEN, was thereafter robbed by the same attackers. This vehicle was later found near Sterkspruit.
32. On 19 November 1992 at approximately 12h00, pension money destined for the Skizazana Administrative Area, Sterkspruit, was stolen in an armed robbery wherein an R5 rifle and a 9mm pistol were used. Constabel XUZA of the Transkeian Police was wounded in the incident and R50 000,00 was stolen. Unconfirmed information indicates that this attack was carried out by APLA members to raise funds for the organization.
33. On 22 November 1992 members of the S A Police were attacked with R4, R5 rifles and a 9mm pistol at Queenstown. Sergeant Z NTOLOZI was wounded in the head and hand. Afterwards eleven lengths of PVC piping with nails driven through it, were found at

the scene. The modus operandi pointing to APLA involvement, was later confirmed by information.

34. On 27 November 1992 at 02h00 the homestead of Mr TROU of the farm Glenkei in the Tyithaba district as well as the shop on the farm were attacked with two handgrenades, of which only one exploded, and nine petrol bombs. The shop was completely destroyed in the ensuing fire. A rifle of unknown calibre was also used in the attack. Information confirmed the inference from the modus operandi that APLA members were involved in this attack.
35. On 28 November 1992 a social gathering at the King William's Town Golf Club was attacked by men using one F1 handgrenade and two M26 handgrenades. An unknown number of shots were also fired at the persons attending the gathering with R4 and/or R5 rifles. Two petrol bombs were also used in the attack. Four persons were killed and seventeen wounded in the attack. APLA later accepted responsibility for this attack.
36. On 3 December 1992 at 01h00 the homestead of Mr MYBURGH on the farm Lemoenfontein near Dordrecht was attacked with petrol bombs. Lengths of PVC piping with nails driven through them were later found on the road to the farm. Information later confirmed the inference from the modus operandi that members of APLA were involved.
37. On 4 December 1992 two members of the South African Police were attacked in Douglas Smith main road, Duncan Village, East London. Shots were fired at the patrol van and both members were wounded in the feet. Information links this shooting to APLA members.
38. On 4 December 1992 four men in a combi attacked a police vehicle at Delta station in the Barkly East district, with automatic rifle fire. No-one was

injured in the incident. The policemen later identified an APLA member as one of the passengers in the combi.

39. On 5 December 1992 a limpet mine left in a Spur restaurant in Queenstown, exploded and resulted in the death of one person and injuries to a further nineteen. APLA accepted responsibility for this attack.
40. On 19 December 1992 at 22h45 the house of Mr PRETORIUS of the farm Donside in the district of Ficksburg was attacked with a Chinese stick grenade and rifle fire. Mr PRETORIUS daughter was wounded in the attack and died later as a result of her wounds. The modus operandi again supports the inference that this attack was carried out by members of APLA.
41. At approximately 22h30 on 26 December 1992 two men entered the "Stakes Restaurant" in Claremont, Cape Town, and fired at random with automatic weapons on those present in the restaurant. A number of people were injured and nine spent cartridges were afterwards found on the scene, from this it has been established that R4 and/or R5 rifles were used by the attackers.
According to a newspaper report in the "Daily Dispatch" of 28 December 1992 a certain mr Bam BATA, who claimed to be the APLA commander in the Cape Peninsula, accepted responsibility on behalf of APLA for the above-mentioned attack. (The news report is attached hereto as Annexure CC).
42. On 13 February 1993, members of the Crime Combating and Investigation Division of the South African Police at Krugersdorp received information that a stolen vehicle had been seen parked at house 204 Mohlakeng, Randfontein. On searching the house and the vehicle, members of the Internal Stability

Division of the SAP established that the vehicle had been stolen in Sebokeng on 12 February 1993. In one of the rooms of the house three Chinese stick grenades were found in a bag containing clothes. Six persons suspected of being PASO members were arrested.

43. Five black men clothed in S A Police uniforms entered the Pholasong Hospital in Brakpan on 11 January 1993 and Prince DLAMINI (Apla cell-leader on the East Rand) was freed from police custody. Constable KHOZA was shot at and killed during this incident. During questioning constable Peter MPAHLELE admitted that he had been approached by Prince DLAMINI to join APLA. Constable MPAHLELE has been released on bail.
44. On Friday, 19 March 1993 at approximately 09h30 dr DUURSEMA was confronted by three black men with a fire-arm at his consulting room in Fairways, Botshabelo. The men demanded a fire-arm from the victim. Dr DUURSEMA replied that he was not in possession of any fire-arms, after which the men demanded a money-box from him. After dr DUURSEMA had handed over the money-box, one of the men shot at him and wounded him in the chest. The three men thereupon fled, losing the money-box. Information received by the SAP led to the arrest of two black men at Zastron on 23 March 1993, namely Michael NTLUPHEKO & Tjhenki KHASHMENE and George Nongabi NCEDEKILE
45. Civilians in a private vehicle were attacked and three persons, including two children were killed on 19 March 1993 near Eikehof in the Vaal Triangle in AK47 assault rifle fire. APLA claimed responsibility for the incident.
46. An attack was launched on the Yellow Woods Hotel in Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape on 20 March 1993. One person was shot and killed by fire from R4

rifles during the incident. It is known that APLA is in possession of R4 rifles. R4 rifles had also been used in the attack on the King William's Town Golf Club on 28 November 1992 for which APLA accepted responsibility.

47. On 22 March 1993 at approximately 07h10, mr D J DE BRUYN travelled to work with mr A R CONKER in Vanderbijlpark. A number of shots were fired at them with an AK47 assault rifle. Mr CONKER was fatally wounded. APLA's involvement in this attack has not yet been confirmed.

48. 28 APRIL 1993 : TZANEEN, FAR NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

At 05:45 on 28 April 1993, Mr Johannes Gerhardus SWANEPOEL, 42 years old, of Plot 33, Gunyula, Letsetele District left his house to see why his dogs were barking. He came across two black men outside the house. One of the men pointed a handgun at him. The other man was armed with an AK-47 assault rifle. They forced Mr SWANEPOEL into the house. Mrs SWANEPOEL fired a shot at the attackers with a pistol. One of the attackers returned the fire and fatally wounded Mrs SWANEPOEL in the head. Mr SWANEPOEL fired at the men with his .303 rifle. The two unidentified attackers then fled.

During follow-up operations by members of the South African Police, one (1) suspect, a black man, was shot dead and three (3) other suspects, also black men, were arrested. Investigations into the incident revealed that the deceased, one PRINCE (further particulars unknown) was an APLA member who had received foreign military training.

Clifford THOBEGANE, one of the arrested men, in a confession made before the Chief Magistrate of Tzaneen, Mr STEENKAMP, admitted the murder of Mrs STEENKAMP and that he and his fellow suspects were APLA members.

49. 1 MAY 1993 : EAST LONDON : EASTERN CAPE

On Saturday 1 May 1993, at approximately 22:15, approximately four men attacked the Highgate Hotel in East London. During the attack shots were fired at people inside the hotel with AK-47 assault rifles. A hand-grenade (Russian F1) and a tearsmoke-grenade (RSA- type) were thrown into the public bar of the hotel. A number of shots were fired during the attack. Five persons were killed and seven wounded.

Although an unknown person telephoned SAPA on 3 May 1993 and claimed responsibility for the attack on behalf of AZANLA, a person who identified himself as Carl ZIMBIRI (APLA code name), telephoned the Citizen newspaper on Monday 3 May 1993 and claimed responsibility for the attack on behalf of APLA. Investigations are continuing.

50. 5 MAY 1993 : DOBSONVILLE, WITWATERSRAND

On Wednesday 5 May 1993 at approximately 05:15, 23 members of the Dube Municipal Police were passengers in a police Canter, SAP 117385K, in Dobsonville. At a red robot unknown persons fired at the police vehicle from both sides of the road with AK-47 assault rifles. Three policemen died at the scene and a police woman later died in hospital from her wounds. Five other policemen were wounded, one of them critically. An unknown person, who introduced himself as

"Comrade KABOKO", telephoned SAPA on 5 May 1993 and claimed responsibility for the attack on behalf of APLA. Investigations into the possibility of APLA being responsible are continuing.