

The report police tried to stop

W/maile 14/5/92

POLICE yesterday went to the Pretoria Supreme Court to stop *The Weekly Mail* publishing details of a covert operation linked to violence and the planning of assassinations in the Vaal area.

The Weekly Mail has been forced to withhold the names of policemen involved, the exact location of secret bases and other details that may endanger individuals' lives.

But the police have failed in their attempt to prevent publication of details of this huge operation, or even the fact of its existence.

Instead, it emerged from Thursday's court

proceedings that this was just one part of a national covert operation that police have been running — without any public or parliamentary scrutiny — since 1988.

The Weekly Mail is permitted to give details of how these operations work outside of the law, using fictitious companies, fake vehicle number plates and even false identity numbers.

The police claim this is legitimate work. But two witnesses have provided details of how policemen operating from these bases have attempted to recruit township residents to undertake assassinations of or attacks against ANC activists.

• Full details on PAGES 2 and 3

Publication of this photograph prevented by police injunction

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AND INSIDE ..

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See PAGE 5

WHAT THE POLICE ARE TRYING TO HIDE ...

Court action blows covert

THE South African Police have established a top-secret network of bases spanning the entire country which has been linked to the orchestration of political violence.

This emerged during SAP attempts, in a Pretoria Supreme Court action yesterday attended by a battery of police brigadiers and generals, to block *The Weekly Mail's* disclosure of a covert network of SAP bases in the southern Transvaal.

A police affidavit put before the court gives the network an official name — "Undercover Operations and Structures" — and reveals that it was set up in 1988 in 11 regions across the country. It now falls under the Criminal Investigation Services, into which the security police were absorbed last year.

Declaring that the network was established to gather information in order to fight rising levels of violence and crime, and that *The Weekly Mail's* disclosures would blow the network, endanger policemen and cause the SAP huge financial loss, the police applied for an extraordinarily wide order banning any coverage of the existence or structure of covert operations.

This was withdrawn, but *The Weekly Mail* was forced to delete from its reports

certain details relating to names, addresses, fictitious companies, and fraudulently registered vehicles, page and telephone numbers.

The Weekly Mail's story related to one fraction of the national operation — in the southern Transvaal area. Operating here, we have established, is an intensely secretive police network embracing at least four houses in Johannesburg, Luipaardsvlei near Soweto and Vanderbijlpark.

To cover its activities, it systematically uses fraudulently registered vehicles, non-existent companies and falsely registered telephone and page numbers. *The Weekly Mail* has a list of close to 30 vehicles seen at secret bases which searches have revealed are falsely registered — at least one belongs to a bona fide company.

There are also indications of title deed fraud. The former owner of the R1-million mansion which serves as the network's headquarters, [redacted] confirmed this week that he had sold the property to the Department of Public Works in April last year. But a title deed

search showed that it is still registered in his name.

When the headquarters was contacted by telephone, the respondents refused to state the nature of their business and rang off when questions persisted. A *Weekly Mail* reporter posing as a farmworker was also stonewalled when he visited one of the bases.

We have also learnt that all waste documentation at the headquarters is shredded and burnt on the property.

The network has been linked in two sworn statements to the planning of violence against the ANC and its allies.

One of the bases is at [redacted], which *The Weekly Mail* exposed last week. Sebokeng activist Daniel Kolisang said he was taken to the house and was offered weapons training and money to carry out petrol-bomb attacks against African National Congress and South African Communist Party leaders and activists.

Kolisang was able to point out the Sebokeng houses of two policemen who

The Weekly Mail's exposure of covert police bases and operations in the southern Transvaal gathered momentum this week and was crowned by the revelation in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday that the network spans the whole country. By DREW FORREST

we have confirmed from independent sources work at the base. He was also given a page number which, through layers of subterfuge, was traced to another of the base's operatives.

The Weekly Mail has established a second link with violence. In a sworn statement, a former inmate of the ANC's Quattro detention camp in Angola, Solly Mngomezulu, tells of his "abduction" at the hands of mysterious white and black men to a house in the Vaal area, where he, too, was promised training to "eliminate" underground members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

A falsely registered page number given Mngomezulu by one of his mystery

abductors has been traced to a private house of palatial dimensions at [redacted] in southern Johannesburg. With high walls and an elaborate security gate, a large vehicle compound, four garages and high-mast lighting, the house is at the hub of the secret police network.

Other bases connected to it are at a private house at [redacted], also in southern Johannesburg, and an isolated farm on the property of the Randfontein Estates gold mine, at [redacted].

We have established that the policeman in charge of the headquarters operation is a certain Colonel [redacted]. The house's telephone number operates for a

SAP network

██████████ trading as ██████████ — a fictitious company — who gave the post office an identity number in fact belonging to a Parow mechanic, ██████████

Other policemen based there — we have not been able to ascertain ranks and full names in all cases — are ██████████

██████████ understood to be a sergeant, and two brothers, ██████████

Mngomezulu's account of his "abduction" is similar to that of Kolisang's. He too was promised employment by men in plain clothes who used only first names, was asked to lie on the back seat of a car with his head covered and was driven to an undisclosed destination along a route which included a shift from tar to dirt road.

The day after he returned to South Africa, on February 18 this year, Mngomezulu says he was visited by a man calling himself ██████████ we will

call him Mr X) who greeted him in Swahili — Mngomezulu was also detained by the ANC in Tanzania — and called him "Nelson", Mngomezulu's codename in exile.

Claiming to work for a cosmetics company, Mr X promised to take him to his boss to discuss employment. The next day he was driven to a restaurant, where he met a white man, calling himself ██████████, who "showed a lot of knowledge about such things as the ANC's chief representative in Angola" and the Quattro camp.

With his head covered, Mngomezulu was then taken on a lengthy car journey to a house whose location was not disclosed to him. Here, once the towel covering him was removed, he was given a pen and paper and was asked to give details of MK cells and "DLBs", which he understood to mean arms caches.

This is a suggestive detail. The use of "DLB" (dead letter box) to denote weapons caches emerged during the

Harms Commission of Inquiry as common terminology used by Askaris, turned MK members.

Mngomezulu says a middle-aged white man who described himself as "the boss" then introduced himself and asked him to write down all the names of the people who had mistreated him in exile.

"He said they would help me to get revenge on them," Mngomezulu states. "He said I would be given training to eliminate those in the underground structures of the ANC."

Mngomezulu says both the "boss" and the white man he had met earlier asked him if he had received weapons training, and promised to provide it when he replied he had not. Realising that he was dealing with "people in intelligence" and fearing for his safety, he agreed to undergo training and made a statement giving false details of MK cadres and arms caches.

After being kept at the house for several days — he says he was told not to let himself be seen by other people in the house, as he "had to work underground to eliminate the ANC people" — Mngomezulu says he escaped and hitch-hiked to Johannesburg, where he contacted the ANC.

The Weekly Mail has confirmed with his family that he was absent from home on the days mentioned, and that Mr X repeatedly phoned him after his alleged escape from the secret house.

Mngomezulu also says that outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, he was accosted by four black men in a car, one of whom pointed a pistol at him, demanded to know if he was carrying a firearm and told him to return to the house from which he had escaped. A former fellow exile who was with Mngomezulu at the time, Andrew Mothwa, of Dube, Soweto, has confirmed this sinister encounter, although he could not hear the full exchange.

Mngomezulu was given a page number with which to contact Mr X: ██████████

The Weekly Mail has traced this via a fictitious company, ██████████ at the address of the network headquarters.

At our instigation, Mngomezulu paged and set up a meeting with him behind the Jabulani Police Station in Soweto. From the meeting, which we monitored, we secured the description and registration number of Mr X's car — which we also traced, this time via a false name and address, to ██████████ at the headquarters operation.

A Credit Bureau search revealed that the latter is a police officer — no rank or police station was given, in contrast with other searches — who lives at ██████████

W/ Mail

13/5/92

● From PAGE 2

Court action blows SAP network

A blue Mazda 323 with the registration number [redacted] seen parked at the headquarters, has also been traced via a false name and physical address to a post box used by the same policeman. This time his address was given as [redacted] Krugersdorp police station.

The *Weekly Mail* has firmly established from internal sources that the four bases are organically connected. Insiders say the headquarters hosts a weekly meeting of operatives based in Rosashof and that the former head of the Rosashof base, Captain [redacted] has been transferred to the headquarters building.

We have also learnt that the headquar-

ters chief, [redacted] told one of these weekly meetings that activist Kolisang had reported on his contact with the network to the ANC, and warned Kolisang's two police "handlers" — [redacted] to take care. The chief said his source was an informer at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

Vehicles also provide links between the various houses. A white Opel Monza, [redacted] — registered to a false Pretoria address — has been seen at both Johannesburg houses. A white Citigolf, [redacted] seen at the Luipaardsvlei farm,

has been traced to "Prosec Consultants" at 144 Houtkop Street, Vereeniging.

Prosec, a non-existent firm, was also used as a cover for a page number belonging to police Sergeant [redacted], who is based at Rosashof. The Houtkop Street address is that of a secret house formerly used by the SAP.

The secrecy surrounding the network extends beyond the use of false licence plates and falsely registered pages and telephones. A phone call to the headquarters was answered by [redacted] who abrasively refused to elaborate on the false company to which his page is registered

— and rang off. When the chief was quizzed about the other false company, he too slammed down the phone.

An outsider asked to check out the headquarters was struck by the intense interest its inmates took in his parked car. He commented that the operation "reeked of mendacity" and asked us whether the house "was an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging nest".

A visit to the Luipaardsvlei base, which is concealed behind an apparently genuine cattle farm, was similarly unproductive. A *Weekly Mail* reporter posing as a farm-worker seeking employment encountered

two men at the base, one black, one white, who both refused to say what they did.

Reacting to our exposé of the Rosashof base last week, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said it was a legitimate under-cover police operation aimed at tracing smuggled arms.

The *Weekly Mail* has established that there is a "firearms unit" which operates openly from the Eikenhof Police Station, less than 10km from the covert operation's headquarters and whose purpose is the tracing of illegal arms.

The Eikenhof unit is understood to be responsible for weapons recovery throughout the Vaal area. A similar unit at the Protea police station covers Soweto and its environs.

W/Mail 13/3/92

A NEW book exposing the major influence of Nazism and radical right thinking on National Party members during and after World War 2 has been nominated for this year's Sunday Times Alan Paton Award.

Author Patrick Furlong uses unpublished documents to show how organisations such as the neo-fascist Ossewabrandwag and the Greyshirts affected the policies of Dr DF Malan's National Party in the war years — and beyond.

The book also provides evidence of rebellion against the Smuts government in top echelons of the police and army on a far wider scale than previously suspected.

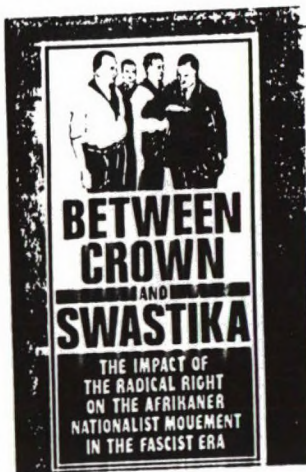
Between Crown and Swastika (Wits University Press) tracks three distinct phases in the influence of the right-wing in the war years: the growth of the fascist "shirts movements" which relied largely on anti-Semitism during the pre-war years; the Ossewabrandwag and its increasing influence on the National Party in the first few years of World War 2 as German victory seemed assured; and the distancing of the National Party from the OB in the latter years of the war.

Dumped

Two events in particular expose the rightist sympathies of Dr Malan, later to become prime minister. He was a consummate politician who used the extreme right-wing when he believed it to his advantage, but dumped it when it became embarrassing.

The first was the so-called "Denk case".

On January 16 1940, documents captured from the Germans later revealed, the wife of a known Nazi agent in South Africa approached Dr Malan, identified herself as an agent and offered German support for a rebellion in South Africa which would lead to a South African republic. Dr Malan, her husband later re-



ported to Berlin, was "enthusiastic" about the plan.

Immediately after the war Dr Malan was called before a parliamentary select committee to explain the incident. The committee found he had not supported the plot — but did not deal with the equally important question of why he had failed to report these approaches by an enemy agent, as he was legally obliged to do.

The second incident chronicled by Furlong was the infamous Draft Constitution of January 1942.

The document was the result of discussions between the ultra-right Ossewabrandwag, the radical Afrikaner Nasionale Studentebond, the Broederbond, FAK and key members of the NP. The constitution set itself firmly against liberal democracy and pleaded for a Republican constitution with strongly fascist overtones within an exclusive Afrikaner society.

Malan, acutely embarrassed by the association of members of his party with the document, later tried to distance himself.

Exposed: The links between Nazis and Nats

Furlong also reveals details of a plot by Adolf Hitler to engineer a coup in South Africa at the height of his power in 1942.

The coup, personally supervised by the Nazi leader, was to be run from Mozambique and Angola. Top Portuguese officials had been bribed to assist. Explosives and short-wave radios were to be smuggled into South Africa for the use of anti-Smuts factions in the country.

A US intelligence source in Europe, however, reported the plans to the State Department and they in turn informed the South African legation in Washington.

Prime Minister Jan Smuts was publicly sceptical about the planned coup, which in fact never did get off the ground. But in private he confided to a personal friend that Hitler's victories had put great heart into his opposition and there was much talk of a coup.

Furlong's account discloses that attempts by rightists and pro-Nazis at subverting the Smuts Government during the war years were far more extensive than reported.

THE

Sunday Times

Alan Paton

AWARD

A police report released after the war, based on an affidavit by the chief Nazi agent in South Africa, Luitpold Werz, said German agents worked under Hans Van Rensburg's OB command. A report by a German agent named Trompke to Foreign Office headquarters in Berlin also indicates that Van Rensburg offered his "170 000 members" to stage a coup with German weapons.

Van Rensburg, according to the agent, also offered the services of 15 000 soldiers in the Union Defence Force who had refused to serve outside the country and were German

sympathisers. Werz presented the plan to Berlin but it never got off the ground because the arms drops could not be made.

Van Rensburg's men, meanwhile, had had to surrender 8 000 arms to the Smuts government and did not have enough material to wage more than a week's war. Civil war was thus narrowly averted.

Furlong, at present assistant professor of history at Bethany College in Kansas, argues that the war did not turn the NP into national socialists, but its association with the extreme right-wing groups had nudged it even further right.

"Despite the conscious rejection by the party leadership of 'foreign ideologies', mainstream Afrikaner nationalism was now more authoritarian, more intolerant and more elitist than in the past," he found.

Slogans

He also finds echoes with the present.

"Afrikaners, faced by the impending collapse of the socio-political system under which they have always lived, once again are finding attractive the seductively simple slogans of the radical right, whether in the milder guise of the Conservative Party, which seeks to find a more workable form of the classic apartheid of the 60s, or in the shape of the many extremist and more or less quasi-fascist parties."

● The winner of the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize will be announced on June 19.

Brian Pottinger

Death-squad revelations

AFTER the horror of the holocaust many of the people of Nazi Germany would later say: "We did not know."

Journalist Jacques Pauw, the author of *In the Heart of the Whore*, which tells the story of apartheid's death squads, said: "South Africans will have no such excuse.

"They now know what happened. In a future political dispensation we can guard against a similar situation and prevent our future leaders from abusing their entrusted political power."

Southern Book Publishers has nominated the book for the Alan Paton Book Award.

Mr Pauw first exposed the SAP's hit-squads in the *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper in November 1989, telling former Security Police Captain Dirk Coetzee's "full sordid tale of political assassinations, poison drinks, letter bombs and attacks in neighbouring states".

The book is a hard-hitting account of the excesses of all South Africa's security forces, culminating in two almost clinical annexures: Annexure

A gives pen sketches of all the known political assassinations of anti-apartheid activists between February 1971 and February last year.

During those 20 years, 225 killings are listed, of which 87 were committed inside South Africa. Of these murders, only one was solved.

Annexure B is a list of nine activists who disappeared without trace between April 1982 and December 1988.

Mr Pauw, 31, said: "I got hundreds of death threats on the phone and in letters, but I knew they were mostly from cranks.

"What got me down in the end was not the danger, but the people I had to deal with — I interviewed 14 death squad characters and they were of the grimmest types you could imagine — all of them psychopaths."

Was it all worth it? "Ironically enough, nobody has been prosecuted, murderers still walk around free and it seems the government is unwilling to cut out this cancer from our society," he said.

Charles Leonard

NEWS

POLITICAL KILLERS such as 'Wit Wolf' Strydom could be freed

Amnesty talks anger

■ **Different stories:** Talks are taking place about a general amnesty. But who is pressing for such a move — the Government or the ANC?

BY DAVID BREIER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

FURY is mounting over suspicions that the Government is planning a general amnesty as a ploy to indemnify the perpetrators of security force atrocities.

A general amnesty would enable a wide range of killers to go free — including former captain Brian Mitchell, the Trust Feeds mass murderer, and SADF members responsible for the Goniwe murders in 1985. Also covered would be ANC killers such as Durban bomber Robert McBride. Even "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom could benefit.

ANC sources have said that Government officials, including senior SADF officers, had suggested a general amnesty in bilateral talks between the Government and ANC.

Among officials proposing the general amnesty is said to be Defence Force chief Kat Liebenberg, who is closely associated with military intelligence chief Stoffel van der Westhuizen, implicated in the "death warrant" signal that preceded the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists in 1985.

Initiative

The Justice Department has confirmed that negotiations on a more comprehensive amnesty are in progress, but insist that the initiative has come from the ANC rather than from the Government.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon condemned any "cynical swop" which

would allow even more killers to go free at the expense of public safety.

He said the widespread early release of criminals last year — including security force members convicted for murder — alongside genuine political prisoners had been an "unmitigated disaster".

The definition of political prisoners which the indemnity panel used was internationally accepted and did not include the perpetrators of serious common law crimes, he pointed out.

Ministry of Justice spokesman Nic Grobler said it was the ANC and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) that were pressing for wider indemnity, rather than the Government.

"The possibility of a more comprehensive indemnity has been raised on several occasions since bilateral negotiations with the ANC began in 1990.

"The ANC and organisations such as LHR have been pressing for this and more. The discussions are continuing. No agreement in this regard has been reached," he said.

S. ... 24/5/97

ANC's bottom line

ON THE eve of crucial talks to save Codesa, the ANC has spelt out its bottom line for the writing of a new constitution.

An ANC negotiator said this week the organisation would agree to the three-stage plan for transition to democracy at present on the table at Codesa only if

By EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON

four conditions were met.

These were that:

- Decisions by the National Assembly on the final constitution were accepted by a 66,7 percent majority;

- A proposed senate would play no role in drawing up the constitution;

- A deadlock-breaking mechanism would be put in place;

- There would be rigid time-frames for the drawing up of a final constitution.

Codesa 2 reached deadlock last week and the ANC has warned that unless the

outstanding issues can be speedily resolved it will abandon all agreements reached by the convention and resort to mass action to force the government to relinquish power.

Government negotiators have responded by saying that any such move by the ANC will be resisted and the result could be a com-

plete collapse of negotiations.

This week, in debates in Parliament and interviews, government negotiators made their bottom lines clear.

Chief among them:

- No time-frames for constitution-making;
- A powerful senate in which all regions have representation;
- A multi-party executive or cabinet.

Thwart

The ANC has until now been prepared to accept these in an interim constitution provided it has a specific, short lifespan. But it objects to the idea that they should be entrenched in a final constitution.

The reason it gives is that forced coalition government would thwart the will of the majority. The NP, on the other hand, argues that power-sharing is the only option for SA

and it will accept nothing else.

The ANC is also opposed to the idea of entrenching powers of a senate at a time when the composition of the senate has not been decided.

In particular it is strongly opposed to the NP idea that not only should all regions have equal representation in a senate, but that the three parties which receive the most votes in all regions be given an equal number of seats in the senate.

The NP, however, insists on strong regional government and regional representation in parliament, and says this matter has to be decided now and entrenched in a final constitution.

Senior ANC members said this week they were consulting their alliance partners, including the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, about possible mass action.

This action, they said, could include a national strike and pressure to ban SA from the Olympic Games in Barcelona in July.

Agreed

Codesa's management committee, which has been given the task of attempting to end the deadlock on the drawing up of a constitution meets tomorrow.

However, it is also likely that the government and the ANC will soon hold talks in a bid to break the logjam.

Top of the agenda for both the management committee meeting and any bilateral talks between the main parties will be to decide on the body that will draw up a new constitution.

While the ANC and the government had agreed that this body would be democratically elected on the basis of an interim constitution drawn up by Codesa, the ANC has said it is reconsidering its position.

Demand for SADF indemnity

THE government has demanded indemnity from prosecution for security personnel involved in political crimes as a prerequisite before a new SA Defence Force can be formed.

This is according to a document presented at a meeting between the ANC and the government to discuss conditions that have to be met before all armed forces can be integrated.

While the question of indemnity has not been discussed at subsequent meetings, the matter has been referred to the Department of Justice.

The prerequisite is expected to form part of a package that will grant

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

a general amnesty not only to government employees, but also to ANC political prisoners and exiles who have not yet been indemnified.

The ANC proposes in a document tabled in talks on March 20 that an amnesty should be declared before elections to cover all exiles, those inside the country liable for prosecution for political offences, and those on trial.

It also wants all those identified by the ANC as political prisoners to be released.

The government is demanding the amnesty apply equally to individuals in its employ who have committed political offences.

A government document tabled in talks on April 28, proposed the following guidelines to establishing a new SA army:

- All military and paramilitary forces to have equal opportunity to become part of the SADF;
- Indemnity for all individuals where applicable;
- Affirmative action without the lowering of standards.

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