

A campaign
initiated by
The Africa Fund.

May 29, 1992

Memo

To: Southern Africa Support and Human Rights Groups

From: Adotei Akwei, Research Department

Re: The Whitewash Bleeds Away: The Goldstone Commission Interim Report

The recent release of the interim report of the Goldstone Commission on violence in South Africa was a distortion of their findings. In Pretoria's latest attempt to exonerate itself from blame for the political violence, it first delayed releasing the report for a month and then only released portions which addressed ANC-Inkatha conflict. This implied that the causes of the violence were contained in the rivalry of those two organizations. Segments of the report which detailed the government's role in the violence were excised.

Clearly, the government manipulated the results of the Goldstone Commission to feed its propaganda machine which blames the violence on "black on black" fighting. More importantly, it hoped the skewed Goldstone report would stanch the flow of revelations about the true level of government involvement in the violence. Recent findings which have tarnished de Klerk's reputation include:

- * Continued government funding right up to the beginning of 1992 for Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, to stage rallies and build Inkatha into a political force strong enough to challenge the ANC. This despite public promises by de Klerk to end all covert funding in 1990.
- * South African Police and defense Force recruitment, training, arming and payment of members of Inkatha and local township street gangs to form squads of trained assassins whose sole purpose was to eliminate or neutralize members of the democratic movement. In some cases recruitment even spread as far as Mozambique and Angola. Evidence was published documenting a covert police network, "Undercover Operations and Structures", designed to facilitate a low intensity campaign of violence. It involved fictitious companies, fake license plates, false identity numbers and numerous secret slush funds.
- * De Klerk's cabinet itself is now under suspicion brought to light by a signed letter from present chief of military intelligence ordering the assassination of anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe in 1985. Suspicion of high level government involvement was also heightened by the Trust Feed Massacre trial. Here the court not only sentenced a senior white police officer to death for politically motivated murder, but the presiding judge found strong evidence of government efforts to hide the truth and destroy critical evidence.

In response to the mounting evidence of the South African government's campaign of violence against the democratic movement, Senator Paul Simon, joined by Senators Kennedy, Cranston and Pell, have introduced SENATE RESOLUTION 301 condemning the violence in South Africa, calling for an investigation, and demanding that the South African Government stop the violence.

Our responsibility here in the United States is to let the de Klerk regime know it cannot fool anyone by gushing with good intentions by day and then murdering by night. We urge you to join us and get Congress to pass Senate Resolution 301 condemning the political violence in South Africa.

WRITE, CALL, VISIT YOUR SENATORS. GET SR 301 PASSED!

The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038 (212) 962-1210

Tilden J. LeMelle
Chairman

Jennifer Davis
Executive Director

102D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. RES. 301

Relating to ongoing violence connected with apartheid in South Africa.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 20 (legislative day, MARCH 26), 1992

Mr. SIMON (for himself, Mr. PELL, Mr. CRANSTON, and Mr. KENNEDY) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

RESOLUTION

Relating to ongoing violence connected with apartheid in
South Africa.

Whereas more than 11,000 people have died in South Africa as a result of political violence since 1984, and more than one-half of these have died since the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990;

Whereas the negotiations by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) on the formation of a transitional government that will lead to a new constitution and a nonracial, democratic government could be undermined by the continuing violence;

Whereas the terror perpetuated by the ongoing political violence jeopardizes the willingness of South Africans to participate in the transition process and compromises the

climate for free political participation by all South Africans; and

Whereas credible evidence has been presented to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, South African human rights organizations, Amnesty International, and others that members of South African security force units have trained, armed, and funded paramilitary groups involved in committing and instigating violence, and perhaps continue to do so: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That (a) the Senate hereby—

2 (1) notes with dismay the killings in South Af-
3 rica and condemns this senseless violence; and

4 (2) urges the Government of South Africa to
5 take effective steps to end the violence and protect
6 all South African citizens regardless of race, color,
7 or creed.

8 (b) It is the sense of the Senate that the President
9 should prepare and transmit to the Senate a report on—

10 (1) the nature of the violence in South Africa
11 and the role that the various participants are play-
12 ing in the ongoing violence; and

13 (2) the impact of this violence on South Africa's
14 transition to democracy.

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THE

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WEEKLY MAIL

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THREE SUDDEN BLOWS TO THE STATE'S CREDIBILITY ...

In this house



these police



plan violence

Defence chiefs 'plotted Goniwe's murder'

2 TODAY'S edition of *New Nation* reveals a document which an army general sent to a subordinate, ordering the murder of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe and three colleagues in 1985.

A fortnight after the order was sent, the men were murdered.

Investigations by *The Weekly Mail* last year uncovered evidence which appears to corroborate the *New Nation* claims.

See PAGE 3

Another killer cop freed early

3 ADRIAAN VLOK blamed a wayward computer for the early release of multiple murderer Khethani Shange, first reported in *The Weekly Mail*.

Now we've found a second case. Constable Thulanie Philip, who killed two men and tried to kill a third, has been released 16 years and seven months early.

Another computer error, Mr Vlok?

See PAGE 6

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

Another bumper issue of our plain-English guide

PCReview

Computers for people who hate computers



This man may well be mad. But his madness has struck a chord

The strange trial of Gabriel Mahake

PAGE 9

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 falsely-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 exposure of a secret police operation in the Vaal "at the highest level", involving the military, the commissioner and a general.

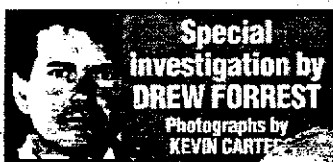
When police were approached about the information earlier this week, it caused a flurry of activity. None of the individuals involved would talk to the press, and at least one of the policemen involved slept away from his home for a night to avoid meeting Weekly Mail reporters.

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 tell.



hierarchy.

It follows assurances by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Melleit, 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, Rosaschof, 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 Grypt; 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 Majole; Constable PJ Zimba and Constable Johannes Mkwane.

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

The Rosaschof 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 Protec 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 Protec.

Protec 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.



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 Protec 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 Rosaschof 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



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

'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, sprang on him, said: "This is Mike."

He also claimed to know nothing of a secret base. But questioned on 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 "buddy"; 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 a certain "Ntjanyana", as well as of the ANC's assistant PWV secretary Bavumile Vilakazi and Evaton SACP executive members Gideon Sithole, Martin Nkonko and "Comrade Phyllis". He was also asked about Saul Tsotetsi.

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

Kolisang says "Brian" then offered him R5 000 to carry out petrol bomb attacks on the houses of Tsotetsi, Vilakazi, Sithole, Nkonko, "Comrade Phyllis", "Speech",

©To PAGE 6

COVERT OPERATION secret base



Angry reaction ... Top, Sergeant JKR Saaga, alias 'Gupa', 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



SADF killed Goniwe — New Nation

By EDDIE KOCH

GENDR. AL. CP van der Westhuizen, Chief of Staff Intelligence and one of the most powerful officers in the South African Defence Force today, allegedly ordered the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and two other anti-apartheid activists from the eastern Cape in 1985.

This is according to a military document published in today's edition of the *New Nation*. It alleges that the general sent a message to the State Security Council on June 7 1985 which proposes that Goniwe and two colleagues be "permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency".

Goniwe's body, along with those of three fellow activists, was found on the side of a road in the eastern Cape on June 29 — three weeks after the message was sent.

The document is marked "Extremely Secret" and bears the official stamp of the SADF's communications centre in the eastern Cape. Details in the document are also corroborated by evidence handed to *The Weekly Mail* by a Military Intelligence agent during an investigation into front companies run by the SADF.

SADF public relations division representative Colonel John Rolf said he could not confirm or deny the report until he had seen a copy of the document and had established whether it was genuine.

The document is addressed from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre to the Secretariat of the State Security Council and records a telephone discussion involving Van der Westhuizen (then a brigadier) and a General van Rensburg. It says:

"Names as follows: Matthew Goniwe; Mbulelo Goniwe (brother or nephew of the above); Fort Calata.

"It is proposed that the above-mentioned persons are permanently removed from society as a matter of urgency.

"Widespread reaction can be expected, locally as well as nationally, because of the importance of these persons, especially the former, for the enemy."

The document is drafted in signal message form by one L du Plessis from the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre and summarises a discussion between Van der Westhuizen, then chief of the army's Eastern Province Command, and Van Rensburg from the State Security Council (SSC).

This confirms information supplied to *The Weekly Mail* by former Military Intelligence agent Ben Conradie who ran a series of front companies set up to undermine left-wing organisations in the eastern Cape at the time.

Conradie was reluctant to give details when asked about the murder of Goniwe but told *Weekly Mail* reporters that the man who would know about the assassination was Lieutenant Laurens du Plessis, former head of the SADF's Comops division in Port Elizabeth.

The assassination of Goniwe and his colleagues preceded a massive clampdown by the state and the first State of Emergency was declared in 1985 on the day of their funeral — indicating that the generals' warnings to expect widespread protests was taken seriously by the SSC.

The SSC co-ordinated the work of a regional network of Joint Management Centres made up of security police and military officers dedicated to counter-insurgency work and the undermining of anti-apartheid organisations.

react with fury, anxiety

encounters with *The Weekly Mail*. Captain Andries de Plessis, who in January was in charge of the safe house, refused to allow us into his home at 66 Senator Road Avenue, Deaconsville, 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 Counselment — 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 ringing throughout the Vaal: at our next port of call, 17 Fluitfall Street, Falcon Ridge, Lieutenant Arthur van der Grypt 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 a 11 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.

The police plotters and their base

From PAGE 2

"Njanya" 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-de-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) 31280, 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 "Njanya".

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 "Mossane", as in Kolisang's affidavit) and *The Weekly Mail* has met and knows the name, address and telephone number of "Njanya". "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 1980, 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 Ajida Street.

Among these occupants is a certain "Namama" 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".