

GENERAL Christoffel "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, the army's powerful intelligence chief who is at the centre of the Goniwe assassination row, was head of the South African Defence Force on the Reef at the time when military agents spied on murdered academic David Webster.

Van der Westhuizen — the flamboyant officer who allegedly gave the order, when he was head of the SADF's Eastern Province Command in 1985, to "permanently remove" activist Matthew Goniwe — moved to the Reef at the end of 1986.

A senior military intelligence (MI) source told *The Weekly Mail* this week that Van der Westhuizen took charge of the Witwatersrand Command until February 1990, when he moved on to become deputy chief of the SADF. This meant he received intelligence reports from army agents who carried out "dirty-tricks" campaigns against anti-government leaders, including agents involved in the Johannesburg City Council spy scandal.

Lawyer Tony Naude admitted during the official probe into the spy scandal that he had made friends with Webster and had monitored his activities for MI officers on the Witwatersrand before the human-rights academic was gunned down outside his Troyeville home on May 1 three years ago.

Hannes Gouws, a city council security agent who gave evidence during the Hiemstra Commission of Inquiry, named a number of army agents who worked out of Wits Command and would have fallen under Van der Westhuizen's authority.

An official inquest into Webster's assassination is due to start in a few weeks and it is likely that lawyers for the David Webster Trust will call the controversial general to the witness box.

A joint investigation by *The Weekly Mail* and the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression has established that Van der Westhuizen made a name for himself in the eastern Cape by setting up an irregular unit called the Hammer Forces which carried out special operations against anti-government and township leaders.

This was a citizen force unit whose members earned the right to wear a badge in the shape of a sledgehammer on their chests after going through a special training course held at Kotgja in the eastern Cape. Although its members were uniformed, they often took part in irregular operations as plainclothes operatives.

It is highly likely that members of the Hammer Forces were involved in the mystery army roadblock on the night Goniwe was killed (see accompanying story).

The Hammer Forces unit was mentioned during the Skweyiya Commission of Inquiry into security activities at the University of Transkei. A document referred to the "snatching" of a university academic which involved the "East

Army intelligence chief linked to Webster murder

One of the most powerful men in the military has been linked to the murder of human-rights academic David Webster — and he is likely to be called to testify at the official inquest due to start soon. By LOUISE FLANAGAN and EDDIE KOCH



Leader of the Hammer ... General Christoffel van der Westhuizen

Cape Civil group — Hammer? And some members of this unit came to the Reef with their leader when Van der Westhuizen was promoted to officer in charge of Wits Command.

After Van der Westhuizen moved to the Reef, the violence in Port Elizabeth and surrounding townships more or less came to an end. Even the SADF commented on this in a February 1988 issue of its newspaper, *Uniform*, although *Uniform* ascribed the peace to the SADF's efforts.

With his promotion to deputy chief of the SADF in 1990 and then to Chief of Staff Intelligence, his current position, Van der Westhuizen has become one of

the most powerful men in the military today.

His career path has been typical of many SADF senior officers groomed for the most powerful posts in the security forces.

In 1975, he was involved in the SADF's first big operation in Angola, codenamed Operation Savannah. He then served as the Officer Commanding 14 Artillery Regiment at Potchefstroom, and was involved in a lengthy project resulting in the development of the acclaimed G6 cannon.

By the early 1980s, he was stationed in Port Elizabeth, where he took up the position of Officer Commanding the

Eastern Province Command.

The eastern Cape has long been regarded in military circles as the second most important region in the country, after the Witwatersrand. The EP Command is often used as a springboard for officers headed for top positions and the area has been used as a testing ground for military strategies such as those employed during the 1980s to counter the "total onslaught" against the country.

Adding a feather to Van der Westhuizen's cap was the fact that while he was in charge of the EP Command, it was awarded the SADF's coveted "Sword of Peace" in 1986 and 1987.

In his present controlling position of the security forces, Van der Westhuizen appears to have continued focusing his operations in the eastern Cape as well as on the Reef. In some cases, he has used his former EP Command henchmen to carry out these operations.

One of these is Lourens du Plessis, named as the man who wrote and signed the now obsolete signal message form asking for authorisation of the Goniwe murder. Du Plessis was at the time the acting Staff Officer for Intelligence at EP Command.

Although SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt has said that Du Plessis' address was not known, *The Weekly Mail* was easily able to contact him at his home this week. He is now retired from the SADF, but he still draws a military pension.

Du Plessis was the man in charge of MI's Comops (communications operations) at EP Command under Van der Westhuizen. He was known for his contacts in the Ciskei and is believed to have been involved with the now defunct Ciskei rebel movement Iiso Lomzi, headed by Charles Sebe. His activities apparently included discrediting Lennox Sebe, then president of the Ciskei, with pamphlets and alleged support for those wanting to overthrow him.

After the military government took over in Ciskei, Du Plessis took up with a clandestine military grouping called International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services, enabling the unit to make good use of his Ciskei connections. At one point, he was reportedly running a food outlet in the Ciskei town of Alice on behalf of IR-CIS.

Du Plessis has also been mentioned in connection with the MI front organisation Adult Education Consultants.

●The Department of Military Intelligence has begun a witchhunt to find out who leaked the document that implicates Van der Westhuizen to the Goniwe murder.

A number of military officers who had access to the top-secret registry in which the document was kept were hauled on to the carpet this week. One of these officers told *The Weekly Mail* that "the authenticity of the document is not in doubt".

It has also been established that the handwriting and the signature on the document are by Lourens Du Plessis.

Wtmail 18/5/92

Webster's murder: Confession probed

POLICE are investigating an alleged confession by a former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent, Mr Ferdi Barnard, that he murdered academic Dr David Webster.

Barnard has been long suspected by lawyers to be at least indirectly involved in the assassination.

A Sunday newspaper yesterday reported that Barnard first claimed he murdered Webster to his former CCB handler the day after the murder.

The handler, codenamed "Yssel", allegedly told advocate Mr Martin Luitingh of the "confession".

Luitingh will give evidence in an inquest into Webster's death. A West Rand businessman, who told two police officers that Barnard had also confessed to him, will also be called on to give evidence.

Lawyers dealing with Webster's case are, however, not convinced the confession will bring anything new.

"We are not really learning anything new. This stuff has been bandied around for some time," said lawyer Mr David Dyson. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Officials 'behind hit squads'

TRANSKEIAN Military ruler, General Bantu Holomisa has threatened to release documents implicating the Government in hit-squad murders.

Holomisa, addressing Codesa 2 Plenary Session last Friday, said he has in

By IKE MOTSAPI

his possession thick files of secret documents which show that political killings around the country were "sanctioned at the highest level of Government".

He said names mentioned in these files were at the highest level in both Government and security forces.

Holomisa gave the Government a taste of things to come recently by releasing a signal form sent by Colonel Chris van der Westhuizen, military commander in the Eastern Cape, to the State Security Council on June 7 1985,

recommending that well known UDF activist, Matthew Goniwe and two others be "permanently removed from society."

Holomisa said: "It is imperative that Codesa considers the advisability of calling upon neutral arbiters and jurists to look into and verify the authenticity of the contents of the documents that are in my possession like the signal message linked to the disappearance of Goniwe and others.

"A commission of Inquiry consisting of international jurists and credible local and legal personnel should be instituted by Codesa."

Sowetan 18/5/85

By Helen Grange

Police are looking into the alleged confession by former Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) agent Ferdi Barnard that he killed Wits academic Dr David Webster.

Evidence on the "confession" will be led at the inquest hearing on Dr Webster's death, which begins in July.

Mr Barnard, who denied to the Sunday Star last week that he had confessed to the murder, has been long suspected by lawyers to be at least indirectly involved with the assassination of Dr Webster on May 1 1989.

The Sunday Star reported yesterday that Mr Barnard first

Police probe Barnard 'confession'

claimed he had murdered Dr Webster to his former CCB handler the day after the murder. The former handler, code-named "Yssel", told Johannesburg advocate Martin Luitingh of the "confession", and Mr Luitingh will testify to this in the inquest.

A West Rand businessman, who told two police officers that Mr Barnard had also confessed to him, will also be called on to give evidence.

Despite Mr Barnard's "confession", lawyers dealing with Dr

Webster's case are not entirely convinced it brings anything more to bear on the case.

"We are not really learning anything new. This stuff has been bandied around for some time," said lawyer David Dyson.

Lawyer Greg Knott, who is preparing evidence for the inquest, said Mr Barnard's alleged complicity in the murder, as well as that of former CCB agents Staal Burger, Calla Botha and "Slang" van Zyl, had been brought up in the Harms Commission of Inquiry into politic-

ally motivated murders.

But sufficient proof of their involvement has eluded those dealing with the case.

Lawyers now believe, however, that the CCB was not officially involved. Mr Barnard had been "fired" from the CCB months before the murder.

"Since the inquest hearing was announced, we have had a number of telephone calls and people coming forward with claims," said Mr Knott yesterday.

Max Coleman, a member of the Webster Trust, was also a

little sceptical of the new Barnard revelation.

"We've heard many stories. I only hope the inquest will bring out more information," he said.

In the past two years, police hit squads, the CCB, right-wing terror organisations, Johannesburg City Council spies and Military Intelligence (MI) have all been blamed for the murder.

In November 1989 the SAP investigated whether Irishman Donald Acheson, held in Namibia in connection with the death of Swapo official Anton Lubow-

ski, was linked to Dr Webster's death.

Mr Barnard was then detained in terms of the Internal Security Act after statements by Mr Acheson that he (Barnard) had been involved.

At the end of 1989, MI was linked to Dr Webster's murder after Mr Barnard claimed to be under its control. MI member Mr Botha was also detained, followed by former policeman Mr van Zyl.

Then five rightwingers were held after being found in pos-

session of a hit list. All were freed due to lack of evidence.

The Harms Commission concluded that there was no evidence that the CCB had anything to do with the murder.

Allegations surfaced in 1990 that former Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit commander "Staal" Burger was the leader of a cell in a secret SADF organisation suspected of being involved in the murder.

The Johannesburg City Council spied on Dr Webster six months before his death. A witness told the Hiemstra Commission that a special unit made up of MI and city council security officers was responsible for the assassination.

8 for 12/5/92

The CCB knows who killed Webster — Ferdi

MR FERDI Barnard, the man at the centre of allegations of State-sponsored killings and harassment of anti-apartheid activists, makes no apology for his shadowy role in the service of South Africa.

"My record is rotten with violence," the 33-year-old former spy said. "But I don't need amnesty. There's no fear in my heart that I will ever need anything like that."

Barnard, a convicted murderer who complains business contacts think of him as "James Bond", added: "I don't believe there will be any type of Nuremberg trials in this country, because they will sort that out at the negotiating table."

He denies accusations that he carried out two of Southern Africa's most notorious assassinations, saying a former colleague in a secret army unit might know the truth about them.

The burly former drug squad detective served three years in jail from 1984 to 1987 for two unrelated murders of suspected drug dealers.

In March 1988 he joined the Civil Co-operation Bureau, an army special forces undercover unit which is accused of killing and harassing black activists.

Officials of the unit, now disbanded, showed strong opposition to President FW de Klerk's political reforms. They told a judicial investigation into violence that their job was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the State" at home and abroad. The unit has destroyed files on its work inside South Africa.

For the past three years newspapers have regularly splashed Barnard's photograph across front page reports linking him to the 1989 killings of South African academic Dr David Webster and an anti-apartheid Namibian lawyer, Mr Anton Lubowski.



In late 1989 Barnard was detained for three months in connection with the killings but released for lack of evidence.

In an interview at a friend's house, Barnard suggested a CCB colleague might know the truth about the murders, adding: "If anyone was trained to kill, it would be him."

Barnard described himself as a political moderate who joined the CCB because it paid well.

All he did, he said, was use contacts in the underworld, "mostly Mandrax, diamond and weapons smugglers", to gather intelligence on enemies of the State.

"I lost everything when I was in jail. All of a sudden I had R5 000 a month. I had a brand new car, my petrol was paid for. It made it so much easier for me, that I could live like anybody else. You can buy a woman a present if you want."

"That to me was like a godsend. I grabbed it with both hands."

Barnard says the CCB's work was needed at the time but became increasingly irrelevant as the reform process proceeded.

"People there did brilliant work, believe me. I was one who operated alone, going into a black township without backing at night to monitor certain people's movements."

"It was intelligence concerning anything that damages the economy - laundering money, drug smuggling, weapons smuggling, politically motivated actions against the country, African National Congress activities, MK



David Webster, who was killed in 1989.

(ANC armed wing) activities, you name it.

"If you do the crime, you must do the time. It's a motto of mine. You must face the consequences," Barnard said.

"But nobody (in the CCB) ever asked me to do anything illegal or to do any strong arm tactics or any rough work."

Hopes of uncovering the truth about the killing and others like it have risen this year with the start of talks on a transition from white rule to democracy.

The ANC says it will guarantee amnesty if people who carried out political killings confess, so as to wipe the slate clean and ensure that there is no repetition. Police have been unable to solve dozens of murders of activists.

Barnard, denying new allegations that he currently works for the army's intelligence department, said he doubted the killers of Lubowski and Webster would ever apply for amnesty.

"If it was done (by) the intelligence world, I doubt it very much because that world is a murky world of shady characters and nothing is

really as it seems. There'll be no smoking gun."

Barnard estimates he has had 200 stitches in his body from being stabbed five times and shot once in the course of his career, which included a stint as a Johannesburg club bouncer.

"I can be violent but I'm not a guy that goes moving around looking for trouble," said Barnard, who is about 2m tall and weighs 105kg.

Barnard, who now earns a living by recovering stolen commercial property, said he wanted a normal family life.

But he says he is continually haunted by his violent past.

He tried debt collection work, but people he visited recognised him from newspaper photographs and asked for police protection.

He said businessmen impressed by his CCB service now offered him money to beat up rivals. "I think they're stark raving mad. People are trying to misuse me. What they see in the papers, to them that's for real. (It's like) I'm the biggest James Bond and I'm scared of nothing." - SA Press Association-Reuters

Sowetan 22/05/92

CCB'S WEBB RETURNS TO HAUNT HIS MASTERS

Former CCB chairman General Eddie Webb admitted to VWB this week that he has applied for indemnity as a political offender. The move puts the government in hotter water than the Harms Commission did. IVOR POWELL explains why

4/10/92 12/6/92

THE most senior officer in the SADF's notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau admitted to VWB this week he wants to be forgiven for crimes committed against political opponents of the government.

Former CCB chairman ex-General Eddie Webb confirmed he submitted an application - he could not remember when, "but it was some time ago" - in terms of the September 1990 Pretoria Minute for indemnity as a political offender. He is currently awaiting a decision on his future.

This is the first time a senior official within the SADF's dirty tricks operation has broken ranks, and come forward to stake his claim to the promised amnesty of the new South Africa.

BUT THE MOVE COULD create headaches for the government: there are two provisions - which the government itself inserted into earlier agreements by indemnity committees mandated by the joint ANC/government working group, without proper consultation - which could backfire on their designers.

One is that the indemnity application form which has to be filled in demands that the offender submit a detailed list of the political crimes in terms of which he or she is applying for indemnity.

Indemnity as it has been granted by the government thus far, except in the cases of certain members of the senior leadership of the ANC, where it was given as a blanket thing, but on a temporary basis, is granted in terms of the "crime" and not to the person.

Thus it will only be granted in terms of those offences specified on the form: the offender will remain liable for prosecution in relation to any offences that are not specified. In other words, if Webb is genuinely seeking indemnity and not merely engaged in some obscure game of brinkmanship, then all the questions he refused to answer in the hearings of the Harms Commission will have to be answered at last.

Of course they will not be made public, but as we all know, these things have a habit of coming out.

Secondly - and this is the really ironical part - he will have to claim indemnity through the agency of one or other organisation. In his case this will have to be the government, which in turn will have to acknowledge responsibility for the actions which Webb undertook.

THEY WILL HAVE TO SAY YES, this and this and this... all these things were done on our behalf.

More specifically, Webb will have to confirm that he was acting under orders in terms of the offences he committed or ordered others to commit. And, implicitly, in supporting his application, the government will have to admit that it ordered those actions to be performed.

This will then make liars and perurers - not to mention possibly murderers - out of his superiors. In



Eddie Webb

all probability the chain of command will lead all the way up to current Water Affairs and Forestry Minister General Magnus Malan, until last year Minister of Defence and thus finally responsible for what happened in the SADF at the time.

None of them have ever admitted culpability in any of the covert death squad or other dirty tricks operations the CCB is known to have been involved in.

And neither has Webb. During the hearings of the Harms Commission of Inquiry into Politically Motivated killings last year, Webb said he only became aware of the CCB's actions inside South Africa eight months after he became head of SADF Special Forces in January 1989.

When asked by VWB whether he had applied as a member of a specific organisation, Webb claimed he could not remember, but confirmed that he had filled what was required in terms of legislation governing indemnity procedures.

Other testimony before the Harms Commission had it that it was around the time that Webb took over that the real chaos set in, with Joe Verster, his immediate junior, allegedly shamelessly misleading him on what was really going on.

Webb himself denied any knowledge of the internal activities of the CCB to the Harms Commission, but then went on to refuse to answer further

questions on the grounds that to do so might incriminate him.

MORE RECENTLY WEBB WAS involved in a smaller CCB scandal after the official disbanding of the organisation in the wake of the Harms Commission's findings that members had been involved in notorious activities. Judge Harms recommended further investigations and possible prosecutions (which have never materialised).

It turned out around midyear that Joe Verster and 24 other former operatives of the sinister organisation were holding the government to ransom, demanding larger pension payouts than the SADF was offering - though these in themselves were totally disproportionate with the actual service they had completed. It emerged that in fact pension payouts had been calculated on the basis of what the member would have been entitled to had he continued serving until retirement age, 65 years; these were the terms of contracts entered into when operatives signed on with the CCB, and the provisions were made against the possibility that the CCB would be exposed.

Webb was not among the discontents, who will be suing the SADF later this year. He had received his payout, believed to be well in excess of R1 million. And theoretically he remained bound by the other major undertaking contained within the contract: that he would not ever reveal anything about the CCB's covert activities.

The CCB has been named in relation to a number of covert operations against ANC and other resistance members, including the murders of Anton Lubowski and David Webster.

Webb currently works for the Old Mutual in Pretoria. VWB was unable to contact him for further comment.

Gerhardt application postponed

AN URGENT application brought before the Pretoria Supreme Court this week seeking the release from life imprisonment of Soviet spy and former Naval Commodore Dieter Gerhardt, was postponed late yesterday morning - without a fixed date having been set for it to be heard.

Gerhardt, represented by Lawyers for Human Rights, is demanding release as a political prisoner under indemnity agreements concluded between the government and the ANC.

He was sentenced on charges of High Treason to lifetime imprisonment for his espionage activities in December 1983. Mr Justice van der Walt of the Pretoria bench, without addressing the contents of the application gave the State President and various other respondents until Wednesday 17 June to file notice of opposition, then until 24 June to prepare countering affidavits, and the applicant until 26 June to reply. Thereafter a date would be set for the hearing.

The full story of Gerhardt's extraordinary application appears on page 16 of this edition of VWB.

Govt 'using CCB as scapegoat'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The former managing director of the defunct Civil Co-operation Bureau, Joe Verster, has accused "people within Government circles" of conducting a smear campaign against the CCB and of preventing the CCB from putting its case at today's meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts.

Mr Verster, the CCB's personnel manager Wessel Huyser and CCB financial manager Jaco Black yester-

day outlined several points they wanted to take up with the committee.

They were, however, refused permission by the chairman, Dr Francois Jacobsz, to attend the meeting today.

Mr Verster stressed that the former CCB officials would not divulge State secrets and were turning to the press after official channels had been closed to them.

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, they implied that the Government was using the CCB as a scapegoat and that certain senior SADF officers were involved in a "witch-hunt".

Several times Mr Verster said the CCB demanded to be treated equally.

"We feel that even if there should be a general amnesty, and in our case whatever new government there might be, they will be entitled to see us as the criminals, and we will have to take the responsibility and will have to stand in for decisions made by the old government.

"We can't do that. Of course, we take responsibility at our level," he said.

Mr Verster said the CCB had no political affiliations and supported political developments in the country.

The men took issue with several points made in Auditor-General Peter Wronsley's annual report for 1990/1991.

Mr Verster said the Audi-

tor-General's report, which was tabled in Parliament early this year, stated that 17 radios and R200 000 were missing. At a meeting with Mr Wronsley they had pointed out to him that the SADF, and not the CCB, was responsible for the theft.

Mr Black said the CCB had a "healthy financial control" and no irregularities were found in audits of its books.

He said he was instructed by former CCB leader Major-General Eddie Webb to destroy CCB files, but the SADF still had access to some.

The men accused former Defence Minister Magnus Malan of lying when he said all CCB projects had been fin-

alised. Many of the CCB's companies and assets had not been finalised and some assets were in the hands of private citizens.

Mr Wronsley said last night that he had seen the three men on March 9 and they had identified seven matters which in their view were incorrectly reflected in his report. He undertook to put their objections and his comments on the objections to today's meeting.

In a letter to Mr Verster, dated April 1, Mr Wronsley said that after carefully analysing their objections pertaining to his report, he was of the opinion that they did not warrant any amendments or additions to the report.

Star 3/6/92

CCB proves cowboys do cry

IT ranked as one of the stranger experiences of life; sitting around a board room table in down town Pretoria listening to the commander of South Africa's most notorious "hit squad" wingeing on about retrenchment packages. But then, as has often been said, it is a very strange society.

Not that Joe Verster sees his men as members of a hit squad. "I would never accept that I was an assassin," exclaimed the former "managing director" of the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

"We were normal members of the South African Special Forces," he said. "I can say categorically that I never in my life did anything that was not authorised."

The CCB this week decided to enlist the help of the press (seemingly forgetful that they once plotted to assassinate a *Weekly Mail* staffer, Gavin Evans) in the face of what they believe to be an attempt by the government to smear them with a conspiracy to murder President FW de Klerk and his cabinet.

The story of the assassination plot dates back to March, when members of the cabinet and at least one foreign newspaper received letters from what purported to be a secret organisation calling itself "the Inner Circle", announcing plans to assassinate members of the government for their "betrayal" of South Africa.

Journalists who saw the letters dismissed them as a hoax. In an attempt to demonstrate the seriousness of the threat the author(s) had enclosed a picture of an envelope addressed to

*The hard men of the Civil
Co-operation Bureau called a
press conference this week
to complain about a
government smear
campaign against them.*

By **DAVID BERESFORD**

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, which they said they had photographed on the minister's desk. Not only did the picture fail to show any identifiable aspect of Botha's office but the photographer had also failed to have the stamp on the envelope cancelled by the Post Office.

But, seemingly with encouragement from the cabinet, reports of the "threat" did eventually appear in local newspapers, culminating in a front-page report in *Rapport* at the weekend, suggesting that the "Inner Circle" was run by former members of the CCB with money they had filched from the government. Which was why an indignant Verster invited a handful of journalists to join him and two colleagues — CCB financial controller Jaco Black and personnel manager Wessel Huyser — around a boardroom table this week to listen to their retrenchment woes.

Verster said the "Inner Circle" — which he insisted did not exist as an organisation, but had been dreamed up by elements in the government — was an attempt to smear a group of 23 members of the CCB, led by himself, who were taking the De Klerk admin-

istration to court on September 8 over the circumstances of their retrenchment. The "inner circle" and "outer circle", he pointed out, were the names which had been used by the CCB to describe their own management structure.

The former colonel said a decision had been taken by the government to disown the CCB and blame it for the more notorious political crimes carried out by the security forces. "I know about certain meetings, where people came together from the Defence Force and more than one government department, where they decided — and I know the name of the man who made the suggestion — to push the CCB in the front and let it take the rap."

In an attempt to prove that all their operations were authorised by the chiefs of staff and the government, the CCB members were trying to show that all spending had been officially audited and approved. The auditor general had reported that there were large sums unaccounted for and documents missing. But they were able to show all spending was in fact accounted for and that they had been specifically ordered to destroy the missing documents by the commander of Special Forces, General Eddie Webb.

They had been pressing for a hearing before the Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts — which was considering the defence Budget this week — to prove their point. But they were being blocked by the government and were now being subjected to a campaign to dis-

credit them.

Verster said that while the generals who had issued orders to the CCB were being protected by the state, they — the members of the unit — were being lumped in the same category as the Wit Wolf, Barend Strydom.

"My superior, General Webb, has already applied for amnesty (indemnity). I have refused, because I feel I have done nothing wrong," said Verster. "I said if the politicians sign the indemnity, I will do the same."

Black chipped in: "From a financial point of view, it is impossible to direct a project or an operation anywhere in the world without the authority of the chairman, who was the general commanding the special forces (General Webb)," he said.

"That's what they are trying to say: that we as the CCB were doing operations without authority from the Special Forces, from our commanding officers. (But) it was impossible for us to spend money unless the chairman knew exactly what we were spending it on. We did budgets on a quarterly basis, on a project basis and annually."

Verster said he believed the government thought it could get away with smearing the CCB because they knew the integrity of members of the unit, as professional soldiers: "They will take the rap, they will keep quiet."

And did they really plant a monkey foetus outside the home of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, I asked? "You can think what you want," shrugged Verster.

W/Mail 5/6/92

DP calls for judge to hear CCB evidence

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

Sunday Times 7/6/92

DEMOCRATIC Party finance spokesman Jasper Walsh has called on the government to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to hear evidence from Civil Co-operation Bureau members.

However, he supported a decision by the chairman of Parliament's public accounts committee, Dr Francois Jacobsz, to refuse to allow CCB members to appear before the committee, "as it was not the right forum".

Mr Walsh said he had spoken to former CCB managing director Joe Verster.

"There is obvious concern on the part of the CCB members that they are being blamed for things such as the murder of David Webster and the Goniwe killings. They claim they were not involved.

"Now that the CCB has been disbanded and accused of acting beyond their instructions its members will continue to be con-

venient scapegoats for allegations, such as those about the murder of activists. That suspicion will continue until the full truth emerges about their operations."

Mr Walsh was not happy with the decision by new Defence Minister Gene Louw to refer all outstanding matters relating to the CCB to Ombudsman Mr Justice Piet van der Walt.

CCB members and SADF representatives were scheduled to meet Mr Justice van der Walt yesterday.

Mr Walsh said the matter should not be resolved behind closed doors and called for an open public inquiry.

He said he was particularly concerned by an allegation made by Mr Verster this week that SADF General Eddie Webb had ordered CCB files to be removed.

A recent report by the auditor-general said CCB members had R3-million of pension fund money in their possession. They also controlled an overseas account which contained R800 000.

A judge links police to murder

weekly
Mail

24/04/92

*After this week's milestone
Trust Feed verdict, claims of
state-sponsored violence can no
longer be dismissed as rumour*

IN this week's landmark judgment in the Trust Feed case, the court accepted that security forces played a central role in driving a peaceful community into violence and lawlessness.

Until now, the government has dismissed the mounting evidence from around the country of security forces provoking and planning violence.

But Mr Justice Andrew Wilson's hard-hitting findings this week should put an end to that. The court ruled that senior policemen had worked with Inkatha warlords to plan and execute the attacks.

It became clear during the trial that Trust Feed was not an isolated case. "The specials (riot police) had been used before," one of the central witnesses said repeatedly.

The Pietermaritzburg police also engineered an elaborate cover-up which would have succeeded if not for the determined efforts of a detective who stumbled across the evidence while working on another case.

Covert security men threaten De Klerk and other top Nats

By Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson

President de Klerk and at least three senior Cabinet Ministers have received threatening letters from an organisation calling itself the "Binnekring" (Inner Circle) and claiming to be a "formal covert group" made up of former security officers.

The letters called on the top National Party politicians to "turn back" from Codesa or "face the consequences".

Mr de Klerk, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis received the letters shortly before the referendum on March 17.

The Star is in possession of a copy of the letter sent to Mr Kriel.

It was typed — in English — on a Binnekring/Inner

Circle letterhead, and bears a Ministry of Law and Order stamp indicating that it was received in Cape Town on March 16.

In the letter, the Inner Circle claims to be a "well-structured group of former members of the SA Defence Force, Military Intelligence, Special Forces, South African Police Task Force, security police and of the National Intelligence Service".

The group said it had "been monitoring your (the Government's) political initiatives over the last 18 months with growing concern.

"We were prepared to allow you the benefit of the doubt, and gave you the opportunity to prove your sincerity and provide a viable option for a new SA."

According to the letter, the Inner Circle "command cell" had now decided that the reform process was running out of control.

The letter said "we would not have contemplated using our resources and considerable capabilities (to which the General Staff of the Defence Force, Police and senior management of NIS can attest, as they have made use of, and are still using our services)" unless it was clear the country was going to be "handed over to a communist-dominated Codesa, interim government or the ANC".

Mr Kriel's spokesman, Major-General Leon Mellet, confirmed yesterday that Mr de Klerk and the three Cabinet ministers had received the letters.

Police were investigating the source of the letters but had not yet found any clues.

It is understood the police have some idea who might be behind the organisation, and that they believe it is possible it is a "crank outfit" rather than a serious security threat.

Star 27/5/92

Govt negligent, says Amnesty

Report links armed forces to violence

LONDON — Amnesty International has accused SA's security forces of involvement in violence and says government is guilty of "gross negligence at best" in not bringing the culprits to book.

The London-based human rights organisation also said unless steps were taken to safeguard human rights the political reform process in SA could break down.

These were among the conclusions reached by Amnesty in a 100-page booklet, called SA — State of Fear, which was based on a month-long visit to SA by senior members in December last year and subsequent monitoring operations.

The report, released worldwide today, said reforms in SA had brought sweeping changes but it was "business as usual" for the security forces — often including collusion in political killings or standing by while others massacred political rivals.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze described the report as partisan and one-dimensional.

It could "therefore not be regarded as a constructive addition to the debate on violence due to the fact that it represents an almost complete whitewash of the ANC, one of the main, if not the major, antagonists in the violence". Kotze said it ignored the fact that policemen were victims of violence.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu police were also heavily criticised in the report. It also accused the Bophuthatswana government of violent coercion and said there was a strong suggestion authorities in the home-

CHRIS BATEMAN and
GAVIN DU VENAGE

land condoned the use of torture.

It said the ANC had been guilty of abuses against its members as well as involvement in township violence in the past two years. "The ANC and its supporters have been responsible for deliberate and arbitrary killings."

Although victims of violence came from across the political spectrum, the "overwhelming majority" had been members or perceived sympathisers of the ANC and other formerly banned organisations.

The report documented what it called a "systematic pattern of police and military involvement in torture and assassinations" during the past two years.

Government had failed to act against "all but a tiny proportion" of human rights violators within the police and military. This served to give the security forces the impression that they could "get away with anything, even murder", the report said.

The report follows last week's stinging criticism of police by the International Commission of Jurists, as well as an interim report by the Goldstone commission which also implicated police in violence.

The Amnesty report said in spite of President F W de Klerk's promises to take the police out of politics, the police had continued their "war against the ANC and allied organisations". Government had been slow to act against policemen despite mounting evidence.

In township violence which had cost

To Page 2

h/day 16/6/92

Amnesty report

7 000 lives since early 1990, police had continued the fight against those they saw as "the enemy".

The report documented many incidents in which police were alleged to have been involved in violence or colluded with Inkatha supporters in massacres.

The report noted that in only one of these cases had the conduct of the police been subject to independent inquiry. When there had been official inquiries these had been hampered by violence and marked by official failure to act on their conclusions.

One exception was the "rare example of professional police investigative work" of Maj Frank Dutton, the policeman who brought to court seven policemen accused

From Page 1

of murdering 11 people at Trust Feed.

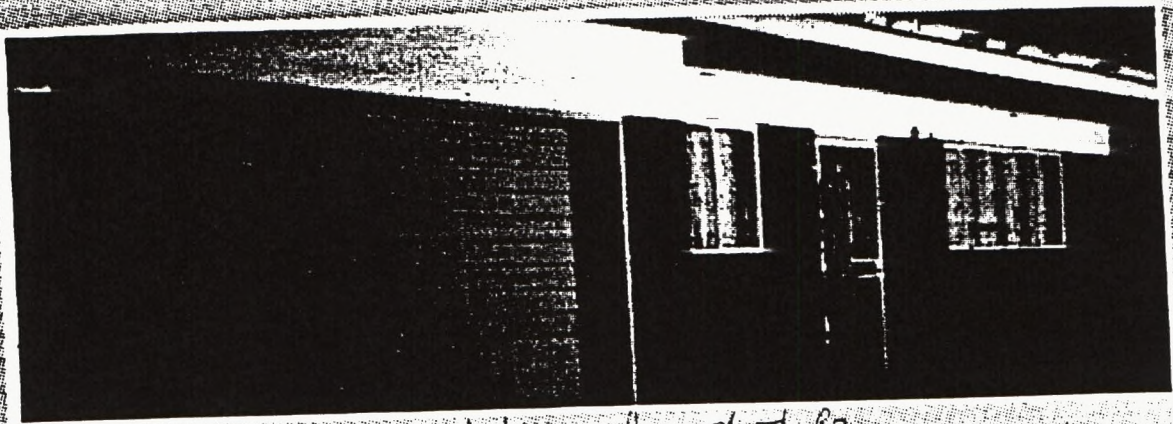
A western Transvaal probe into torture, killings of detainees and extra-judicial executions by police resulted in witnesses and human rights monitors being harassed, threatened and shot at by police.

Amnesty noted not a single prosecution followed the high-profile judicial inquiries of 1990 and 1991 into "death squads" where evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by the police and army had emerged.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the report confirmed "our concerns over SAP complicity in the violence".

A Bophuthatswana government spokesman described the report as "nonsense".

In this house



W/Mail 8/5/92

these police



plan violence

1 STRANGE men befriended unemployed activist Daniel Kolisang, put a blanket over his head and drove him to a house where he was offered money to kill ANC officials. Following a six-week investigation, *The Weekly Mail* has tracked down both the house and the men. They are a group of policemen headed by Captain AG du Plessis who go to extraordinary lengths to keep their activities secret, including using false names, fictitious companies and false licence plates. And we have discovered that Kolisang was not the only visitor to be brought to the house with a blanket over his head...

Full details: PAGES 2 & 3

THE WEEKLY MAIL EXPOSES A MYSTERIOUS

The police plotters and the

THE Weekly Mail has uncovered a top-secret South African Police base linked to the planning of assassinations in the Vaal area.

In breach of the law and the SAP's own rules, the operation used fictitiously-registered page numbers, fictitious company names and false registration plates as a cover for its activities.

The discovery, one outcome of an intensive six-week investigation, comes against the backdrop of a silent war against leaders and activists of the African National Congress and its allies in the Vaal, involving assassinations, attacks on houses, kidnappings and various forms of harassment. (See accompanying story)

The trail to the "safe house" began with a sworn statement by Sebokeng ANC member Daniel Kolisang in January this year. Kolisang says that with his head covered, he was taken to the house, where a white man called "Brian" offered him weapons training and money to carry out petrol bomb attacks against ANC and South African Communist Party leaders and activists.

The Weekly Mail has since established that numerous people were conducted to and from the house in the same way. An affidavit by another man describes a substantially similar "visit" to a house in the Vaal area, where he too was promised training to carry out attacks. Details will be provided in our next edition.

One of his targets, Kolisang says, was ANC member and South African Council of Churches fieldworker Saul Tsotetsi, who was killed in a grenade blast in March. (See accompanying story). It has been established that the investigating officer in the Tsotetsi case, Warrant-Officer Thys Nolte, worked at the "safe house" early this year.

Our exposé, brought to the attention of police this week, has sparked a kerfuffle at the highest levels of the SAP

The police reply

POLICE are dealing with *The Weekly Mail's* expose of a secret police operation in the Vaal "at the highest level", involving the ministry, the commissioner and a general.

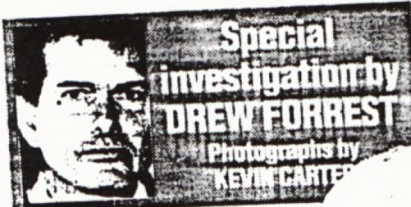
When police were approached about the information earlier this week, it caused a flurry of activity. None of the individuals involved would talk to the press, and at least one of the policemen involved slept away from his home for a night to avoid meeting *Weekly Mail* reporters.

Another, who had agreed to meet a reporter, cancelled the meeting yesterday, saying that he had been called to Pretoria to discuss the matter "with a general" and that it was being dealt with at the highest level.

None of the policemen involved approached by *The Weekly Mail* this week denied knowledge of the operation or the "safe" house when it was put to them. Most referred queries to "official channels".

When the matter was put for comment to Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, he said the police would refer the matter to the Goldstone inquiry into violence and intimidation.

He also accused *The Weekly Mail* of working with the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, on the story and offering bribes of R50 000 to policemen to



hierarchy.

It follows assurances by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet, in an interview with ABC news this week, that covert political operations by the SAP had ceased. "In the past, there were the so-called covert political investigations. Those have ceased totally, but totally," he said. Stressing that the police "had to comply with the law", he also told ABC the police would not conceal their activities by using falsely registered page and telephone numbers.

Through reliable sourcing and patient detective work, we have tracked the "safe house" to an unnumbered plot in Riet Street, Rosashof, near Vanderbijlpark. A large, single-storey dwelling standing between houses on plots 176 and 183, it is understood to be on plot 177.

Although a number of operatives have moved in recent months, we are also in a position to name all the policemen based at the house at the time Kolisang was taken there. Heading the operation was Captain AG du Plessis, a former security policeman working for the Criminal Investigation Services (CIS), who, according to a credit bureau report, is based at Vereeniging police station.

Other staff were Lieutenant AJ van der Gryp, a Lieutenant Snyman, Warrant-Officer Thys Nolte, Sergeant AG Steenkamp, Sergeant George Frederik Supra, Sergeant Jacques van Wyk, Warrant-Officer Joseph Moagi, Sergeant JKR Seago, Constable Johannes Majoe, Constable PJ Zimba and Constable Johannes Mkwane.

The *Weekly Mail* investigation strongly suggests that the security police continue to act much as they always have, despite their disbanding and absorption into the CIS amid much fanfare last year.

The Rosashof safe house is concealed behind a blanket of intense secrecy. Five policemen known to have worked there were confronted at their homes this week and either denied, or refused to confirm or deny, its existence.

The reaction of these policemen — in one instance extreme aggression and in all cases a flat refusal to answer key questions — is also suggestive. After we "doorstepped" Steenkamp's Vereeniging flat on Wednesday and found only his wife in, he took flight and is known to have slept elsewhere.

A paging service paid for by one of the officers, Supra, is registered to M Jawa of Prosec Consultants at 26 Wilge Street, Vanderbijlpark. A company search has revealed that the company is fictitious, while its "address" is that of a Bester family, who say they have never heard of Jawa or Prosec.

Prosec Consultants crops up in another context: a car associated with the secret operation, with the registration number RBS 916T, has been traced to PO Box 2867 Vereeniging.



Accused ... At left, Warrant Officer Thys Nolte, with a weapon he claimed to have captured from an MK cadre; above: Captain AG du Plessis, who was in charge of the secret base

By DREW FORREST

THE tables were turned on five Vaal security policemen this week — "doorstepped" at their homes by *The Weekly Mail*, their repeated, anxious demand was: "Where did you get my address?"

Quizzed on the connection with a secret police base near Vanderbijlpark, they reacted with fury or an adamant refusal to answer questions. They took particular exception to what one described as the "stealing" of photographs.

Travelling first to the Sebokeng homes of sergeant JKR Seago (alias "Oupa") and Constable Johannes Mkwane (alias "Mike"), we took with us Daniel Kolisang, the Sebokeng activist who says the two policemen drove him to the "safe house", where he was offered money to carry out attacks.

The post box is held by Prosec Consultants, of 14 Houtkop Street, Vereeniging — the address, *The Weekly Mail* has established, of a safe house previously used by the Vereeniging police.

The Weekly Mail has learnt that it was standard practice to conduct township "contacts" to and from 177 Rosashof with their heads covered.

A vehicle search has shown that a car used by one of the policemen, with the registration number NWM081T, is officially registered to Richard Pearce Associates, a bona fide Johannesburg air-conditioning company.

Kolisang's detailed statement, made to lawyers in January this year, matches in every particular the version of events he gave *The Weekly Mail* two months later. Insofar as we have been able to verify its claims, it has proved almost wholly reliable.

In his statement, Kolisang says he was befriended by a man called "Oupa" who claimed to work for "Delta Insurance". On a promise of employment, "Oupa" and another man calling himself "Mike" asked Kolisang to lie on the back seat of a car with his head covered, and drove him on January 2 to an undisclosed

'Doorstepped' cops

Mkwane, who was aggressively unco-operative and initially pretended to be a teacher, insisted he did not know Kolisang — even when the latter, sprung on him, said: "This is Mike."

He also claimed to know nothing of the links between the safe house and violence, his mask slipped: "You tell me what happened when we met at that house!" he demanded of Kolisang.

Seago's reaction was more plaintive — he repeatedly complained we were being "unfair" and refused to allow Kolisang into the house where he rents a room.

Everyone in the neighbourhood

knew he was a policeman, he said. Later his (by now thoroughly alarmed) landlord said he (Seago) had posed as an insurance agent.

Seago said he knew nothing of a secret house. He said he knew Kolisang as only his "handler": the former had provided information over a two-year period about "the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, weapons caches and attacks on policemen", he claimed.

The next night was the turn of the white security policemen — and it became surprisingly clear from their reactions that their two black colleagues had not reported their

destination. *The Weekly Mail* has established that "Oupa" is Sergeant JKR Seago, now living at 73 Zone 10 Sebokeng. "Mike's" real name is Constable Johannes Mkwane, living at 190 Zone 10, Sebokeng. When confronted by *The Weekly Mail*, Mkwane initially claimed he was a teacher.

At the house, Kolisang says, he was questioned in the presence of "Oupa" and "Mike" by a white man in plain clothes calling himself "Brian". *The Weekly Mail* has established that Steenkamp, who lives at 22 Casaria Flats, Vereeniging, was based at the safe house and used the code-name "Brian".

Kolisang says "Brian" began the interview by stating that he knew he (Kolisang) was an ANC Youth League and South African Communist Party member and that he was looking for a job.

Kolisang says he was then closely questioned about executive members of the ANC and SACP in the Vaal, and about members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, who had recently returned from exile.

Kolisang says he was asked to befriend a certain "Speech", whom he named as an MK member, David

Tshehla Moisan, responsible for "killing people in Johannesburg" and implicated in sabotaging Sasol. When Kolisang replied that he did not know "Speech", he was asked to befriend his girlfriend, a certain "Matshidiso" who was secretary of the ANC's Sebokeng branch.

According to Kolisang, he was asked to establish the precise address of a number of MK members, including "Speech", Hlaphi Molatu and certain "Ntjanyana", as well as of the ANC's assistant PWV secretary Bavumile Vilakazi and Evaton SA's executive members Gideon Sitho, Martin Nkonkoto and "Comra Phyllis". He was also asked about Saul Tsotetsi.

Also of interest to "Brian" were marshals at the funeral vigil of a woman named "Baby", an alleged MK cadre who died suddenly; mysteriously in December last year. According to Kolisang, Brian: "Baby" had been poisoned. (accompanying story)

Kolisang says "Brian" then offered him R5 000 to carry out petrol bomb attacks on the houses of Tsot. Vilakazi, Sithole, Nkonk. "Comrade Phyllis", "Spee.

COVERT OPERATION secret base



Angry reaction ... Top, Sergeant JKR Seago, alias 'Oupa', and, below, Constable Johannes Nkwane, alias 'Mike'

Above, Sergeant George Supra, and right, Daniel Kolisang, who says he was offered money by the police to carry out petrol-bomb attacks

react with fury, anxiety

encounters with *The Weekly Mail*.

Captain Andries du Plessis, who in January was in charge of the safe house, refused to allow us into his home at 66 Senator Rood Avenue, Duncanville, insisting on conducting the interview through his front-door security grille.

He was composed, reasonably civil — and utterly uncommunicative, saying only that he was a former security policeman who now worked for the Criminal Investigation Services (CIS) and that he did not know Kolisang. On the "safe house", he was non-committal, referring us to police media liaison.

Sergeant George Supra, to whom

we have traced the page number given to Kolisang at the safe house, was a different proposition. Told we were from *The Weekly Mail*, he ordered us off his property, at 71 Beethoven Street, Vanderbijlpark, and threatened us with a trespass charge.

When a photograph was taken of him, he furiously started towards our photographer, but checked himself.

Later, in a lengthy wrangle in the street, he conceded he worked for the CIS and was based at the Vereeniging police station — a piece of information he initially refused to give.

Supra did not deny the page num-

ber given to Kolisang was his, and suggested that Prosec Consultants — the fictitious

company to which the service is registered — was his private business. "What a policeman does with his own time is his affair," he said.

By this stage, we could sense invisible telephones shrilling throughout the Vaal: at our next port of call, 17 Flufftail Street, Falcon Ridge, Lieutenant Arthur van der Grys said he knew we were from *The Weekly Mail* before we had volunteered the information.

The fact that he was specifically warned of our impending visit rather undermines his claim to know nothing of the safe house — "That happens only in books," he said from

behind his security grille — and to be "an ordinary detective".

The man at the centre of the drama, Sergeant AG Steenkamp whom Kolisang says interviewed him at the safe house, was not at home when we called, although his wife was.

When we returned two hours later the flat was in darkness. According to the security guard at the flats, the Steenkamp family slept elsewhere that night.

W/ Mail 8/5/92

W/ Mail 8/5/92

The police plotters and their base

●From PAGE 2

"Ntjanyana" and Molatu. It was stressed to him, he says, that it was essential to kill "Speech".

He was allegedly given details of the type of petrol bombs required — using a "lappie", rather than being sealed and shaken — and when he said he did not know how to make these, he was told the bombs would be supplied. He was also told, he says, he would be provided with "clothing for protection".

Kolisang says he was asked to sign a form stating his name, ID number, the R5 000 payment and his code name, "Patrick Khumalo".

He was also offered, he claims, firearms training at the hands of a certain Mike Kolokoto, attached to the De Deur police station. This would be conducted at a location near Rust-der-Vaal, which "Brian" suggested was a shooting range.

Kolisang says he was taken to the house on one further occasion, where a date and rendezvous was set for the attacks — the night of January 17. He was given a page number with which to contact "Mike": (01)331-3561 or (016) 312861, code 4427.

He did not make the planned rendezvous, instead reporting his experience to the ANC.

The following aspects of Kolisang's story check out, leading *The Weekly Mail* to believe his account is true:

●The page number he was given has been

traced, via the false company and address, to Supra, who works for the CIS and whom *The Weekly Mail* knows was based at 177 Rosashof. An ordinary township resident with Std 9 education, Kolisang would not have been able to discover who pays the page account — such information is confidential and can only be accessed by special investigative techniques.

●Steenkamp, who was based at 177 Rosashof, has admitted to the *Weekly Mail* that his code-name was "Brian".

●Kolisang said "Mike" drove a powder-blue Toyota Corolla, a claim confirmed by other sources. After Kolisang reported to the ANC — a development quickly discovered by the police — the car was moved to another operational area, sources say.

●Kolisang says that despite having his head covered, he could determine that the "safe house" had a double garage on its left side and green roof. Plot 177 Rosashof has such a garage and green guttering. On his way there, he overheard one of the policemen say he was going "to the place of the peaches" — the house has a large peach orchard. These details were given by Kolisang before he was shown the house by *The Weekly Mail*.

●Several of the activists mentioned by "Brian" were unknown to Kolisang before their meeting, including "Speech" and "Ntjanyana".

The Weekly Mail has established that these are the code names of Vaal MK members recently back from exile.

"Speech's" real name is Moise (not "Moisane", as in Kolisang's affidavit) and *The Weekly Mail* has met and knows the name, address and telephone number of "Ntjanyana." "Speech's" girlfriend is indeed the Sebokeng secretary of the ANC.

●*The Weekly Mail* has established that Mike Kolokoto, whom "Brian" said would provide firearms training, is a sergeant in the Sebokeng municipal police living in Debonair Park, next to the De Deur police station.

Kolokoto, whose Sebokeng house was burnt down in 1990, is said to have close links with the security police. He is also said to be "thick as thieves" with the Inkatha-linked occupants of a house rented by the kwaZulu government next door to his, at 4 Alida Street.

Among these occupants is a certain "Ndamara" Chonco, convicted last year in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court of the possession of unlicensed firearms, and linked by activists to numerous attacks in the area.

Kolokoto — who this week strongly denied giving weapons training to anyone — was not known to Kolisang before the latter's encounter with "Brian".

W/ mail 13/5/92

Police 'censor' critical story

THE government this week introduced new censorship measures when it blocked the *Vrye Weekblad (VWB)* from publishing a "damaging" story about police.

In a move that VWB editor Max du Preez described as similar to the gagging of the press under the state of emergency, the police successfully applied for an interdict to block publication of stories about themselves.

Meanwhile, police withdrew a similar application for an interdict against the *Weekly Mail* after the paper gave an undertaking not to identify policemen involved in hit squad operations.

"This is a great indictment of the government. Instead of state president FW de Klerk acting against the rotten elements in the security forces, the government has moved to gag the messenger," Du Preez said.

Police moved to gag the VWB soon after it approached them for comment on allegations relating to their activities. Du Preez said the best way to avoid being gagged was to avoid asking police for comment.

The "gagging" came after law and order minister Hermus Kriel announced in parliament that steps would be taken - including bannings - against the publication of "unsubstantiated" allegations against the police.

Exposed

Campaign for Open Media (COM) organiser Jeanette Minnie said the censorship was in response to the spate of rigorous investigative journalism of the past few months which exposed police complicity in crimes ranging from political manipulation to murder.

Meanwhile, NEW NATION learned this week that there are no guarantees that tax-payers will recover their money that the state spends on defending criminal policemen.

NEW NATION wanted to know how much was spent on defending the Trust Feed massacre policemen Brian Mitchell, David Khambule, Dumisane Ndwalane, Khehla Ngubane and Thabo Sikhosana.

Police said: "This is an internal matter and we decline to divulge information for publication purposes."

● THE Klerksdorp police who recently dropped the Section 205 subpoena against NEW NATION's editor and political correspondent ordering them to reveal the names of their sources for a story relating to taxi wars, this week served the newspaper's source - Kortman Majekane - with a similar order.

But Majekane said he would not tell the police anything and would rather give evidence before the Goldstone Commission.

AS I write, scores of policemen — whom I may not identify or photograph — are sitting in secret bases across the country — I may not disclose their location — doing heaven knows what.

At least one of them, I am convinced, has offered a township contact money to carry out petrol bomb attacks on the houses of African National Congress leaders and activists in the Vaal.

The network, police admitted to *The Weekly Mail* in court last week, is built around the systematic use of fraudulent vehicle registration numbers and fictitious companies.

Yours may be among the false addresses and identity numbers they use to register their paging services and telephone lines. Your car number plate may appear on one of their vehicles — *The Weekly Mail* knows of several cases where law-abiding individuals and firms have been abused in this way.

Curiously, *The Weekly Mail's* expose of the nationwide web of secret police bases has created more of a stir abroad than at home — even last week's supreme court action, brought by the South African Police to block the disclosures, and which ultimately forced *The Weekly Mail* to delete details of alleged police misconduct.

Police accuse us of blowing the lid on a legitimate under-cover crime-prevention operation from "political" motives. Their account is that the network was created at the height of the State of Emergency in 11 regions across the country to gather information — and specifically to provide "safe houses" where police "handlers" could meet their informants.

Since then, claims the police affidavit put before the supreme court last week, it had been re-orientated away from surveillance of organisations to that of individuals, and from a "counter-revolutionary perspective" to a concern with spiralling violence and crime.

This raises more questions than it answers. The impression given is that all crime falls within the network's ambit. Indeed, a hair-raising catalogue of soaring crime appended to the police affidavit, designed to impress on the judge the importance of the network, but if anything highlights its ineffectiveness, and even refers to a sharp increase in fraud.

But another appendix lists successes of the Vanderbilpark "safe house" — and 90 percent of these relate to arms, and specifically arms caches. The question arises: why is there a need for a parallel, covert arms tracing operation when "firearms units", operating openly from police stations, exist to precisely this purpose?

And why the obsessive secrecy? We have evidence that the purchase of the network's southern Transvaal headquarters by the Department of Public Works was fraudulently concealed — who in his right mind, other than an investigative reporter, would want to

Police could be using YOUR number plate

A secret police network — details of which the press has been forbidden to reveal — uses innocent citizens' addresses, ID and telephone numbers and car registration plates. From secret bases they carry out 'certain' missions.

By **DREW FORREST**

check the title deeds? How is the protection of informers served by this, and by registering phone numbers to non-existent companies?

Insiders say the network is hidden even from other members of the force. Indeed, one must assume that even Law and Order spokesman General Leon Mellet was unaware of it: he recently assured an American TV network that the use of false licence plates was "probably not permissible" and that police would never use falsely registered page and phone numbers.

The distinct impression is that the very existence of the network, and of those who serve it, is what police wish to conceal — not the identity of informants.

The SAP affidavit claims the network concerns itself with individuals, not organisations. But statements by two men whom the network tried to recruit — they say, to commit violence — reflect the obsession of their mysterious "handlers" with the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and in particular Umkhonto weSizwe.

We know from a police source that the network has at least one informer in Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

The absurd taste for the cloak and dagger and the single-minded focus on torturations of the left — nowhere in our investigations did we encounter any sign of interest in Inkatha and its well-documented role in the Vaal violence — convince us that this is the security police, officially disbanded but continuing to operate with vast resources and separate personnel and command structures.

The official purpose of the network is not what operatives are supposed to be doing, but what they are in fact doing.

Networks which operate in such deep shadow are a heaven-sent opportunity for far-right elements in the security forces to pursue a private agenda. They are in fact doubly insulated from the public gaze and public accountability: by the operation itself,



Last week's Weekly Mail, prevented from publishing photographs or names of police, displayed blank spaces instead

Accord reconsidered
THE Weekly Mail's revelations about secret police bases and the New Nation's disclosures about the involvement of military officials in the assassination of government opponents have placed a question mark over the National Peace Accord (NPA).

This week African National Congress PWV officials and other organisations announced that they were reconsidering their participation in NPA structures.

They slammed the attempts by police to stop publication of the stories. "That in itself was a violation of the accord," said Democratic Party spokesman Rupert Lorimer.

and by the exclusiveness of the handler-informer relationship.

Intelligence sources this week told *The Weekly Mail* that the abuse of covert operations by the ultra-right was "possible, even probable".

Network operatives can be justifiably confident that nothing they tell their township contacts will ever return to haunt them: their identities are concealed behind code-names, their cars are falsely registered, the location of "safe houses" is hidden even from informants, who are conducted to and from secret trysts with their heads cov-

ered. For a far-right security policeman, whose professional life has been devoted to a life-or-death struggle with the ANC, this must present a sore temptation.

In a conservative stronghold like the Vaal, the dangers are magnified. Given the spate of mysterious killings, abductions and harassment in the area, we doubt the uncovering of a secret police "crime prevention" network has left ANC activists feeling more secure.

The police response to the incriminating statements of the two "recruits" is interesting. Commissioner Johan van der Merwe confirms that Sebokeng activist Daniel Koisang was interviewed at the Vanderbilpark safe house and asked to gather information — but dismisses his claims to have been offered money to throw petrol bombs as "devoid of truth".

How does he know? Because Koisang's "handler", Sergeant "S" (we are prevented from naming him), crossed his heart and gave his word? In so seasoned a law enforcer, such faith in human goodness is positively touching.

Sergeant "S" has a clear reason for lying, but what is Koisang's motive? That we paid him R50 (X0) — as ludicrously suggested by Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze — even though his statement was made before we knew of his existence? That, as an

ANC activist, he was out to smear the police?

Koisang had no idea who he was dealing with, and his statement reflects this. It was *The Weekly Mail*, through long and patient inquiry, which established the police connection.

Every aspect of Koisang's statement we have followed has been verified: the existence of the secret house, the code-name of his handler, the page number police gave him, the activists he was asked about, many not known to him. Only one detail, the SAP would have us believe, is fabricated: that he was offered weapons training, and asked to commit violence.

Interestingly, Sergeant "S" gives no account in the court documents of his meeting with Koisang. His only offering is a highly implausible claim that after *The Weekly Mail* blew his cover, he received telephone threats in broken English, apparently from a black man.

The good sergeant's number is not listed in the phone book, and *The Weekly Mail* was unable to establish it. The man who threatened him must have considerably more resources than his broken English suggests.

The "handler" of the second man who was contacted by the network, and allegedly promised weapons training, is more forthcoming. Warrant Officer "N" admits in his affidavit that he asked Solly Mngomezulu whether he had received military training, and continues:

"I decided to use him as a 'talent spotter'. This decision was mainly based on the fact that he had received no military training and could therefore be used to identify people in the crime world, and particularly those involved in the unlawful traffic and smuggling of arms."

One hopes the Goldstone Commission can make something of this impenetrable statement.

Warrant Officer "N" denies promising Mngomezulu training. But he also denies that the page number he gave the latter could be traced to the network's headquarters. How does he think we found the headquarters building? We can, if he cares to meet us, give precise details of the trail we followed, via a fictitious company and a Kibler Park post box.

The Warrant Officer also says he is attached to the Crime Intelligence Service in Soweto — we know from insiders that it is based at the headquarters building in southern Johannesburg. Later in his affidavit, he blows the gaff by revealing that he was at the HQ when *The Weekly Mail* overtook the building in a helicopter while taking photographs.

In the southern Transvaal region of the secret police web, we have two statements implicating operatives in the planning of violence. But there are 10 other regions, presumably staffed by an army of SAP officers, many with the same background, world view and work habits.

How are they spending your and my taxes?

SADF plan to counter ANC 'enemy'

By EDDIE KOCH

A TOP secret document leaked to *The Weekly Mail* this week shows senior officers in the South African Defence Force see the African National Congress, and other anti-government groups, as an "enemy" to be countered by military-style operations that include the deployment of the army's special forces.

It says: "Despite the government's reform initiatives which are part of the political strategy en route to the so called 'New South Africa' elements or forces continue to threaten good order and the welfare of the RSA by means of violence, intimidation and socio-economic retrogression in order to pressurise the government."

The document — which outlines a detailed plan to undermine the ANC through military operations — was drawn up early in 1991. The plan forms a blueprint for a series of warlike actions that would have been

implemented over the past year.

The document reflects a lack of faith in the government's reform strategy and states that the "aim of the enemy" is to "take over the government of the RSA through negotiations, whilst retaining the ability to violently overthrow the government".

The "enemy" is listed as:

- Higher command: South African Communist Party offices in Johannesburg.
- Lower command: ANC offices in Johannesburg and its regional offices.
- The Pan Africanist Congress.
- The Congress of South African Trade Unions.
- Security Force traitors.

The operation plan lists the military forces and tasks that need to be carried out in order to undermine the ANC and to ensure that the "enemy's intelligence capabilities ... be avoided, misled or neutralised".

These include "special operations", "execution of Comops (communications operations)", maintenance of reaction forces, co-operation with the South African Police, "maximum use of force multipliers" and the "maintenance of buffer zones".

It also explicitly states the need to intervene in independent homelands where the ANC has established a strong presence and to participate in the Joint Intelligence Centre — a military unit that co-ordinates the work of all security forces in the homelands and South Africa.

The plan says the forces available to deal with the ANC include the police, air force, navy, "flanking groups", regional services councils and municipalities.

A second military document notes that constitutional changes taking place in South Africa have a good chance of failing and that resistance organisations will take full advantage

of this by "sharpening violent attacks from neighbouring states".

It reflects a concern that peace negotiations taking place in Mozambique and Angola could go badly for South Africa and compound problems for the country if local negotiations fail.

"The process of negotiations in Mozambique and Angola, as well as the socio-economic and security situations in the various so-called Frontline States, will determine the nature and extent of the deployment of defensive conventional forces in the neighbouring states."

The document confirms previous claims by dissident military intelligence major Nico Basson that the SADF has a sophisticated plan to interfere in political processes throughout southern Africa by undermining radical movements there.

W/Mail 15/5/92

SADF denies unit was behind deaths

EAST LONDON — The SADF confirmed yesterday that a unit called "Hammer" — allegedly behind the 1985 killing of four Cradock activists — was deployed in the area from "time to time".

However, it denied that the unit was behind the murders of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlaui.

An investigation into the deaths was re-opened on instructions from President F W de Klerk after disclosures of a document proposing the "permanent removal" of Goniwe and two

Own Correspondent

others.

It is understood the investigating team is "very interested" in the Hammer allegations.

SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said yesterday Hammer had not been deployed in the Cradock area permanently, but, like other units, backed up the SAP there from time to time.

Hammer was formed in 1984 at Eastern Province Command by then commanding officer Gen C P van der Westhuizen, now SADF chief of staff (intelligence). Van der Westhuizen

was implicated in the Goniwe document as allegedly suggesting the "removal" of Goniwe and two others.

An anonymous caller told the Daily Dispatch Hammer was behind other political assassinations in the region and had operated in Umtata.

A conscript alleged Hammer operatives were stationed at Cradock in about September 1988.

Asked about Hammer's activities in Umtata, Rolt said it was not military policy to discuss details of operations, deployment of troops or force levels.

Friday 20/5/92

Servicemen absolved

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Three national servicemen, convicted and sentenced to 18 months in detention for conspiring to disclose "dirty tricks" used by the SADF against the End Conscription Campaign, have been cleared by the Appellate Division.

Chief Justice, Judge M M Corbett, with four other judges concurring, found that the men had been tried by a court martial which was "fatally flawed and constituted a nullity".

The court made the finding after the SADF's council of review, Brig A K de Jager and Col M Dempers, appealed against a full bench decision of the Cape Supreme Court which set aside the proceedings of the court martial, the convening authority and the council of review.

On February 4 1988, Hein Monnig, Pieter Reinhard Pluddeman and Desmond William Thompson were convicted by court martial of having conspired to disclose secret information to the ECC.

Collection Number: AG1977

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.