

Who *Really* Killed
CHRIS HANI?

An explosive exposé of
the real masterminds
and their paymasters.

*"Exhaustive in its conclusions on this
profoundly disturbing assassination."*

CHRIS NICHOLSON

Who really killed
Chris Hani?

BY CHRIS NICHOLSON

Permanent Removal – Who killed the Cradock Four? Wits Press, 2004.

Papwa Sewgolum – From Pariah to Legend, Wits Press, 2005.

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Two Right Feet, Micromega, Durban, 2021.

Elgar's Secret Lover, Austin Macauley Publishers, London and New York, 2023.

Who really killed Chris Hani?

Chris Nicholson



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This book is based on facts that I have established during exhaustive
research and investigation.

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‘I have a voice, too, and for good or evil, mine is the speech
that cannot be silenced.’

Joseph Conrad – *Heart of Darkness*

‘History repeats itself as do the methods used by those
specialising in the elimination of leaders who unite people into
a strong force for dignity, justice and self-determination.’

SM Sigerson – *The Assassination of Michael Collins:
What Happened at Béal na mBláth?*

Christopher Nicholson has lived all his life in KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. He practised as a human rights lawyer assisting victims of apartheid before majority rule was won in 1994.

His efforts were recognised with two awards and he was appointed a high court judge in 1995. He's published eight books and a play. Two books were nominated for the Alan Paton prize in South Africa for non-fiction. He's married with two daughters.

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Foreword

‘The fateful day of Chris Hani’s brutal murder is indelibly etched on the hearts of all freedom-loving people and no-one will be satisfied until the truth about his death is known.’

South Africa’s first democratic president, Nelson Mandela,
in a speech on being awarded the Chris Hani Award on 1 July 1998

I am often asked why I wrote *Who really killed Chris Hani?*

The answer is not a simple one. There is a Setswana saying ‘Molato ga o bole’, which can be freely translated as ‘some crimes do not go away’. One such crime is the murder of Chris Hani on 10 April 1993. On the thirtieth anniversary of his death, Solly Mapaila, the incumbent General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, maintained that the full truth had not been told and he called for an inquest into the matter.

This demand has been raised over the years on each anniversary of the death of Hani with successive presidents, without success. Mapaila has organized a petition which already had 30,000 signatures and enjoys countrywide support. He maintains that the only stumbling block to such an inquest is political will. He and his party are seeking legal opinion to secure a court order that such an inquest takes place.

There have been other calls for a reopening of the case against the killers of Hani, and even a request for a book to be written. In an article, ‘A Soldier of Peace’, appearing in *The Sunday Times* on 2 April 2023, Oyama Mabandla paid tribute to Chris Hani. Mabandla is Chair of the Council of Advisors at the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA).

Mabandla attended Biko’s funeral and he says, ‘Three years later I was hounded into exile and the warm and protective bosom of [Chris] Hani, who would be my mentor and guide in the labyrinthine struggle against the apartheid monstrosity and its vicissitudes and discontents.’

He asks a question many would like the answer to. 'Does anyone believe we would be in this sordid mess as a country were Hani alive? Would we be wading through this putrefaction if Biko still walked amongst us? Nada.'

He goes on to say, 'It is difficult to capture in words the singularity, power and significance of Hani in a truncated piece like this one. What does one say about his love of Roberta Flack and Abdullah Ibrahim? Or his passionate ruminations on Homeric epics like *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. He deserves a book. I had heard from an ANC princeling that there was a desire to commission Zakes Mda to write the definitive biography on Hani. It seems those plans faltered due to opposition from some ANC personages ... Thus, Hani's dazzling intellect, moral and physical courage and animal magnetism remain inaccessible to many South Africans at a time when the nation could do with a courageous adoption of Hani's inspiring example.'

Mabandla takes the reader through Hani's life and his achievements. 'He shared the hazards of battle with his troops, eyeballing death unblinkingly, something that bound him to the rank and file of our movement in an indestructible and loving bond that subsists to this day. They do not make them like Martin Thembisile Hani. He was *sui generis* – our answer to Che Guevara.'

He concludes with a powerful call to action. 'But Hani can never die. He lives in our dreams and aspirations to make this democracy worthy of the sacrifice of people like himself ... our loving memory of this giant [must be turned] into an abiding quest for justice, dignity and a better life for all our people.'

Chris Nicholson
Durban

1 | Bloody Easter Saturday

‘I’ve lived with death for most of my life ... I want to live in a free South Africa, even if I have to lay down my life for it.’

Chris Hani in an interview after his return to South Africa from exile in 1990

The first shot hit Chris Hani in the abdomen and dropped him onto his driveway. The fair-haired assassin with icy blue eyes stepped forward and aimed his silenced pistol at the man sprawled on the ground. He shot three more times. It was a most cowardly attack, as Hani had no chance of defending himself. The subsonic bullets tore into Hani’s head, any one of them killing him instantly.

Hurrying to a red Ford Laser parked at the end of the drive, the blond man unscrewed the silencer as he walked. After getting into the car, he placed the pistol in a bag on the front seat and tossed the silencer into the back. He drove away at speed.

Former policeman Michael Buchanan knew the sound of a silenced gun. When he heard shots that seemed to come from the Hani residence about 25 metres away from his home in Dawn Park, Johannesburg, he grabbed his own firearm from a drawer and hurried out in time to see the red Ford Laser disappearing down Hakea Crescent.

He rushed across the road to where Hani lay face down on the driveway. He could see the man was dead. Buchanan strode into the house and told Hani’s daughter Khwezi to go to her room and stay there. After calling the police, he set about preserving the crime scene to ensure it was not contaminated.

As she had passed the Hani home in her car, Margaretha Harmse – who lived a few houses away from Hani – witnessed a man shooting, and saw the red car he’d been driving. She hit the brakes, reversed to get close enough to read the car’s licence plate, then sped home to alert the police.

Mrs Harmse recalled the car’s registration slightly incorrectly – she reported it as PBX237T instead of PBX231T. Within minutes of the killing, armed with Mrs Harmse’s description, two policemen in a patrol car spotted the red Ford about six kilometres away from the murder scene and pulled the driver over. The sole occupant was Janusz Waluś. Beside him the police found a carry-bag containing a Z88 pistol and behind the driver’s seat the silencer. Waluś was taken into custody and the vehicle was impounded for forensic examination.

There was something sadly ironic about the fact that Saturday 10 April 1993 happened to be during the Easter weekend. Sandwiched between Good Friday – which commemorates the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and Easter Sunday – the day he rose from the dead for believers, that particular Saturday was a brilliant Highveld morning with the early chill, known in those parts, evaporating under the sun's heat.

Rising early, Janusz Waluś had left his flat in Muckleneuk, a suburb of Pretoria. Just before he started the red Ford Laser hatchback at around 7 am, he told his girlfriend, Maria Ras, that he would be practising martial arts at a Johannesburg gym and would return at 11 am. The fateful drive would be the end of a long journey for Waluś.

Born on 14 January 1953 in Zakopane, Waluś had seen the ravages the socialist government had wreaked on Poland's people. So bad had it become that in 1981 he decided to join his father and brother in South Africa at their small glass factory.

After the family business went bankrupt some years later, Waluś, then a truck driver, joined both the National Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). The latter is a far-right subversive organisation which became more and more involved in supporting South Africa's apartheid regime. The unbanning of the ANC and other liberation parties by the last white Nationalist President, FW de Klerk, had filled Waluś with horror.

He thought people such as his friend Clive Derby-Lewis had the right idea. The latter was 57 and lived with his wife Gaye in a Krugersdorp suburb, west of Johannesburg. A former Nationalist member of the Transvaal Provincial Council, Derby-Lewis had been a member of the General Council of the Conservative Party since 1982. In May 1987 he became a nominated member of parliament for the Conservative Party.

Clive and Gaye made 'Kuba', as they called Waluś, feel at home. Gaye was a research journalist, editor of the English section of a weekly right-wing newspaper called *Die Patriot* (The Patriot) and press officer for the Conservative Party. She was a prolific writer on political affairs and Waluś admired her attitude about that firebrand Chris Hani. She reasoned that Hani's Communist Party virtually controlled the African National Congress (ANC) and she recognised that President de Klerk's impotence could kick-start the right wing's plans to seize power.

Waluś knew Hani's record as chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Hani made no bones about his use of terror as a tool of the revolution so Waluś thought he would not be committing any crime by taking him out.

When Waluś found that the Stan Schmidt Shokotan Centre in Bramley was closed for the Easter weekend, he drove to the Gun Exchange in Corlett Drive, near the famous Wanderers' Cricket Ground, and asked for 25 rounds of 9 mm subsonic ammunition. This would avoid the bullet making a 'crack'

as it was fired. Waluś had been practising shooting on his brother Witold's farm and knew this was the best ammunition to use with a silenced firearm. At some stage he would also need to place false licence plates on his vehicle to avoid detection.

He drove to Boksburg and entered the Dawn Park suburb, which he planned to reconnoitre in order to make final preparations for his mission. As he entered Hakea Crescent in Dawn Park, Waluś saw Chris Hani reverse his white Toyota Corolla and head off. Seeing that Hani was not accompanied by any bodyguards, the opportunity seemed ideal. Keeping a discreet distance, Waluś followed.

Hani stopped at a café and emerged with a bag carrying a newspaper and several grocery items. As he stepped onto the pavement, he glanced from left to right.

For some strange reason, that weekend Hani didn't have any bodyguards on duty. Tito Maleka oversaw VIP protection and security at Shell House. As will be noted in this book, Tito appeared to be taking instructions from Joe Modise and Hani's great political rival, Thabo Mbeki. There were even rumours of an ANC hit squad with the ominous name of the Omega Strike Unit.

In an interview shortly after his return from exile in 1990, Hani had told a reporter, 'I've lived with death for most of my life ... I want to live in a free South Africa, even if I have to lay down my life for it.' That morning he put aside such dark feelings and enjoyed the autumn sun and fresh Highveld air.

In recent weeks, Hani had addressed three or four rallies and his most recent venture into the Transkei had been a day-long visit with ANC Deputy Secretary-General Jacob Zuma to see General Bantu Holomisa. He had planned time off at Easter to relax with his 15-year-old daughter Khwezi at the family home in Dawn Park. He would take her to the hair salon and play taxi in his old Corolla for her school social that night. This was going to be a big occasion for the teenager who was usually too buried in her books to go out and socialise. Hani's wife Limpho and their youngest daughter Lindiwe were visiting family in Lesotho, while the eldest Neo Phakama was staying in Cape Town for the holiday weekend.

Waluś was worried about the throng of people both in the street and café, so he decided it unwise to carry out his mission there. He watched Hani slide into his small car, place the shopping bag on the passenger seat and proceed home.

Waluś followed. Hani stopped his car and grabbed the shopping bag before heading for the house. Inside, Khwezi was busy on her phone, chatting excitedly to a friend about the party that night. She came out to greet her father and saw Waluś approaching. Khwezi said, 'Hey, this man is greeting you ...' Chris turned round and saw the blond man staring at him. As Hani

stepped onto his driveway, a succession of shots rang out and he fell to the ground – his life of struggle against the apartheid regime brutally ended just as victory was in sight.

The district surgeon's post-mortem examination gave the cause of death as multiple gunshot wounds. It also detailed abrasions on the right side of his face which occurred before death, revealing that he fell after the first shot was fired. One bullet struck Hani in the stomach, causing extensive damage to internal organs before passing through his body. The absence of powder marks showed the killer was not close to Hani when that shot was fired. The other bullet wounds were all made execution-style to Hani's head.

One of the bullets traversed from left to right through his head and would have caused his death instantly, even if no other shots had been fired. The barrel of the gun was probably not more than 30 cms from Hani. Another bullet took a path also from left to right alongside the left ear. It exited through the right mandible.

Waluś was in a desperate hurry to get away, but he was also aware that he had to avoid attracting attention or having an accident with the borrowed car. It belonged to his boss, Peter Jackson, an English passport holder and businessman, with links to several big multinational companies.

While police began a manhunt, family and comrades reeled at the news of Hani's assassination. Waluś's girlfriend Maria Ras was wondering why he had failed to return home at the appointed hour. She received a telephone call from Clive Derby-Lewis asking where Waluś was. She replied that she expected him back at any moment and asked if Clive wanted to leave a message.

'No, just ask him to phone me back,' Derby-Lewis said. Later, when there was still no sign of Waluś, Maria became anxious and telephoned the police and hospitals. In between these calls, at about 2.30 pm, Derby-Lewis again telephoned the flat. Maria said she was worried about Waluś and again asked if he wanted to leave a message. Derby-Lewis then said he merely wanted to invite them to a barbecue the following day, Sunday 11 April.

Maria left the flat to visit friends. When she returned, Waluś was home, but the flat was swarming with policemen searching for clues that might assist them in their investigation.

In the top drawer of a desk in the flat, one of the policemen, Detective-Sergeant Grimbeek, discovered a three-page typewritten document which contained nine names: Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Karen Brynard, Chris Hani, Pik Botha, Richard Goldstone, Ken Owen and Tim du Plessis. Under each name their respective addresses were typed with the single exception of Joe Slovo.

The whole of the first page was devoted to Nelson Mandela. Below his address the following information was given in capital letters.

NOTE: THE HOUSE, SITUATED IN OAK LINED ROAD, IS DELIBERATELY NOT NUMBERED, BUT IS EASILY RECOGNISABLE BY THE WROUGHT IRON BLACK FENCE WHICH HAS HAD BLACK METAL SHEETING PLACED BEHIND IT TO LIMIT THE VIEW FROM THE ROAD. IT HAS HIGH TECH ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE SYSTEMS THROUGHOUT, INCLUDING A TELEVISION CAMERA MOUNTED AT THE GATE BEHIND A GLASS PANEL. THE GATES ARE ELECTRONICALLY CONTROLLED.

The lower half of the first page contained a colour photograph of Nelson Mandela's double-storey house with a red tiled roof. It seemed clear that this man was also intent on killing the man who would become South Africa's first non-racial president. For some reason the killing of Hani had been deemed more important. On the document were handwritten additions in ink. A numeral had been assigned to each name. Thus, for example, the names of Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani had been numbered 1, 2 and 3. Was that to be the order of their killing?

Next to the name and address of Chris Hani the following was inscribed, 'BMW 525i PWY 525T', a vehicle belonging to businessman Martin Carl van Zyl, who had links to some prestigious companies. Why was his car often seen at the Hani house and what purpose did a note of its registration plate on the hit list have for the murderer? Various reasons are suggested – from an innocent one, that Van Zyl was Hani's good friend who regularly gave him lifts to appointments, to his being an accomplice who would help carrying out the killing or clearing up afterwards.

What intrigued the author Evelyn Groenink when she interviewed Van Zyl about the murder of Hani, was the fact that he lied about many important details. She was also intrigued by Van Zyl's confident assertion that Hani was killed because he was incorruptible.

Detective-Sergeant Grimbeek sat with Waluś when the police drove him away from his flat after the search. Four days later, Grimbeek and a colleague would spend more than 10 hours throughout the night interrogating Waluś, trying to influence his account of the killing. Why would they want to do that with an apparently clear and straightforward case?

On the other side of Waluś sat Warrant-Officer Michael Holmes, who was to lead the case investigation. No relation of the famous Sherlock, his simplistic view of the motives and causes of Hani's murder would leave much to be desired. In the car, Waluś made a remark to Holmes which was to attain considerable significance in the trial.

'Mike, I think something made you happy, you found something.' Within five weeks of Hani's death, a prestigious investigative team reported

on the suspects involved. *Executive Intelligence Review* (EIR) is a weekly news magazine founded in 1974 in Leesburg, Virginia, in the United States. It maintains offices in a number of countries, including Wiesbaden, Berlin, Copenhagen, Paris, Melbourne and Mexico City. It clearly has access to large caches of information from intelligence agencies round the world. In the *Executive Intelligence Review* article of 14 May 1993 entitled 'Did British intelligence kill Hani?', the authors examined the background to his murder.

The dramatic results of his death are described. 'The halo of martyrdom surrounding Hani's assassination instantly transformed the nation's politics. Suddenly, the ANC made, and the ruling National Party of President FW de Klerk acquiesced to, two demands: the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to rule the country, within the astoundingly short time of six weeks, and a firm date, probably in early 1994, for one-man, one-vote national elections. The ANC also demanded, as a member of the TEC, joint control over the nation's powerful security forces. Though these demands had formally been on the agenda of the negotiating process then under way toward majority rule, they were making very little progress until the assassination.'

The article continued, 'Even more interesting, Hani, who had been the victim of several previous assassination attempts and whose concern for his own security was notorious, had unaccountably given his two bodyguards time off, the precise day the assassin(s) struck. The bodyguards' absence smelled of complicity from inside the ANC, and in fact Hani's factional ally Winnie Mandela charged that the ANC had killed him.'

We learn further from the piece, 'The whole affair was so riddled with inconsistencies that even the left-wing newspaper, the *New Nation*, commented on 23 April, "To attribute the assassination to the lunatic right-wing fringe is a poor attempt at exonerating the more sophisticated forces from culpability." The police's nice-and-tidy verdict of Waluś as a "lone assassin", backed by a loose bunch of right-wingers, is viewed by most informed people within South Africa with the same incredulity with which Americans regard the Warren Commission's verdict that Lee Harvey Oswald killed President John F Kennedy.'

We are told, 'At least two eyewitnesses reported two cars involved in the assassination, one red and one white, which converged on Hani's house. But almost immediately, any mention of more than one person disappeared from all police statements, in favour of the lone assassin Waluś, backed by Derby-Lewis's international network.'

The report from EIR then said, 'A competent investigation of the crime begins with the question, *cui bono?* – who benefits? On the lower level, the ANC and its negotiating partner, the National Party, both of whom are determined to see the SACP-dominated ANC in power in the near term.' The

central enquiry is then addressed, 'Are there any British intelligence links to the plot? The answer is yes. According to South African intelligence sources, Janusz Waluś was intimately associated with the South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR), about which, said one intelligence veteran, "That's a very curious outfit. They have no naval guys in it, and they do no research".'

If we are to investigate whether Waluś carried out the killing alone or as part of an organisation, the fact that he was 'intimately associated' with SAIMR is revealing. We are told, 'According to a November 1990 article in the *Sunday Times* of London, the SAIMR was founded as a mercenary group of elite special forces people operating throughout Africa. An investigation by one South African intelligence agency determined that SAIMR was a front for Britain's MI6. Waluś was also associated with and, according to press accounts, had even contributed money to, another British intelligence front, the Stallard Foundation, one with which Derby-Lewis was also reportedly associated.'

Further information is given that SAIMR reportedly has been involved in various coup operations, including in the Seychelles Islands. While many thought the murder of Chris Hani was only of relevance to South Africans, we soon learn that in Britain one member of parliament called for an investigation as to whether British intelligence services were involved in any way in the murder.

The EIR Report said, 'Waluś's possible involvement with British intelligence becomes highlighted also with the sudden visit to South Africa, just days before the assassination, of one of the most important figures in British intelligence, former MI6 Africa desk head Nicholas Elliott. Despite being in his seventies, Elliott made the arduous journey to Johannesburg from London for a mere three days of meetings. According to sources in London, he met with Julian Ogilvie Thompson, head of the Anglo American Corp, the ANC's chief financial sponsor inside the country.'

We learn that Elliott was 'a former board member of Lonrho of Tiny Rowland ... [which] purchased the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters for them and is bankrolling a planned new ANC newspaper'. There is a dark side to him as he is described in the report as 'no stranger to "wet work"-terror and assassinations. He was a controller of the London-based Sikh radical, Jagjit Singh Chauhan, whose associates assassinated Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984.'

Continuing with the question of who benefits from Hani's murder, the EIR Report said, 'The assassination, combined with the identification of Waluś as the sole assassin, accomplished several British intelligence objectives simultaneously. First and foremost, it has propelled the ANC toward power in a way unimaginable before the hit.'

The second benefit noted was, 'Political observers in the country note that the identification of the Derby-Lewises as the masterminds of Hani's murder provides a convenient pretext for the ANC and National Party to suppress opposition to their domination of the negotiating process, initially in the Conservative Party in which the Derby-Lewises were active, but soon in others as well.'

The third benefit was, 'The assassination eliminated Hani himself, who despite his moderate statements of the weeks preceding his death, was the leader of the "Stalinist faction" of the ANC, which believed in shooting its way to power, rather than negotiating. Hani and Winnie Mandela had announced they would form a new party, implicitly against the ANC, should the ANC come to power, and according to intelligence sources in Zimbabwe, had started creating a new armed force there. Aside from Hani and [Winnie] Mandela, this faction also includes Natal Midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala, ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, and others.'

Juxtaposed against the Stalinists in the EIR report were, 'Their opponents in the so-called "Leninist" faction include Nelson Mandela, ANC "foreign minister" Thabo Mbeki, head of manpower development and training Mzwai Piliso, ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and, until his recent death, ANC Chairman Oliver Tambo. According to intelligence sources, in the early 1980s ANC security forces obtained documentation that leading Leninists Thabo Mbeki, Hani's rival as heir apparent to Nelson Mandela, and Mzwai Piliso had been recruited as agents of MI6, which may explain why they both reportedly travel on British passports. Ramaphosa is also notorious for his connections to the Anglo American Corporation, since his tenure as head of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), when he was a regular Anglo American negotiating partner.'

The fourth benefit was, 'The timing of the assassination, and the orchestration of Hani's funeral, did much to turn a notorious International communist Chris Hani into almost a Christian martyr, a factor of great consequence in a nation of millions of black Christians otherwise opposed to the communist dominated ANC ... [This was part of] the British "strategy of tension". One of the most crucial effects of Hani's assassination was to inflame racial tensions in the country. ANC Youth leader Peter Mokaba's chant to a rally of ANC youth, "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer", was widely publicized in the nation's Anglo American Corporation-controlled press, as were inflammatory statements by spokesmen for such white right-wing factions as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the World Apartheid Movement (WAM).'

If one attributes the killing of Hani to Waluś and Derby-Lewis alone then the culpability is restricted to the sort of extreme right-wing group with which they were associated. According to the report, one such group 'has not

only offered to pay Walus's and Derby-Lewis's court costs but publicised its vision of "worldwide apartheid".

The inflamed racial tensions mentioned eventuated. 'The violence is now escalating in South Africa, with the May 1 killing of five whites in King Williams Town, the attacks and murders of Afrikaner farmers in remote areas, and the almost-daily slaughter of both Inkatha and ANC members, as well as ordinary people in the townships.' We learn that this 'methodical blind terror has been attributed, by ANC leader Nelson Mandela as well as others, to some "third force", which is trying to incite hatred between Inkatha and the ANC, and now more generally between blacks and whites'.

Twelve days after Hani's death on 22 April 1993, there is a quote in *The Star* of Johannesburg that 'Walus himself was linked to "third force"-style violence as part of a film crew which would mysteriously show up in black townships just as residents were being shot by unknown gunmen ... the degree of such "third force" violence now striking South Africa would be impossible without complicity of at least sections of the National Party Government's security forces ...'

The EIR article concluded that the 'third force', like the assassination of Chris Hani, is clearly orchestrated from abroad.

2 | Justice is seemingly done

'Justice is like a train that is nearly always late.'

Yevgeny Yevtushenko

Janusz Waluś, Clive and Gaye Derby-Lewis were put on trial for the cowardly and cold-blooded murder of Communist Party chief, Chris Hani. Both the trial court and appeal court judges were satisfied that the assassination deserved nothing less than the death sentence. But the evidence at the trial opened doors to other questions and mysteries that needed investigation.

The trial was heard before the Supreme Court, consisting of Judge President Eloff and two assessors. The three accused were charged with a number of counts; firstly, the murder of Chris Hani, a second count of conspiring to murder the nine persons on their "hit list" and further counts relating to the unlawful possession of the murder weapon, the 9mm Z88 pistol no. P6-101368 and five rounds of 9mm ammunition.

At the end of the trial Gaye Derby-Lewis was acquitted on all counts. Waluś and Derby-Lewis were acquitted on the conspiracy charge and found guilty of the murder of Hani and the possession of the 9mm Z88 pistol and ammunition. Prison sentences were imposed for the firearm and ammunition charges, and they were both sentenced to death for the murder of Chris Hani.

Waluś and Derby-Lewis appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, where Judge Hoexter gave the unanimous decision of three appeal judges dismissing the appeal.

Judge Hoexter said, 'The train of events which culminated in the killing of Hani had found its genesis in a theft committed almost three years earlier. During April 1990, and at Pretoria, a quantity of firearms was stolen from the South African Air Force. One of the stolen firearms was the Z88.'¹

The Judge then explained how the weapon came to be in Waluś's possession on the day of the murder. 'During 1990 a friend of Clive Derby-Lewis, Mr S Venter of Krugersdorp, acquired an unlicensed handgun from one Taylor. Early in 1993 Derby-Lewis asked Venter where he might obtain an unlicensed firearm. Venter agreed to let him have the unlicensed firearm which he had obtained from Taylor. Derby-Lewis was friendly with Mr LG Durant and his wife who lived in Boshoff Street, Krugersdorp. He instructed Venter to deliver the handgun, concealed in a parcel, to the Durants with a message that the parcel contained a pullover.

'Venter concealed the handgun within the folds of a pullover which he

delivered to Mrs Durant, who later unfolded the pullover and discovered the concealed handgun. She told the court it resembled the murder weapon. Having rewrapped the handgun in the pullover she delivered it to Derby-Lewis at his home the following day.'

The scene shifts from Krugersdorp to Cape Town and the tale is taken up by two further state witnesses: Mr FH Darroll and Mr Gavin Smith. The judge said that in Cape Town on 22 March 1993, Derby-Lewis handed Darroll a Z88 pistol asking that he should have a silencer fitted to it. Gavin Smith had a gunsmith shop at his home in Tokai. Darroll took the Z88 pistol to Smith who fitted it with a silencer. Smith then handed Darroll the Z88 pistol, a silencer and five rounds of subsonic 9mm ammunition. All of this Darroll delivered to Derby-Lewis in Acacia Park – at the parliamentary apartment he occupied as a Conservative Party MP and member of the President's Council.

Mrs Elizabeth Motswane was a domestic worker, who was employed by Clive and Gaye Derby-Lewis. She told the court she knew Waluś and had heard Mrs Derby-Lewis address him as 'Kuba'.

On 6 April 1993, four days before Hani's murder, Mrs Motswane found Waluś in the kitchen with Mrs Derby-Lewis, who was busy preparing breakfast. While Mrs Motswane was washing up, Derby-Lewis came to tell her that she was wanted on the telephone. On her way to the telephone, she saw Waluś and Derby-Lewis seated at a table. Waluś was holding a firearm with its butt in his hand and its barrel pointing to the floor. Judge Hoexter dealt with the events of Monday 12 April 1993, but explained that to understand the behaviour of Clive and Gaye Derby-Lewis on that date it was necessary to go back to earlier events.

'The State witness Mr Arthur Kemp, a supporter of the Conservative Party, has known Waluś since the late-80s and Clive and Gaye Derby-Lewis since the mid-80s. From the middle of 1989 to the middle of 1992 Kemp served as a journalist on the "Patriot" newspaper, during which time he saw much of Mrs Derby-Lewis. Thereafter and until January 1993 he worked for the "Citizen" newspaper and saw Mrs Derby-Lewis only infrequently.'

Kemp had testified that during January 1993, Mrs Derby-Lewis telephoned him at work. He agreed to help her establish the addresses of certain persons. Mrs Derby-Lewis then faxed to him a list containing 19 names. From this list, Kemp composed a list ('Kemp's list') of nine of the people and their respective addresses. This became the hit list.

Judge Hoexter then said, 'On 29 January 1993, Mrs Derby-Lewis travelled by bus to Cape Town. Just before her departure Kemp met her at the Rotunda bus station in Johannesburg and gave her an envelope containing Kemp's list. According to Kemp, Mrs Derby-Lewis never told him why she required the information. He mentioned, however, that in discussions between them during 1992, and even earlier, they had mooted the possibility

of Conservative Party demonstrations “outside these people’s houses for propaganda value”.’

In the course of cross-examination Kemp said he supplied the photograph of Mandela’s house on the first page of the hit list ‘on my own initiative ... and the reason why I did that was that I was going to suggest to Mrs Derby-Lewis that she could use it in an article in the *Patriot*, to show the discrepancy between Mr Mandela’s lifestyle and the people he is supposed to be leading ...’

At 6pm on Saturday 17 April 1993, Derby-Lewis was arrested at his home. Shortly after midnight he signed a statement, recorded by one of his legal advisers, who handed it to Warrant-Officer Holmes. In this, Derby-Lewis said in Afrikaans, ‘I refuse to say anything apart from that I knew a certain Waluś and I last saw him on 22 December 1992.’

Gaye Derby-Lewis testified in the trial confirming Kemp’s evidence that she had requested him to supply her with the addresses of certain persons whose names she faxed to him, and that she received an envelope from him containing Kemp’s list. She explained her main purpose in obtaining Kemp’s list had been to write an article for the *Patriot* to show the houses in which the those concerned lived and the nature of their lifestyles.

In the trial court, Judge President Eloff found that Gaye’s explanations of the purpose for which she required the Kemp list were untruthful.

Both the trial and appeal courts considered how long before 10 April 1993 the preparations for the assassination of Hani had been in progress. One factor was the mysterious Martin van Zyl.

As the judge found, ‘It will be remembered that next to the name and address of “Chris Hani” [on the hit list] there is a manuscript inscription which refers to a particular make and model of a motor car (a BMW 525i) together with what seems to be a car registration number (PWY 525T).’

Van Zyl, a state witness, told the court he was the owner of a BMW 525i with that registration number. He further testified that on a number of occasions his car had been used by him and others to fetch Hani from his home and take him to meetings. The last time his car had been used for the purpose was about three weeks before 10 April 1993.

The investigator Detective Michael Holmes has been unfavourably compared to his literary predecessor Sherlock Holmes, whose legendary forensic skill has fascinated millions. We might profitably explore what sort of approach Sherlock Holmes would have employed in solving the Hani murder. The colloquy between Holmes and Dr Watson is a valuable literary device in exploring other possible theories.

For Sherlock Holmes the evidence of Van Zyl would have provided food for excited thought. His deductive method of reasoning meant that every avenue was explored in leading to the truth in the investigation of crime.

Sherlock would no doubt have asked Dr Watson whether this evidence opened the door to other questions. Was the registration of Van Zyl's vehicle written as a warning to Waluś to be on the lookout for a potential witness? That would be the most benign interpretation. Or were the car and its owner accomplices or instruments in the assassination or the clearing or cleaning of the scene afterwards? Sherlock would have urged Dr Watson to investigate the role and background of Martin van Zyl more extensively.

The vehicle driven by Waluś on the day in question is also a mystery. Judge Hoexter said, 'After the arrest of Waluś the red Ford was kept in police custody. On 11 April 1993 [the day after Hani's murder] Sgt J Slingerland, a member of the police investigating team, searched the red Ford, and found, in addition to other articles, a bag containing adhesive plastic "Snapstix" letters and numerals, together with a receipt relating to their purchase. The testimony of Detective Warrant-Officer OR Manser established that the "Snapstix" in question could be superimposed upon the registration plates of the red Ford in order to display the false number "PLB 577T". The State's evidence further established that "PLB 577T" was the registration of another red Ford Laser motor car.'

Sherlock Holmes would have explained to Dr Watson the importance of this evidence. So careful were the preparations for the murder that the false number plates were not only designed to put off any curious witness or police investigator, but they actually belonged to another red Ford Laser. It was also established that the Snapstix had been bought on the afternoon of 2 March 1993.

The significance of the Snapstix was that there was early preparation, even to the extent of finding the number of a red Ford Laser. Had that number been affixed to the vehicle, and Waluś not been arrested almost red-handed, circumstances would have been totally different. Even if the number was subsequently discovered, the innocent owner of the other Red Laser would have been able to establish his own alibi, while Waluś and his handlers would have escaped identification.

The trial and appeal courts rejected Derby-Lewis's version of innocence and found he must have known of the killing. Firstly 'the court considered it extremely unlikely that in the course of a visit to the Derby-Lewis home Waluś would surreptitiously have removed Kemp's list. In all the circumstances ... the likeliest alternative was that Derby-Lewis had given it to Waluś.'

Secondly, both courts made the clear inference that Derby-Lewis gave Waluś the murder weapon. 'There exists a very distinct possibility that it took place some four days before the killing and at the home of Clive Derby-Lewis.' There were other circumstances showing Clive's guilt, including the various phone calls looking for Waluś just after the murder. Also the 'false statement Derby-Lewis made to the police more than a week after the murder that he

had last seen Walus in December 1992'. He had clearly seen him on a number of occasions subsequently.

Both courts concluded, 'It can be reasonably inferred that Walus had planned this assassination quite some time before 10 April 1993. The ... evidence to which I [Judge Hoexter] alluded earlier was that he probably kept surveillance over the Hani residence, and observed that a certain car, which we now know had been there three weeks previously, came to the residence. We know that he had previously acquired the wherewithal to conceal the registration number of his car.'

In short, the assassination was planned well in advance.

As far as the sentence was concerned, Appeal Judge Hoexter said, 'Both were first offenders. It is true that Walus executed the actual assassination, but the known facts, as far as they go, create a distinct impression that Derby-Lewis master-minded the operation.'

And so the death sentences were confirmed though later reduced to life imprisonment. The irony of this is that their lives were only spared because the new ANC Government that they so vehemently resisted abolished capital punishment.

When dealing with the sentence Judge Eloff said, 'The murder was a deliberate, cold-blooded one. The act was cowardly in the extreme. It was preceded by weeks of planning. The deceased was felled in front of his own residence when he was completely defenceless. And, as I mentioned earlier, none of the accused has showed any remorse.'

Judge Eloff also said, 'As a deterrent, I wish, in imposing the sentence which I have in mind, to send out the message loud and clear to anyone who contemplates assassination of political leaders as an acceptable option, what view the court takes of such conduct.'

Both accused later applied for amnesty from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) Commission but were refused on the basis that they did not tell the whole truth. Derby-Lewis later died of cancer.

In November 2022, the Constitutional Court granted Walus parole after many failed attempts. Limpho Hani condemned the court's decision as 'diabolical'. Initially scheduled for release on 1 December, he was stabbed and wounded in jail on 29 November and his parole delayed. On 7 December 2022, Walus was officially released on parole under 'strict conditions'. His parole period will last for two years, during which time he is barred from leaving South Africa.

The courts heaped praise on the police and prosecution team for what was called the 'painstaking investigation' and the 'elaborate forensic evidence' which was 'comprehensively led by the prosecution'.

If that was the case then why did Appeal Judge Hoexter include the enigmatic phrase 'the known facts, as far as they go'? Was this a model investigation

and prosecution, or was the appeal court's scepticism about whether the whole truth was before the court, a subtle indication that what the people saw in the very public trial was but the tip of the proverbial iceberg?

Several signs that this was an iceberg extending beyond South African waters emerged long before the trial. The role of Peter Jackson, for example. He employed Waluś and loaned him the vehicle he used when he carried out the assassination. This businessman, who travelled on an English passport and had links to several big multinational companies, could have been merely a generous employer, with no idea of the murderous use to which his car would be put. However, an investigative journalist, Evelyn Groenink, who later wrote a book about the murders of Hani and others, looked at the investigation file and found a sinister and unlawful instruction for the police to stay away from Peter Jackson.²

Hani's neighbour, Michael Buchanan, the first person at the murder scene, who identified Waluś and testified at his trial, appeared to be a valuable witness in the prosecution's case. Yet Buchanan was an ex-policeman with dubious connections. How had he come to live so close to Hani? Could it be that he was lured into an area in which others with security connections were living, to keep an eye on Hani's activities? After Buchanan left the police he became a director of a business in the field of Special Force-type skills. He also had connections with a medical business that shared secretarial services with companies linked to Military Intelligence. Did his assistance amount to the degree of complicity required for an accomplice with the common purpose to murder Hani?

The night before Hani was fatally shot he spent some time with a female flight attendant in a hotel near the airport. This was later given wide publicity with the sole purpose of tarnishing Hani's name. That this liaison ever came to light is clear evidence of how closely he was being watched.

And what of the spy Arthur Kemp, who provided the hit list with Hani's name on and sensitive information on him and the other targets?

On the surface, justice was done, and seen to be done in the case of the assassination of Chris Hani. Two men were found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. But burning questions remained. Strong evidence indicated that Janusz Waluś and Clive Derby-Lewis were mere tools in a much wider conspiracy. They got the gun and pulled the trigger. But behind the disaffected Pole and the right-wing South African politician, there was a murky cesspool of international intrigue.

3 | Chris Hani – the best president South Africa never had

‘If you want peace then you must struggle for social justice.’

Chris Hani

Martin Thembisile ‘Chris’ Hani was born on 28 June 1942 in the small town of Cofimvaba, in a rural village called kuSabalele, in the part of the Eastern Cape designated by the apartheid regime the Xhosa Bantustan of Transkei. His younger brother was called Sabalele and he later adopted that appellation as his nom de guerre. Gilbert and Mary Hani had six children, three girls and three boys, with Chris wedged between older brother Mbuyiselo Victor and the youngest, Christopher Nkosana.

Chris’s parents were shattered by his death and died within six years of each other – his mother of what could be called a broken heart, though the medics might find a more prosaic cause. Christopher Nkosana died in Cofimvaba hospital in February 2004 after a short illness. Victor, known affectionately as Dushe, died in September 2007.

In his 1991 autobiography, *My Life*, Hani mentioned the foundations of his political and economic views. ‘My mother was completely illiterate and my father semi-literate. My father was a migrant worker in the mines in the Transvaal, but he subsequently became an unskilled worker in the building industry. Life was quite harsh for us and we went through some hard times as our mother had to supplement the family budget through subsistence farming. She had to bring us up with very little assistance from my father who was always away working for the white capitalists. I had to walk 20 kilometres to school every five days.’

A precocious student, Hani learned to read, write and count before he reached first grade and he twice finished two school grades in a single year. He must have had a photographic memory as once he read a story he could recite it word for word. His teachers at the Zigudu and Sabalele Primary Schools recalled his quest for knowledge and his hunger for truth. In seventh grade he was the highest achiever in a circuit of 37 schools.

His political zeal started at a young age. After hearing his father’s explanations about apartheid and the African National Congress, he wanted to join the ANC at age 12. To nurture his talents properly, his parents enrolled

him at Lovedale College in 1957 to finish his last two years. While there, he signed up for the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) at age 15.

At Lovedale, political debate was stifled by the strict headmaster, Jack Benyon, and students were often in trouble for singing protest songs about Albert Luthuli and other heroes of the struggle for rights for the disenfranchised. Hani's instinct to stand up against injustice was not crushed and he was part of a dormitory protest over the poor quality of the food served in the school.

His later bitter political rival, Thabo Mbeki, was the ANCYL secretary at Lovedale. Their Xhosa teacher, Mac Makalima, recalled the fiery Hani as a student leader and hothead, whose heroes were Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Anton Lembede.

For a man of his intelligence and eagerness to learn, further education was a personal imperative and in 1959 he entered the University of Fort Hare in Alice, Eastern Cape, where he studied English, Latin and modern and classical literature. Although slim and athletic, he forsook all sport, saying that he would reserve his energies to fight apartheid.

His opposition to the Bantu Education Act, which segregated learners by racial classification, was a good example of his early struggles.

In his short autobiography Hani related how he became openly involved in the struggle at the liberal Fort Hare campus. 'It was here that I got exposed to Marxist ideas and the scope and nature of the racist capitalist system. My conversion to Marxism also deepened my non-racial perspective ... My studies of literature further strengthened my hatred of all forms of oppression, persecution and obscurantism. The action of tyrants as portrayed in various literary works also made me hate tyranny and institutionalised oppression. In 1961 I joined the underground South African Communist Party as I realised that national liberation, though essential, would not bring about total economic liberation.'

For a while, Hani remained a devout member of the church, seeing the Party and the church as complementary institutions. As time passed, he began to view the church as indifferent to socio-economic justice for black people, even though he was sure the Bible demanded it.

Hani and his fellow activist students mourned and protested against the 1961 murder of Congolese martyr Patrice Lumumba. At that time, who could have imagined there would be any connection between the killing of Lumumba and the subsequent deaths of United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia Bernt Carlsson – in the Lockerbie tragedy, Namibian human rights lawyer Anton Lubowski and Hani himself?

The 20-year-old Hani graduated from Fort Hare in classics and legal studies and moved to Cape Town (where his father Gilbert was living) to serve

articles with the law firm Schaeffer and Schaeffer. Hani was not only highly intelligent but a handsome man with charisma and energy. This combination of qualities has always attracted electorates throughout the world.

Hani's love of women would find its first expression in Judy Thunyiso from Alice, with whom he would have a child, Cleopatra. We do not know much about Cleo, save that she has an aptly named son Aluta (struggle).

In Cape Town, Hani connected with his father and his uncle Milton Hani, who lived in Kayamandi Township outside Stellenbosch. Chris worked under Govan Mbeki, the ANC leader in the Cape Province, and entered trade union and political activity with the Food and Canning Workers Union in Plein Street. He also was involved with the ANC newspaper *The New Age*, at whose helm white activist Brian Bunting was publishing courageous articles about political and economic discrimination.

During this time, Hani also met firebrand James April, who was to join him in the first significant military attack on the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, later known as the Wankie Campaign, in which both earned accolades as brave and resourceful fighters.

Nothing was too much trouble for Hani. He helped workers with their various problems at the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) (which was later to be banned). Given his ideology, he saw labour struggles as part of the quest to seek liberation for the oppressed and channelled his energies between the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP).

Reacting to the oppression in the Cape, he was involved in projects such as printing pamphlets urging blacks to rise up and overthrow the existing order. The Security Police were quick to pounce. He was arrested and dragged off to court. Activists received little sympathy from the conservative courts and Hani was found guilty and sentenced to two years' imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was granted bail pending an appeal against his conviction and sentence.

At the end of 1963, while on bail, Hani decided to go to the Soviet Union for military training. On his way there he met Joe Modise, who would later become his nemesis and a suspect in his murder. Modise was a streetwise fighter from Alexandra township in Johannesburg, and headed the newly formed MK. Built like a professional wrestler, Modise was a huge man who tried to dominate all he met with his vulgar township *tsotsitaal* and bullying manner.

In his memoir, Hani wrote about his decision to adopt military means to overthrow the apartheid regime and the dangers it posed. 'In 1962, having recognised the intransigence of the racist regime, I joined the fledgling MK. This was the beginning of my long road in the armed struggle in which there have been three abortive assassination attempts against me personally.'

In the Soviet Union, Hani entered the Lenin Institute in Moscow and

immersed himself in the rigorous political and military training. He also managed to take in cultural delights, enjoying opera and ballet. In February 1969, Thabo Mbeki also entered the Lenin Institute, where his presence and that of other fellow South Africans was kept secret. They each worked with a nom de guerre. Mbeki was referred to as 'Jack Fortune' and his friend Ann Nicholson was 'Jenny Wood'. The third South African with them was Ahmed Timol, who was given the name 'Paul'. Four years later he would be killed after being tortured in police custody.¹

Others at the Lenin Institute included Paul Bjarnason, a Canadian who later wrote about his impressions of Mbeki's abilities to write well and speak even better. However, he did find Mbeki's 'colossal ego ... wearying after a while'. He was particularly irritated by Mbeki's claim that he was to be the first black president of the new democratic South Africa. So vexed was Paul and his comrades by this that they raided his bedroom and indulged in an orgy of tickling the boaster, warning him that the South African police authorities would not be so gentle.²

During November 1964 Hani completed his studies and set off to return to Africa. He landed up in an ANC camp housed in the disused outbuildings at Kongwa in Tanzania, a country then under the dynamic and inspirational leadership of Julius Nyerere. With him were Ambrose Makiwane and Lennox Lagu.

Hani was always hungry for an opportunity to take on the apartheid foe in military fashion and he approached ANC Acting President Oliver Tambo, Joe Modise and the communists Moses Mabhida, JB Marks and Joe Slovo with suggestions of finding a way into South Africa through the bushland of then Rhodesia. His aggressive style was to contrast with those in the ANC bent on setting up an administration in exile, including Thabo Mbeki's drive to secure international strength from his safe base at the University of Sussex.

As Smith and Tromp were to highlight in their book, 'Presciently, [Hani] feared the unravelling of the meritocracy within the ANC's top structures, which was slowly becoming apparent, first in Dar es Salaam and then in Morogoro, where the movement moved its headquarters. This troubled Hani who was alarmed by the passive nature of some within the administration, and their seeming lack of devotion to the armed struggle, which had been such a hard-won decision at Lobatse.'³

Hani tried his best to develop a fighting spirit at Kongwa, even starting a newspaper *Dawn*, which included news of events in South Africa and political comment to stir up passion for the struggle. While there he had a relationship with a young white woman journalist from Britain. There was talk of other liaisons and, in Lusaka, Hani entered into a passionate relationship with another British woman, which lasted till the end of his days.

Circumstances at Kongwa were spartan if not downright impoverished,

with Hani making valiant efforts to encourage agriculture and upgrade the buildings. This contrasted starkly with the plush surroundings of the ANC leadership in London and Lusaka, and led to the eventual blow-up between the two factions.

Smith and Tromp said, 'Although the ANC leadership, particularly Tambo, Marks and Mabhida, visited Kongwa fairly regularly, the difference between their lives in houses allocated to the movement in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro became more and more disturbing within the ranks. Rumours spread about the suspected high life of members of the NEC.'

The authors described how National Executive Committee (NEC) members danced and dined at hotels with white women. Cadres who operated clandestinely in Zambia returned with reports that Kenneth Kaunda had dubbed some in the NEC 'chicken-in-the-basket revolutionaries'. 'Telephone revolutionaries' was another insult meted out to the armchair soldiers.⁴

In 1966, ANC Acting President Oliver Tambo summoned the trusted MK commander Archie Sibeko to his office in Dar es Salaam. He explained it was time for a change as the apartheid enemy was strengthening its grip politically and militarily. Perhaps a joint operation with other liberation organisations, especially in southern Africa, would pave the way to secure cadre infiltration routes. This involved a joint ANC-ZAPU campaign into Rhodesia using their military wings MK and ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army), and Hani was selected as one of the commanders. Sibeko was sent to find weapons in Tunis, which were directed to their destination – Lusaka, Zambia, where Hani and his unit were waiting. Hani was staying in the Lusaka suburb of Lilanda, where the ANC, FRELIMO and MPLA all had residences.

By the end of 1966 the attack was well under way, with the young lions, particularly Hani, eager to see some action. Hani, a ZIPRA commander and John Dube (who had become close to Hani) planned the Wankie campaign. At that time, subsequent to Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), the bush war had been largely conducted by Rhodesian African Rifles (RAR), a black infantry regiment officered by whites. This was a well disciplined force dating back more than 50 years, and it became the main adversary of Hani's Luthuli Detachment.

The campaign began in the winter of August 1967, and the plan was for the Luthuli Detachment to enter the Wankie Game Reserve (now Hwange National Park) and establish effective infiltration routes to South Africa. The contingent Hani led consisted of 100 men, but he soon realised their arms were insufficient to deal with the insurgency. Requests to Joe Modise for more weapons were flatly denied and it was only a request to Tambo that saw the arms augmented. The early skirmish with the burly Modise was but a prelude to more acrimony between the idealistic Hani and the unscrupulous

MK commander. First, the Luthuli group had to cross the Zambezi River in inflatables and then take on the Rhodesian forces in the wild forest areas. On 2 August 1967, one of the most heroic and ill-fated missions of the ANC began. It illustrated how courage could ultimately not overcome superior manpower.

Hani and his comrades battled on for two weeks with diminished rations and finally engaged with the enemy, forcing them to flee. The food left behind by the Rhodesian troops was eaten with relish. The forces ranged against them included Buccaneer Jet Planes, helicopters and all the armaments a modern army could muster. There was a second engagement where the seriously outnumbered Luthuli Detachment inflicted serious damage on the foes, with legendary Selous Scout commander Ron Reid-Daly calling the engagement a disaster, recognising the military courage and skill of Hani and his men.

Albie Sachs recorded his impressions of Hani and the stature he acquired from the campaign. He said he sensed a 'very close understanding between Chris Hani and OR Tambo – a great moral and personal respect that each had for the other'. Wankie turned Hani into 'an admired leader ... he'd been in combat and now had a different kind of authority, an unofficial, intangible sense of authority'.

Sachs said one of the outstanding things about Nelson Mandela was that he 'stood out, physically – he had a kind of stature'. Hani also had that standout quality. 'You know that excitement when a person like that enters a room. They have an allure, a charisma. He had physical courage, intellectual clarity, a strong sense of morality.'

Smith and Tromp summed up this new image. 'When he spoke later about the fighting, Hani believed this was indeed the moment at which the detachment was transformed into a fighting force. The men's reaction to the enemy attack recognised courage and faith, he would later say. And the initial triumph also gave hope to those fighting for liberation all across Africa, echoing throughout South Africa and inspiring a new generation. The legend of Chris Hani was born.'⁵

Journalist and author Terry Bell interpreted Wankie as 'a suicidal venture', and claimed many of those who fought in the campaign, including Chris Hani, became 'convinced the organisation had basically deserted them, that the ANC leadership had sent them there to get killed'.⁶ Four men who escaped from the campaign wrote a document criticising Wankie as an operation staged 'to get rid of unwanted dissenters', and especially those critical of the 'Tambo, Kotane, Nokwe, Modise clique', who they accused of treating 'the lives of freedom fighters as a cheap commodity'. The Wankie campaigns, they insisted, were designed for the ANC's 'own prestige and material benefit'.⁷

Details of the various battles would establish Hani as a hero, but Tambo realised the odds were totally against the Luthuli Detachment and he would

call it a 'heroic failure'. To sum up: Hani and his brave 100 soldiers had taken on the Rhodesian Army and ended up in jail in Botswana for illegally entering the country. His courage and expertise in the Luthuli Detachment earned him a formidable reputation and led to his later adulation as a leader. He moved on to Lesotho where he organised guerrilla operations of MK in South Africa.

While Hani had engaged in several sexual liaisons, as MK's commander he shunned the fleshpots and other benefits enjoyed by the leadership, being acutely aware of the deprivations that the common soldiers suffered. In 1969 he produced and signed, with six others, the 'Hani Memorandum' which was strongly critical of the leadership of Joe Modise and others in the ANC's top echelons. This was to lead to rancour and enmity between the two camps that would never really fade.

Hani met his future wife Limpho in 1973 when she was attending a tourist conference in Zambia. The attraction was immediate and within a year they had married. There was no fancy wedding for the freedom fighter and his lovely bride; just a quick visit to the magistrate's court sealed a deep and passionate bond.

4 | Further suspects and motives

‘It is a capital mistake to theorize before one has data. Insensibly one begins to twist facts to suit theories, instead of theories to suit facts.’

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *A Scandal In Bohemia*

Arthur Kemp provided Gaye Derby-Lewis with the hit list of nine names, headed by Mandela, with Hani at number 3. The appeal court dealt unnecessarily charitably with his evidence. Judge Hoexter said, ‘The description of the elaborate security devices installed at the Mandela residence (and to a lesser extent at the home of Joe Slovo) [on the hit list] excites suspicion as to the purpose for which Kemp’s list was designed. Such technical data would seem to be of more immediate interest to an intruder bent on access unannounced and by stealth, rather than to a journalist hoping to achieve a formal interview with the house-owner, and an opportunity of examining the sumptuous interior which she thought might confront her critical eye.’

The judge further said, ‘However, Kemp testified that he had furnished this additional information unasked and on his own initiative. In passing I am constrained to say that his explanation for the inclusion thereof appears to be somewhat lame.’

Why was his role not investigated more thoroughly given that he had even laid out the security features of the targets and incurred the mild scepticism of the Appeal Court?

During the TRC hearings, Gaye Derby-Lewis referred to a statement by a Mr Botha who was a member of the National Intelligence Service (NIS). In paragraph 3 on page 1 of the statement, the following appears: ‘Information corresponding to the so-called hit-list found in the flat of Waluś was reported to division 052 by agent Z0066 (Jerry Pieterse who fronted as a freelance reporter) who received it from sub-source 46 (Arthur Kemp) who was not aware of his link to NIS through Pieterse, nor was he a registered agent of NIS. Pieterse was handled as a principal agent who ran his own network of sub-sources, mainly journalists or stringers for major national and international newspapers. The sub-sources communicated their reports to Pieterse by computer.’

Gaye explained further she had asked Kemp about this and he said Pieterse had approached him and asked him to write about the right wing and that he would give him some money. Kemp said he was battling financially at the time and he could use the money, but he claimed he wasn’t aware that

Pieterse was a NIS agent. Pieterse told him he had some kind of an international press network. The point of mentioning this, so Gaye explained, was that it proved journalists were well known as agents.

Gaye also insisted that when Kemp received her list, he sent it to Pieterse as part of his general information gathering about right-wing circles. Although she maintains Pieterse threw it away, it does show Kemp's links with National Intelligence. This connection makes it very possible that the shortened list with the security features came back from National Intelligence.

Gaye referred to paragraph 4.1 where Botha, who was obviously an agent, informed Major General Johan le Roux of the South African Police (SAP) on 11 April 1993 of the NIS members' contact with Waluś. She again downplayed the role of le Roux and suggested he did not respond to it. This is further confirmation of the strong links between Waluś, the Derby-Lewises and Intelligence. She claimed to have nothing to do with the apparent use of Hani's address on the list by her husband and Waluś. Asked who had given her Hani's and the other addresses, she mentioned that a friend in the NIS, Arthur Kemp, had assisted her.

Kemp was born 14 September 1962 in what was known then as Southern Rhodesia and now Zimbabwe.¹ He studied at the University of Cape Town from 1980 to 1984, during which time he was twice elected to the Students' Representative Council and started an ultra-conservative group, called the Moderate Students' Movement. He completed his degree at the University of South Africa (Unisa), obtaining a BA in public administration, political science and international politics.

In December 1984 until 2 January 1989 Kemp completed his compulsory national service with the South African Police (SAP). Given his right-wing tendencies it was not surprising that Kemp worked as a journalist for *The Citizen*, a newspaper started with the intention of supporting conservative views.

In 1987 he joined the Conservative Party of South Africa, helping Gaye Derby-Lewis with her election in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, during the general election. Based on this interaction, he was offered a position as a journalist with the party newspaper *Die Patriot*, which also enjoyed the services of Gaye Derby-Lewis. In 1990, he wrote a glowing history of the white supremacist AWB. Founded in 1970, the AWB was created to establish a new Boer nation that would preserve white rule. In the 1980s and 1990s, the group was implicated in terrorist violence against anti-apartheid activists.²

In his book *The Lie of Apartheid and Other True Stories from Southern Africa*, Kemp insisted that 'those people who occupy a territory determine the nature of the society in that region'. Even the white supremacist and racist views of the Conservative Party were not radical enough for him and he and several other members of the Conservative Party were expelled in 1992.

After giving evidence in the Hani trial he fled to the United Kingdom in 1996. Once in England he became an organiser and leader of ideological training for the 'Voting Members' group within the fascist, whites-only British National Party (BNP). That same year, the British anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* reported that Kemp had addressed a neo-Nazi meeting in Germany.

Kemp was part of plan to build a new elite within the BNP loyal to its leadership, particularly party chairman Nick Griffin, who often travelled to the US to attend white supremacist events and solicit funds for his party.

In 1999, Kemp published his vast racist tract *March of the Titans: The Complete History of the White Race*. In this rambling tome Kemp postulated four ways through which a nation's population could vanish, which are redolent of Nazi propaganda.

Kemp took 'immigration today as a racial issue which sees masses of non-whites from around the globe immigrating to white countries'. He envisaged the results as little short of apocalyptic.

In his book of 2013 titled *Nova Europa – European Survival Strategy in a Darkening World*, Kemp described the creation of an 'Ethno state', an exclusive home for white European people which prohibits integration with any strangers.

We do not know much about Kemp's private life save that he was married to Karen and later divorced. Karen described Arthur as 'work-shy' and always busy with his book. He had not contested custody or even guardianship of the children nor paid much maintenance. Also, he had no contact with one child, Stephan, who had strong views about his father's betrayal. Stephan recognised the evil his father had done, writing, 'This human (if you can even call him that) should be deported back to South Africa and jailed.' In other posts Stephan called his father a 'racist ass' and a lousy father.

In March 2011, Kemp resigned from all positions in the party to concentrate on his own publishing house, Ostara Publications, which claims to be a publisher of Eurocentric material, a likely euphemism for race hatred and fascism. A perusal of the books by Kemp reveals his hatred of all who are not white. Kemp and his books became favourites on the white supremacist forum Stormfront, where he occasionally weighed in on various topics.

It was through his research for *March of the Titans* that Kemp first came into contact with the American neo-Nazi National Alliance. While reading up on 'white history,' he ran across the late Alliance founder William Pierce's series of racial stereotypes, 'Who We Are,' which was published in the group's *Attack* and *National Vanguard* magazines. In 2000, a fellow South African military man, Sam van Rensburg, told Alliance members that Kemp shared these views.

In 2007 the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) reported that Kemp

had taken a senior position within the Alliance. In a 2016 report they stated that he had worked as the Alliance's media director during the mid-2000s. The report said that Kemp denied this but that they had wire transfers showing money being sent to Kemp's South African bank account.³

Furthermore, it was reported that Kemp had visited the Alliance's West Virginia headquarters and several of the group's other chapters over two years. He also writes for and helps to edit the Alliance's *National Vanguard* magazine, as well as drafting speeches and radio essays for its leader.

Kemp is a zealous advocate of trying to build stronger alliances between white supremacists in America and Europe and has ties to other European white supremacist organisations. In the United States, Kemp's fame rests on his sarcastic racist essay, *An Apology to the Black Man from the White Race*, which found favour with radical white supremacists. In 1995, the Southern Baptist Convention had apologised for slavery, to which Kemp responded with a mocking 'apology' to blacks for 'teaching you how to read and write' and 'for building you thousands of schools which we have repaired after you vandalized them and burned them down'.

Kemp continued to enjoy support from the National Alliance and regularly wrote for them from 2005. So appreciative was the right-wing group that he was awarded the Dr William Pierce Award for Investigative Journalism for his article in *National Vanguard*, 'White South Africa: What Went Wrong?', winning a \$250 prize.

So vehement were Kemp's views that it is not inconceivable that he considered the death of Chris Hani as the beginning of a race war that would see democracy delayed or even prevented.

In seeking further suspects and motives for the assassination of Chris Hani and others, we come across equally apocalyptic conservative 'solutions' to the prospect of black majority rule that would sit most comfortably with Kemp's neo-Nazi ideology.

We must also consider the positions occupied by Clive Derby-Lewis to see if they give any clues as to the real puppet masters in the killing of Hani. Derby-Lewis was connected to a number of right-wing groups, including one he set up in 1985, the Stallard Foundation, which advocated a return to pure racist apartheid as designed by Hendrik Verwoerd. There was talk he had received financial contributions from Waluś in this endeavour and he recruited East Europeans for this racist, anti-communist body. Mention was made of the Stallard Foundation in the EIR article published less than six weeks after Hani's murder.

Derby-Lewis was an honorary vice-president of another conservative reactionary group, the Western Goals Institute (WGI), based in London. WGI had its beginnings in the United States and was alleged to have been involved in the Iran Contra scandal of the Reagan years with Colonel Oliver

North. More sinister was the notion that it was involved in stockpiling arms and using British Army veterans to train white South African mercenaries to prevent an ANC takeover.

In June 1992, WGI announced it was offering 'self-defence training' to white people in South Africa to enable them to protect themselves from the 'ANC terrorist onslaught'. Derby-Lewis explained the training would be under his own direction and it would be conducted by professional soldiers who had served with the South African Defence Force, the former Rhodesian Army and Britain's Special Air Services. The WGI claimed to be devoted to protecting the 'Western way of life' and to have offices in London and Krugersdorp (West Rand) in South Africa.⁴

There were well founded fears that South Africa could fail to achieve a full non-racial democracy because of these conservative fanatics. In an answer to the WGI announcement of 'self-defence training' for whites, on July 1992, Chris Hani called on MK to teach black people to defend themselves, saying that the Nationalist Government was counteracting mass action with violence.

It is notable that Clive Derby-Lewis continued to serve on the President's Council even after he was accused of Chris Hani's murder, until that body's demise on 20 June 1993.

Speaking at a rally in Pietermaritzburg, Hani said the withdrawal of ANC/Cosatu/SACP from the national negotiations at the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was his happiest day since 1990 and that Codesa had been destroying the liberation movement.⁵ At that stage the anti-democratic organisations were ensuring, through fair means and foul, that no progress was to be made. The forces fighting peacefully for democracy were lined up against those determined to stop it by any means.

An intriguing leadership figure in WGI was Sir Patrick Wall, member of the conservative Monday Club in Britain and possible founder of the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR).

5 | Six similar sinister scandals

‘Every political killing is committed to prevent a political future which can be avoided by no other means.’

SM Sigerson, *The Assassination of Michael Collins: What Happened at Béal na mBláth?*

There is a Setswana saying, ‘*Molato ga o bole*’ which means some crimes do not go away. One such crime is the murder of Chris Hani on 10 April 1993. South Africa’s first democratic president, President Nelson Mandela, made a speech on being awarded the Chris Hani Award on 1 July 1998. He eulogised Hani’s role in the birth of the new dispensation and said, ‘The enemies of change demonised Chris to the end, helping to create the climate in which our nation was robbed of one of its giants ...’

This book attempts to dig out the truth and discover who the ‘enemies of change’ were who contributed to his murder. In other words, we are probing the facilitators or, as the law speaks of them, the accomplices who helped plan and carry out Hani’s gruesome murder. This leads us across the world and across generations.

Apart from Chris Hani’s murder, we deal with five others, spread over three decades: Patrice Lumumba in September 1961; Dag Hammarskjöld on 18 September 1961; Olof Palme on 28 February 1986; Bernt Carlsson on 21 December 1988; and Anton Lubowski on 12 September 1989.

As is apparent, 25 years separated the first two murders from the others, but thereafter the others occurred within seven years. There are two groups: those who were assassinated by gunmen on the ground, that is, Lumumba, Hani, Lubowski and Palme; and those who died as a result of air crashes, Hammarskjöld and Carlsson.

In the normal course of events, the fact that an accused committed another crime is irrelevant and inadmissible. However, the law has on occasion admitted evidence of other offences that show the accused has acted in a similar way before and is therefore more likely to have done what is alleged against him. This is then called a similar fact case.

Just by way of explanation, one classic case is the *Rex v Smith* ‘brides in the bath’ case in 1915. The accused, Arthur Smith, had committed multiple bigamy offences and three of his wealthy brides had died after alleged epileptic attacks in their baths. In each case, Smith stood to inherit his bride’s estate. Although he could only be tried for his last wife’s murder, the prosecution

used evidence of the deaths of the other two wives to establish Smith's crime pattern. He was found guilty and sentenced to death.

To simplify the telling of this exposé, the deaths of Lumumba and Hammarskjöld will be referred to as the first two similar fact killings. The subsequent deaths are examined as further cases of similar fact evidence.

Patrice Lumumba, first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) when it achieved independence from Belgium in 1960, had a passionate desire to keep Congo's wealth for the people. He was assassinated in 1961.

United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld espoused the ideal that the wealth of a country should be for the benefit of the people of that country. When corporate and other forces sought to oust Lumumba and defeat his socialist agenda, Hammarskjöld intervened. His mission was to assist the Congo achieve its potential after independence. He died in a plane crash in 1961 outside Ndola, Zambia. Most evidence points to a bomb on the plane or some other foul play.

The third victim and example of a similar fact case was that of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, an avid anti-apartheid activist who raised funds for the anti-apartheid movement. In 1986 he was assassinated while on his way home from a movie.

In December 1988, Bernt Carlsson, United Nations deputy secretary-general, the fourth similar fact case, was persuaded to stop over in London on his way to the US. He then boarded Pan Am Flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie in Scotland, killing all on board. Carlsson was also commissioner-general for South West Africa – occupied Namibia – and was leading the process for independence.

For 20 years before South Africa's illegal rule ended, huge mining companies, horrified at the prospect of majority rule, proceeded to tear the biggest alluvial diamonds from the coastal sands and whip them out of the country. Carlsson was determined to take on the big companies and sue them for the wealth and resources being looted from Namibia in breach of United Nations law.

The last and fifth similar fact case relates to Windhoek advocate Anton Lubowski. He was working assiduously for the new Namibia's future, including its mineral wealth, when he was gunned down outside his home in 1989. It seems that there were those who could not tolerate the future he was planning for the country.

Although these killings occurred over a 30-year period, the motives and patterns of behaviour of the culprits may assist in locating the accomplices in Hani's murder.

No one could have expressed it better than Irish author SM Sigerson, author of the book on Michael Collins, quoted at the start of this chapter, when he said, 'History repeats itself as do the methods used by those specialising

in the elimination of leaders who unite people into a strong force for dignity, justice and self-determination.'

Mandela spoke of Hani as a brave and dedicated fighter for liberation, in his capacity as an ordinary cadre and soldier; as political leader; and finally as Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff. No doubt his being a dedicated fighter for liberation would have earned him many enemies in the white conservative establishment – in the ranks of the Nationalist Government and its sinister agencies. Hani embraced peaceful negotiations but also vowed to equalise society and bring into effect the Freedom Charter's socialist aims. This would bring into consideration a second group of suspects who feared his economic goals – the captains of industry with their vast wealth.

And then there was the possibility of a third group: Hani's rivals and enemies within the ANC, who were jostling for the right to inherit the mantle from the ANC's ageing patriarch.

We investigate whether the circumstances preceding the murders of Lumumba and the others were so similar that we may justifiably conclude the same motives and imperatives were at play with Hani. In each case, apart from Olof Palme, the victims were activists, campaigning for a just redistribution of the country's wealth in the years preceding and following independence from colonial rule.

Of course, after analysing the earlier similar fact categories, we have to investigate whether the murder of Hani was sufficiently similar to allow us to conclude who his killers might be. For Hani political liberation was never enough as votes could not put bread on the table. His devotion to 'total economic liberation' was of supreme importance to him all his life and this factor may well have been the main reason for his assassination.

There is one predominating theme in that all these slain heroes were striving to take on the rich and powerful and redistribute wealth to the citizens of the African continent, more especially the Democratic Republic of Congo, Namibia and South Africa.

Consider, for example, the international interest in ensuring the treasures of South Africa were not redistributed among the country's people. Eminent historian Francis Wilson called South Africa the World's Jewellery Box and said for over 100 years South Africa was the leading producer of a large number of strategic minerals.¹ There were warnings about what would happen should these treasures be threatened; from secret documents in the US National Security Council archives, planning a world with US access to strategic resources, to a report by Stephen Burgess in May 2011 for the US Air War College in Alabama. Similar sentiments were expressed on the British side when Leo Amery's son Julian stated quite explicitly how important Africa's riches were to Britain. Information Scandal mastermind Eschel Rhoodie was to predict how the different countries would react to the ghastly notion of

spreading corporate wealth among the wider population. At their broadest, these patterns saw a decolonisation process taking place while colonial powers strove to keep wealth, even if they had to give up political power.

Of course, the theory of similar fact evidence is posited on an accused who is involved in all the offences. Given the time span of 30 years, it would be most unlikely that one or more individuals could have been involved in all the deaths. So that leaves the possibility that the accused in question is either an organisation or company. In addition, we have to probe the possible involvement of the intelligence agencies in the various countries concerned.

Big companies do not necessarily have killing squads on board, so should they decide to embark on such ventures, they are reliant on outside agencies. Cooperation between Big Business and the state, more especially its intelligence and security agencies, also needs to be scrutinised.

Some economists have noted that capitalism only thrives when it is closely allied to the state. Others suggest that the political dimension of the forces within society has never outweighed corporate power.

From the mid-1980s, the South African military established a sinister hit squad known as the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), which was alleged to have committed murder and mayhem. If members of the CCB were involved in some of the murders we are investigating, which were to the economic benefit of companies, it would make the case for corporate/state collusion much stronger.

Companies can be charged in criminal courts for murder and the individuals who were complicit are liable. Experts on psychopathy acknowledge that a company can be a dangerous predator and that given the urgent need to accumulate wealth, the captains of industry may go to any lengths to destroy their competitors.

In the case of Chris Hani, we need to know if Janusz Waluś and Clive Derby-Lewis belonged to any organisation. What would intrigue any investigator into the real movers behind Hani's death would be whether Waluś answered truthfully at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) when asked if he responded to an advertisement for employment with the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR) and whether he joined the organisation. If he lied, what secret projects were he and SAIMR involved in and who were its backers?

We have noted the allegations in the *Executive Intelligence Review* article of 14 May 1993, entitled 'Did British intelligence kill Hani?', in which the authors examined the background to his murder and possible suspects. We learned there that 'according to South African intelligence sources, Janusz Waluś was intimately associated with the South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR) ...'.

We must not forget, as mentioned earlier, that 'according to a November 1990 article in the *Sunday Times* of London, SAIMR was founded as a

mercenary group of elite special forces people operating throughout Africa. An investigation by one South African intelligence agency determined that SAIMR was a front for Britain's MI6.'

When you commit serious crimes, you have to be careful in covering your tracks. At the time of the TRC in South Africa, the new National Intelligence Agency (NIA) was tasked with making available their records to help solve apartheid killings. One of the most significant finds in seeking the real perpetrators of the Hani killing occurred because one NIA official, when sanitising a most important file, left some 12 documents inside the manila folder.

When TRC investigator Christelle Terreblanche was asked to investigate Hani's murder she found key documents missing – but information on SAIMR and the killing of Hammarskjöld were in the file. If SAIMR was involved in both the killing of Hammarskjöld and Hani, then an important link would be established with all the cases.

There is a strange and sinister link between SAIMR and the campaign to sabotage majority rule in South Africa. AIDS has had devastating consequences around the world but especially in Southern Africa. Of the 40 million who have died of the pandemic, more than half come from this region and more than 6 million from South Africa alone. Horrifying as the suggestion might be, allegations emerged that HIV was being spread by malign forces to reduce the black population so that whites might stay in power.

The most serious allegations relate to the role of SAIMR and its mastermind 'Dr' Keith Maxwell. If the organisation was prepared to go to such obscene lengths to stop a black majority at the non-racial elections, carrying out the murder of Hani was a relatively simple task.

Of great interest are the organisations or companies behind SAIMR and its resurrection after World War II. Working for SAIMR were two young girls, Debbie Campbell and Dagmar Feil, who both died mysterious deaths. Their role in the organisation was allegedly the laudable search for an AIDS cure but there was a dark side to their lives.

Other factors also suggest that the whole truth was not told at the trial of Waluś and Derby-Lewis. Waluś was arrested on 10 April 1993, within minutes of shooting Hani. Neighbours of Hani told the police of a second possible killer, who had dark 'Mediterranean' features and drove a separate car at the time of the incident. In the EIR article this allegation was corroborated. What was to fascinate one investigative journalist was the determination of the prosecution not to lead this evidence in the trial.

Many have wondered for years why Waluś did not tell the truth to the TRC and so gain amnesty. The only possible reason was that he feared for his life if he did so. Four days after his arrest, two mysterious security officers spent some 11 hours persuading Waluś not to disclose who was really behind the killing of Hani.

The search for accomplices in the killing of Chris Hani might well implicate Martin Carl van Zyl, whose car number was on the hit list found in Walus's flat. It also would possibly implicate a mysterious businessman, Peter Jackson, whose car was used for the hit on Hani.

Then there are the possible rivals in the ANC. If for instance, members of the ANC Omega Strike Unit arranged for Hani's bodyguards to be off duty, knowing that the purpose was to expose Hani to more danger, they would be guilty of murder as accomplices. Obviously, the key element is knowledge of the reason for which each individual act was being performed.

Mandela praised Hani for his courage during the struggle years – especially during the Wankie campaign. After that brave but impossible task, Hani penned the famous memorandum that criticised Thabo Mbeki and Joe Modise for their armchair role in the ANC's fight for liberation. That memo was to leave a festering sore in the relations between those three which never healed.

In the early 1990s, the negotiations between the ANC and the Nationalists focused on two important issues: the twin fears of the Nationalists and Big Business, namely, nationalising the economy and Nuremberg-style trials for the apartheid killers. Providing motives for Hani's death would be his incorruptibility and opposition to money-making ANC activities such as the Arms Deal. Was there any truth in the allegations that Joe Modise, Mbeki and others received bribes from the British Government-owned British Aerospace (BAe) and the German ship building companies?

Apartheid security operatives have given their accounts of what happened during those tumultuous times. Gunter Schickelgruber, the pen name of one such operative, JG Scholte, wrote a book and reproduced devastating messages that passed from a military intelligence officer to his handlers, with deadly evidence of the architects behind Hani's killing.

The death of Chris Hani was to see the end of any hopes of wealth redistribution in South Africa. The result was a compact that saw the white elite retain their wealth, the black elite become rich and the majority very poor. Although it is the richest resource country in the world, South Africa has the biggest gap between rich and poor.

O Africa! How blessed in its people! How cursed in its rulers! I have searched unsuccessfully for the author of this quote, which summarises how corrupt many African leaders have been at the time of emancipation from colonial rule.

Industry bigwigs and apartheid mandarins must have applauded the death of Hani, as it left the way clear for Mbeki to bring about the Arms Deal, secure the bribes attached to that, stop prosecutions of the apartheid criminals and halt nationalisation of the economy. The death of Hani paved the way for Thabo Mbeki to become deputy president and, after Mandela retired, president of the Republic of South Africa.

6 | Was there a wider network?

‘The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and the monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole ...’

The Freedom Charter, drafted at Kliptown, South Africa in June 1955

Behind the two convicted murderers of Hani’s assassination there was a murky cesspool of international intrigue.

Hani was seen as a serious threat to the enormous profits derived from the riches of the Southern African earth. For at least a century, this bounty had been moved offshore, by hook or by crook, to international banks and other institutions – leaving little for those who actually live and work the land of their birth. Hani considered this behaviour criminal. The wealth of the land had to be shared among those who lived on it. This the freebooters could not tolerate. Hani had to go. He was to join several others who had dared to stand in the way of corporate and state greed.

Judge Hoexter spoke of ‘the known facts, as far as they go...’ in the Hani murder trial, leaving the question as to what lay hidden. Journalist Evelyn Groenink interviewed head of the Boksburg Murder and Robbery Squad, Chief Inspector Michael Holmes – the man who cracked the Hani case.

Asked about a wider conspiracy he said, ‘I treated the case on the basis of the evidence and there was so much evidence it was easy to convict Waluś. The Security Police were tasked to look at the possibility of a conspiracy and they said they did not find anything. I agreed on the basis of their report.’ The Security Police were the worst agency to probe a wider conspiracy as they may well have been implicated themselves.

Was Holmes correct when he closed the case, or was his investigation suspect and influenced by other sinister forces? If he was wrong, the most important question becomes whether there are other facts and if so, whether there has been a deep cover-up of those who engineered the operation.

The TRC was set up to begin to deal with the horrors of South Africa’s past. In broad terms, if a perpetrator of violence told the TRC the whole truth and their crimes were politically motivated, they would receive amnesty from prosecution. One might add a proportionality provision, which emphasised that the means used to achieve the political aim had to bear some reasonable relationship to the ends sought. The amnesty process was also available to those convicted before the TRC law came into operation. A person convicted and later found to have complied with the amnesty requirements could be released.

But as already stated, both Waluś and Derby-Lewis were refused amnesty because they did not tell the whole truth.

Writing about the assassination of Chris Hani, SACP General Secretary Jeremy Cronin opposed parole for both Waluś and Derby-Lewis. He questioned why Derby-Lewis covered up for his wife since she was not at risk of imprisonment. 'So why this cover-up which probably cost them the chance of amnesty? It's possible they were denying her role in order to protect a much wider network.'¹

What was this much wider network? Four days after his arrest, Waluś was interrogated from 7pm until 5am by two clever and unscrupulous security officers. He was alternatively grilled and seduced, some of the time with alcohol, to remain silent about who was behind his murder of Hani.

Waluś's lengthy stay in jail was the result of his failure to name the men behind the murders. What could have been the reason he refused to divulge their identities? To the cynical the only reason must have been that his life would not have been worth a 'plugged nickel' if he had named his controllers.

Mention has been made of the chief suspects in this enquiry: the intelligence community in South Africa, including the police and the military, the corporate sector and, finally, any rivals within the ANC itself.

If we are looking at the corporate sector and assessing whether they had a motive to kill Hani we have to look at his economic ideology. Hani was head of the SA Communist Party and was promising to carry out the redistribution clauses of the Freedom Charter.

Among the many clauses, the economic rights were most important and required that the 'people shall share in the country's wealth'. So, there was to be a general nationalisation of the wealth of the country, which had been plundered by the colonists. That was followed by clauses that would have sent shivers down the spines of the white capitalists of South Africa. 'The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and the monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole ...' Clearly the makers of the Charter had identified where the main sources of wealth were situated in the country.

Having identified the key industries for redistribution, other sectors were addressed. 'All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people ...' The economy was to be controlled by labour legislation and had to provide for trade unions and progressive taxation so that all would benefit. Finally, equality of opportunity was entrenched to ban forever the apartheid job reservation curse that restricted certain positions for whites.

At that time Africans were restricted to less than 13% of the land and the Charter made drastic changes. It sounded the death knell to the iniquitous 1913 Land Act and the subsequent Group Areas legislation. 'The land shall be shared among those who work it.'

The independence of South Africa is guaranteed in the Charter, as are rights to happiness. The Charter ends with an exhortation to 'all who love their people and their country' to 'fight side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty'.

The Freedom Charter is still regarded as the ANC's foundational document. President Cyril Ramaphosa is a good example of how fervent the leadership was about implementing its precepts. He was a fiery student who was detained for lengthy periods but never brought to court. He founded the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and became its general secretary. The NUM challenged the mining companies with massive strikes in the mid-1980s and more than 25,000 miners were dismissed.

In his biography of Ramaphosa,² Anthony Butler noted that in 1985 he was already sensitive to the wider constraints within which employers and workers negotiate.³

Writing about the mid-1980s Butler said, 'If Ramaphosa never underwent a sudden conversion to the Freedom Charter, he did nevertheless begin to act according to its premises ... He was soon to embrace certain communistic ideas while steering around their political implications, just as he was later able to become a financier and businessman without jettisoning his avowed socialist ideas.'⁴

From the mid-eighties a series of tentative meetings took place between the ANC and various delegations from South Africa. These will be described in greater detail but it is necessary at this stage to deal with the attitudes of Thabo Mbeki as he was to have such an influence on the future of the country.

The meetings were sponsored by mining house Consgold and others and the economic dispensation the ANC sought was obviously crucial. Professor Willie Esterhuyse of Stellenbosch University gave details of some of the discussions. Of particular interest are those that took place from 17 to 19 December 1988 at Flitwick in Bedfordshire, England. Esterhuyse said of Thabo Mbeki that he had two dreams; the first was that the negotiation process had to take place between the ANC and the Afrikaner regime.⁵ 'His second dream was how could the ANC and the Afrikaners cooperate with each other to build a new South Africa and eradicate poverty?'

Esterhuyse also said that Mbeki had an 'understandable obsession with the issue of poverty and socio-economic (racial) inequalities. This was to him the principal stumbling block on the path to lasting reconciliation and peace.' Mbeki explained to the group, 'The contrast is the real problem. If we don't address that in an acceptable way in future, black people, once they have political power, will find any way whatsoever to gain access to wealth too.'⁶

With an uncanny prescience Mbeki was to talk about corruption. 'Liberation from dictatorship inevitably also entails corruption. South Africa's liberation will be plagued by corruption. People who have been oppressed

and disadvantaged economically argue that they lost a great deal in the past. Hence, they believe they are entitled to “make up for it”.’

Esterhuysen quoted Mbeki when he described how in some African states the post-independence elites had enriched themselves at the expense of the poor. He said Mbeki spoke with great passion and said, ‘South Africa must avoid this at all costs once the country is free: self-enrichment and corruption will be a betrayal of what the ANC has struggled for. But how are we going to redistribute wealth in a democratic state and progressively eliminate the gaps created by apartheid?’

The professor had an interesting take on Mbeki and his personality. ‘I often wondered whether his exposure to the leadership of the old Soviet Union and East Germany had not played a role as well. Those states had been rigid societies. Strict hierarchies were maintained. “The Leader” was the key to the future, as in the apartheid state. You also couldn’t show too many ordinary human emotions. It was a sign of weakness.’⁷

FW de Klerk’s ground-breaking speech on 2 February 1990 in which the ANC and other parties were unbanned and political prisoners were released, laid the groundwork for the negotiations towards the new South Africa. A further negotiation meeting had been planned for 9 to 11 February 1990 at Mells Park in England.

At that meeting Esterhuysen again recorded Mbeki as saying the political process, that is, the transition to an inclusive democracy, should not be too difficult. The problem would be how the disparity in economic circumstances would be addressed. Esterhuysen said Mbeki made much of this. ‘The socio-economic transition process, though, is the more complex issue. There is terrible poverty, and the legacy of apartheid is visible everywhere. There are also high material expectations on the part of the oppressed. The gap between rich and poor is massive. How are we going to integrate 30 million blacks, mostly poor, in an economic process that is currently controlled by a rich, white elite?’

Mbeki stressed how the business sector would have to play a big role. He carried on with some vehemence ‘Socio-economic rights, access to the economy and a share in South Africa’s natural resources, including land, will be the real issue. You can’t eat the right to vote. You can use it, however, to achieve socio-economic rights. Afrikaners, given their history, ought to understand that.’⁸

Mbeki was, of course, referring to the manner in which English capital relinquished some of its great wealth to the Afrikaners in the sixties and seventies after much pressure from the Nationalist Government.⁹

The crafting of the Freedom Charter was a magical moment when true democrats got together and dreamed. Some of the provisions come close to pure communism, with ownership of the resources by the people, and the rest envisage democratic socialism.

7 | God was here but he left early

‘When plunder becomes a way of life, men create for themselves a legal system that authorizes it and a moral code that glorifies it.’

Frederic Bastiat

And so they came, the leeches of the world, to suck upon the rich veins buried in the African soil. Over centuries hordes of looters brutally scavenged Africa’s land and its people. They cared little for those who lived and worked the soil in their scramble to satisfy their insatiable greed. Joseph Conrad made the point well in his *Heart of Darkness*, ‘The conquest of the earth, which mostly means taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much.’

In another powerful passage he thundered, ‘They were conquerors, and for that you want only brute force – nothing to boast of, when you have it, since your strength is just an accident arising from the weakness of others. They grabbed what they could get for the sake of what was to be got. It was just robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale, and men going at it blind – as is very proper for those who tackle a darkness.’

Then suddenly their fortunes were under threat.

Chris Hani was fighting for a South Africa in which the promises of the Freedom Charter would be achieved. Millions stood to gain if the goals of the Freedom Charter were implemented. However, the central theme in this book is who stood to lose and what desperate measures would they put in place to ensure a continuation of the plunder?

Oyama Mabandla, chair of the Council of Advisors at the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA), tried to summarise the power of Hani and Biko. ‘It is difficult to capture in words the singularity, power and significance of Hani in a truncated piece like this one. ... He deserves a book.’ That request has justified my attempts to do justice to the life and struggles of Chris Hani.

Africa is sometimes portrayed as the begging bowl of the world, holding out for aid from the rich nations. The truth could not be more different. Martin Meredith in his magisterial book *The Fortunes of Africa – A 5000-Year History of Wealth, Greed and Endeavour* discussed how Africa had been coveted for its riches from time immemorial – initially the gold, ivory and slaves and later the oil, diamonds and other valuable minerals.

Much has been written about the scramble for Africa by the European powers and the exploitation of its minerals and resources over centuries. Faced with an emancipation imperative in the mid-twentieth century to redistribute Africa's riches, the colonial powers and companies would employ a carrot and stick strategy. The carrot represented bribing African elites to join the predators in their quest to keep the wealth, while the stick was the threat to kill any idealists seeking to redistribute Africa's wealth among Africa's children.

The corporate heavyweights devised many schemes to illegally spirit the wealth out of the continent before independence. Once political freedom for African countries was accomplished, they took elaborate measures in bribing the elite to abandon redistribution plans. These corrupt recipients would then be protected from the outrage the population felt and regarded as sacred cows or royal game. They would control the police and prosecuting authorities to such an extent that they would never have to face the consequences of their crimes, even if some would stigmatise them as traitors who betrayed their fellow struggle comrades.

Most of the captains of industry who piloted their companies during the plunder of Africa have been well educated men from wealthy families who had the advantages of the best that local and overseas universities could provide. The rapacity of European commercial interests has been well documented and it has, tragically, persisted into the 21st century. We need to investigate how serious the pillaging has been and to what extent the people have been impoverished.

Poverty in Africa has been omnipresent during the colonial and post-colonial eras. In 2013, the World Bank reported that the number of people living in extreme poverty in Africa had risen in the previous three decades from 205 million to 414 million.¹

Cooperation between Big Business and the state, more especially the intelligence agencies, has been central to the ongoing plunder. The connivance with British and American intelligence agencies was illustrated by Major-General Jac Buchner, the owner of a pair of the bloodiest hands in the killings in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1980s. He told an American journalist, 'Our training was mostly from you guys (CIA), and the Brits. By that I mean American techniques ... it's a brotherhood – we in the police and the various intelligence offices overseas, including ones in Washington.' General Tienie Groenewald added that no one should underestimate the 'involvement of foreign intelligence in Third Force operations: MI6, the CIA ... South Africa was a pawn in the struggle between the big powers.'²

When it comes to bribing African elites, one example is British Aerospace, largely owned and controlled by the British Government, which paid out huge bribes to ANC politicians to secure contracts in the Arms Deal.

South African economist Sampie Terreblanche quoted Fernand Braudel

to the effect that capitalism only triumphs when it becomes identified with the state, when it is the state.³ And often the corporate side of the equation dominates the political – throughout its tortured history in the case of South Africa.⁴

Meredith explained how Africa's ruling elites further drain their countries of funds, stashing huge sums in bank accounts and property overseas. The World Bank estimates that 40% of Africa's private wealth is held offshore.⁵

In his 1965 study of one-party states in West Africa, Arthur Lewis, a distinguished West Indian economist, observed that the greed of African elites occurs because of the normal lust of human beings for power and wealth.

The figures are disturbing. In his penetrating study of corruption in Africa *The Looting Machine – Warlords, Oligarchs, Corporations, Smugglers, and the Theft of Africa's Wealth*, award-winning *Financial Times* reporter Tom Burgis argued that Africa was the world's 'poorest' continent and yet holds incredible resources. With only 2% of global GDP, it holds 15% of the planet's oil, 40% of its gold and 80% of its platinum. Its curse is because it holds a third of the mineral deposits found on earth.⁶

Burgis conducted a six-year study of corruption in Africa and was on a mission 'to give voice to the millions of ordinary Africans who suffer the consequences of living under this curse'.⁷ He investigated what had brought poverty on the 900 million people south of the Sahara. Writing in 2007 he found, '69% of people in extreme poverty live in countries where oil, gas and minerals play a dominant role in the economy ...'⁸

His study revealed that in 2010 fuel and mineral exports from Africa were worth \$333 billion, more than seven times the value of aid that went in the opposite direction. He added the obvious rider that this is before you factor in the vast sums spirited out of the continent through corruption and tax dodges.⁹

Gone were the days of thumbprints on treaties secured at gunpoint. Nowadays phalanxes of lawyers representing oil and mineral companies rob the continent to the detriment of the citizens. Neo-liberal globalisation from greedy multinationals strips the continent of its resources.¹⁰

Burgis emphasised that resource states have lower levels of political accountability. The poor cannot pay taxes and in Africa as a whole, and for every six dollars that governments bring in from taxes on personal income and company profits, ten dollars accrue from taxes on the extraction of resources.¹¹ The consequences are dire for corruption as the ruling elites extract their wealth from the resource plunderers. He said, 'Instead of calling their rulers to account, the citizens of resource states are reduced to angling for a share of the loot. This creates an ideal fiscal system for supporting autocrats ...'¹²

In describing what happens to the money Burgis said some of it was used to pay off patronage networks, some to buy votes at the suspect rigged

elections, and a huge amount of it went overseas. According to a US Senate report, he explained, 'Kleptocrats from African resource states have used banks, including HSBC, Citibank, and Riggs, to squirrel away millions of plundered dollars in the United States alone, often concealing the origins of their wealth by shifting funds through secretive offshore tax havens.'¹³

The control that the corporate sector has over the politicians arises from their ability to bribe them. The industrial magnates ask only the right to carry on with their sacred credo to maximise their profits, irrespective of the suffering it causes to the citizenry. The welfare state envisages a progressive tax system with the richest helping to cater for the social needs of the most vulnerable in society. For that to take place, democracy has to be strong and the prosecuting authorities resolute to stop tax evasion. The fascinating but horrifying methods employed by businessmen and the political elites to avoid paying their fair share will have to wait for a later chapter in this book.

Terreblanche described the construction of the American-led financial empire after World War II. He explained how South Africa was co-opted into the power structures of the American-orientated neoliberal global economy, which systemically excluded the poorest part of the population from participating. As he noted, the US made incredible economic progress after the Civil War with its share of world's manufacturing increasing from 14.7% in 1870, to 32% in 1913 to nearly 45% in 1953.

The application of mass production led to over-production and over-capacity, so the transnational corporations (TNCs) sought out international markets and investment opportunities. The puritan saving cult was set aside for the new consumerism.¹⁴ He said after World War II the Marshall Plan of 1948 had the effect of integrating western Europe in the American social democratic empire, the quid pro quo being that the TNCs could operate as freely as European companies did.

Once the American and other multinational TNCs had secured their control over the economies of the developing nations and, indeed, much of the developed world as well, the need arose to protect these interests against moves to spread the wealth among the citizens of the countries involved. To effect this colonisation or to perpetuate a previous entrenched position, the American hegemony had to take extraordinary measures – many of them clandestine.

Terry Crawford-Browne has written a number of books including *Eye on the Diamonds*¹⁵ in which he gives an idea of the rapacious looks the US was casting at Africa's mineral wealth. Crawford-Browne quoted a report by Stephen Burgess in May 2011 at the US Air War College in Alabama. This report speaks to the urgency and America's pre-emptive rights 'to secure South Africa's uranium, manganese, platinum, chrome, cobalt, and rare earth minerals for America's industrial needs and for its maintenance of weapon systems'.

Burgess also discussed the means that had to be employed. 'To triumph in this scramble, all instruments of US power must be deployed. The challenge is most acute in two southern African countries, South Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo, but also growing in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Namibia.'

A 'worst case' scenario might see the US having to use coercive diplomacy to regain access to vital resources. The new scramble for African mineral resources is most similar to the 19th century European scramble that contributed to interstate conflict, especially the First World War.'¹⁶

'Coercive diplomacy' is a most sinister phrase and seems to include armed intervention. So the message was clear-cut: British and American prosperity was tied up in these resource-rich areas. How would these commercial interests react if their access to untold riches was threatened by a new government in South Africa?

8 | Who stole South Africa?

‘What is happening in Africa’s resource states is systematic looting. Like its victims, its beneficiaries have names.’

Tom Burgis, *The Looting Machine: Warlords, Tycoons, Smugglers and the Systematic Theft of Africa’s Wealth*

As the movement towards democracy gathered pace in South Africa, those in possession of its wealth were confronted with how to deal with the forces seeking implementation of the Freedom Charter. Considering the country’s immense riches were concentrated in a few hands, their fair redistribution would be cataclysmic for those few and trouble lay ahead.

In his penetrating study of corruption in Africa,¹ award-winning Tom Burgis described the process by which the wealthy acquired their spoils: ‘First the colonialists and then the apartheid regime carried off the cream of South Africa’s natural wealth. South Africa’s mineral resources are still by far the world’s most valuable, estimated at \$2,494 billion, way ahead of second-place Russia and enough money to buy Apple, Exxon Mobil, and the rest of the nine biggest listed companies in the world.’

Francis Wilson said that for more than 100 years – until it was overtaken by China in 2007 – South Africa was the leading gold producer in the world. It remains the number one producer of aluminosilicates, ferrochromium, the platinum group of minerals, vanadium and vermiculite – and has the world’s largest reserve base of chrome ore. It is the world’s second biggest producer of manganese ore and titanium minerals. It sits in the top ten for the production of antimony, coal, diamonds, ferromanganese, ferrosilicon, fluorspar, iron ore, nickel, phosphate rock and silicon metal among others.²

After the 1994 elections the goal was to change all that had bedevilled the past. It was made clear in the new South African Constitution. ‘We the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of the past ... believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it ... adopt this Constitution so as to ... improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person ...’

Twenty-four years later, how had this wealth been divided? Not very equally, according to Lesetja Kganyago, South African Reserve Bank governor, in a lecture at the Nelson Mandela University Port Elizabeth on 1 August 2018 entitled *Inequality and monetary policy in South Africa*. He said, ‘The Gini coefficient of South Africa is around 0.7, which makes it one of the most

unequal countries in the world, and certainly the most unequal large country.' In South Africa, the governor said, 'Most assets are owned by people at the top of the income ladder ... 10% of the population owns more than 90% of all wealth while 80% have no wealth to speak of; a propertied middle class does not exist.'

This inequality is replicated elsewhere, as emphasised by Goran Therborn who said in his book *The Killing Fields of Inequality*, 'National economic inequality in the world exhibits some clear historical geo-economic patterns. Worst-off are the former White racist settler-cum-mining and/or plantation countries, South Africa and Namibia, Brazil and Bolivia, and most of Latin America.'

It is not as if the leaders did not say all the right things when occasion demanded it. Thabo Mbeki spoke in parliament on reconciliation and nation building in 1998 and said, 'South Africa is a country of two nations' – one white and prosperous, one black and poor – and that unless the gaps between these two nations were bridged the country was heading for a major explosion.³

A few months after his inauguration Mbeki was speaking in October 1999 at a memorial to Julius Nyerere. He spoke of the 'footprints of despair' – these being poverty, hunger, disease, war, oppression, corruption from Angola to Algeria, from Sudan to South Africa.⁴

But as Fanon pointed out so tellingly, the people 'realize at last that change does not mean reform, that change does not mean improvement'. When the Governor mentioned 'the 80% with no wealth to speak of' he might have added how many suffer from hunger. The South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (SANHANES) revealed in 2013 that 26% of the population was actually facing hunger and a further 28% were at risk. After the devastating consequences of the Covid-19 virus, those figures would no doubt have deteriorated drastically. Recently it seems up to 50% of people in this country have food insecurity.

Hunger is a personal and a communal malaise that crushes the potential of individuals and societies. It is caused by, and perpetuates, poverty that is more than merely material. It is a manifestation of, and helps to perpetuate, damaging social inequality; poor households have to spend nearly 50% of their income on food, but they are forced to buy low-quality produce. As a key informant put it, they have 'good access to bad food and bad access to good food'.

In *Heart of Darkness*, author Joseph Conrad brilliantly expressed the effects of hunger, 'No fear can stand up to hunger, no patience can wear it out, disgust simply does not exist where hunger is; and as to superstition, beliefs, and what you may call principles, they are less than chaff in a breeze.'

Apart from hunger, what are the other effects of this huge inequality? Therborn declared, 'Inequality is a violation of human dignity; it is a denial of the possibility for everybody's human capabilities to develop.

‘It takes many forms, and it has many effects; premature death, ill-health, humiliation, subjection, discrimination, exclusion from knowledge or from mainstream social life, poverty, powerlessness, stress, insecurity, anxiety, lack of self-confidence and of pride in oneself, and exclusion from opportunities and life-chances.’

There is one more devastating consequence. ‘Inequality, then, is not about the size of our wallets. It is a socio-cultural order, which reduces our capabilities to function as human beings, our health, our self-respect, our sense of self, as well as our resources to act and participate in the world.’

We know that more than 20,000 people died violently in the decade after 1985 as apartheid forces fought to stop majority rule and that millions died from AIDS before treatment was made available. How do we calculate how many died from the factors set out by Therborn? While it is a difficult sum to assess it might well run into the hundreds of thousands or even millions.

The right to food is enshrined in Section 27 of South Africa’s Constitution. While some gains have been made since 1994 when South Africa gained democracy, half the population still live precariously, with hunger on their doorsteps.

We have to juxtapose this abject poverty with the obscene concentration of wealth in the world and in South Africa. According to Oxfam, the 26 richest people on earth in 2018 had the same net worth as the poorest half of the world’s population, some 3.8 billion people. Oxfam’s report also claimed that 2,200 billionaires worldwide saw their wealth grow by 12% even as the poorest half saw its wealth fall by 11%. Recent figures show that the situation has worsened.

In South Africa, despite having a population of 55 million in 2019, two white families, the Oppenheims and Ruperts, owned half the wealth. Writing a book published in 2006, James Sanders explained who won the struggle in this country. ‘The real victors of the transformation in South Africa were the rulers of the dynastic mining monarchy, the Oppenheims. Anglo American and its sister company, De Beers, have gone from strength to strength ...’

Professor Sampie Terreblanche traced the roots of the poverty of black people and the inequality in the land to events that took place especially after the discovery of gold in 1886. He spoke of ‘the politico-economic system in place in South Africa from 1795 to 1994 [which was] a British-orientated system of colonial and racial capitalism that mercilessly exploited the African prices and wages to move to their natural level or true values’.⁵

South Africa has agricultural and industrial strength but originally depended on its resources, especially its diamonds and gold. These great benefits were never to be shared with the population and have led to great poverty and suffering. In 1885 President Kruger heard news of a major

discovery of gold on the eastern border of the Transvaal. Kruger said, 'Do not talk to me of gold, the element which brings more dissension, misfortune and unexpected plagues in its trails than benefits ... I tell you today that every ounce of gold taken from the bowels of our soil will yet have to be weighed up with rivers of tears.'⁶

But there was more gold to be found in 1886. English companies quickly exploited the mineral wealth. Cecil John Rhodes intended to use his fortune in big schemes and said, 'Money is power and what can be accomplished without power? ... I do not care for money. I never tried it for its own sake, but it is a power and I like power.'⁷ As an advocate of imperial conquest, in his will, drawn up in Kimberley in 1877, he told his executors to use his great wealth to extend the British Empire 'especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire continent of Africa'.⁸

He told a meeting of shareholders that he was determined to make De Beers 'the richest, the greatest, and the most powerful company the world has ever seen'.⁹

As his schemes bore fruit Rhodes needed financial assistance. In his book on the Rothschilds Derek Wilson wrote, 'In 1867 diamonds were discovered along South Africa's Orange and Vaal rivers. Several mining companies were founded and Rothschilds was naturally to the fore in taking a financial interest in the region ... Natty [Rothschild] and his brothers agreed ... that commercial success would only be possible by amalgamating several of the small concerns. Through their major shareholding in the Anglo-African Diamond Mining Company Limited they participated in the buying out of smaller claim-holders, a process which gathered momentum from about 1882.'¹⁰

Rothschild money helped Cecil Rhodes defeat Barney Barnato and acquire dominance. De Beers emerged triumphant. Soon afterwards Rothschild and De Beers amalgamated¹¹ and the De Beers monopoly was complete.

A dominant player on the South African scene is Anglo American Corporation which was set up in 1917 with half of the initial capital coming from US investors.

The role of banks Guaranty Trust, JP Morgan, Rothschild and Morgan Grenfell in completing the Oppenheimer control of De Beers and Anglo-American is clear. In their book on Anglo-American *South Africa Inc*, the authors¹² speak of 'Oppenheimer's reliable backers, JP Morgan in New York and Morgan Grenfell in London ...' and the 'support of the Rothschilds group in December 1929 ...' In his doctorate on *Anglo American and the Rise of Modern South Africa*, Duncan Innes described how De Beers and Anglo American 'were themselves threaded into the network of international monopoly capitalism; the takeover of the Kimberley Co by De Beers for

instance, was made possible only by the financial intervention of the giant Rothschild group and other European monopoly financial institutions'.¹³

In 1929 Sir Ernest Oppenheimer took over the mining enterprise from Cecil Rhodes. Sir Ernest built a diversified company out of initial investments in diamonds and other gems, which he passed on to his son, Harry.

Through Anglo, the Oppenheims were soon to acquire shares in all South Africa's mining houses. In fact, the houses have cross-holdings with each other, making the block of capital quite formidable. With time they became the owners of the nation's largest steel works, travel agency, brick factory, discount house, motor dealership and computer software firm.

Emerging from the Anglo-Boer War, Afrikaans-speaking people were economically disadvantaged in comparison to their English-speaking counterparts. In the thirties, 25% of Afrikaners were poverty-stricken and could not feed and house their families. The remaining 75% were chiefly employed in agriculture and blue-collar work. They earned less than 50% of what English speakers were receiving in 1948.¹⁴

O'Meara wrote about the huge potential of South Africa after World War II. 'South Africa's GNP grew by almost 70% in just six years between 1939 and 1945 – a rate of growth higher than that of either Britain or the USA. A founder member of the IMF, South Africa was listed among the world's 10 richest countries at the end of the war ... Few realised that their country had reached the pinnacle. It would soon enter a period of more than 40 years as an international pariah, with its government's policies evoking an international outrage surpassed only by the Nazis and that the United Nations, which Smuts had worked so hard to found, would denounce South Africa for "crimes against humanity"'.¹⁵

After the 1948 elections, the new apartheid state looked after the Afrikaners and employment in the government service increased at 6% a year, from just under half a million to 1.6 million in 1980. The principal beneficiaries were white Afrikaner males.¹⁶ Afrikaner control of the economy increased by leaps and bounds from 6% in 1948 to 45% by 1975.¹⁷

The success of Rhodes's corporate successors and the admission of Afrikaner capital to the cornucopia of mineral wealth in South Africa was largely facilitated by a racial economic order. This saw all black people excluded from meaningful participation as owners in the wealth and consigned to the role of menial ill-paid labourers.

Thomas Piketty in his book *Capital in the Twenty First Century* explained how Britain benefited from its colonial empire, including the rich pickings from South Africa.¹⁸

Britain and America stood to lose huge profits and dividends should the redistribution mandates of the Freedom Charter be implemented. Sadly, the siphoning off of South African wealth abroad did not stop in 1994. The

new ANC Government allowed at least seven South African conglomerates to list on overseas stock exchanges with the promise that it would increase foreign investments in the country. This has not happened and annual dividends leaving the country that averaged R2,636 million from 1994 to 1999 shot up to R34,076 million for 2001, contributing to the sharp devaluation of the rand.

Terreblanche said, 'There is reason to fear that dividend outflows will remain the Achilles heel of the balance of payments. The longer-term impact of this capital outflow is indeed worrying ... Globalization has also created opportunities for large conglomerates – and especially the Anglo-American Corporation – to “escape” from South Africa before the impoverished majority can hold them accountable for their exploitative behaviour during segregation and apartheid.'¹⁹

We need to explore what would be the response to the threat of nationalisation and majority rule in South Africa. During the mid-80s the pressure on the South African apartheid government to move towards a full democracy became intense. If the economic, political and social provisions of the Freedom Charter were going to be implemented, those in possession of the wealth would have been highly concerned. There were predictions of how international business would respond to a threat against their massive earnings from South Africa.

A man who would make predictions about the strategies to be employed was Eschel Rhoodie. Initially employed as SA press officer at the South African Embassy in The Hague at the end of 1969, Rhoodie concocted plans to combat criticism of South Africa and suggested a magazine *To the Point* be established with secret funding from the Nationalist Government.²⁰ The magazine was published towards the end of 1971 and Rhoodie drafted a document, which was the foundation of the Department of Information, with himself as secretary and Dr Connie Mulder as minister.

Rhoodie and Mulder, with Prime Minister Vorster's compliance, then embarked on numerous projects that sought to show that apartheid was not an evil system. The funding for the secret projects came from the secret Special Defence account.²¹ This was exposed in what became known as The Information Scandal and Mulder and Rhoodie were disgraced and removed from office.

Eschel Rhoodie died in 1993 but prior to his death he told *Nosweek* about the amounts involved in military expenditure. He also conceded that his department received money to further the aims of apartheid. He said a military fund, which ran into hundreds of millions every year, and by 1987 probably totalled R3 billion, was not always used for the purchase of weapons. For instance, it was used to give R75 million to the Department of Information for its secret operations.

Apart from this, Rhoodie explained how money was stolen and sent out of South Africa. Paying more than the contract price for weapons was an obvious way to siphon money overseas and in some instances payment was made, but the items were not delivered. Rhoodie made it clear huge sums of money were involved. He estimated about R200 million of taxpayers' money was going out of South Africa, each year.

In the *Noseweek* interview Rhoodie was asked what the purpose was of sending the money abroad.

Rhoodie divided the views of Western powers into two groups. The first accepted a black-majority government gaining power, but hoped their gratitude for helping get rid of apartheid would persuade the government to continue selling the crucial minerals to the West. This group, in Rhoodie's view, would include the Canadians, the French, the Scandinavians and the Australians.

The second group – including the Americans, the West Germans, the British and most of the NATO countries – believed that a black government would turn socialist and would strangle the secondary and military industries of the West. The importance of the immense mineral wealth of South Africa would mean that this group might resort to desperate measures with the advent of a black majority government.

Although many Western powers paid lip service to their opposition to apartheid, it was evident South Africa's mineral wealth was far more important to the powerful than any moral or ethical considerations.

Rhoodie believed people in the intelligence and security agencies of the West were saying that in a conflict situation, the West might move in and impose a constitution upon South Africa, like the one they imposed on Japan after World War II. This drastic solution would require a special sort of government, which was still sympathetic to the West's rapacious need for the mineral wealth. He spoke of a white government in exile and a contingency fund for its survival. That was the benign motive for moving money abroad. Some speculated that it was destined for private pockets.

He conceded that he was at the heart of any such moves with his political masters, Vorster, Mulder and Van den Bergh, and hinted that the South African Government had taken out insurance as they thought themselves to be in the midst of a revolution.

In 1988, the Anglo American Corporation dominated the economic landscape in the country and was expressing unease about the loss of minerals to the West. Considering which companies in South Africa stood to lose the most under democracy, in *Who Runs This Place?* Anthony Sampson summarised that Anglo American was 'still the most powerful company in South Africa with its own web of subsidiaries, farms, estates, ships, planes, police force and intelligence system'.²²

While many companies disinvested in order to bring apartheid to its knees, Anglo grew rich buying the holdings of foreign multinationals, such as Barclays Bank, that were reducing exposure in South Africa. According to Anglo's chairman, Gavin WH Relly, commenting on that takeover, the company was playing a stabilising role in the wake of multinational corporate disinvestment.

Journalist John Summa evaluated the investments in South Africa of Anglo American at that time and said their pool of cash reserves, estimated to be about \$1 billion, enabled it to buy up a number of very large companies. The Anglo American purchase of the land's then largest bank, Barclays, and Ford's South African operations and others, including a deal with Chrysler Corporation, fortified this dominance.

Summa said that Anglo American controlled 85% of the companies quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. One journalist described it as a giant octopus, with tentacles strangling the corporate wealth of South Africa. Add to these assets at that time, 47% of the country's gold production, a quarter of its coal, more than half its platinum, virtually all its diamonds and crucial parts of the South African banking, insurance, food-processing, brewing, steel, auto, electronics and other industries, and you realise how much it stood to lose.²³

At that time, Anglo American's most valuable asset, and probably still is, was De Beers Consolidated Mines, which controlled four fifths of the world's rough diamond trade and had worldwide assets of at least \$15 billion. Anglo had extended its corporate drive abroad to protect itself against the social changes a socialist black majority government might bring. In carrying out this project Anglo American accumulated more than 100 companies during the 1970s, including some US financial and mining interests. The money for this expansion came from the Luxembourg-based Anglo subsidiary Minorco, a \$2 billion international holding company with dominant interests stretching from zinc mines in the Yukon (Hudson Bay Mining) to natural gas deposits in Texas (Adobe Resources) to investment banking on Wall Street (Salomon Brothers – later sold).²⁴

Minorco had shares in Citibank, which was to be placed in a special position to receive some highly clandestine funds sent from South Africa under mysterious circumstances when the Nationalist Government of previous president FW de Klerk paved the way for majority rule. The share of Anglo in foreign investments is not always easy to trace, though it was acknowledged in the late 80s as the largest foreign investor in the United States.

At that time Minorco had a 30% stake in Engelhard, an international platinum producer with sales of more than \$18 million a year. Furthermore, Summa said, 'Power appears to be shared with US-based Philipp Brothers, a multinational trading firm that possesses a CIA-like communications and

intelligence network and is involved heavily in South African metals.' In addition to these considerable assets, Anglo also had interests in copper, zinc, gold, silver, nickel and coal, by way of the Inspiration Resources Company, in which it had a 59% share.

So, what was the international perception of Anglo's social responsibility to the impoverished majority? Writing in 1988, Summa said, 'Anglo-American has an anti-labour history that involves the use of the repressive services of the apartheid security apparatus, as well as its own security personnel, to control and exploit workers. Being the world's largest private employer of black labour and the world's largest producer of gold and diamonds means Anglo is also one of the world's biggest exploiters of cheap black mine labour.'²⁵

As the pressures grew on the apartheid government to grant majority rule, the captains of industry became severely stressed about how such a new government would view their massive holdings. Summa summarises how Anglo aimed to cultivate a progressive image by supporting urban improvement projects for black South Africans by calling for reform measures and by taking a conciliatory approach toward the ANC. He mentions a meeting between ANC president Oliver Tambo and white business leaders led by Gavin Relly in the late 1980s.

But what was the corporate giant's attitude towards a future black-majority government? Summa explained that because the ANC charter called for mining and banking nationalisation, Anglo operations were prime nationalisation targets should a black-majority government come to power.

Apart from American and British interests and shareholdings in South African companies, foreign companies had an important presence in this land. These corporate interests also stood to suffer should Chris Hani and his South African Communist Party get their way and the provisions of the Freedom Charter be implemented. That on its own would provide a powerful motive for his elimination as a potential president of the country.

Summa added, 'While Anglo has not always rubbed apartheid officialdom the right way, both the company and the white-minority regime are keenly aware that they are on common ground in preventing a change of state power to a black majority committed to reducing the gap between the few wealthy, and always white, property owners and the majority of workers who have nothing.' The effects of this threat to the communal interests of the state and Big Business was that an alliance to ensure Hani did not ascend to power became a certainty.

At the end of his novel *Cry the Beloved Country*, Alan Paton indicated who should remedy the great imbalances. 'Sir Ernest Oppenheimer is the head of a very important mining group, a man of great influence, and able to do as much as any man to arrest the process of deterioration described in this book.'

9 | A noxious outfit

‘He who passively accepts evil is as much involved in it as he who helps to perpetrate it.’

Martin Luther King Jr

Janusz Waluś applied to work as a mercenary with the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR) at the end of the 1980s. On 24 November 1997, during his application for amnesty before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Waluś was cross-examined on this by Advocate George Bizos SC.

It became clear that on 26 January 1989 he had read an advertisement in *The Citizen* newspaper requiring men for a dangerous assignment of around six months’ duration. Given the times, the salary of \$5,000 a month was generous and clearly implied serious risk. At present day values this would be \$50,000 a month. The address supplied was ‘care of the Commodore, PO Box 207, Bergvlei, 2012’. Bergvlei Post Office is in Wynberg, Sandton, an expensive suburb of Gauteng Province in South Africa. Waluś confirmed that he had applied for work as a mercenary with SAIMR but claimed he had been unsuccessful. However, this information opened up the possibility that Waluś carried out the assassination of Chris Hani as a member of SAIMR.

In the years after the death of Hani, various people investigated SAIMR. We have seen the allegations in EIR that it was a front for British Intelligence. The proof that was provided was a November 1990 article in the *Sunday Times* of London, that the SAIMR was founded as a mercenary group of elite special forces people operating throughout Africa. We cannot forget that it was also alleged that Waluś was ‘intimately connected’ with the shadowy organisation.

But is there support for this view? Incriminating facts emerged through a peculiar assortment of personalities, ranging from a South African version of Agatha Christie’s middle-aged detective Mrs Marple, living in Benoni, to a courageous British historian, who wrote the book on which an excellent film was produced on Sir Seretse Khama, first black president of Botswana.

Others who would contribute to exposing SAIMR would include an Afrikaner journalist with an impressive handlebar moustache who investigated the coup attempt by Mike Hoare on the socialist government in Seychelles under Albert René. Finally, the kaleidoscope of characters who exposed involvement by SAIMR, included a zany Danish film maker, who investigated the mysterious death of United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.

We know Waluś killed Chris Hani, but did he do so in his personal capacity or as a member of another organisation such as SAIMR? To investigate this question we need to look into that organisation which was shrouded in mystery for so long. We start with the facts surrounding the death of a young marine biologist, which can be read in more detail in my forthcoming book *Murder of a Marine Biologist*.

On the evening of 21 November 1990, 30-year-old Dagmar Feil drove home after visiting friends.¹ As she approached the security gates of her home in the Parkzicht block of flats in Wilhelmina Street, Troyeville, Johannesburg at about 11.30 pm, she paused to take out the remote for the electronic gate. But Dagmar had not locked the car. As she opened the gate, two unidentified men approached her white Volkswagen and stretched into the driver's window. Long flashing knives stabbed at her throat and chest as she repeatedly sounded her car's hooter.

Neighbours witnessed Feil struggling to drive into the courtyard. Blood was gushing from her neck and chest. An account of her murder appeared in *The Star* newspaper on 23 November 1990. A photo accompanying the article showed that had Dagmar managed to gain entry to her complex, a set of sturdy steel gates would have protected her from the attackers. The photo also revealed two police investigators searching her white Volkswagen. The death certificate gave her date of birth as 20 March 1960 and said she was single. It stated the cause of death was 'being investigated'.

The police made little progress in the investigation of Dagmar Feil's murder although there seemed to be interest from other quarters in discovering the murderers. An organisation calling itself the South African Institute for Maritime Research placed an advert in a South African newspaper. It was headed 'Reward' and read, 'Dagmar Feil. Lieutenant Dagmar Feil was murdered on 20/11/1990 at +/- 11.30 pm outside a block of flats called Parkzicht, Wilhelmina Street, Troyeville, JHB. A reward is offered by the South African Maritime Research Institute for information leading to the capture of her killers. All information will be treated confidentially. Phone Lieutenant Goor, Captain Dalgleish, or Commodore Maxwell on numbers [three numbers supplied].'

From this advert we learn that Feil had a rank of lieutenant and that the tragic circumstances of her death were of sufficient concern to SAIMR to offer a reward.

Troyeville is a small middle-class suburb on the eastern edge of the Johannesburg central business district. Mohandas Gandhi lived in Troyeville for a period from 1904 to 1906 – the house is still at 11 Albermarle Street. Anti-apartheid activist David Webster lived on Eleanor Street in the area. Webster was allegedly killed on Workers Day, 1 May 1989, by Ferdi Barnard of the sinister secret military front company the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB). Dagmar Feil was not a public figure but there is a connection.

Later we will investigate the deaths of Bernt Carlsson in the Lockerbie incident and Anton Lubowski in Namibia. Barnard was also involved in the attempted assault on Carlsson's successor, UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari in Namibia in 1989. If the CCB was behind Ahtisaari's assault, it would be probable they were also behind Carlsson's murder.

There was a further possible link to the Hani murder that fascinated investigators. Some witnesses to the Hani murder, who were never called to give evidence, had told the police there was another assassin with Waluś, a 'swarthy Mediterranean type'. He answered to the description of Alex Vasiliades. There were also suggestions of two types of bullet casings at the scene, prompting support for the two-killer theory. Vasiliades was a friend of Waluś and also of other members of the CCB, including the sinister Staal Burger. Could the CCB be behind some of the killings discussed in this book?

One last detail needs exploration as it connects Barnard with Hani's assassination. Mysterious messages of interactions between the ANC and the apartheid forces planning Hani's killing were later exposed. In these messages Eugene Riley, a secret Military Intelligence operative and member of the CCB, is mentioned. There was talk that he was the driver of the getaway car when David Webster was shot. A Johannesburg businessman, Kevin Trytsman, who stored weapons and vehicles for the ANC in the late 1980s, said former CCB agent Barnard boasted to him in 1989 about murdering prominent academic Dr David Webster. Trytsman disclosed details of his conversations with Barnard in his TRC amnesty application.

Any detective bent on solving the case might well have looked up this organisation that had such an interest in discovering the murderer of Dagmar Feil. He might have looked up the newspaper archives and found an article dated some 15 months before Dagmar's death.

Debbie Campbell is the subject of the article in the South African *Sunday Times Magazine* of 27 August 1989. The piece is entitled 'Fighting for a clean tomorrow' and is subtitled 'Debbie Campbell is only 17, but already she's put most of us to shame with her efforts to depollute the world and create more awareness about AIDS.' A caption to one of the two photos read, 'Debbie at work in the lab and in the field doing research on the level of pollution and bacteria in the environment.'

From the article we learn that Campbell has the naval rank of ensign in SAIMR's Delta Environmental Protection Organization or Pollution section. She said she was recruited into it by a man referred to as Dr Maxwell and described SAIMR as a 200-year-old organisation fighting pollution and AIDS.

The journalist wrote, 'I am assured [of these facts] by her direct superior, Commodore Keith Maxwell. It seems there are some sour grapes around at her rapid rise, but, said Dr Maxwell, she has earned her success. But how did a



teenager who should be thinking of mundane trivialities like boys and clothes and make-up become involved in such serious matters anyway? Debbie smiles and blames it on a friend Melanie Daniels who belongs to the SAIMR diving club.'

The article elaborated further on the laudable work she is involved in, working part-time for SAIMR and part-time for Dr Maxwell in his AIDS and VD clinic in Actonville. 'Saturdays are spent at the clinic while on Tuesdays and Thursdays he picks me up from school and takes me through to the clinic where there is a special room set up for SAIMR research.'

'... Ironically, there is a link between Debbie's clinic work with AIDS and SAIMR,' the journalist wrote. Debbie told her that hospital effluence can contain the AIDS virus.

If we trawl through the libraries of the press in South Africa, we will find more about SAIMR from an article of 27 November 1987 in an obscure newspaper *The Boksburg Advertiser* in a section entitled 'Laughing Stock'. At pages 46-7 there is an article 'Profile - SAIMR Investigates'. We learn more about Dr or Commodore Keith Maxwell.

The piece said the following about the man in charge of this outfit. 'Commodore Keith Maxwell, a greying man in his forties, is the leader of the South African Institute for Maritime Research which is perhaps the only organisation in South Africa, indeed in the world, which can honestly claim to be at war with France.

'Formed in 1806 as the Amanda Recovery Society, the Institute was initially a group of sea captains who got together in order to search for a scuttled bullion-laden vessel: the Amanda. The society quickly developed a

thirst for more active booty and became a collection of legal pirates raiding French vessels during the Napoleonic Wars. War was finally declared on France in 1807.’

A nice romantic start with a buccaneering twist, much like the modern movies on the exploits of the pirates of the Caribbean. ‘Our early members did very well, capturing many prizes,’ said Maxwell. ‘But the issue remained unresolved and we never got round to calling it off. Officially, we are still at war with France.’

It all sounded a trifle far-fetched as few had heard of this unreported war. The article continued, ‘Apart from a lone piper playing the lament with the port at the Institute’s dinners, little has been done about the war for a considerable period of time.’

The article then set out the basis of SAIMR’s operations, which are laudable enough. Chapter One of SAIMR’s constitution reads, ‘The objects of the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR) shall be [inter alia] – (c) to assist in preserving the ecology of the seas and their perimeters, and (d) to gather intelligence relating to the strategic seaways of the world and to use such intelligence to promote peace between nations, human rights and human dignity as well as the rights of all animals and life forms within the seas.’

We now understand why the death of Dagmar Feil was such a tragedy for SAIMR that they were offering a reward for information leading to the discovery of her murderer.

So how has this wonderful organisation developed over the years? The article in that obscure suburban newspaper continued, ‘After a long period of obsolete indifference, the Institute reinvigorated itself by encouraging the members of what was, until the 1950s, little more than a “gentleman’s drinking club” to do something more than prop up plush bars, smoke pipes and reminisce about typhoons in the China Sea.’

The Amanda Recovery Society was reinvented and became SAIMR. The article continued, ‘With interest rekindled, the Institute expanded and now has centres in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town as well as a head office just up the road from Sandton in Bergvlei. Employing ‘50 people directly and a 100 indirectly’, and funded by such means as the recovery of gold and treasure off two shipwrecks (The Sussex and The Basas de India [sic], both found off the Madagascan coast) the Institute has many different sections or units ...’

We must conclude that the organisation was quite large and used a treasure trove for its funding.

If we are anxious to learn more about Dagmar Feil and her relationship with SAIMR we could do a lot worse than look up an article written by journalist De Wet Potgieter in *The Sunday Times* of 11 November 1990. Again, the topic was romantic enough with hints of the organisation’s naval roots

in the pirate days. In 1981 there was a widely publicised hunt for sunken treasure when SAIMR organised a number of young adventurers to search for a 16th-century Portuguese galleon, the Santiago.

In charge of the expedition was Johannesburg-based Keith Maxwell, the commander of the SAIMR's 'Delta' unit. We learned something of him as the Commodore of Debbie Campbell, the inspirational teenager who was solving the world's pollution problems and fighting the scourge of AIDS. When he first announced the expedition in August 1981, Maxwell told the press that he was flooded with calls from young people who wanted to join the Santiago expedition.

The divers were recruited through newspaper advertisements, and it later transpired that they actually referred rather deceptively to an organisation called *The Marine Research Unit* and not its real name – the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR). On 15 September 1981 the group of excited adventurers received their sailing orders. They were to move to Sodwana on the Zululand coast on 29 September and then sail to Bassas da India.

In November 2022, Mads Brügger, the director of the documentary *Cold Case Hammar skjöld*, published a book in Danish² about SAIMR entitled *Doktor Maxwell, formoder jeg?* The title of the book is a reference to 'Dr Livingstone, I presume?' (the alleged greeting of Henry Morton Stanley when he met the famous English explorer).

In a short article in the *Pretoria News* in 1982, entitled '60 Million Rand Tax Hunt', Brügger said that Keith Maxwell introduced himself as the founder of a diving club for a marine research unit. With his team, Maxwell told how he was about to launch an expedition to explore the Portuguese wreck Santiago, which sank in 1585. The wreck is located on the Bassas da India atoll, between Mozambique and Madagascar. The Santiago was located by a Swiss adventurer named Ernst Erich Klaar, who began salvaging cannons, silver coins, precious stones and gold jewellery. He then sailed to South Africa, where he was spotted by Maxwell. According to Ernst Erich Klaar's son, Hans Klaar, who is currently in Portugal, Maxwell and his team (5 boats) tried to overtake them.

The expedition's skipper, John Dobbins, recalled that rumour had it that Maxwell was an agent of NIS (National Intelligence Service, the South African intelligence service during apartheid). Maxwell was particularly interested in Île Europa, a French-controlled island in the Spars Islands of the Indian Ocean. Maxwell had obtained permission from the French foreign legionnaires stationed on the island to hunt with his rifle. His interest in Île Europa seems to have been motivated by its proximity to the Seychelles.

Freelance journalist and fishing writer Charles Norman was on the treasure hunt and wrote an article which appeared in *Scope* magazine on

16 July 1982 entitled ‘The Search for Santiago’, which was subtitled ‘They sailed on a quest for sunken gold ... but found something infinitely more valuable – themselves’.

But all was not what it seemed. Mention has been made of the *Amanda* treasure ship, which was to see the foundation of the predecessor of SAIMR. When journalist Potgieter made enquiries, he was told by marine archivists working at the Maritime Museum in London that they had no record of a ship called *The Amanda*, wrecked off the Cape in the 18th century. The only ship of that name they could find was a small barque operating cross-Channel voyages. It is highly unlikely she would have ventured that far south, Potgieter was told.

De Wet Potgieter’s articles would be a revelation as to the further aims and objectives of this strange organisation. The Institute had its laudable constitutional objectives of bringing peace to the world and fighting for human rights and the ecology of the oceans. Given that legal imperative, what was SAIMR doing with Maxwell at the head in an attempted invasion of the Seychelles to overthrow the socialist regime of Prime Minister Albert René?



Dagmar Feil

10 | Invasion: Seychelles

‘No country should violate the territory of any other country.’

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

On 11 November 1990 journalist De Wet Potgieter wrote an article in *The Sunday Times* in which he described SAIMR as ‘a very mysterious and more so a sinister front organisation that has never been properly exposed for what they really are’. He tried to expose some of the dark secrets in that article, but one of his main sources disappeared before he could get to him for more information regarding SAIMR’s activities.

Potgieter interviewed Maxwell on several occasions and the latter gave Potgieter documents about the work of SAIMR, which are available for public scrutiny in the South African History Archive (SAHA).

Maxwell also gave Potgieter a memoir entitled *The Story of my life*. In this he described his life from his birth in 1944 in Germiston, South Africa, and his adventures as a young boy. Although he used pseudonyms, it is fairly easy to guess who everyone is. In 1951 he fell from a tree while replacing a bird’s nest and ended up in hospital with a broken arm. We learn early on about his medical discoveries, among which were the HeLa cells of Henrietta Lacks, a black American woman. We will discuss this in a later chapter as it has a dramatic impact on the AIDS epidemic that engulfed South Africa.

Maxwell claimed to have been brilliant at school and wanted to become a doctor. During his compulsory military service he was recruited into SAIMR by a ‘man in a naval-type uniform who introduced himself as Commander Sterns of the Marine Institute’. Maxwell was asked to get involved on a part-time basis while studying. He said his knowledge of the sea was minimal but he was assured by Commander Sterns that ‘there are a lot of landlubber activities that you’d enjoy’.

Maxwell duly applied to join the Institute and was accepted by SAIMR head Commodore R Wagman, whom we later discover is a pseudonym for Wagner. In fact, at one point in his narrative Maxwell lost concentration and actually referred to Wagman as Wagner. We will learn of Wagner’s fascinating connections to a large corporation in South Africa, which will help us understand who was behind SAIMR and, no doubt, helping to fund it. In his autobiography Maxwell called himself Ken Marshall, but as this clearly referred to him it is not unfair to keep on calling him Maxwell.

After the death of his first girlfriend, he went on drunken sprees and

wild car chases. After consulting a psychiatrist, he spent time at an institution and subsequently was taken to a SAIMR-run course on a farm near Pretoria, called Eastvale.

It was obviously a large operation as it was placed amid a thickly wooded area for security reasons and consisted of a dozen long low buildings, one of which was a row of lecture rooms. It was here that Maxwell and his fellow candidate officers were lectured on 'communist versus capitalist ideology, disinformation tactics, propaganda methods and operations'. In addition, they were taught how to use communications equipment and learnt cyphers and codes, weapons, ship and aircraft identification, and much emphasis was placed on geopolitical strategies.

The students or recruits were addressed as 'Gentlemen' by military-looking lecturers who wore civilian clothes and never revealed their names. They were warned that they would be constantly under attack from the news media, films, magazines and even songs and music, with very subtle messages which they would be taught to identify. Newspapers were read and analysed for political or other messages disguised as 'news', and modern folk songs by Bob Dylan and Joan Baez were played over and over, discussed, dissected and classified according to the type of message that was being delivered.

Others warned them about the most effective weapons being unleashed on society, which were no longer guns but narcotics and hallucinatory drugs. The origins, entry routes and distribution methods for both hard and soft drugs were examined. They were taught the political systems of countries – some of which they had never even heard of.

Maxwell explained that they learned about interrogation techniques and his thinking as a result became coldly logical and analytical. He learned about 'enemy infiltration of societies', but he was cautioned not to see a communist under every bush. He was taught that 'communism was not intrinsically evil but unworkable as a man working for himself will work harder than one working for the state'.

After the three-month course, Commodore Wagner interviewed Maxwell, approving of his progress and recognising his desire to pursue a medical career. He said he was going to give Maxwell a job 'that's related to medicine' and he was then sent to the Empire Building in Johannesburg to sign up as a mercenary.

The mercenaries enlisted to fight in the Congo for Katanga were also recruited there. Maxwell left Jan Smuts Airport secretly without going through immigration facilities, and as he flew, he 'wondered what the tie-up was between SAIMR and Moise Tshombe, President of the Republique de Congo, if in fact there was any connection'. He landed at the Kamina Airforce base with its massive military barracks, which had been previously occupied by a UN peace-keeping force. Maxwell wrote that 'the first task of the new recruits was to clean

up the mess left behind by what the sergeant described as the “United Garbage Group”. That name will occur again in surprising circumstances.

He later flew out north to the recently liberated city of Stanleyville. He engaged in weapons training, and one evening was approached by ‘an American officer in fatigues’ who apologised for the delay in contacting him at the base. The American, who answered to ‘Chuck’, said he was being taken to ‘our clinic at Aruvimi ... far north in Simba territory and things can get kinda lively up there’.

Maxwell described how he faced an attack from an armed force in the Simba area of Congo in December 1964, near Stanleyville. For anyone doubting that South Africans were involved in fighting in the Congo that notion is immediately dispelled. He also gave much information of what was going on at the secret US Army laboratory in the middle of the Congo jungle. In 1966 Professor Cassidy’s clinic was attacked by rebels who ransacked and burned it. Cassidy and the other doctors were airlifted out. Just before climbing out of the plane, he turned to one of the doctors and said, ‘We were so damned close, just one more year and we’d have hit it!’

What did the American scientists come so close to achieving? Maxwell discovered that the scientists were in fact working on an ingenious method for spreading the AIDS pandemic far more effectively.

Commodore Keith Maxwell’s possible participation in the attempted invasion of the Seychelles by SAIMR – as well as the funders and collaborators – require investigation. Journalist Ellen Ray emphasised the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean islands at that time, given their proximity to the vast fuel resources of the Persian Gulf.¹ Apart from that, she said the US had a military base at Diego Garcia, linked to Mauritius, and was concerned about the growth of socialist influence in that area. One of their gravest headaches was the Mauritius Militant Movement (MMM) and its vehement opposition to the US lease of Diego Garcia.

Ray said that in 1980 the MMM had not yet achieved power in Mauritius, but the House Intelligence Committee of the US had a broader plan for the region. She concluded that this committee would not have liked what she called ‘a half-baked scheme involving the CIA, the South Africans, and a ragtag band of macho mercenaries, plotting ... to overthrow ... the government of Seychelles, a chain of tiny islands with a population of about 22,000’.²

She noted the previous failed attempt by the US to overthrow socialist President Albert René in 1979 violently, resulting in the expulsion of several of the 120 Americans employed at the US Air Force ‘satellite tracking station’ on Mahe. Efforts to topple René’s government did not cease and right-wing magazines in the US predicted a coup in the Seychelles over concern about a ‘Marxist-orientated’ Seychelles being an ‘unfriendly power astride such important sea lanes’. Ray described how other mercenary magazines

advertised for recruits and the press was full of stories of shares being sought in the \$5 million Seychelles operation.

Once the coup failed, the South African Nationalist Government went to great lengths to cover up any involvement of its forces. After detailing South Africa's deceitful denials, Ray wrote, 'It is also difficult to believe that the CIA was not aware of, if not deeply involved in the plot ... It seems clear that both South Africa and the United States knew of, and condoned, the plan.'³

The academic Stephen Ellis attributed the coup attempt to a combination of the new defence strategy in Pretoria and the 1977 government change in Seychelles, writing, 'The South African secret services decided that bribery was no longer the most effective means of acquiring influence in the islands. In 1978 Seychellois exiles in South Africa, acting on behalf of ex-President Mancham, began discussions with officials concerning a coup attempt to be launched in Seychelles. The BOSS [Bureau of State Security] case officer who became most closely concerned with this scheme was one Martin Dolincheck.'⁴

Ellis explained how closely the South African Government was involved. 'As plans for the Seychelles' coup developed the SADF lobbied to acquire control of the project, and the operation became the subject of an intense bureaucratic struggle between the military and the civilian National Intelligence Service (NIS). NIS was the direct descendant of the former BOSS, which had been disgraced in the Muldergate scandal and subsequently overhauled and twice renamed. Prime Minister Botha was more sympathetic to the military men than he was to the civilian intelligence service. In the end the government allocated planning for the Seychelles' coup operation to Military Intelligence, while the protests of the civilian intelligence service were mollified by the appointment of Martin Dolincheck as a liaison officer on behalf of NIS.'

Enter Mike Hoare. As Ellis explained, '... To provide a screen of deniability to the Seychelles' coup attempt the operation was entrusted to Mike Hoare, an Irish mercenary soldier who had made his name in the Congo but was now living in South Africa as a civilian. Hoare was later to testify that the coup plans were approved by the South African Cabinet and that weapons were provided by South African Military Intelligence. Most of the 45 or so people selected to carry out the coup were members of South African Special Forces, several of them former Rhodesian soldiers, some with earlier experience in the British army.'

On 25 November 1981 Hoare and his men landed at Seychelles international airport disguised as tourists, members of a drinking club called the Ancient Order of Frothblowers. After a customs officer found weapons in the luggage of one of the 'tourists', the invaders fought a brief gun-battle and escaped aboard an Air India jet that they hijacked. They left behind five soldiers, a female accomplice and Dolincheck, the intelligence man.

‘The Seychelles’ government arrested and tried the six men, acquiring from them full information on the planning of the coup. Four of the six were sentenced to death. Hoare and some others were tried on their return to South Africa.’ An article in the South African *Rapport* newspaper published during the trial reveals more of the CIA involvement. ‘Colonel Mike Hoare mentioned the name of a member of the staff of the American Embassy in Pretoria in order to recruit mercenaries for the coup d’état in the Seychelles. He said the man was attached to the American spy service (CIA) and supported the coup.

‘Colonel Hoare, who that week stood trial in Pietermaritzburg with 42 other mercenaries for hijacking the Air India plane, mentioned the name of a certain Manning in order to secure support for the coup.

‘Colonel Hoare also made it known that he and Gerard Hoareau, one of the insurrection groups who were responsible for the failed coup attempt, had discussions with the CIA in Pretoria. The Americans would have supported the new government, but did not want to give financial support for the coup.’

After interviewing Lee Manning, the newspaper *Rapport* reported, ‘Mr Manning, a sergeant in the American army, confirmed that he was the only Manning at the Embassy. He denied emphatically that he had any knowledge of the coup. He did not know Col Hoare nor had he met him.

‘Last year Col Hoare said while he was busy with the planning of the attack on the Seychelles, a certain Manning of the CIA had kept him abreast of any Russian warships in the area.’

American Lieutenant Robert Cedars was living in South Africa. Hoare had mentioned him to the other mercenaries about to take part in the coup. *Rapport* had established that Cedars was well known in American security circles and had been involved in various sinister operations. His link to a large South African corporation lends more credence to the involvement of that company in SAIMR. Hoare said an aeroplane would be made available to fly in the new government and take the mercenaries home.

As Ellis explained, ‘The Pretoria government, severely embarrassed, opened negotiations for the return of the six convicted mercenaries, and they were eventually returned to South Africa in mid-1983. The conditions for their release were not publicized, and only gradually did it become apparent that in the course of negotiations, the South African government had paid to President René a ransom of \$3 million, but that this was part of a broader understanding with President René personally. His cabinet was not informed of the progress of the talks nor of the ransom payment. President René, alarmed by the succession of coup attempts against him, asked Mario Ricci to help improve his security service. He realized in order to survive he needed to adjust his foreign policy to accommodate South African interests, at least in some measure.’

We will discuss Mario Ricci and his connection to the sinister South African Intelligence agent Craig Williamson later on.

Ellis described how René tried to make friends again with his enemies. 'The government also took steps designed to mend fences with both South Africa and the US, whose own Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had had foreknowledge of the coup attempt, and there was a notable shift in Seychelles' voting record in the United Nations and other international fora.'

The advent of a socialist government in France in 1981 also helped to ease the pressure on the islands' government, 'since France maintained an interest in the region notably through its possession of the island of Reunion and military base in Djibouti'.

SAIMR's role in the attempted coup is mentioned in Brügger's book.⁵ The author described how he spoke to Robert W Brown, a former mercenary who had written a book entitled *Special Forces Operator*. Brown had been involved in mercenary and other military activities in Northern Ireland, the jungles of Laos and Rhodesia, as it was then known. He moved to South Africa and became involved in activities there.

He frequented a restaurant in Johannesburg's Hillbrow suburb, known as La Parisienne. It was known to attract spies, soldiers of fortune and mercenaries on the lookout for employment. Brown met with Maxwell, who told him of an operation, which was designed to carry out a coup in the Seychelles. Brown told Brügger, 'I met Maxwell a handful of times, always at La Parisienne. For all the meetings Maxwell was always dressed in a chalk white navy uniform. I remember the clothes because it happened in the middle of Africa. I also remember that Maxwell was slightly overweight and chain-smoked cigarettes.'

When Brown met Maxwell he was not alone, he always had a young female assistant with him, also dressed in a chalk white naval uniform. She invariably wore a white hat with SAIMR's logo on it. She was blonde and her role was to transcribe every detail of what Maxwell said.

Of crucial importance in later chapters of this book is that the subject that Maxwell talked about the most was AIDS. Brügger had deliberately not told Brown of his own acquaintance with Maxwell and he knew that Brown had not seen his film nor read Susan Williams's book. So, Brügger perked up when Brown said, unprompted, that Maxwell was not interested in AIDS because he was looking for a cure for it, but he was interested in using it as a weapon. Brown told Brügger that others in the environment at La Parisienne had a bad impression of Maxwell.

They said Maxwell was a charlatan and a quack, but Brown did not believe that. Firstly, he could ascertain that Maxwell was clear-thinking and immensely knowledgeable. Secondly, Maxwell knew people deep in the CIA, Mossad and MI6 and he also was well schooled in the world of psychological warfare.

Maxwell's own plan for the capture of the Seychelles was brilliantly conceived because it was so simple and straightforward, which added to his credibility in Brown's eyes. He said talking to Maxwell was like talking to a history professor. About SAIMR, Maxwell told Brown that the organisation went back hundreds of years. It had all started when a group of British sailors had obtained a letter of freedom to operate as pirates against the Spanish pirates. Obviously, in those days, it did not have the name of the South African Institute of Maritime Research, but it probably had some other appellation. The existence of English pirate ships robbing Spanish galleons weighted down with South American gold and silver is well established in countless books.

Over time SAIMR had grown into a global company with far-reaching interests and activities. In his conversation with Brown, Maxwell had spoken of Malta and Hong Kong as places where SAIMR was operating. Something else that made Maxwell credible was that Aida Parker told Brown she was vouching for him. The first time Brown mentioned Aida Parker, Brügger had no idea who she was, but he found out in the days that followed. Parker, who died in 2003, was a British-born South African journalist who ended up working for the South African Intelligence Service as a high-ranking publicity agent.

She was personal friends with people such as General Tienie Groenewald and President PW Botha and had unhindered access to the black heart of the apartheid state. In the years leading up to the collapse of the apartheid state, she began publishing a newsletter aimed at defaming the ANC and white South Africa's enemies. Around the web Brügger discovered he could still find rudiments of the *Aida Parker Newsletter*, which was vehemently right-wing and conspiratorial. Of great importance is the fact that a publicity agent such as Aida Parker put her faith in a person such as Maxwell.

Brügger also found it was interesting that she was friends with persons such as General Tienie Groenewald, who is to play an important part in this investigation. Brown told Brügger that it was Groenewald who recruited him to the military intelligence service. Groenewald, after he left as head of military intelligence, had been sent abroad for further training in psychological warfare. As Brown remembered it, he had either been on a course in Taiwan or South Korea, where he learned at the feet of the experts. Brown also emphatically confirmed that Maxwell was an MI6 agent.

In his articles on 11 November 1990 in *The Sunday Times*, De Wet Potgieter discussed how a widely publicised hunt for sunken treasure was organised as a decoy before the ill-fated invasion of the Seychelles by Hoare and his mercenaries. In charge of the decoy plan was Keith Maxwell, the secretive commander of the SAIMR's pseudo-military Delta unit. The treasure hunt was to distract from Operation Anvil – the SAIMR's codename for the Seychelles coup attempt.

In his memoir Maxwell detailed how he made pods to store weapons, such as AK 47s and rocket launchers similar to those listed as equipment given to Hoare by the SA military. He sailed to the Seychelles with this military equipment and offloaded it there. Maxwell was coy, if not downright untruthful, in dealing with the South African and US involvement.

He said, 'Marshall's [his literary pseudonym] real concern was the difficulty he experienced in dealing with the coup leaders – he was positive governments were involved but which? South Africa? USA? USSR? (unlikely). Maxwell was unhappy with the idea as governments botched things up and then looked for scapegoats. The US attempt to rescue its hostages in Iran was a perfect example of the type of debacle that politicians caused.'

Maxwell's documents given to Potgieter and housed at SAHA revealed a list of the weapons the South African Defence Force supplied to Hoare. It included 60 AK 47s, 15 AMD rifles, 10 RPG rocket launchers with their cleaning kits, slings and magazines and 23,800 rounds plus hand grenades, rockets and 15 radios. If final proof was needed of the involvement of the South African Government, it is provided here. The list of weapons appeared on a South African Defence Force issue voucher, signed by Hoare and someone on behalf of the Defence Force.

One message dated 19 September 1981 from Maxwell to the Commodore Operations with Commodore Wagner's compliments gives detailed orders about the Seychelles project. The main thrust of the message was for the arms, concealed below the sea line on the yacht, to be transferred to two men on the Seychelles islands for use in the coup.

'Take the two passengers aboard, both will have sealed orders signed either by Col Hoare or Ken Dalglish – no other signatures are acceptable. (Col Hoare will only be involved if Ken is indisposed as all negotiations and liaisons are with Ken, the Col will probably be unaware of arrangements with MRU and SAIMR.)'

Dalglish, who has now died, was head of the SAIMR branch in the port city of Durban, while Maxwell was head of SAIMR in Johannesburg. There were clearly very bad feelings between the two leaders as Dalglish had Maxwell's son murdered, according to Maxwell. The circumstances are bizarre, to say the least. After serving with the Royal Marine Commando in England, Maxwell's son, who had just returned to South Africa, died in a motorbike accident. Except it wasn't an accident, as Maxwell discovered, so he was deeply affected. There seems to be some support for this version as one of Maxwell's daughters confirmed that she had a brother who was killed in a motorbike accident.

MRU stands for the Marine Research Unit, another front for SAIMR. What this makes clear is that Dalglish, a well known member of SAIMR, was the principal link with the SADF and SAIMR, and Hoare only came into the picture if Dalglish was unavailable.

SAIMR withdrew from the invasion before Col Hoare flew into Mahe in 1981. SAIMR then helped rescue the two conspirators still hiding on the island. When confronted by Potgieter, Maxwell admitted his involvement. He said personality clashes among the mercenaries were the real reason the institute resolved to abort the coup. SAIMR was supposed to land the weapons and some heavy-calibre armaments on the island to be collected by the Frothblowers. The SAIMR group abandoned the plan following the withdrawal of South African Defence Force (SADF) members from the coup contingent. There was also disagreement between former NIS agent Martin Dolincheck, alias Anton Lubeck, and other members.

When interviewed, Maxwell referred to the SAIMR taskforce leader dubbed Echo, who was also interviewed by Potgieter, and asked for security purposes that his identity be withheld. He said SAIMR was a NATO-like special force which would protect – by military means – both the ecological and strategic interests of friendly African countries. This taskforce would finally be based not in South Africa but either in Somalia or Nigeria. An elite fire force of 500 men would be drawn from South African and Rhodesian defence forces.

The Echo leader explained that SAIMR's sole interest was political and economic stability on the African continent. The recent [1990] bloodshed in Liberia was avoidable and SAIMR would prevent such occurrences. SAIMR had considerable fire power and the capacity to launch ship-to-shore missiles and recoilless guns. These sophisticated weapons had been imported secretly with a false certificate naming the eventual destination as Denmark, and were intended for an Arab country.

Potgieter explained one of SAIMR's most bizarre plans, codenamed Operation Crusader. This was a scheme to topple the Ugandan government of Yoweri Museveni, the then [1990] Organisation of African Unity (OAU) chairman and to put Idi Amin back into power. We know that the CIA was aware of this operation as plans to recruit in the US as well were dropped when the CIA became alarmed.

From this it seems an important section of SAIMR was the intelligence wing, codenamed Delta. The unidentified Echo commander, who spoke to Potgieter, confirmed unequivocally that SAIMR had links with military intelligence in Pretoria, until President de Klerk came to power. The SADF denied this. The Echo commander said they had a much better intelligence gathering network than the SADF and Maxwell confirmed this. 'We severed links with MI [Military Intelligence] because the whole South African intelligence network had gone into turmoil.'

Clearly worried about how much he had told Potgieter, the commander added that the fact that there were links between them did not mean SAIMR did any clandestine operations for military intelligence or the CCB. 'The

only contact I had with the CCB was on a friendly basis through the South African police with Staal Burger and Chappies Maree.'

The friendship between SAIMR and the CCB is of considerable importance. We recall the CCB involvement with the murder of David Webster on Workers' Day 1 May 1989 by Ferdi Barnard and the attack on Bernt Carlsson's successor, United Nations Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari by Barnard and a colleague from the CCB in Namibia in the same year – 1989.

We have discussed the links of Walus's friend and possible co-assassin Alex Vasiliades with the Hani murder. We will find CCB involvement when we look at the death of Namibian human rights activist Anton Lubowski, a man who dedicated his life to trying to ensure equitable redistribution of that country's wealth after independence.

Despite all these revelations, Maxwell told Potgieter SAIMR was a respectable organisation. He claimed that when South Africa became a union in 1910 the group changed its name to the current title. It was clearly not restricted to South Africa because Maxwell explained that its members could be found on both sides of the Atlantic and operated according to a secret code similar to the Freemasons, preferring to remain anonymous.

The group's interests were diverse, but Maxwell told Potgieter that he did not know how SAIMR was funded. 'I have no idea who finances the operation or who the people at the top are. Some orders come from London and others are initiated here in South Africa.' This statement is of very considerable importance when we consider which countries were the initiators of orders for SAIMR operations and, also, in all probability the financiers.

It seemed probable that the finances came either from a government, a large corporation or both. Maxwell had told the press SAIMR had centres in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, as well as a head office just up the road from Sandton in Bergvlei. Employing '50 people directly and a 100 indirectly', it was clearly a substantial organisation.

In Maxwell's memoir he mentioned Operation Celeste, a diabolical plan for dealing with Dag Hammarskjöld in the Congo in 1961. Corroboration for his amazing story comes more than a decade later in the closing days of the TRC in South Africa. Just before the TRC wound up its business and produced its final report, the Chris Hani file was handed to Christelle Terreblanche by the new intelligence division of the South African security services. That file reveals much more about SAIMR and its role in the killing of both UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and the Congo's first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba.

11 | Crash or conspiracy?

‘Speak up – you know what went on. How could you let it go? It’s murder you covered up. Stained blood on your soul.’

Soulfly, Pain

In July 1998 in Cape Town, South Africa, just as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was winding up its task, researcher Christelle Terreblanche, daughter of acclaimed economic historian Sampie Terreblanche, was given a slender file on Chris Hani’s 1993 assassination. The National Intelligence Agency (NIA) handed the file classified as secret to the TRC. Big surprise! Although the 12 files said nothing about Hani, they graphically described events leading up to the death of UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld – and SAIMR’s complicity.

In September 1961, Hammarskjöld learned about fighting between non-combatant UN forces and Moise Tshombe’s Katangese troops. The secretary-general was en-route to negotiate a ceasefire on 18 September when his Douglas DC-6 airliner SE-BDY crashed near Ndola in Zambia (then called Northern Rhodesia). Hammarskjöld and 15 others perished in the crash.

The circumstances of the incident baffled the world for decades. A civil aviation inquiry held immediately after the event was unable to ascribe a cause to the crash, nor was the United Nations’ own Commission of Inquiry in April 1962. Meanwhile, a Rhodesian Commission of Inquiry in February 1962 attributed it to pilot error.

To understand the events leading to the death of Hammarskjöld one needs to consider Africa’s colonial history. After World War I, vast diamond deposits were found in the part of the Congo seized by Belgium. South African mining magnate Ernest Oppenheimer was quick to identify the risk for his diamond monopoly. With financial help from Solly Joel and Barney Barnato, he bought up substantial shares in the company holding the diamond interests, Société Internationale Forestière et Minière du Congo (‘Forminière’).

As World War II approached, De Beers was selling half the diamonds it extracted from the Congo to Germany and the other half to the US and UK. Diamond production nearly doubled between 1936 and 1939 with ten million carats a year being sold – and none of the profits benefited the Congolese people.

The Oppenheimer links with the Belgian companies in Congo were extensive as Forminière also had acquired a 17% stake in Oppenheimer’s

Angolan Diamond Company, the *Campanhia de Diamantes de Angola*. In addition, Oppenheimer also had a small stake in the other major Congolese diamond company, the *Société Minière du Beceka*, which in turn was a subsidiary of the rail company, *Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Bas-Congo au Katanga*.

Tanks Group Services Ltd was a London-based holding company for several railway and mining concerns in Central and East Africa associated with Sir Robert Williams (1860–1938). In 1899 Tanganyika Concessions Ltd (Tanks) was founded on behalf of the Countess of Warwick to exploit minerals in Northern Rhodesia, with Williams as managing director. He was a Scottish mining engineer, pioneering explorer of Africa, entrepreneur and railroad developer who was chiefly responsible for the discovery of the vast copper deposits in Katanga Province (now incorporated in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia).

The Belgian companies operating in the Congo had shares in Tanks, which was partly owned by Anglo American Corporation's holding company RHOAM.¹ Tanks owned the Benguela railway line which roughly follows old trade routes between the ancient Angolan coastal trading centre of Benguela and its hinterland of the Bié plateau. In 1899 the Portuguese Government initiated construction of the railway to give access to the central Angolan plateau and the mineral wealth of the then Congo Free State.

A 99-year concession was granted to Sir Robert Williams on 28 November 1902. His Benguela Railway Company took over the construction from 1 March 1903. The connection to Luau at the border with the Belgian Congo was completed in 1929. The primary purpose was the export trade; domestic Angolan traffic would be of secondary importance.

In its heyday, the Benguela Railway was the shortest way to transport mineral riches from the Congo to Europe. Williams was closely associated – variously as an employee, advisor and partner to Cecil Rhodes in his many enterprises – from their first meeting at the De Beers diamond mine in Kimberley in 1885 until Rhodes's death in 1902. In the late 1950s, the big mining companies paid lobby groups of politicians to delay black majority rule as long as possible. Many of those politicians were Tanks directors, including Lord Robbins, Lord Selborne, Lord Clitheroe and chairman, Captain Waterhouse.

This group concentrated on the 'Federation' (consisting of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) and Katanga, and their objective was 'to bring down the existing leadership of the Conservative Party in the UK and replace it with a Cabinet of Empire men who would order a standstill in Africa, back Tshombe and Welensky to the hilt and defy the UN'. Of great interest to this lobby group were two men: Julian Amery, a director of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and two

Oppenheimer-controlled mines – Daggafontein Mines Ltd and Western Deep Levels, and Sir Patrick Wall.

The first man to attempt breaking the shackles of the huge South African De Beers diamond monopoly was the revolutionary leader Kwame Nkrumah. He thought Ghana's best interests would be better served by leaving the syndicate and starting an independent sales area known as the Free Diamond Market at Pra, near the Ghanaian capital of Accra. His dream was to set up the marketing capital of Africa and stop the dependence on apartheid South Africa.

The head of the newly elected government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Patrice Lumumba, admired Nkrumah and supported his ideas on independent diamond marketing.

In 1959, Lumumba visited New York and told a group of American businessmen that the exploitation of the mineral assets of the Congo should primarily profit its own people and other Africans. 'We have decided to open the gates of the Congo to any foreign investors prepared to help us get the fullest and most immediate value from mineral resources and energy, so that we may achieve full employment, an improved standard of living for our people, and a stable currency for our young country. Belgium will no longer have a monopoly in the Congo.'²

Asked by a New York banker, 'Do you know, for instance, that Congolese uranium is sold in the United States as Belgian uranium, according to a legal and formal agreement between ourselves and Belgium?' Lumumba replied, 'As I have said Belgium won't have a monopoly in the Congo now. From now on we are an independent and sovereign state. Belgium doesn't produce any uranium; it would be to the advantage of both our countries if the Congo and the US worked out their own agreements in future.' According to one observer, the Americans, 'all of whom represented powerful financial interests, looked at one another and exchanged meaningful smiles'.

At the DRC's independence celebrations, Lumumba vowed to ensure that 'our country's land truly benefits its children'. Lumumba would be killed before he could realise this dream – and so would others who dared to share it.

Distinguished Swedish diplomat, economist and author Dag Hammarskjöld was not an obvious target for a political assassination. He served as the second United Nations secretary-general from April 1953 until his death, aged 56, on 18 September 1961. One of only three people to be awarded a posthumous Nobel Prize, Hammarskjöld obtained both a Licentiate of Philosophy and Master of Laws degree in Sweden.

Before he finished his law degree, he had already obtained a job as assistant secretary of the unemployment committee. He always had sympathy for the poor, and from 1930 to 1934 was secretary of a governmental committee on unemployment. During this time he wrote his economics thesis, *The Spread of the Business Cycle* and received a doctorate from Stockholm University.

Trygve Lie resigned from his post as UN secretary-general in 1953. Hammarskjöld was surprised to be appointed, and re-elected in 1957. An efficient man with bold visions for what could be done in a troubled world, Hammarskjöld began his term by establishing a secretariat of 4,000 administrators and setting up regulations that defined their responsibilities. His most difficult and indeed his last mission occurred in Central Africa, as parts of the continent were flexing their muscles to gain independence. In 1960, the newly independent Congo asked for UN aid in defusing the crisis that had arisen in that resource-rich land. Hammarskjöld had a hectic schedule but made time for the drama unfolding in Africa by undertaking four trips to the Congo.

In a film about Hammarskjöld³, his successor as secretary-general, U Thant, speaking on the tenth anniversary of the death, said, 'He was in a very real sense the world's first public servant.'

The film *Cold Case Hammarskjöld* stated that at first [Hammarskjöld] was believed to be a boring Swedish technocrat, but in fact he was a flaming and strong-willed idealist. Hammarskjöld is shown speaking to the United Nations, saying, 'It is very easy to bow to the wish of a big power – it is another matter to resist.'

One of the most important tasks for the UN was to protect the African countries that had recently obtained independence from the tentacles of colonial powers. In the film, narrator Mads Brügger said, 'If ever there was a time when members of the UN were longing for the death of the secretary-general, it was during the reign of Dag Hammarskjöld.'

At the time of independence, the DRC's mineral-rich province of Katanga broke away with backing from Belgium, which was eager to retain access to its wealth. Mercenaries were brought in to fight for Katanga's secession.

Brügger explained, 'Hammarskjöld wants to fix the Katanga crisis so he brings in UN soldiers and he attacks the mercenary army of Katanga thinking it would be a quick fix, but the mercenaries are hard core and it is a disaster for the UN, lots of civilians are killed, also UN soldiers and the UN plan to capture Tshombe and put an end to the war backfired.'

The film makers investigated a recruiting office set up in the Empire Building in downtown Johannesburg in 1961 to attract mercenaries for Katangese President Moise Tshombe. According to their sources, 61 mercenaries were recruited and sent to Katanga in the spring of 1961. Several of them were present at Ndola on the night of the Hammarskjöld crash.

In the book *The Congo Mercenary – A History and Analysis* by SJK Clarke⁴, the author wrote, 'At the beginning of 1961, recruiting offices were established in Johannesburg and Bulawayo. More than 200 English-speaking mercenaries were recruited. These mercenaries were not integrated into gendarmerie units as were the French-speaking soldiers, but formed a separate unit called "Compagnie Internationale", commanded by Captain Browne, an Englishman.'

Clarke maintained that the South African Government approved of these actions when chief of the South African Security Police, General van den Bergh, said in August 1967 that passports would not be issued to mercenaries who wanted to fight the Mobutu Government. 'The situation was "slightly different in the Katanga days", when South African mercenaries were fighting to uphold an existing government.'

That the illegitimate Katangan Government was so regarded shows how the Nationalist Government was working hand-in-glove with companies in the Congo, including Anglo American and its interests. Clarke said the statement that the 'South African mercenaries were fighting to uphold an existing government' was at variance with earlier government statements, themselves often at variance with one another. 'In April 1961 the Minister of External Affairs, Eric Louw, told Parliament the Government had done its best to prevent men from going to the Congo, though if people with valid passports supplied good reason for going to Rhodesia, for example, they could not be prevented. Louw based his defence on this loophole rather than any argument that Katanga had a legitimate government.'

Clarke also pointed out that by 1964, when Katanga's former leader, Tshombe, was the Congolese prime minister, Dr Verwoerd did talk in terms of a 'legitimate government'. Verwoerd said, 'When Katanga had a recognised government, South Africa also gave it supplies. It also allowed the recruitment of mercenaries. Now the Central Government, as a legitimate government, was recruiting and the position was again legal.'

Clarke was correct in asserting that Dr Verwoerd's statement was unsatisfactory in that Katanga was not an internationally recognised government. 'And Van den Bergh's assertion that passports would not be issued to mercenaries to fight against Mobutu's government is not altogether watertight for the reasons Louw gave. Moreover, many of the mercenaries travelled in special aircraft direct from Johannesburg without passports or visas, presumably with official consent.'

We have recorded that Brügger published a book in Danish in November 2022, which can be translated as 'Doctor Maxwell, I presume?'⁶ In this book he dug even further down the rabbit hole and came closer than ever to the truth about SAIMR and the mysterious and violent chain-smoker Keith Maxwell, the institute's last-known leader.

Maxwell mentioned leaving Jan Smuts Airport without going through immigration facilities and, as he flew, he 'wondered what the tie-up was between SAIMR and Moïse Tshombe, President of the République de Congo, if in fact there was any connection'. Maxwell landed at the Kamina air force base which had massive military barracks occupied by the UN peace-keeping force.

Addressing the UN, Hammarskjöld said, 'Mr President, I regret but it

has been necessary for me to call again the attention of the Security Council to the problem we are facing in the Congo.' Brügger said, 'The Americans and the British say to Hammarskjöld you have to fix this now. They are very angry at him now. He has moved beyond his mandate – he has gone rogue. That is why he flies into Katanga for a meeting with Moïse Tshombe, hoping that he can broker a peace deal with him and bring an end to the fighting.'

If the cause of death of Hammarskjöld was innocent, one wonders why the authorities at the time buried the wreckage and why they prevented Brügger and his team from digging up the wreckage to find out if there were any signs of a bomb on board.

The film highlights other worrying features, including why the lights of the airport were switched off and why the airport traffic controller destroyed all the records for that night. The air traffic controller on the night in question, who is interviewed in the movie and referred to as Martin, claimed that he did not see a flash in the sky as other people in Ndola were sure they saw. He was supposed to make notes of what the pilot was saying while approaching the airport. For some reason he destroyed his notes the next day. So, two days later he had to rewrite them. The African witnesses interviewed in the movie said they heard a jet and gave accounts that were consistent with the plane being shot down.

A police officer told photographer Norman Kenward to take photographs of the crash site, which he did. A few days later he met the same police officer who told him that Hammarskjöld had the 'death card' in his pocket – the ace of spades. It transpired later in the film that placing that card on a body was an indication that the CIA was involved. Kenward was told not to tell anyone and for years he kept it a secret.

Göran Björkdahl said, 'It's clear there were a lot of circumstances pointing to possible involvement by Western powers. The motive was there – the threat to the West's interests in Congo's huge mineral deposits. Hammarskjöld was trying to stick to the UN charter and the rules of international law.'

Hammarskjöld's efforts toward the decolonisation of Africa were considered insufficient by the Soviet Union; no doubt the communists were as anxious to lay their hands on the Congo treasures as the Belgian companies were to retain them.

In September 1960, the Soviet government denounced the decision to send a UN emergency force to the DRC. They demanded Hammarskjöld's resignation and replacement of the office of secretary-general by a three-man directorate with a built-in veto, the Troika. Citing the memoirs of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the objective was to 'equally represent interests of three groups of countries: capitalist, socialist and recently independent'. Russia had its own agenda in those parts of the world that were newly independent and crammed with valuable minerals.

On 19 August 1998 TRC chairman Archbishop Desmond Tutu held a press conference and released eight of the documents found by Christelle Terreblanche in the file on the assassination of Chris Hani. He said the TRC, whose mandate expired at the end of July 1998, was unable to investigate the veracity of the letters or the allegations that South African and/or Western intelligence agencies played a role in the Hammar skjöld air crash.

As this was a very hot topic, it was surprising that the world's media, and the press in South Africa, largely ignored these explosive allegations.

In South Africa there is a right-wing military, security and police magazine, with the title *Nongquai*, which deals with news and articles – mostly from retired apartheid generals and officers. In its September 2019 edition, under the rubric 'Republic of South Africa Intelligence', appears an article by Peta Thornycroft headed, 'The South African Institute of Maritime Research'.

Thornycroft grew up in Zimbabwe and moved to South Africa where she worked for the Durban *Daily News*. Her reporting covered the evils of apartheid and she also reported from Angola and the Congo, writing about gun runners and South Africa's secret chemical and biological warfare projects. She has subsequently returned to Zimbabwe, where she has conducted brave research and reporting, with the result that she is the first International Women's Media Foundation Courage-in-Journalism Lifetime Achievement recipient.

The article explained why it was appearing in print 20 years after it was written. Though the matter is far from clear, it would seem that the article was suppressed because the powers that be wished to suppress any mention of SAIMR. It recorded an interview with Keith Maxwell, also known as Maxwell Annandale, two weeks after the TRC revealed the documents, therefore in early September 1998.

According to the article, 'The top-secret 1961 plot to kill United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammar skjöld was a series of messages between two South African men living in Johannesburg who called themselves Commodore and Captain. The men whose names appear in the top-secret notes Commodore Bob Wagner and Captain Ian Kerr were deleted off the headline-catching documents, released to the media by the Truth Commission two weeks ago. Both Kerr and Wagner are dead, according to Annandale. The documents on the letterhead of the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR) refer to an operation called 'Celeste' to assassinate UN Chief Hammar skjöld in Katanga, Conor Cruise O'Brien and the UN Force Commander General Sean McKeown.'

The article also stated that the operation was named after Ian Kerr's daughter Celeste, who went to Queen's High School in Kensington, Johannesburg. 'The secret telephone number on the Hammar skjöld documents belonged to one of Celeste's youthful admirers.' We learn that 'the

top-secret documents were found more than a year ago by TRC investigators within the military archives in Pretoria and when they were released the Hammarskjöld plot made headlines around the world.'

Thornycroft said, 'The Hammarskjöld plot was only one of the African adventures leaked over the years to the press, all written in exciting military jargon and on letterheads of the South African Institute for Maritime Research. But the reality may be something simpler. If the SAIMR existed it was about men dressing up in quasi-naval uniform, who belonged to an apparently secret organization, which had offices, dinners and whose leader was called 'the Flag'. They had their own ensign and only stood up for their own anthem.'

She described other projects. 'Among the other secret documents, with the SAIMR logo, which have been doing the rounds for some years are plans (and SAIMR advertised in the press) to recruit mercenaries to reinstate Ugandan tyrant Idi Amin. There is a list in the SAIMR dossier of men who wanted to join the expedition.' Given the central theme of this book, it is of great significance that Thornycroft mentioned one name on the list being Janus Waluś, who murdered SACP boss Chris Hani in 1993.

We have discussed the attempted coup of the Seychelles in the previous chapter and Maxwell told Thornycroft about that fiasco. Note that Maxwell referred to himself on occasion as Annandale and on others as Maxwell. We learn further that, 'There is another document discussing a possible coup in Zimbabwe and a series of messages in maritime language about a voyage to Seychelles, called Operation Santiago. In a 1990 South African press report Keith Annandale, who also says he was a Commodore in SAIMR, said his organization, were the movers and shakers behind the chaotic 1981 coup attempt in the Seychelles, but this week he said that SAIMR had pulled out of the operation at the last minute because it was to have been executed in an amateurish way.'

Maxwell then addressed the Congo situation and Thornycroft recorded his views. 'Annandale, who has been the source of some of the reports about SAIMR, said in 1990 he was 43 that would have made him 17, when he went to the Congo to fight for Katangese separatists as a mercenary, after he had already served the South African army and done pre-Congo training in a secret SAIMR camp. Puren, a former top aide to Katangese strong man Moise Tshombe, said he did not recall Annandale, nor did he believe there were more than 50 SAIMR trained mercenaries in the Congo, as Annandale claims. Puren said he had never heard of SAIMR. Puren said, however, that Annandale's information about the Congo sounded genuine.'

That SAIMR continued in business into the early 1990s is clear from what Thornycroft reported later in the article. 'Annandale also claimed that SAIMR had done a deal with the ANC's spokesman at the time, Saki Macozoma, who

he says promised them a white homeland, but he said, just before democratic elections in 1994, all but about three SAIMR members emigrated.'

We learn something of Maxwell's earlier life from Thornycroft's article. 'Annandale said he went to the Congo in 1964. Previously he said he had been in the South African army and, after a personal tragedy, he had a breakdown and found himself at a quasi-military camp, learning ciphers, codes, interrogation methods etc. prior to going to serve in the Congo. He has over the years given several journalists top secret documents, with messages between him and Commodore Wagner. Some of those documents found their way into intelligence files in Pretoria, where they were investigated at the time and then filed, which is maybe how the TRC picked them up.'

The journalist revealed what the sinister quack was up to. 'Annandale, now a homeopath on the East Rand ... has written a fictionalised account of his life, some of which reads like some of the secret codes of SAIMR, full of romantic code names, exciting adventures and heroism. Since the release of the TRC Hammarskjöld plot, the NIA said it will investigate the documents to see if there is anything of substance.'

Finally, we learn more about his early love. 'And the lovely Celeste? Annandale said this week he had adored Celeste, daughter of "Captain Kerr" from afar, when he was a youngster, and that's how he happened to remember the phone number, which also happens to appear on one of the secret documents, planning the assassination of Hammarskjöld.'

In 2014, Oxford scholar Dr Susan Williams updated her book, *Who Killed Hammarskjöld?*, and referred to the papers that Terreblanche had found, which provided proof of the plot with the sinister name of 'Operation



The logo on the South African Institute of Maritime Research documents

Celeste', which we have been discussing. The letters were headed with the Johannesburg address of the mysterious SAIMR.

These revelations prompted the diplomat's nephew, Knut Hammarskjöld, to call for the United Nations to reopen its inquiry. On 16 March 2015 UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed a three-member panel, led by the Chief Justice of Tanzania, to investigate Hammarskjöld's death. The panel's 99-page report, released on 6 July 2015, suggested that the plane was already on fire as it landed and that other jet aircraft and intelligence agents were nearby.

According to the *Daily News* of 26 August 2016, Ban issued a follow-up note urging anyone to search for more material to help solve the mystery. All these materials would be used in a 'further investigation to finally establish the facts of the matter'. According to the article, 'any further enquiry would benefit from an assessment of potential new information, including from South Africa and other sources'. Ban then called for the General Assembly to 'appoint an eminent person to review any new information which may exist' to determine the scope of a further enquiry.

After World War II, the United States had emerged as the leading nation in the Allies victory, virtually unscathed by the hostilities. In 1947, the US foreign intelligence service, the CIA, was created in terms of the National Security Act, as was the National Security Council (NSC). The duties of the CIA were to 'perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security, as the National Security Council may from time to time direct'.

CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline later conceded that these functions referred to covert action, which only the president could authorise. On 18 June 1948, the NSC passed directive NSC 10/2 which authorised the CIA to carry out covert action across the world. This was defined as 'activities ... which are conducted ... by this government ... which ... if uncovered the US Government can plausibly disclaim any responsibility for them ... such operations shall include ... propaganda, economic warfare; preventive direct action, including sabotage ... [and] demolition ...' 'Preventative direct action' seems to be a euphemism for murder as all the other categories of action are covered.

The logo on the SAIMR documents found by Christelle Terreblanche features a woman wearing a Cutty Sark (a short petticoat) and is clearly modelled on the woman, depicted in Robert Burns's poem Tam O' Shanter: the wanton witch Nannie Dee who beguiles a drunk Tam to dance. The sight of her dancing in such a short undergarment caused Tam to cry out, 'Weel done, Cutty-sark', which subsequently became a well known catchphrase. Realising he is in trouble, Tam rides off on his horse pursued by Nannie, who grabs part of the horse's tail.

Subsequently a fleet of ships were named Cutty Sarkes. On each ship was



The ship's figurehead shows Cutty-Sark, the nickname of the witch Nannie Dee who chases Tam o' Shanter, snatching his horse's tail before he escapes by crossing water

a figurehead of a bare-breasted Nannie Dee, with long black hair, holding a grey horse's tail in her hand.

The first Cutty Sark was a British clipper. Built on the River Leven, Dumbarton, Scotland in 1869 for the Jock Willis Shipping Line, she was one of the last tea clippers to be built and one of the fastest, coming at the end of a long period of design development, which halted as sailing ships gave way to steam propulsion.

Susan Williams wrote that Major Patrick Wall, Conservative MP and Royal Marine commando, was one British maritime expert who took a keen interest in the Cutty Sark in the 1950s. He drew attention to the ship's restoration in the House of Commons in 1960. 'In addition to enthusing about the clipper itself, Wall was a fervent supporter of a cause that the ship was seen to symbolize: the Cape Route between the UK and the Far East, which the Cutty Sark had sailed faster than any other clipper.'

She continues, 'For Wall, as for many others on the political right wing, it was vital to keep the Cape Route open in order to resist Soviet Communism. He vigorously defended the Simonstown Agreement of 1955 between Britain and South Africa, which gave the Royal Navy the right to continue using its former South African base to protect the Cape Route. He regarded the Cape as the crossroads of British trade and the back door of NATO.'

Wall thought the maritime power of England represented the golden age of an empire created largely as a result of sea power. Sampie Terreblanche wrote about how important naval power was and why SAIMR had the maritime theme, stating, 'The fact that Western maritime empires contributed

to the process of globalisation is indeed the truly unique characteristic of these empires. They succeeded in the process of globalisation because they were maritime empires. These empires integrated all the continents, islands and oceans into an increasingly interdependent globalised world. To succeed in this endeavour the Western empires – at first European countries and, in due course, also Western offshoots – needed initially not only long-range sailing ships (and in time more efficient intercontinental means of transport and communication), but above all sufficient military capacity to control the oceans and the intercontinental trade routes, to conquer Western territories and peoples, and to defend their empires against attacks on them by other Western empires and by the colonised people themselves.⁷

The ‘long-range sailing ships’ were the Cutty Sark. While Williams did not find an express link with SAIMR, the facts are revealing.⁸ She said that Africa was of great importance to Wall, who was a champion of white minority rule against the threat of African nationalism sweeping down from the north of the continent.

SAIMR’s finances also have a British connection. In Brügger’s book⁹ it was recorded that Williams had a set of accounts for SAIMR for 1982–83, with an income of R900,000, present-day value R9 million. The income accrued from precious stones, medical clinics, ownership of a company registered on the Isle of Man, sale of information, and proceeds of diving and sailing activities. The reference to medical clinics is of interest, when we consider the AIDS campaign, and the connection to the Isle of Man links it with British Intelligence. It is well known that the Isle of Man is a popular tax haven and venue for laundering dirty money, so it might well have been utilised by British Intelligence to finance SAIMR.

Also, the sale of information points to intelligence-gathering activities. One of the two persons who signed these accounts was the leader of the murder-and-mayhem Echo cell section. Brügger said he once met an Afrikaner at Addis Ababa International Airport, who told him that the secrets of SAIMR and Tienie Groenewald lay on the Isle of Man, where the accounting would have taken place, and the money had been hidden that financed all these ventures.¹⁰

Williams provided numerous facts and circumstances which showed that Wall must have been closely connected to SAIMR and that he would have had a motive to kill Hammarskjöld. She said that Wall’s reaction to Operation Morthor, the UN’s military offensive on 13 September 1961 against Tshombe’s white mercenaries, was one of fury. ‘He demanded that Macmillan recall Parliament for two debates: one on UN action in Katanga; the other on the Northern Rhodesian proposals. Like most of the extreme UK right-wingers who belonged to the Monday Club and supported the Katanga Lobby, Wall loathed Dag Hammarskjöld.’

The links between Wall and the events in Africa were close. According to Williams, Wall bought land and property in Rhodesia in the early 1950s and became a trusted confidante of Roy Welensky. Less than two days after Hammarskjöld died, Welensky wrote to Wall 'to express his anger at Conor Cruise O'Brien in particular and at the British government more generally'. He agreed with Wall's strong opinions that the British would endeavour 'to string the Northern Rhodesian thing out to separate it from Katanga'.

The creators of the disaster were in contact again with a letter on 24 October 1961 in which Welensky told Wall the 'only time' he had 'got really tough' with the British government was over Katanga. Williams obtained much of this information from the surviving materials in Patrick Wall's archives. There must have been more incriminating confessions, as someone sanitised many of the documents, for the relevant period, which were held at Hull University.

In the Tanks annual report, on whose board Anglo American's Harry Oppenheimer sat as a director, Chairman Captain Waterhouse boasted that Union Minière and Tanks had 'played no small part in enabling the independent African government of the province (Katanga) to establish itself'.¹¹ Clearly Oppenheimer was making the maximum use of the intelligence skills he had acquired during World War II and honed to perfection over the intervening years.

Welensky had strong views about the role the UN was playing in the Congo. In April 1961 Welensky told the British Foreign Secretary that if Britain did not intervene to protect Katanga, then he would take matters in his own hands.¹² He confided in Tanks and was clearly speaking to an ally. 'I have been shocked with the views that have been expressed to me from the Foreign Office,' he told Tanks chairman, Charles Waterhouse, 'and I've taken great exception to the attitude of Hammarskjöld.' The letters showed a continuous engagement between Tanks and Welensky. On 23 August 1961 Welensky wrote to Pat Cochran at the Tanks office in Salisbury to indicate that Cochran's suggestion of sending federal advisers to help Tshombe was not adequate.

The last of the enquiries commissioned by the United Nations into Dag Hammarskjöld's death resulted in a report by Mohamed Chande Othman on 12 September 2019.¹³ Othman referred to 'Correspondence of 25 September 1961 between the Canadian External Affairs representative in London and Basil Boothby [then head of the Africa Department at the Foreign Office]. It was stated that the latter had agreed during meetings that the British policy has 'in relation to Katanga continually suffered from an element of dubiety. The pressures of Col Waterhouse and Tanganyika Concessions Holdings [Tanks] which has interlocking interests with Union Minière may have been exerted clandestinely'.

He went on to say, 'Although the United Kingdom strongly denied

allegations of any involvement in the death of Hammarskjöld, the apparent admission of the influence that British commercial interests had on Katanga policy, are an important sphere for further searches, particularly given that the role played by other linked commercial interests in Katanga, such as UMHK, was pivotal.¹⁴

Welensky brought in the British prime minister when he wrote to him on 4 September 1961 saying, 'I must now reserve the right to act as I think best.' He was going to throw caution to the wind and four days later he approached Tanks chairman Waterhouse saying he was quite sure that 'UNO are determined to destroy Tshombe'. Clearly in a pugilistic frame of mind despite flu he said, 'Finally, I just want to say to you that I shall go on to the bitter end on this issue. I want no-one to have any illusions about where I stand.'¹⁵

Two foes were now drawn up against each other. The forces bent on achieving genuine Congolese independence and sharing the great wealth with the citizenry, and those trying to stop them. In Gary Allighan's 1961 book, *The Welensky Story*,¹⁶ the mission of the man was clear. 'As the great convex slab of a continent lurches away from the sun towards the night of Communist-exploited racialism, this man Welensky is engaged in a valiant endeavour to prevent the remaining light from the guttering candle of Western democratic civilisation in Africa from being extinguished.'

Juxtaposed to that was the secretary-general's world view, and explanation of his role, which amounted to prime minister of the world. He told South Africa's prime minister and creator of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, that racism was unacceptable and a serious breach of the UN Charter. Hammarskjöld spelt it out in his last annual report, where he insisted that the world was duty-bound to obey four cardinal rules; equal political rights; equal economic opportunities; justice; and the prohibition of the use of armed force. Nine days later, Dag Hammarskjöld boarded a plane which was headed for Ndola airport, and was bombed out of the sky, with his colleagues, just before landing.

12 | Operation Celeste

‘The growth of Intelligence abuses reflects a more general failure of our basic institutions.’

US Senator Frank Church (1976)

As we have learned the documents handed to Archbishop Tutu mentioned a secret ‘Operation Celeste’ and were headed with SAIMR’s Johannesburg address. Susan Williams obtained a handwritten letter addressed to ‘Lieutenant’ Bob Wagner on 17 June 1947 by a man called F Malan, who described himself as Commodore of SAIMR. The letter informed Wagner that Rear-Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, head of the US Central Intelligence Group (later the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)), was interested in events in South Africa as well as South-West Africa (Namibia), as he felt the ‘Russkis’ would make ‘increasingly bold attempts to undermine His Majesty’s authority in these areas’.

Clearly Hillenkoetter contacted Malan as head of SAIMR with his concerns. This immediately shows us the collaboration between SAIMR and the US intelligence agencies, as well as their mutual fear of the Russians. We can conclude, moreover, that the events that unfolded were a co-operative operation, aimed at preserving the minerals of the two territories and opposing any intervention by the Soviet Union.

Commodore Malan went on to suggest that Wagner should take up an offer to travel to the US and learn something from the secret service there, as a way of advancing his position in SAIMR; his cover would be that of a metallurgy expert and Anglo American would provide him with the required accreditation and training. The fact that Malan’s role had to be convincing meant, of course, that he had to spend some considerable time with Anglo to get respectable accreditation, while undergoing the training. All this suggests some considerable time and effort on the part of the company, regarded by many as the South African economic octopus.

This mission was to be ‘Top Secret’ – ‘under no circumstances must your connection to SAIMR be revealed to anybody over there’.¹ That Anglo American was included must be because of their dominance in the South African and Namibian economies through their mining and other economic interests.

Keith Maxwell had written in his memoir that he was accepted into SAIMR by a Commodore R Wagman, whom we know is Wagner. Wagner was

mentioned in connection with the abortive coup in the Seychelles. Among the documents handed to journalist De Wet Potgieter, a large number of letters and signals (many of them secret), emanated from the hand of Wagner, who was clearly still in charge of affairs in the 1980s. We will later hear an astonishing account of SAIMR's activities from Alexander Jones, who appears in Brügger's film, and met Wagner as an old and fragile man in the early 1990s.

The letter about SAIMR's revival is vitally important in assessing who was behind the organisation or, at the very least, was aware of what it was going to do. The letter explained that Wagner would travel to America and probably link up with the CIA, or a similar body, and learn the ropes to advance his position in SAIMR. So SAIMR would be doing the sort of work undertaken by secret services, in their sphere of influence.

His secret work would evidently be illegal, or too damaging to be disclosed. His contact man at Anglo American would doubtless go to the top and ask Harry Oppenheimer whether this was all kosher. After all, Anglo was a highly respected giant of the South African economy, commanding more than 80% of the shares on the South African stock exchange.

There is no evidence that SAIMR Commodore F Malan was the same person as fighter pilot ace and World War II hero Sailor Malan, but there are possible connections that are riveting. Born in South Africa in an Afrikaans-speaking household, Sailor Malan travelled the world before deciding on a flying career. In January 1936 he joined the RAF and became a legend in the Battle of Britain with his cool audacity, lauded on the front pages of every newspaper. As such, he was the first pilot in the RAF to be awarded both the DSO & bar and the DFC & bar for his prowess and courage.

Near the end of the war, he met another service man in intelligence, Harry Oppenheimer, who persuaded him to join Anglo American when he returned to South Africa in 1946. Harry Oppenheimer's early career in intelligence certainly schooled him well, imparting skills useful to pilot the largest corporation in South Africa through the stormy waters of apartheid and the machinations of other competing companies.

At first, Sailor Malan was based at Anglo Head Office in Johannesburg. After the war, Harry Oppenheimer was exercising his political ambitions and had become MP for Kimberley in the 1948 General Election, which saw the Nationalist Government of Dr DF Malan come to power. In Anthony Hocking's hagiography *Oppenheimer and Son*, the author described Sailor Malan as Harry's 'private and political secretary'. In fact, he said, 'he became Harry's personal assistant'¹. So, who better than the fighter ace to deal with the communist menace and other political battles faced by Anglo American after World War II?

Roscoe Hillenkoetter also had a distinguished career in intelligence. He was the third director of the post-World War II United States Central

Intelligence Group (CIG), the third Director of Central Intelligence (DCI), and the first director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 1 May 1947 to 7 October 1950. Hillenkoetter was periodically called to testify before Congress and specialised in Soviet intelligence. This was the right man for Wagner to visit in the US and obviously there had been considerable communications between Malan and Hillenkoetter, who 'was interested in events in the Union as well as the Colony (South West Africa)'. So, Wagner would be trained in intelligence methods to combat the communist aggression in South Africa and South West Africa. The fact that Hillenkoetter had a naval background would certainly fit in well with the South African Institute of Maritime Research's alleged seafaring avocation.

We have mentioned the Mohamed Chande Othman's report on Hammar skjöld's death on 12 September 2019.² Othman considered the documents about Operation Celeste and the role of SAIMR and noted, 'The Hammar skjöld Commission examined the documents in 2013 but ... was guarded about their credibility, but noted that they might have some value as secondary evidence of sabotage, subject to being examined forensically ... In the 2015 and 2017 reports, the probative value of the SAIMR documentation could not be finally assessed, as access to the documentation or other assistance with searches was not provided by South Africa.'³

Othman continued, 'In 2018/19, information was received regarding the SAIMR documents from the *Cold Case Hammar skjöld* film team, who also arranged for an interview to be conducted with Alexander Jones, a former South African soldier, who was employed in a paramilitary capacity by SAIMR. The film team facilitated a meeting between the Independent Appointee of Sweden and Jones in 2019 as part of the Dag Hammar skjöld investigation.'

Apart from the information given to the Brügger film team, Jones gave several facts that corroborate his version about his recruitment and activities with SAIMR. 'During the interview, Jones stated he had entered the South African military service, when he was 16 or 17 years old and had trained in the intelligence unit. He felt his service to be an honour, as he had always wanted to be a soldier. At the time of leaving high school around 1989 or 1990, Jones saw an advertisement in the newspaper *The Citizen* stating that an organisation was looking for people for military operations. It was his opinion that there was no future in the South African Defence Force, so he was interested in the advertisement for financial reasons.' George Bizos had questioned Chris Hani's killer, Janusz Waluś, about this very same advertisement. Waluś had denied he joined SAIMR.

Jones explained that he and some friends responded to the advertisement and were invited to a meeting that took place in central Johannesburg at the hotel in the old Carlton Centre. 'At the meeting, he was told the organization

was called the South African Institute for Maritime Research, or SAIMR. He noted that it seemed to follow naval traditions – SAIMR used a satellite naval base linked to the South African Navy at Wemmer Pan in Johannesburg as a base of operations, he said.⁴

Jones stated that at the recruitment meeting around 1990, ‘Applicants were introduced to two individuals: Keith Maxwell, who appeared to be in his late 40s or 50s and who was introduced as “the Commodore”, and an unnamed junior person. They displayed “propaganda”, or marketing material about SAIMR, to the potential recruits. This included sets of three big photographs that the applicants were told showed the most successful SAIMR operations, which involved the assassination of a high-ranking person. Neither the operation nor the high-ranking person was further described at that time. Jones understood that the photographs were displayed as propaganda to explain to recruits the ideology of SAIMR as an operational paramilitary organization, which would allow recruits to see action and make money.’⁵

Othman held further that, ‘When displaying the photographs of the operation, Commodore Maxwell appeared very proud and clearly stated that he was part of that specific operation, in which they successfully assassinated the high-ranking official. He stated that it took place in 1960 in the Congo, but Jones did not understand any specific significance or who the official might have been. In one of the photographs, three men were standing by burned out trees. Jones formed the view that it was a very young Maxwell in the photograph, together with a man he later came to know as “Captain Cedars” and a third individual, whom he did not know. The second photograph was of trees in the burned forest. The third photograph was what Jones described as being a plane crash showing burned wreckage, in which a propeller was also seen. He stated that this was the only time he saw those photographs.’⁶

Othman said, ‘Jones stated that after the recruitment meeting, he joined SAIMR and was involved in an operational cell called the Delta Unit. Each cell was unaware of the identities of the people in other cells and had different operational functions, including administration and finance. Because of his intelligence training, Jones became a Lieutenant, a junior officer in the organization. Cedars, an American, was the commanding officer of the Delta Unit and was a similar age to Maxwell, in his late 40s or 50s at that time.’⁷

For mysterious reasons that challenge his courage, Othman still appeared to have doubts about the existence of SAIMR, although Jones provided more corroborative detail. ‘Regarding Maxwell, Jones stated he would wear a Nelson-era British-style naval uniform with epaulettes and a sword. Jones noted the organization was pompous and fanatical about English naval traditions. In terms of other senior officials, Jones met on one occasion a “Flag Commodore Wagner”, who at the time was in his late 70s or 80s and who was ranked higher than Maxwell, who was then a Commodore, but later started

referring to himself as Flag Commodore. Of other ranking officials, Jones was also aware of a Lieutenant Commander Pike and a Dalgleish. He was aware of the name Malan but had only heard of the name.⁸

It will be recalled that F Malan arranged for Wagner to train with Anglo American to carry out his cover as a metallurgist when he was running SAIMR in the late 1940s. Othman said further, 'Jones stated that he never knew who the financiers of SAIMR were, but his perception was that it was being funded externally, as Maxwell never had money himself. He noted that at some of the important meetings, one or two foreigners would join, including French and British (as he ascertained by accents). He was not aware of whether SAIMR was affiliated with other governments.'⁹

Othman's craven scepticism about the existence of SAIMR is refuted by the numerous documents and accounts of the activities of the organisation. Jones said, 'The logo of SAIMR [the witch Nan with her hand grabbing the remains of the horse's tail] was known to members and was the same across the organization. It was on all SAIMR papers and insignias. Jones believed that the same logo had been used over time and had not changed.'¹⁰

Othman seemed to believe in Jones's credibility and gave the latter's reasons for leaving the organisation. 'Jones stated that he left SAIMR in 1993 because his ideology had changed. He wished to make clear that he was a different person to who he was when he joined SAIMR, that it had been difficult to come out and talk about the organization and that he had done so with great personal sacrifice to himself and his family. Jones stated he had not previously spoken about his experiences with historian Susan Williams or journalists. If true, this would mean the statements made by the anonymous source to Williams (who said that he had previously been a member of SAIMR and spoke of certain similar attributes of SAIMR and/or Maxwell) are corroborated by Jones's statements.'¹¹

Othman himself explored to some extent the corroborative material for the existence of SAIMR. He said, 'There appear to be links between SAIMR and Katanga. For example, the mercenary "Mad" Mike Hoare is referred to in later SAIMR documents from the 1980s. There are allegations that SAIMR also operated as part of, or had links to, South African and/or British special forces and that its personnel included ex-Rhodesian soldiers.'¹²

Susan Williams analysed the documents in the 1960 file, which offer a commentary on events in the Congo and the secession of Katanga in July 1960. Katanga had parted company with the rest of Congo at the behest of the mining companies, especially those controlled by Belgian mining giant Société Générale (SG), to avoid the great wealth benefiting the Congolese people. The Katangan operations were run by Tanks, which owned 134,016 of the 414,000 voting shares in SG subsidiary Union Minière. Tanks was closely tied to Anglo American.

The next document in the file has more revelations. 'We have it on good authority,' that 'UNO [United Nations Organization] will want to get its greedy paws on the province.' Katanga was crammed with minerals, including diamonds, copper and tin that was the economic backbone of the Congo. The Belgian companies dominated the Congolese economy with more than 70% of the copper, cobalt, diamond and uranium products.

The Belgian colonial government had a substantial stake, valued at \$640 million in 1960, in the private sector with 50% in more than 20 companies. Union Minière made total net profits during the period from 1950 to 1959 of \$620 million. This was an immense fortune when one considers that one dollar then would be worth \$44 at the time of writing. The reference to the 'greedy paws' of the UNO must mean that the mining companies, dominating the Katanga province, were fearful of losing the unlimited treasure there. That the UNO wanted the minerals for itself is unthinkable, and the only sensible meaning was that the UNO wanted to accede to the plan to redistribute the wealth to the people.

The next paragraph shows that 'Commodore' was involved in the military forces deployed there. He refers to SAIMR's agent in the region, 'Congo Red', and a possible need to bolster his combat units which would need to be prepared to take on Baluba warriors as well as UN forces. They would be given adequate quantities of 7.62 mm FN rifles. At that time the Belgian-manufactured FN rifle was standard issue for South African troops and doubtless the SA military could easily provide these. The Baluba warriors were the supporters of Patrice Lumumba, who was committed to saving the mineral wealth for the Congolese people.

From the following paragraph it emerged clearly that SAIMR was not part of the intelligence services, but a separate entity. 'At a meeting between MI5, Special Ops Executive, and SAIMR,' begins one of the documents, entitled ORDERS, 'the following emerged, Dag has requested that block-busters [large bombs] be shipped to Katanga via South Africa and Rhodesia – both Dr V [Hendrik Verwoerd, the Prime Minister of South Africa] and Sir Roy [Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Federation] have refused.'

From this cable it is certain that SAIMR met Western intelligence agencies to plot the Hammarskjöld's downfall. The role of Verwoerd and Welensky was highly antagonistic towards Lumumba and the UNO. Anglo American strongly supported Welensky and his United Federal Party and made donations to the party of some £5,000 every year.

Hammarskjöld needed arms to combat the rebels fighting Lumumba's democratically elected government. The sinister orders are then spelled out. 'UNO is becoming troublesome and it is felt that Hammarskjöld should be removed. Allen Dulles agrees and has promised full cooperation from his people. He tells us that Dag will be in Léopoldville on or about 12/9/61. The

aircraft ferrying him will be a DC 6 in the livery of 'TRANSAIR', a Swedish Company.'

At the time Dulles was head of the CIA and responsible for numerous dirty tricks operations. Othman referred to the role of the United States and the findings of the 'Church Committee of 1975/76, on alleged assassination plots, involving foreign leaders. According to that report, Allen Dulles, the head of CIA, informed a CIA station officer in Leopoldville, that in high quarters the removal of Lumumba was an urgent and prime objective of CIA covert action. Shortly thereafter the CIA's clandestine service formulated a plot to assassinate Lumumba. The plot proceeded to the point that lethal substances and instruments, specifically intended for use in an assassination, were delivered by the CIA to the Congo, but that the plot was not ultimately carried out.'¹³

Othman is not correct about the last sentence in the quote above. In his book *JFK vs Allen Dulles: Battleground Indonesia* ¹⁴ Greg Poulgrain of the University of the Sunshine Coast, Australia, dealt with the assassinations. Poulgrain said, 'The Church Committee found that the death of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, which occurred three days before Kennedy's inauguration, was directly instigated by Allen Dulles.'

Poulgrain elaborated further, 'In arranging for an agent to kill Lumumba, Dulles had left a paper trail in the form of a telegram to Leopoldville, September 24, 1960: "We wish [to] give every possible support in eliminating Lumumba from any possibility [of] resuming governmental position...."'

He clarified what was meant by the euphemism 'elimination'. 'The Church investigation found that two days later the Congo CIA station officer (Hedgman) contacted a CIA go-between named Joseph Scheider (alias Joseph Braun) who did not himself kill Lumumba, but was responsible for the group of persons who did. Answering a Church Committee question, Hedgman replied: It is my recollection that he (Dulles) advised me, or my instructions were, to eliminate Lumumba. Question: By eliminate, do you mean assassinate? Hedgman: Yes.'

Poulgrain mentioned another important factor that linked Dulles to Ndola. '[T]here was a CIA plane full of communication equipment, its engines operating but stationary on the Ndola airstrip, the same night that Hammarskjöld's plane was due to land. Two such planes had just arrived at Ndola but only one of these was operating on the night, its engines running to provide power for the communications equipment that the CIA personnel were using inside the plane ... one had come in from Pretoria and one from Leopoldville, where they were under the command of the respective US defence or air attachés ... The CIA communications plane on Ndola airstrip had the capacity to communicate with the Albertina and may well have made a record of the final words coming from the Albertina. On the other

hand, it is highly unlikely that self-incriminating evidence would ever be made available.'

If all covert operations needed the US President's authorisation, Dulles would have had to ask John F Kennedy who took office on 20 January 1961 to give the go-ahead for the assassination of Hammarskjöld. During the hostilities between Katanga and Lumumba weak radio contact caused problems in Katanga. British secret service MI6 agent Neil Ritchie turned to Union Minière for help with better radio contact and the mining company smuggled a radio transmitter over the border.

They also sent an engineer from Brussels, whose name was Loeb, to help set it up. Loeb arrived first in Salisbury (Harare), where he was assisted by Anglo American, which had offices there and was also active in the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt. 'We are pleased to report that Loeb arrived in Kitwe last night,' reported a telegram from Anglo American to Union Minière in Brussels, on 15 September 1961. 'We were able to assist him on from Salisbury. The equipment to be installed has arrived in Kitwe. We shall be glad to help you in future whenever required.'

Othman maintained that a British agent was instrumental in setting up the meeting that led to Hammarskjöld's death. He said, 'For historical reasons, the United Kingdom had a significant presence in Africa around the Congo in 1961 ... Neil Ritchie was confirmed as an agent of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) who was working undercover as First Secretary to the British High Commission in Salisbury. Ritchie was a pivotal participant in the events leading up to the plane crash as it was he, with others including the British Consul in Katanga, Denzil Dunnett, and the British High Commissioner in Salisbury, Lord Alport, who, in September 1961, arranged for the meeting in Ndola with Tshombe to which Hammarskjöld and his party were travelling when SE-BDY crashed.'¹⁵

The close cooperation between the British and the Belgian companies was also mentioned. 'In preparing for the meeting, Ritchie took two small aircraft to collect Tshombe and Dunnett from Kipushi, Katanga, where they were with Henry Fortemps, the Assistant Director General of the Belgian Company UMHK in Elisabethville, to take them to Ndola. Ritchie coordinated closely with officials of UMHK, utilizing its facilities, equipment and staff. He also coordinated with other British and Rhodesian officials, as well as private individuals ... The early enquiries were not aware of the scope of the involvement of British diplomatic and intelligence officials in setting up the arrangements for the Hammarskjöld/Tshombe meeting, and no official detailed account has ever been given regarding how those officials came to be coordinating with the self-declared Head of State of Katanga and UMHK, the company financing its secession and the payers of the mercenaries in active conflict against the United Nations.'¹⁶

In Brügger's book at paragraph 87 there is more information about the radio transmitter and the role of Anglo American. He said, 'For example one day I [Brügger] was standing in Kitwe, a mining town east of Ndola, not far from the area where Dag Hammarskjöld's plane crashed. I had come to Kitwe to see a villa that was once the residence of the former MI6 Agent Gordon Hunt. After leaving British Intelligence, Gordon Hunt travelled down to what was then Rhodesia to work for the mining conglomerate Anglo American. His task was to lead the construction of a transformer station in Kitwe that would supply power to the mines in the copper belt. While living there he had a radio transmitter installed for military use. The radio was supplied and paid for by Union Minière, the notorious mining company that practically ruled all of Katanga. What Gordon Hunt got his hands on was the only ether born communication channel into and out of the eastern Congo in the time around Dag Hammarskjöld's death. If something happened in Congo it went through Gordon Hunt's house in Kitwe.'

As meticulous as ever, Brügger even visited Hunt's son at his home. 'All this I knew because I had visited his son Simon Hunt in England. That his father was a secret agent, Simon Hunt discovered as a child when he went into his father's jacket pockets and found an identity card with MI6 bound in red leather. As an adult he found his father's never published manuscript about the time in Kitwe, written on a typewriter with red ribbon. Towards the end of his account from Kitwe Gordon Hunt disputes the fact that Hammarskjöld's death was due to pilot error but just as he was about to write about who killed Hammarskjöld the script ends.'

Whatever their involvement, the British were extremely pleased with the result of the meeting – Hammarskjöld's death. There were 'at least three communications of 17 September 1961 from Lord Alport to the Commonwealth Relations Office that reference Neil Ritchie ... correspondence of 16 October 1961 from Duncan Sandys to Lord Alport requested the latter to "particularly express my appreciation to Mr. Ritchie for the initiative and good judgment which he showed throughout the difficult cease-fire negotiations".'¹⁷

Other British intelligence sources echoed the congratulations and Brian Unwin confirmed the role of Ritchie as an MI6 operative, describing his work in arranging the meeting between Tshombe and Hammarskjöld as 'brilliant'.¹⁸ The congratulations were, of course, for facilitating the murder of Hammarskjöld.

Othman also mentioned, 'Gordon Hunt who was working for the Rhodesian Selection Trust and acting as a go-between for various interests in the region in September 1961 ... By Hunt's own account, he was "trained both in war and peace in the British Intelligence Service", acting as a go-between for the British Government's representatives in Katanga, commercial interests, the Belgian Government, foreign mercenaries in Katanga, UMHK

and the Rhodesian Government of Sir Roy Welensky ... Hunt refers to his own part in arranging for Hammarskjöld to come to Ndola to meet Tshombe, but states that all had to be organised in detail and the responsibility for this fell on the shoulders of Ritchie ...'¹⁹

Brügger wrote in his book²⁰, 'In Kitwe, a mining town to the east of Ndola, not far from the area where Dag Hammarskjöld's plane crashed, there is a colony where a group of former South African generals live or used to live. In or near this colony is a villa that was once the home of former MI6 agent Gordon Hunt. If a clandestine operation was organised inside Zaire, Gordon Hunt's house in Kitwe was certainly the HQ. Members of the SAIMR often passed through this colony.'

Othman spoke of 'Manfred "Freddy" Loeb, an engineer who worked for Traction et Électricité and UMHK, who also confirmed the presence and key role of Ritchie and the nature of the communications facilitated by UMHK ... Neil Ritchie was with me to follow the evolution of events and probably to report them to his London authorities. Together we learned that Hammarskjöld planned to travel to Ndola to finalize a ceasefire agreement with the Katangese president. We were sitting at the Kitwe substation on the evening of 17 September, late into the night, waiting for news of his arrival. Hammarskjöld was to stay at the Queen House, but in the morning a telex informed us of his plane's "accident" ... According to Loeb's memoirs, he suggests that he was aware that the "accident" was not accidental.'²¹

Othman said that a document from the United States Department of State of 29 September 1961 from the Ambassador in Brussels, Douglas MacArthur, confirmed that Freddy Loeb was a German-born Belgian residing in Kitwe who was a go-between for Welensky and Munongo, 'Loeb is an agent of British interests in support of [UMHK] Union Minière and reportedly has 5 million pounds sterling at his disposal to finance arms purchases, etc. in support of Katanga separatism. My source described Loeb as very effective.'²²

The planning to ensure that Hammarskjöld was on the fatal flight was indeed intricate. Later chapters deal with the death of Bernt Carlsson on the plane that crashed over Lockerbie and investigate whether similar plans were hatched to ensure Carlsson was on the doomed Pan Am flight.

Another document referred to by Williams discussed orders for the 'removal' of Hammarskjöld. 'Please see that Leo airport as well as Elizabethville is covered by your people as I want his removal to be handled more efficiently than was Patrice Lumumba. If time permits, send me a brief plan of action, otherwise proceed with all speed in absolute secrecy ... If, and only if serious complications arise tell your agents to use telephone [illegible word] Johannesburg 25-3513. OPERATION TO BE KNOWN AS 'CELESTE.'" Celeste was the girl Maxwell loved from afar.

The reference to a Johannesburg phone number is further proof of South

African involvement. The number 25-3513 is listed in the 1960 Johannesburg telephone directory: one listing appears to belong to 'Mr Ian F Kerr, 91 Derby Rd Kens'. This name appears to match the name of an addressee in some of the purported 1961 SAIMR documentation, which is between 'Captain Kerr' or 'Captain Ian' and 'Commodore Wagner'.

According to another of the documents, the CIA had provided a contact, codenamed 'Dwight', who would be staying at the Hotel Léopold II in Elizabethville until 1 November 1961. It may be a coincidence that Dwight was the first name of the American President Dwight Eisenhower, who must have given preliminary permission for the mission. The password was 'How is Celeste these days?' to be followed by the reply: 'She's recovering nicely apart from the cough'.

We can see that there was a need for each person to assume a separate task in the overall objective. What is clear is the priority of the main target. The agents decided to concentrate on Hammarskjöld and postpone any attempt to target two others. 'We have a number of problems to sort out with regard to the operation, in order to arrange for all three of the targets to be affected, an enormous amount of planning will be required, in order to ensure the success of Celeste, and taking into account the fact that time is of the essence, I would suggest that we concentrate on D. and leave the other two for some future date, possibly as early as next week or the week after. Dag will have to be sorted out on the 17th or 18th (he has an appointment in Ndola on the 18th or 19th) all my men as well as Congo Red's people are in position. With a little luck, all will be well. Your servant, Commander.'

Williams explained from the documents how the killing of Hammarskjöld was to take place. 'The operation involved the placing of a bomb, made of six pounds of TNT, on Hammarskjöld's plane from Léopoldville to Ndola.' It was to be placed beneath the undercarriage of the aircraft so that it would detonate soon after take-off, when the wheels were retracted. The TNT, along with 'detonators, electrical contacts and wiring, batteries, etc., should be made available by Union Minière at all possible locations.'

There is further corroboration for this account in Maxwell's biographical manuscript and he gave the context in which Operation Celeste occurred. 'The first task of the new recruits was to clean up the mess left behind by what the sergeant described as the "United Garbage Group".' This is a disparaging reference to the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) forces who were ordered by Hammarskjöld to try preserving the Congolese wealth for its people.

That part was in manuscript and said the men of the Institute had 'plans for Dag'. Othman referred to a handwritten extension to Maxwell's type-written Memoir. 'In a new development, in 2019, I received from the *Cold Case Hammarskjöld* film team an extract from a handwritten version of Maxwell's

memoirs, which, unlike the typed version, refers specifically to Hammarskjöld. The film team had, I was informed, obtained the memoirs through the family of a former member of SAIMR who had been murdered.²³

In Maxwell's memoir is a part entitled 'Johannesburg 1961' which 'provides certain historical information about the situation in Katanga in 1961 and states that Hammarskjöld had a dual purpose in coming to Katanga, which was both to arrange for Congo-Katanga peace talks and to negotiate with Rhodesian and/or South African leaders regarding the possible presence of an enlarged United Nations air force.'²⁴

The details simply could not have been fabricated. 'The senior officers of the "Delta Unit" of the "Marine Institute of South Africa" are gathered, and "Acting Commodore Wagman" states that the three key figures of Hammarskjöld, Conor Cruise O'Brien and Sean McKeown are to be "removed", without the problem of "a repeat of the Lumumba affair". Wagman advised the officers that in "middle to end September", their forces would launch a counter-attack against (ONUC operation) Rumpunch while Hammarskjöld was in the Congo and that, concurrently, "Congo Red" would "deal with the three".'²⁵

In the manuscript Wagman went back some time to when his group had a brainstorming session about how to kill Hammarskjöld, when he came to the Congo. One of the officers suggested poisoning him with potassium cyanide, much to the displeasure of Wagman. Before the agent known as Congo Red could propose another method, Wagman said, 'No! No! No! I don't want hours of discussion about possible methods. I want a workable plan with at least three alternatives on my desk within 7 days.'

Maxwell explained that Option 1 was to bring the plane down with a bomb. Option 2 was to have a fighter jet around in case the bomb did not work. Option 3 was to shoot the plane from the ground and clean up afterwards. Some of the mercenaries recruited in South Africa, including Jerry Puren, were at Ndola Airport that night and it is clear that would have been their job.

We learn how the bomb was placed on the plane. 'The scene then changes to a man who has been hired to place bomb material in the Transair DC-6. The man drills holes and places electrical contacts on the edge of the wheel well and covering flap, and then puts other screws in the wheel well itself to hold rubber strapping that contains explosive material, batteries and detonators. The wires are stuck down with putty and screwed to the electrical contacts. The technician later watches the plane take off, but the device fails and does not harm the plane.'²⁶

Maxwell wrote in his account about how a SAIMR operative placed a bomb in the wheel bay of Hammarskjöld's plane. Then followed an emergency meeting in the situation room at 2 o'clock in the morning on 18 September

1961. An operative phoned to say the bomb did not go off at take-off. Commodore Wagman said, 'Gentlemen go home and get some sleep. We will work something out in the morning.'

In the Brügger movie Alexander Jones was asked about the fact that someone had placed the ace of spades in Hammarskjöld's pocket. He explained it was well known in security circles that this was the way the CIA worked. Jones had encountered the ace of spades being used during his career. Asked about the nature of SAIMR, he described it as a clandestine mercenary organisation for-hire and financed by foreign powers. Its purposes were to destabilise certain countries. He described himself and others as soldiers.

Jones said it was highly dangerous for him to talk to the filmmakers as he could be the victim of a murderous backlash from his own people. He told Brügger his list of SAIMR member names could be verified. Asked why he was taking the risk of speaking to the film makers, Jones said it was about time there was closure to the whole sordid affair and he needed this also from a personal point of view.

So, in Maxwell's memoir we have mention of a Commodore Wagman who is the same person as Wagner in the Operation Celeste papers. Jones said he did finally meet Wagner who by that stage was an old frail man. Jones did not know much about him save that he was a businessman who had interests in the medical field. Maxwell then described the meeting of the SAIMR operatives who are awaiting the outcome of the assassination attempt. 'Then there is a knock on the door. A lieutenant comes in and salutes the commodore and hands him a slip of paper. 'What is this? Oh my God! It worked,' Wagman said and waved the message at the others. 'She blew on approach to Ndola at about midnight. It worked! By God, it worked!' There were smiles all around. Congo Red had delivered.

In 1976 Roland 'Bud' Culligan, a CIA employee, confessed to shooting down the plane. His confession was passed on to Florida Attorney General Robert Shevin, who passed it on to US Senator Frank Church, who was busy investigating shenanigans and murders by the intelligence community.

Other sources support these documents. The heads of state of Britain and the US were keen to kill Lumumba. British Foreign Secretary Lord Home met US President Dwight Eisenhower on 19 September 1960 and heard Eisenhower 'express his wish that Lumumba would fall into a river full of crocodiles'. Scarcely a week later, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and Lord Home met Eisenhower and the minutes record that Lord Home 'raised the question why we had not got rid of Lumumba at the present time. If he came back into power there would be immediate stress on the Katangan issue, which would get us into all sorts of legalistic difficulties. He stressed now was the time to get rid of Lumumba.'

Eisenhower told the Special Group of the NSC that Lumumba had to

be eliminated by any means. In 1975, CIA agent Larry Devlin told a US Senate Committee, chaired by Senator Frank Church, to investigate CIA attempts to assassinate a few foreign leaders, what happened. He said that on 18 August 1960 the NSC had met in Washington to discuss the Congo. Next day the CIA had authorised its Congo Station to proceed to replace Lumumba's government with a 'pro-Western group'. In December 2013, the US State Department admitted President Eisenhower had ordered the murder of Lumumba.

Othman identified Daphne Park as the most senior woman working for MI6 and said she was stationed undercover as First Secretary in Leopoldville. 'Ms Park, as she then was, is on record about her service in the Congo between 1959 and 1962, as are others ... Park's coordination with CIA officials has also been publicly referred to by herself, as well as those officials and others.'²⁷

Park was later a semi-official spokesperson for MI6 in the House of Lords. In April 2013, in a letter to the *London Review of Books*, a British parliamentarian, Lord Lea of Crondall, reported having discussed Lumumba's death with Baroness Park of Monmouth shortly before she died in March 2010. According to Lea, when he mentioned 'the uproar' surrounding Lumumba's abduction and murder, and recalled the theory that MI6 might have had 'something to do with it', she replied, 'We did. I organised it.' So, in all probability Baroness Park and Larry Devlin must have worked together with the mining companies and SAIMR to carry out both murders.

Hammar skjöld's killing was possibly the worst single murder of all time. US president John F Kennedy spoke shortly after Hammar skjöld's death and said he regretted that he had opposed the UN policy in the Congo. His praise was fulsome, 'I realise now that in comparison to him, I am a small man. He was the greatest statesman of our century.'

Although he would not elaborate on his statement, former US president Harry Truman had strong feelings after the incident. He commented that Hammar skjöld 'was on the point of getting something done when they killed him. Notice that I said when they killed him'.

In the quest to identify who 'they' were, as mentioned by the American president, we meet another sinister organisation, Le Cercle, a meeting place of captains of industry, Western intelligence agencies, apartheid politicians and security officials. Subjects of discussion in Le Cercle included the left-wing Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme and his role in leading Swedish opposition to apartheid.

13 | The highly secret Le Cercle

‘There are times when the unseen can be even more dangerous than what our eyes behold.’

Erin Forbes, *The Elementals*

Behind the spies and assassins, a ring of the rich and powerful apply their sorceries on those parts of the world that feed their greed while disregarding morality. And Africa with its fabulous mineral wealth features large in their devious plans to keep the profits rolling in.

In Hennie van Vuuren’s book *Apartheid Guns and Money – A tale of profit* he dealt with the highly secretive and sinister body Le Cercle, which plotted the destiny of South Africa from the mid-1950s.¹ At the centre of the circle is the Amery family, more especially father Leo and son Julian. Leo Amery covered the Anglo-Boer War for *The Times* of London and then wrote a history of the war. He counted among his friends Alfred Milner, Joseph Chamberlain and Winston Churchill.

Van Vuuren said that the hidden hand of the aristocratic Amery family had made its presence felt in European and African politics throughout the 20th century, publicly promoting the British Empire and Anglo-Saxon interests to the exclusion of all others. ‘They were particularly adept at working in the shadows through elite secret organisations. They were fiercely anti-communist, and their personal and political fortunes were intimately tied to those of South Africa.’

In this book we have already encountered a few of the secret organisations operating on South African soil and abroad. This points to a strong motive for stopping South Africa’s assets benefiting all South Africans when independence takes place. Leo’s son Julian stated openly how important the riches were to Britain ‘The prosperity of our people [the British] rests really on the oil in the Persian Gulf, the rubber and tin of Malaya, and the gold, copper and precious metals of South and Central Africa. As long as we have access to these; as long as we can realise the investments we have there; as long as we trade with this part of the world, we shall be prosperous. If the communists [or anyone else] were to take them over, we would lose the lot.’² Implicit was the threat to do all in their powers to prevent such resources being taken by any other foreign power or distributed among the citizens.³

The US was equally unequivocal about its South African interests. According to historian James Sanders, in the late 1940s and 1950s, the

primary American concern in South Africa was minerals, especially uranium needed for nuclear weapons. 'The Cold War was the dominant context within which CIA and State Department reports should be read ...'⁴

Sanders noted that a July 1948 research report from the State Department Office of Intelligence bewailed the difference between the new Afrikaner regime and the principles of Anglo-American democracy. Yet the report saw advantages in South Africa's cooling relationship with Britain, possibly drawing South Africa closer to the US.

A report by Stephen Burgess in May 2011 to the US Air War College in Alabama showed that the US still considered it had pre-emptive rights to the mineral wealth of southern Africa. The minerals of South Africa, the DRC, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Namibia are targeted for America's industrial needs and maintenance of its weapon systems. To triumph in this ongoing African melee, US power must be deployed, including the euphemistically termed 'coercive diplomacy in order to regain access to vital resources'.⁵

'Coercive diplomacy' is a sinister message which seems to include armed intervention.

British intelligence boss Graham Greene explained in his book *The Human Factor* (1978) that the two powers, Britain and the US – who claimed opposition to apartheid – were stuck with the apartheid government for the sake of retaining rights to crucial and strategic minerals.

To establish how these commercial interests planned to deal with a new South African political order with the possibility of a communist such as Chris Hani in power, we again refer to the *Executive Intelligence Review* article of 14 May 1993 entitled 'Did British intelligence kill Hani?' The authors said, 'Are there any British intelligence links to the plot? The answer is yes. According to South African intelligence sources, Janusz Waluś was intimately associated with the South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR), about which, said one intelligence veteran, "That's a very curious outfit. They have no naval guys in it, and they do no research".'

The article continued that SAIMR reportedly had been involved in various coup operations, including in the Seychelles Islands. 'According to a November 1990 article in the *Sunday Times* of London, the SAIMR was founded as a mercenary group of elite special forces people operating throughout Africa. An investigation by one South African intelligence agency determined that SAIMR was a front for Britain's MI6. Waluś was also associated with, and according to press accounts, had even contributed money to, another British intelligence front, the Stallard Foundation, one with which Derby-Lewis was also reportedly associated.'

We also learn from that piece that one member of parliament in Britain called for an investigation as to whether British intelligence services were involved in any way in the murder. 'Waluś's possible involvement with British

intelligence becomes highlighted also with the sudden visit to South Africa, just days before the assassination, of one of the most important figures in British intelligence, former MI6 Africa Desk head Nicholas Elliott. Despite being in his seventies, Elliott made the arduous journey to Johannesburg from London for a mere three days of meetings. According to sources in London, he met with Julian Ogilvie Thompson, head of the Anglo-American Corp., the ANC's chief financial sponsor inside the country ... Elliott is also a former board member of Lonrho of Tiny Rowland. Rowland's Lonrho purchased the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters for them, and is bankrolling a planned new ANC newspaper.'

'Nicholas Elliott was no stranger to "wetwork"-terror and assassinations. He was a controller of the London-based Sikh radical Jagjit Singh Chauhan, whose associates assassinated Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984.'

Julian Amery was a highly influential figure in government in England and a Conservative Party MP for nearly 40 years. He was made a life peer in 1992, four years before his death. Van Vuuren said Amery was a 'devotee of empire' and a fanatical supporter of the then white-controlled governments in Africa: Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. He insisted that Amery was 'an unreconstructed racist' who played a crucial role 'as chairman of the secretive Le Cercle organisation ... that focused on shaping the West's security policies in the later 20th century'.

Of importance to anyone researching the links between Big Business and the apartheid regime is that, as Van Vuuren wrote, Le Cercle also had direct links with South African business, diplomatic and military sectors from the 1970s to the 1990s, at the height of the sanctions period.

Julian Amery was of course protecting his own interests as a director of the South African mine Vaal Reefs, one of the largest gold mines in the world at the time. He worked closely with the infamous Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), nicknamed the Bank of Crooks and Criminals International by international police investigators. Its daily operations involved laundering arms and drug sales, bribery and capital flight. Amery netted £20,000 a year for his role in its sinister work. When the bank collapsed in 1991, *The New York Times* described it as a 'stateless bank that operated in the United States and about 70 other countries, chartered in Luxembourg, run by Pakistanis, owned by Arabs, headquartered in Britain and serviced by outposts in the Cayman Islands'.⁶

Yet its activities, according to Van Vuuren, were not denounced by major Western intelligence agencies despite being under observation. Julian Amery was the key man in maintaining its credibility given his political and intelligence connections. His spiritual home was the Conservative Party think-tank, the Monday Club, which began operations in 1961.

The Monday Club, which housed as many as 35 Conservative MPs,

sought to maintain lucrative commerce with the colonies and advocated a stop to all 'coloured' immigration into Great Britain. He would surely have admired the writings of Arthur Kemp, who compiled the hit list with Chris Hani's name on it.

Furthermore, the Club supported Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia and regarded the colonies as part of the Mother Country. Julian Amery dealt in arms (sometimes illicitly), met Jonas Savimbi – leader of the Rhodesian-backed Mozambican rebel group Renamo – and reported his findings to the prime minister and foreign secretary.

John Loftus and Mark Aarons described the power of Julian Amery in their book. 'The leaders of Oman and the United Arab Emirates owe their existence to Julian Amery, a former member of the British secret service and the brother of John Amery, the British traitor who was hanged after World War II as a pro-Nazi propagandist.⁷ Forty years later brother Julian became a paid consultant to the BCCI and its biggest defender in the British Parliament. In the late 1950s Amery was the under-secretary of war who was sent to reorganise armed forces in the Middle East. In 1967 British mercenaries replaced the Sheik of Abu Dhabi of the UAE with his brother, Sheik Zayed.'

Like Julian Amery, Sir Patrick Wall was a leading figure in the Monday Club and was a parliamentary consultant to the Western Goals Institute (WGI). Wall joined the Club early in 1963, served on its executive council, and was national club chairman between 1978 and 1980. He collaborated on many Club papers and publications and spoke for it in the House of Commons.

Susan Williams provided numerous facts and circumstances that showed the WGI must have been closely connected to SAIMR. If we are to make a link with the Hani murder it is interesting to note that the convicted Clive Derby-Lewis was also an honorary vice-president of the London-based WGI. WGI had its beginnings in the US and was alleged to have been involved in the Iran Contra scandal of the Reagan years with Colonel Oliver North. More sinister was the notion that it was involved in stockpiling arms and using British Army veterans to train white South African mercenaries to prevent an ANC takeover.

To cement the close collaboration between Wall and Amery it is instructive to note that Wall chaired several party committees concerned with Africa. He defended the British colonial record and was convinced of the benefits of white rule in Rhodesia and South Africa. He was also a friend of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and fully supported him in his suppression of legitimate black aspirations in the country. After Rhodesia's UDI in 1965, Wall joined forces with Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, 5th Marquess of Salisbury, to lead the Tory revolt against their party's support for the Labour administration's sanctions policy against South Africa and Rhodesia.

The links between Wall and Amery went even further. Wall believed white rule in Southern Africa was the last bulwark against the spread of communism in the region, which he described as 'this evil virus'. He argued that this, in turn, would mean the West would lose vital mineral supplies and the oil route round the Cape would come under threat. So for Wall, an end to the rich fleecing of Africa was a major concern.

In 1974 Wall attacked the Labour Government's pull-out from the Simonstown naval base in South Africa, stating in the House of Commons that the British Government must be insane to do so. He said that Simonstown was 'the only link NATO had with the Cape and that British interests in Africa as a strategic part of the world should be maintained'. In 1975, writing in the journal *To The Point* (illegally established with secret funds by the Nationalist Government), Wall said, 'The basic philosophy of the Communist powers is to detach Southern Africa from the Western World.'

It is time to inspect the secret activities of Le Cercle and consider its influence in South Africa.

Julian Amery's most important work was in South Africa where he played a prominent role in maintaining white power, both economic and political. Van Vuuren said, 'Amery was warmly welcomed into the bosom of apartheid political and economic power. From the late 1970s, he corresponded with leaders in South African politics, including Prime Minister John Vorster, Defence Minister PW Botha, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Finance Minister Owen Horwood.'

On the business side Amery 'regularly corresponded with the anti-sanctions business lobby group, the South Africa Foundation, as well as Harry and Nicky Oppenheimer, with whom he was on first-name terms'.

He visited South Africa on at least five occasions between 1978 and 1991 to meet business leaders and senior politicians. His letters to Harry Oppenheimer described a rhino hunt and other details of his meetings with the South African ministers of defence and finance, which were also relayed to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Van Vuuren described Amery's responsibility when he was emissary for Thatcher in the mid-1980s. She was keen for him to explore 'the possibilities of the South African government putting together an alternative black grouping to the ANC, including of course, Buthelezi ... She regards it as something important, something that could be added to the coloured and Indian elements already cooperating with the government.'⁸

He detailed one visit. 'Amery arrived in Durban on 9 January 1986, where he was a guest at the Oppenheimer's Milkwood mansion, set in vast tropical gardens on the Umhlanga beachfront north of Durban. It was midsummer and others enjoying the Oppenheimer hospitality at the time included Gordon Richardson, the former governor of the Bank of England, and Victor

Rothschild, chairman of the bank NM Rothschild and Sons, who had a close relationship with both British prime ministers and their intelligence services.’ Amery met Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, and disparaged his call for universal suffrage by suggesting that Slabbert was stupid, ‘I am not at all sure how much there is up top.’

Clearly the industry titans approved of Amery’s work as Van Vuuren described how he was soon on board Harry Oppenheimer’s private plane to Johannesburg, where he attended a supper with the Swiss banker Fritz Leutwiler, who was in the country to negotiate South Africa’s debt crisis. ‘Others in attendance included the chiefs of Anglo American, the Reserve Bank, the minister of finance, and business luminary Anton Rupert.’ It’s interesting to note the views of these lords of capital. According to Amery, De Beers chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson appreciated the fact that Brazil had retained power in white hands in a multiracial system – albeit by virtual military dictatorship.

Retaining power in white hands seemed to be key. And it’s anyone’s guess how far Ogilvie Thompson would go to perpetuate white supremacy in South Africa. Amery’s next visit to Defence Minister General Magnus Malan showed he held similar views. Amery thought Malan ‘might end up running South Africa as a military dictatorship in which blacks could be promoted to key positions and whites could maintain real power’. Yet again, the façade of democracy with no real economic or political power.

The pattern continued, with Amery visiting political, military and business leaders and reporting back to the British prime minister. When returning to South Africa in January 1987, he again saw Malan to talk about security and the State of Emergency. After chatting to Malan’s chief of staff about Angola, he reported to Harry Oppenheimer.

From time to time, details of the ultra-secret Le Cercle under Amery’s chairmanship leaked out. Van Vuuren found some information in the Khan Committee’s report. FW de Klerk appointed this committee in 1991 to investigate ‘active secret state projects following media reports of “third force” activities linked to the government’.

Khan said Le Cercle was an ‘informal forum of influential representatives of a “conservative cast of mind” from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Oman, the USA and South Africa. Annual meetings consider political, economic and military developments. SA contributes R33,000-plus donations to the secretariat. Valuable source of advice and friendship.’

This was a quarter of the budget and was clandestinely and illegally laundered through the Department of Foreign Affairs. Van Vuuren said it wielded potentially significant influence on political affairs through its convening power, information sharing and what amounted to quasi-intelligence activity during the Cold War.

Le Cercle met twice a year in different venues, mostly Washington, European cities, South Africa and Oman.⁹ Amery said of this mysterious cabal, 'There is ... no membership. Members are invited, the organization is completely flexible. In principle, the Group does not exist, it reaches no conclusions, thus nothing is made public.' More documents revealed the important role played by the apartheid state in Le Cercle's affairs as financier, host and intelligence beneficiary.

Van Vuuren sketched its genesis in the 1950s and its ultra-conservative politics with links to 'authoritarian orders such as Opus Dei and the Knights of Malta, which placed high value on secret networks, conservative politics and the money required to support both. Operating in the shadows was a network of participants drawn from within the intelligence sector and with close association to the arms industry.'

It attracted what Van Vuuren called a 'key Le Cercle member ... the rabid anti-communist Brian Crozier, who played an important behind-the-scenes role during the 1980s'.

Crozier wrote numerous articles lauding right-wing dictators and met the CIA and President Ronald Reagan. Again, South Africa's wealth was paramount.¹⁰ Van Vuuren said, 'Crozier saw South Africa as the West's mineral warehouse: it required little urgent change.' To put the case of apartheid as strongly as possible, Crozier went on to found propaganda institutions and publications which were funded by laundered SA Government money.

The SA Government funded meetings in January 1984, March 1988 and March 1991 at expensive hotels in the Cape. A South African diplomat reported that he spoke to a foreign businessman who said to him 'you must be surprised to be at a meeting like this and to find a group of people so well disposed to you in South Africa'.

Being a secret gathering Van Vuuren could not establish authoritatively whether certain persons attended, but he knew invitations were extended to State President PW Botha, Harry Oppenheimer, Anglo chair Gavin Relly, Anton Rupert and Basil Hersov of Barclays Bank (later First National Bank). Of interest to those probing the corrupt Arms Deal and all the shenanigans there, the further developments of Le Cercle must be considered.

Scarcely a year after the 1994 elections, the list of Le Cercle members included arms companies Aérospatiale and the British Government-owned and -controlled British Aerospace. BAe would soon be implicated in bribe payments of the post-apartheid Arms Deal. To help offload the British arms surplus and grease South African politicians' palms, it should be no surprise that these companies became active in the secret organisation. Former UK defence minister Jonathan Aitken became chair of Le Cercle in 1995.

Van Vuuren mentioned a person who will receive some attention later. A former Armscor employee told him that BAe's agent in the Arms Deal,

Richard Charter, was also a sanctions buster and crook. Evidently Armscor spent R8 million in 1989 buying data packs for fighter aircraft from Charter who then stole the money, forcing the apartheid government to rely on what Van Vuuren called, 'a more scrupulous sanctions buster, the UK company Martin Baker, led by Sir Dennis Burrell, which delivered the goods'.

Julian Amery, mastermind of all the secret deals, died in 1996. The advent of democracy in South Africa thwarted his aims to some extent. What those in the know pondered was whether his plotting and secret deals would save foreign business interests in South Africa and keep the revenues flowing. On this last point, Thatcher resisted sanctions because she sanctimoniously proclaimed it would harm black workers more and, obviously enough, because it would harm the UK economy.

Van Vuuren said the UK government archives were peppered with correspondence between diplomats reporting their concerns and that of British corporations reporting potential commercial losses that would be suffered as a result of sanctions. 'At a meeting of the Cabinet ministerial group on southern Africa in April 1978, there was general agreement that the United Kingdom could not afford a trade embargo against South Africa and a veto in the Security Council should be used to prevent one.' And the veto was used repeatedly.

The issues were clear on the opposition to sanctions: that there must be a continued supply of South African raw materials, otherwise there would be massive job losses (estimated at 80,000 within the UK) and the loss of about £250 million in export revenue. In addition, the report stressed that large UK corporations such as chemical giant ICL and General Electric relied on South Africa for between 10% and 15% of their overall profit.¹¹ Cessation of minerals would be catastrophic and they even suggested stockpiling the main strategic minerals obtained from South Africa.

Relying on the UK figures, Van Vuuren said South Africa provided 20% of the UK service economy's income in 1978.

Much of the hypocrisy came from Robin Renwick, Thatcher's high commissioner in Pretoria from 1987 to 1991. He claimed Thatcher was interested only in selective sanctions that would not harm black South Africans, such as the 500,000 jobs in the agricultural sector. When questioned about British jobs, he reluctantly conceded that, 'Thatcher wouldn't pretend she wasn't protecting British interests.'

Renwick knew on which side his bread was buttered. Van Vuuren's fastidious research revealed that he was a board member of Johann Rupert's offshore luxury goods company Richemont and also director of Stonehage Fleming, one of the UK's leading private asset management companies.

During the apartheid era, the UK built South Africa's power stations, while the banking sector made spectacular profits. Van Vuuren said, 'The

City of London also had substantial interests in South Africa. According to a secret report authored by the Bank of England, London remained the main financing centre for South Africa in 1980 ...'

Van Vuuren's illuminating book fingered Amery¹² as the crucial link between Big Business and the apartheid government. 'Amery can easily be dismissed as an old British patrician who was happiest when lounging about Harry Oppenheimer's pool. He was far more menacing than that. His politics were right wing and his intelligence connections, through Le Cercle, were an important source of support for Pretoria. The connections that both these men had with apartheid South Africa are illuminating. They represent two sides of the same coin of the British establishment, seeking to bolster apartheid for its own pecuniary and other ends ... The sum of all the relationships ... exposes the hypocrisy of the British government.'

With a dagger-like thrust he concluded, 'Despite statements made by politicians at the time against the policies of apartheid, this chapter shows the range of powerful friends the apartheid regime could rely on for its own survival. ... Many senior members of the British establishment continued to support the flow of money – and in some instances, weapons – in support of the apartheid regime. This was duplicity of the first order.'¹³

We must conclude with a hint at the power of the apartheid regime's friends as discussed above. Le Cercle's 1984 meeting addressed the serious threat of 'infiltration of Socialist parties of Europe and elsewhere by Communist agents'. Mention was made of 'Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, whose political views are on the extreme left ...' A year and a half later Palme was assassinated, with links to South Africa's security establishment.

14 | Blood in the snow

‘The important thing to know about an assassination or an attempted assassination is not who fired the shot, but who paid for the bullet.’

Eric Ambler

At a biting -17°C in Stockholm on the night of 28 February 1986, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme strolled home with his wife Lisbeth. An assassin walked up behind the couple and fired two shots: one at Palme and one at Lisbeth. Palme was rushed to hospital but was declared dead on arrival. And despite having one of the best police forces in the world, no one was ever brought to book for the crime. This begs the question whether there were other forces at work?

As a *Sunday Times* reporter, De Wet Potgieter appeared to have close contacts with the intelligence community and provided highly convincing facts and documents to back up his case in his book *Total Onslaught: Apartheid's Dirty Tricks Exposed*¹. Thanks to his sterling efforts, we have learnt about the existence and activities of the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR), particularly regarding the abortive Seychelles coup.

Elected as prime minister on a socialist ticket, Palme was disliked by right-wing Swedes. Potgieter described him as a dedicated and honest politician with deep-seated convictions. He was proud of the leading role his country took to support the ANC against PW Botha's apartheid government. ‘Indeed, for many years Sweden was the biggest funder and most loyal supporter of the ANC's liberation struggle against the Nationalist regime in South Africa,’ Potgieter said.

In Sweden, Palme supported trade unions in their fight against the private sector and was accused of being too close to the Soviet Union.² He criticised the US's role in Vietnam, supported Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and was close to Cuba's Fidel Castro.

Potgieter identified ‘the seeds of Palme's destruction ... when his government began funding the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF). Although based in Geneva, the IUEF was a Swedish initiative, run from Palme's office. The purpose of the fund was to provide bursaries to victims of apartheid from South Africa and students who had fled oppressive, right-wing regimes in Latin America.’

At the time, South African police spy Craig Williamson was deputy president of the IUEF, as well as the assistant and confidant of the fund's director,

Lars Gunnar Eriksson, as a front to spy on the ANC. Potgieter recorded that Williamson was a regular visitor to Stockholm from 1977 and came to know the Swedish people and the country intimately. Sometimes Williamson stayed at the Aston Hotel – a stone's throw from the ANC's offices, 'which, oddly enough, had a break-in during this period.³ Nothing was taken, but it was obvious that intruders had rifled through files and documents.'

At the beginning of 1980 Williamson was exposed as a spy. Potgieter said Williamson had stolen a fortune from the funds made available to the ANC by the IUEF. 'In Stockholm, the auditors discovered that the ANC funds had been diverted by Williamson to South Africa, where the money was secretly used to buy a farm, Daisy, near Pretoria ... The farm was situated close to Vlakplaas, home of the police hit squads. Daisy was the secret headquarters of the Security Police's Section A, which was responsible for monitoring the activities of anti-apartheid movements and activists abroad, as well as for mounting operations against carefully selected targets. Williamson was the unit's commander and reported directly to [Dirk] Coetzee, the country's top security cop.'

To investigate who might have wanted Palme killed, we need to go back some three decades. In his book *Apartheid Guns and Money – A tale of profit*, Hennie van Vuuren dealt with sinister body Le Cercle which we discussed in Chapter 13. He mentioned a Le Cercle meeting in 1984⁴ which addressed the serious threat of infiltration of socialist parties of Europe and elsewhere by communist agents. There was talk of left-wing Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. A year and a half later Palme was assassinated.

In the book *Devil Incarnate: A Depraved Mercenary's Lifelong Swathe of Destruction*, author Wayne Thallon detailed the life of psychopathic killer Athol Visser and explained what yet another ultra-secret organisation, Operation Gladio, had to do with Palme's killing. The most cursory internet search under the rubric Civil Cooperation Bureau will produce Athol Visser – nicknamed 'Ivan the Terrible', a high-ranking CCB operative, posted to London in the 1980s, to plan the elimination of key apartheid opponents that allegedly included Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. Thallon's book established why and how Visser acquired his reputation.

Highly respected Swiss historian Daniele Ganser wrote a fascinating book in 2005 called *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe*. Before dealing directly with Operation Gladio we have to set the scene for its establishment and the global policies of one of the major victors in a conflagration – the Second World War – that saw 55 million dead.

Described in a previous chapter, after World War II, the United States created the foreign intelligence service, the CIA, to carry out 'such functions and duties related to intelligence' as 'the National Security Council [NSC] may from time to time direct'. Was it an oversight or was Congress being

deliberately vague in order to enable the NSC to authorise any operations, legal or otherwise?

The answer comes from the mouth of CIA deputy director Ray Cline who many years later conceded that the open-ended phrase 'such other functions and duties related to intelligence' referred to covert action and allowed the NSC to instruct the CIA to carry out a very broad range of operations in foreign countries.⁵ The CIA's website alleges that, 'Only the President can direct the CIA to undertake a covert action.'

In 1947 the new NSC adopted the top-secret directive NSC 4-A to the CIA 'to undertake a broad range of covert activities to prevent a communist victory in the first national post-war Italian election scheduled for 16 April 1948'.

Ganser said that President Truman was so impressed with the CIA's Italian operation that he institutionalised covert action as an instrument of US statecraft. Only two months after the Italian election, on 18 June 1948, the NSC passed directive NSC 10/2 to replace NSC 4-A. While NSC 4-A had authorised covert action in Italy only, NSC 10/2 gave the CIA the task to carry out covert action across the world. The document stated that 'covert operations are understood to be all activities ... which are conducted or sponsored by this government against hostile foreign states or groups or in support of friendly foreign states or groups but which are so planned and conducted that any US Government responsibility for them is not evident to unauthorized persons and that if uncovered the US Government can plausibly disclaim any responsibility for them.'

Clearly these were dirty tricks the US Government would not like to admit to and if exposed would deny. The directive was explicit, 'Specifically, such operations shall include any covert activities related to: propaganda; economic warfare; preventive direct action, including sabotage, anti-sabotage, demolition, and evacuation measures; subversion against hostile states, including assistance to underground resistance movements, guerrillas and refugee liberation groups, and support of indigenous anti-communist elements in threatened countries of the free world.'⁶ As Ganser emphasised, by creating the CIA and passing NSC 10/2 Truman had 'unleashed US dirty tricks on a grand scale'.

In the context of other measures authorised, 'preventive direct action' is vague in the extreme. It has to be interpreted as something different to the other authorised measures mentioned above. There is an understandable reluctance on the part of politicians and governments to sanction murder, so the most convenient euphemism is used. We know of other well known examples. Hitler spoke of the 'final solution' with regard to his plan to exterminate Jewry throughout the world, and the Nationalist Government authorised 'permanent removal' of the Cradock Four, when they clearly meant murder.

Once the American and other multinational TNCs had secured control over the developing nations' economies and much of the developed world, the need arose to protect these interests.

Daniele Ganser referred to US instruction manuals, including the notorious classified Field Manual 30-31 together with its appendices FM 30-31A and FM 30-31B, written by US terrorism experts of the Pentagon, secret service and the DIA, which were translated into numerous languages. 'These Manuals prescribe in minute detail how to go about these covert operations. In FM 30-31B the intelligence gathering operation and recruiting of spies is not only directed at confronting communism but also to advance overall US interests. It speaks of the situation in any host country in relation to US policy. So stopping communism is but one facet and it stresses that these operatives "should not neglect the wider aspects of US interests wherever opportunity offers to further them".'

Ganser said that in the 1980s FM 30-31B was presented as a genuine US document to the Italian public by the Italian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the US-linked secret Masonic Lodge Propaganda Due (P2), headed by Licio Gelli. Gelli even admitted that 'the CIA gave it to me'. The CIA operative said, 'Read this when you have time.'

FM 30-31B is dated 18 March 1970, Headquarters of the US Army, Washington DC, and signed by General Westmoreland, who commanded American military operations in the Vietnam War from 1964 to 1968 and then served as US Army chief of staff from 1968 to 1972.

Allan Francovich has made films about Gladio and asked Ray Cline, CIA deputy director from 1962 to 1966, whether FM 30-31B was an authentic document or a Soviet forgery. The latter responded on the BBC, 'Well, I suspect it is an authentic document. I don't doubt it. I never saw it but it's the kind of special forces military operations that are described. On the other hand you gotta recall, that the defence department and the President don't initiate any of those orders, until there is an appropriate occasion.'

Perhaps Frantz Fanon was correct in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* when he said, 'Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster, in which the taints, the sickness, and the inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimensions.'

Thallon's book supported much of what Ganser wrote about the murder and mayhem in Europe and then moved on to the use of Gladio by apartheid South Africa. Visser told him, 'For South Africa, contacts within these groups were to prove essential as time went by, as we'd use them for money and arms, supplies and support – especially when the world hit South Africa with its crippling sanctions and knee-jerk embargoes.'

Thallon recorded how Visser told him, 'Gladio as a network remained

perfectly intact, thus leaving us with an opportunity not only to work within it but, like never before, to influence its actions.’

Visser explained how the South African operation worked. The General Officer Commanding (GOC) Special Forces controlled and coordinated the activities of the various Special Forces (SF) regiments from headquarters located in the Swartkop Park Nature Reserve on the outskirts of Pretoria. Colloquially called Speskop, the headquarters also housed the Special Forces’ operational planning as well as administrative support staff.

He said he received his instructions at the Speskop Special Forces base and his commanding officer made specific mention of Gladio. Visser gave details of Gladio as he had ‘already heard of the stay-behind groups and, to a certain degree, had worked with one of them when I’d been recruiting mercenaries for Rhodesia. The network varied, though, in its purpose and its goals, depending on which European country it was operating within. Britain’s stay-behinds, for instance, were tasked to combat a specific internal threat, which was the attempted takeover of civil government by militant left-wing groups.’

Visser told Thallon about his activities, including his views on the bombing of the ANC offices in London and his connections with Colonel Craig Williamson and Operation Outreach.⁸ He described meeting the corpulent Williamson who decried ‘the chicken run’ of whites who feared an ANC Government emigrating from southern Africa. The large man quoted Shakespeare’s Henry V, ‘That he which hath no stomach to this fight, let him depart ... For he today that sheds his blood with me shall be my brother ... And gentlemen in England now a-bed shall think themselves accursed they were not here ...’ Visser also told in painful detail how he killed ANC activist Joseph Mkhathshwa and then moved on to his role in the killing of the Swedish prime minister.

Although ex-president, FW de Klerk, ordered that most documents recording these facts be destroyed, some survived. Potgieter said that Williamson ‘and other elements of MI and National Intelligence had set up an extremely efficient underground network of sympathetic right-wing Swedes. Even within Swedish police echelons – which tended towards the political right in any event – there were people who declared their support for the South African regime. The Uppsala group was a particularly effective network that would come in handy later when South Africa became scratchy about the ease with which Olof Palme and his Social Democrats had established themselves as the world’s most loyal supporters of the ANC’s fight against apartheid.’⁹

Potgieter pointed to a pivotal moment in Swedish history when Palme addressed the Swedish parliament in late February 1986. Also in attendance were prominent ANC leaders such as Thabo Mbeki, Oliver Tambo and Abdul Minty. Tambo and Palme had developed a close relationship, and Soviet ANC

handler Vladimir Shubin told Mark Gevisser that Olof Palme, the Swedish prime minister, would fry sausages for Oliver Tambo when he came to visit.¹⁰

The TRC recorded that for such a meeting, 'It should be expected that the South Africans will be interested in moving in agents or possibly even a hit squad. Craig Williamson, who knows Stockholm well, would undoubtedly be involved.'

Olof Palme's speech to the Swedish Parliament in 1986 was his last public address. 'His global message made headlines all over the world, and he did not mince words in attacking international leaders for their reluctance to act against the South African government.' He was calling on the world to bring an end to apartheid. He castigated PW Botha for his sham reforms on mixed marriages and the Immorality Act that rendered 'cross-race' sex illegal.

Palme said, 'We know that South Africa is a country in which black people do not have the franchise, where suffering in the so-called black homelands stands in grotesque contrast to the luxury of the white areas. We know that the richest and most fertile 87 per cent of the country is reserved for the white minority, which makes up barely 15 percent of the population, while the majority of the people have been banished to the poorest 13 per cent of the land. This horrifically inequitable distribution is the result of an unconscionable policy and one of modern history's cruellest examples of people being forcibly removed.' He gave examples and then said, 'So the truth is that apartheid is not being reformed as the government would have you believe through its advertising campaigns. A system of apartheid cannot be reformed; it can only be abolished.'

Palme lifted his head from his prepared speech and spoke slowly, 'We are all responsible for apartheid. If the world wants to eradicate apartheid, it can do so tomorrow, by simply withdrawing support for the apartheid regime.' He outlined the measures previously taken to undermine apartheid, including boycotts of products, sanctions and other acts.

Potgieter recorded that Olof Palme's attack on the South African Government before such a distinguished group of international representatives caused havoc in Pretoria's corridors of power. 'Bile was spewed and harsh words spoken in the inner sanctums occupied by PW and Pik Botha ... The South African government hated Palme, and that for which he so unequivocally stood. The economic and psychological toll that his anti-apartheid campaign took on South Africa was incalculable. More than 50% of the ANC's finances for the military, propaganda, diplomatic and economic struggle against the South African regime in the 1980s came from the Swedish people's pockets.'¹¹

He set out the planning for Palme's murder in impressive detail. 'On the strength of intelligence reports dated 17 January, 9 April and 19 September,

MI [Military Intelligence] drew up a top-secret report on 15 October 1985 that contained the first of a series of damning recommendations that would shake the international community to its very foundations. The report, which presumably would have been submitted to either General Neels van Tonder or Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, confirmed that the anti-apartheid movement would meet in the Swedish capital in February 1986.'

He quoted from a report given to the South African State Security Council, 'Reliable Swedish sources confirm that Mr Palme's sympathies for the Soviet Union are a matter of grave concern in Sweden, and that this sympathetic attitude can be expected to have a negative effect on the Soviet Union's influence in Europe and Africa.'

The report came to the damning conclusion that Olof Palme could be seen as a major role-player against South Africa and 'must now be considered an enemy of the state'. Even more chilling was the next paragraph, 'Action proposed previously against Mr Palme should now be given urgent attention.' Someone – presumably Putter or Van Tonder – wrote in black ink next to this passage, 'Agreed!' The report continued to plot the method of killing. 'Our Swedish sources in Uppsala are of the opinion that the anti-apartheid conference in Stockholm will offer the ideal opportunity to take appropriate steps against Mr Palme and it will be possible to lay guilt for the action on other groups. It is therefore suggested that the SSC working committee should provide the necessary approval without delay.'¹²

By 20 November 1985 it was evident that the State Security Council (SSC) had indeed sanctioned the proposed Swedish operation, since by that date Williamson's secret project Longreach had already received instructions to launch the planning phase. It is also clear by that stage that Brigadier Tolletjie Botha had personally put Williamson and his Longreach group in the picture about what the SSC wanted.

In a letter to CSI, Longreach sought clarification on certain operational aspects, which it referred to as 'the proposed action against the enemies of the state in Europe'. Further to the information session with Brigadier Botha, Williamson raised the following matters, 'While it was understood that Longreach would have operational command in the field, it was not clear who would be in charge of the operation overall. This information was needed for planning purposes as well as for logistic support. Who would select the operator to be deployed for the final phase of the operation? Longreach had qualified personnel available, but it would be advisable to place a Special Forces operator with European experience at Longreach's disposal. The proposed budget was acceptable and no problems were envisaged in this regard. The final date to set the operation in motion would have to be December 1985.'

Potgieter continued to explain that two days after this letter, the parameters of Operation Slingervel (Slingshot) were sent to Longreach's managing

director. The document was drawn up in General Neels van Tonder's name, but signed on his behalf by Tolletjie Botha. It stated, 'This is to confirm the verbal briefing that approval for the relevant operation has been received from the highest level. Approval has been granted for the operation to coincide with the planned anti-apartheid assembly in Stockholm in 1986. It will be a joint special intelligence operation but falls under the direct command of CSI Operations. Suitable personnel will be seconded to Longreach for the duration of the operation. The surveillance operation that will be required will be handled by Brussels in conjunction with Paris, Bonn and the "Uppsala group". Coordination and final planning will be handled by Brussels. The hardware will be provided by the regional representative National Intelligence in Bonn.

'The designated operator will commence intensive training immediately and a similar training weapon will be provided by NI head office. The operator will be deployed in the operational area at the last possible moment to ensure maximum personal security. This confirms that the primary target of the operation is the subject 'OP' [Olof Palme]. All communication i.r.o. the operation will be channelled through MI and will carry a 'Top Secret' classification throughout. The strictest security is to be maintained at all times, without exception. A further order group will take place within the next week and a warning signal will be sent within the next 48 hours. Please note that all relevant personnel are to be present at the next order group.'

Potgieter was excited about these revelations. 'Next to the final paragraph of the memorandum, someone had handwritten: "Inform Williamson how it is to be done, please!" This would have been an instruction from the senior intelligence officer, doubtless prompted by the fact that Williamson came from a police milieu and knew little or nothing about military discipline.'¹³

Operation details are then given, the possible suspects who executed the operation and movements of the person who completed the killing. 'Key figures within Longreach had long since established themselves in the Swedish capital and made contact with the Uppsala Group to ensure support from the country's underground networks, but the man who was temporarily seconded for Slingervel was deliberately held back, slipping into Sweden at the last possible moment.

'On the night of 23 February 1986, he flew from Jan Smuts Airport to Heathrow and spent two nights at the Grosvenor Hotel in Hyde Park, London. On the morning of 26 February, he took a ferry to Amsterdam, from where he made his way to Denmark, spending the night in a guesthouse. The following day he travelled to Sweden, checking in at the Wellington Hotel in Stockholm. The agent almost certainly made contact soon after arrival with the Slingervel advance team and their Swedish support team for a thorough planning and intelligence briefing.'

Olof Palme trusted the public. Such was his faith in the world that he did

not hesitate to go to the cinema without bodyguards on that icy-cold fateful evening.

As Potgieter rightly revealed, it was all made so easy for the surveillance teams as the Palmes had gone to the movies – giving them a comfortable two hours of set-up time. The only considerations were whether the Palmes would turn left or right when exiting the cinema, or whether they might go for a constitutional. ‘In reality, this meant that there could be two assassins, to make sure that Palme was hit, no matter what direction he took. The premier and his wife were cheerfully discussing the film they had just seen when they left the theatre in Sveavägen. Things moved quickly. A man suddenly walked right up to them and fired two shots. Olof was hit in the back and fell to the pavement.’

Palme’s wife was also a target. ‘Two young women who had been sitting in a car nearby came running and tried to help the wounded prime minister. At the time, they probably didn’t even realise whose life they were trying to save.’ A cab driver summoned the police on his car radio. Olof Palme was rushed to hospital, but declared dead on arrival. Lisbeth survived.

Visser corroborated the authenticity of the operation to kill Olof Palme. ‘Just after the new year of 1985/6, I was called back to Pretoria. We’d been in Europe for six months solid and ... I’d by now passed three new team members into Gladio, who were far better at administration than I ever was, while I remained focused on more “terminal issues”, or the planning thereof ... But back in Pretoria the winds were changing ... Section 6 [the European section of the CCB, headed by Eeben Barlow], meanwhile, had succeeded in achieving its objectives.

‘In a short time we’d befriended and joined forces with Europe’s best-kept secret and now counted them as an ally, while many of Europe’s governments only paid lip service to condemning us. But then there was Sweden. It will seem odd that a country at the top of the world should seem so preoccupied by our small patch at the bottom. It held no concerns in our land, through history or people, and had no interests in the region where our exploits could threaten them. Yet Sweden was the first Western power to give direct aid to the liberation movements and was by far the most generous, while also being the most persistent in demanding our toppling.

‘As the front-line states seemed to be weakening, while our internal forces were getting stronger, Sweden saw a need to lend greater political and material assistance, especially to South Africa’s United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Independent Trade Unions. That help amounted to more than \$300 million in 1986 alone for the enemy at our gates, while Sweden, as a result of its government policies, soon became the principal backer of our insurgency within ...’

At the Foreign Ministers of the Nordic and Front-line States meeting,

which Sweden organised in June 1984, and the meeting in September of the 'Socialist International' states with the liberation movements, the cause of liberating South Africa from apartheid was said to have been significantly advanced, both through increased national sanctions and by strengthening the 'Nordic Programme of Action'.¹⁴ Indeed, in his last speech in February 1986 Palme said, 'This system [apartheid] cannot, would not, be able to survive if it were not in various ways supported or accepted or tolerated by the rest of the world.'

In their book *Unfinished Business: South Africa Apartheid and Truth*¹⁵ Terry Bell and Dumisa Ntsebeza said, 'The West was in an embarrassed alliance with apartheid South Africa, while the East – in the form of the Soviet Union – backed the ANC through its alliance with the SACP ... The Scandinavian countries – in particular Sweden, under Prime Minister Olof Palme – shared the anti-Soviet position ... of their Western allies. But they were uncomfortable with support for the apartheid regime. A small "kitchen cabinet" around Palme welcomed the emergence of anti-apartheid forces which were hostile to the Soviet system and the SACP ... Bernt Carlsson, general secretary of the Socialist International, Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, head of the IUEF, and Palme formed the core of this kitchen cabinet.' It would soon be Carlsson's turn to face the wrath of the apartheid regime.

Visser explained who authorised Palme's killing. 'It's difficult, then, to set about planning to murder a prime minister. You need to know where he'll be at what time and then study the ins and outs of the area at different times of the day, so as to plan your escape with differing amounts of people in the way ... when you're secretly acting on behalf of a government, getting away with it means everything ... Palme, like Sweden as a whole, had prided himself on his openness and accessibility, to the extent that people like him could walk freely around without needing an escort ... In fact we made a previous attempt on his life and failed by a whisker while the conference was on. Believe it or not, a small bolt on a door to the hotel lobby was the difference between his life and death and only three days previously Konrad and I were almost caught lurking about outside his house. Konrad wanted to involve another man. He was another right-winger, who was also a Nazi and part of Sweden's stay-be-hinds. But I said no ...'

His reasons for limiting the number in the group were, 'Five in the gang was four too many – the best way to get away with it is to act alone and to choose your victim at random, otherwise it's easy for the dots to be joined ... I felt that, had our orders come direct from Pretoria, then by duty we'd take the risks that the job would throw at us, but the fact they came by proxy from Gladio operative Sacriponte, we could never be sure of their authority, and that he was insisting on the job's urgency, had made me wonder.'¹⁶

Describing the preparation, Visser said, 'The doorbell went and, after the

usual checks, I opened it to Konrad ... who said Palme's at the cinema around the corner with Lisbeth [his wife]. ... In fact by the time we got round there, the Palmes had just finished buying their tickets, after joining the back of the queue to await their turn. And at that moment we knew we were on ...¹⁷

'... The gunman, Konrad, would park the first car, hired with false papers, in the area and keep a set of keys with him, while D.B. [an unidentified collaborator] would sit one block over in the second – he'd be the escape driver and carry a police radio ... D.B. knew Palme from the old days ... In any event D.B. bought a ticket and, as he was last in, had found himself at the back in the dark. At a certain point, then, Palme left for the toilet, where D.B. "just happened" to be. As they recognised each other instantly, they laughed and joked for less than a minute, until D.B. said ... the Palmes could wait five minutes after the show and he'd give them a lift back home in his car.¹⁸

He told Palme that his car was parked on the Sveavägen, just outside the paint shop. What I do know is that he agreed to the lift. And so, while the movie played, we set ourselves up. D.B. lingered until the last moment, double-checking that Palme's bodyguards were not around. At 11.00 pm precisely he picked Konrad up to swap jackets and hats, then drove his red Volkswagen into position, facing east on David Bagares Gata. Konrad jumped out and meandered his way back, along the street and down the Tunnelgatan stairs. He arrived in the kill zone at exactly 11.15 pm I, meanwhile, watched the other people leave, followed by the Palmes ... Then they walked to where they thought they were getting a lift ... From a distance I could see Konrad standing in the doorway and watching me. Olof gestured at him, thinking it was D.B. acknowledging him, but it was Konrad nodding at me. The Palmes were now in a trap and there was no way out ...

'... Finally they got to within a few yards of each other when Palme must have realised it wasn't D.B. and attempted to keep on walking. But Konrad went with him for those few steps ... I saw them struggle as Konrad put an arm around Palme while using the other to pull out his weapon: a .357 Magnum. He fired two shots: one into him and the other, reaching slightly forward, into her. He turned, looked back at me, then sprinted up the stairs. Palme was left lying in a pool of his own blood and within a moment was dead ... I watched the ensuing commotion from the corner and saw that Konrad had not killed Lisbeth, as she was flapping about in a panic ... I had to get out of there and out of the country. I doubled back and casually walked to the safe house, where I packed my bits and pieces in what the Americans know as a 'bug-out bag' and drove off in the car that Konrad had parked beforehand.'¹⁹

Athol Visser also explained a number of other deaths. 'Soon, the hit squads drawn from mercenaries, the security wings of the extreme right and veterans like me, of South Africa's 32 Battalion, were tendered and put to work, resulting in, to name but a few: the attempted murder of Godfrey

Motsepe, the ANC representative in Brussels, on 4 February 1988; the death of Dulcie September, the ANC representative in Paris, on 29 March 1988, involving my close friend the late Dirk K. Stoffberg, who, as an arms dealer and head of Z-Squad Incorporated, a consortium of highly trained assassins, paid two former Foreign Legionnaires a sack of money to shoot her; and only a couple days beforehand, the planting of a 17kg bomb at the ANC's office in Brussels by two more of our agents.²⁰

He described the killers' tracks after Palme's murder, 'Operation Slingervel's killer left the country immediately and spent the following night in an Amsterdam guesthouse before taking a ferry to England. On the night of 2 March he slept at the Yacht Hostel in London, and flew back to South Africa the next day. On 18 March he submitted his expense claim for the trip to Europe to Longreach. The total amount of \$1,145.25 was authorised on Craig Williamson's behalf by another Longreach operator, Riaan Stander. It was audited and approved by the defence force's financial staff on 22 July.' Stander was later to be identified as a leading agent in smuggling money out of South Africa.

The Swedish police were inept or even, as some suggest, complicit. Potgieter said, 'According to journalist and researcher Sven Anér, who specialised in African affairs, he told the police five days after the assassination that there was a South African connection, but the police didn't even bother making a note of the information.'

In its final report, the TRC concluded that the police had no interest in pursuing the South African link. 'Sven Anér is convinced that certain Swedish police officers played a direct role in Palme's murder. Others do not believe this, but no one discounts the possibility of some form of indirect involvement.'²¹

Other police services were asked to help. 'Even the British secret service, MI6, received a mysterious tip-off: the man who had killed Olof Palme was acting on the orders of the South African Security Police ... The MI6 informant named Craig Williamson as the actual brain behind the assassination, and claimed he was helped by members of the Swedish police ...'

Nothing came of this. There was further confirmation, 'In 1996, Colonel Eugene de Kock, convicted former commander of the Vlakplaas hit squads, caused a sensation when, during his trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court, he alleged that Anthony (Ant) White had shot Palme. Ant was a founder member of Longreach ...' De Kock said, 'I informed the South African attorney general about numerous apartheid crimes, notably the assassination of [Olof] Palme, which was one of Craig Williamson's Operation Longreach projects ... I wanted it to be investigated before it was covered up...'²²

The final proof, if that is indeed necessary, lies in a leading Austrian newspaper from the mid-1990s. In his 2015 book *Coup d'Etat in Slow Motion: The*

Murder of Olof Palme, author Ole Dammegård detailed his information about the killing. He referred to page 4 of *Neue Kronen-Zeitung* of 6 October 1996 where it stated, 'The revelation a few days ago had an explosive effect: two senior people in the "dirty tricks" department of the apartheid regime said independently in court, and while being filmed, that Sweden's Olof Palme had been the victim of a South African murder plot in February 1986.'

The article continued with horrific details about the Lockerbie flight, which will have to wait for a later chapter for full exposure. 'Truly sensational: a big murder mystery appeared finally to have been solved! All of which helped explain an even bigger terrorist murder mystery: that South Africa was also behind the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie in Scotland in December 1988.'

The article stated unequivocally that 'with Olof Palme as well as the Lockerbie bombing – the trail leads to the same plotters: the South African apartheid regime!' What became clear was that Carlsson and Palme were regarded as arch enemies by the apartheid regime. The piece said there were good reasons why the South African secret services wanted those two Swedish social democrats dead: the dyed-in-the-wool anti-apartheid Swedes were alleged to be supplying arms, via socialist routes, to the ANC. 'These had to be secret operations because, officially, the Socialist International only offered non-military aid to the South African freedom fighters of the ANC and SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation]. Palme and Co were regarded as peaceniks.'

As can be expected, nothing came of it. A police investigation called Operation Deep Search successfully carried out an electronic probe into intelligence reports submitted to the State Security Council. These showed that Palme had been singled out as a primary individual determined to isolate South Africa at all levels of international cooperation. Palme was also actively working for the imposition of an oil embargo against South Africa and international sanctions that would ban all contact with the country.

'Mr Palme was regarded as a major enemy of South Africa, who had to be neutralised,' according to the report. 'It is not possible to access the intelligence reports without compromising sympathetic contacts who are in place. The minutes of SSC meetings could not be obtained, but it is known that copies are in the possession of certain journalists.'

According to the Operation Deep Search documents, the complicity of Rear Admiral Willem du Plessis, General Neels van Tonder and Brigadier Tolletjie Botha in the operation to murder Palme²³ was traced with the help of electronic records ...

In Operation Deep Search's final report to the Swedish Government, the two investigators concluded, 'After thorough evaluation of all the facts it is quite clear that the operator who was involved in the assassination of

Mr Palme was Mr Roy Allen. All available evidence that has been reviewed supports this conclusion. He was involved with Longreach for a brief period. He was with Craig Williamson in Sweden, as confirmed by his travel and expenses claim. His service records had been doctored, since they indicated that he was posted to Oshakati from 1985. The fact is that he only arrived in Oshakati in March 1986 – a week after the assassination. He was a well trained operator and, at the time of his interrogation by NI in 1996/97, most of his service records were expunged. He began making arrangements to seek asylum in Australia immediately afterwards. He fitted the psychological profile of Palme's killer.'

And so the murder of a Swedish prime minister was covered up. As Potgieter concluded, his country had forsaken him – in part as a result of the Swedish police's ineptitude, and partly because the politicians seemingly balked at revealing the truth.²⁴

15 | The land God made in anger

‘A shocking crime was committed on the unscrupulous initiative of a few individuals, with the blessing of more, and amid the passive acquiescence of all.’

Tacitus

Before investigating the murder of Chris Hani further, we travel to Namibia to seek answers to the deaths of two prominent personalities – Bernt Carlsson and Anton Lubowski. Are there patterns that might help identify the forces behind the killing of Hani? We have examined the law which provides that evidence of a prior incident is admissible in court if it shows a method and motive that help solve the latter crime. It is known as similar fact evidence and is routinely applied in all countries.

The Swedish administrator and diplomat Bernt Carlsson was appointed assistant secretary-general of the United Nations and United Nations commissioner for South West Africa (Namibia) from July 1987. He was only to last 17 months in the position before he met a fiery death on Pan Am Flight 103 over the small Scottish town of Lockerbie on 21 December 1988.

On 26 December 1988 his friend Michael Harrington published an obituary of Carlsson in the *Los Angeles Times*. He enumerated Carlsson’s qualities, emphasising that he was a man with a soul as tough as steel. Much has been done to remember his extraordinary life and The Bernt Carlsson Trust – otherwise known as One World Action – was founded by Glenys Kinnock on 21 December 1989 (the first anniversary of the Lockerbie air disaster). The Trust honours Carlsson and spends its resources pursuing his vision. In Namibia, the country he tried so hard to prise from colonial and corporate clutches, a street in the Pionierpark Extension 1 township in the capital Windhoek is named Bernt Carlsson Road.

Less than nine months after the Lockerbie disaster, on 12 September 1989, another courageous fighter for justice, Windhoek advocate Anton Lubowski was assassinated as he emerged from his car in front of his house in Sanderburg Street – now Anton Lubowski Street. A gunman sprayed his body with bullets from an AK-47 and then shot him in the head.

Why were Carlsson and Lubowski seen as threats and who were their enemies? Why would their championing the cause of Namibian independence make them the most prominent enemies of those plundering connivers? After all, there were many high-profile political leaders pushing to implement the UN resolutions on South Africa’s illegal occupation.

Dag Hammarskjöld and Bernt Carlsson both died after bombs were placed on their aeroplanes. Hammarskjöld was trying to secure a settlement that would allow the wealth of the DRC to accrue to its inhabitants as Carlsson would later attempt in Namibia. Similar fates had befallen others. In John Perkins' book *The New Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*² he says the book was 'dedicated to the heads of state of two countries, men who had been my clients, whom I respected and thought of as kindred spirits – Jaime Roldós of Ecuador and Omar Torrijos of Panama. Both had just died in fiery crashes. Their deaths were not accidental. They were assassinated because they opposed that fraternity of corporate, government, and banking heads whose goal is global empire. We EHMs [economic hit men] failed to bring Roldós and Torrijos around, so the other type of hit men, the CIA, stepped in and sanctioned jackals who were always right behind us.'

When he was surrounded by darkness, Bernt Carlsson wondered if his 'concrete action' would put him in the firing line as it had Lumumba of the Congo, Roldós of Ecuador and Torrijos of Panama.

On the shortest day of the year, 21 December 1988, Bernt Carlsson sat in the departure lounge at Heathrow Airport, drinking a beer. Exactly a month before turning 50 on 19 December, he had left New York for Brussels to make a speech in the European Parliament on 20 December. The visit was arranged by David Lowe in conjunction with the Socialist International. The trip to Brussels had been planned almost six months earlier and Carlsson was due to fly straight back from Brussels to New York after his speech. However, having been persuaded only days before to stop off in London and attend a meeting with De Beers, he found himself at Heathrow. The diamond giant De Beers owned Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM), one of the world's largest diamond producers and a dominant force in Namibia for 60-plus years.

Anyone observing Bernt Carlsson in the departure lounge at Heathrow would have seen nothing remarkable in the neatly dressed, polite man with the thick horn-rimmed glasses. Heathrow Airport records show that at 6.25 pm, Pan Am Flight 103 received permission from the control tower to take off and begin the long flight to New York. Captain MacQuarrie slowly pushed the start lever forward. With such a heavy load the aircraft would need every meter of the runway to lift into the dark sky. The great mechanical bird took to the skies easily and climbed to its cruising height. At 6.58 pm the co-pilot spoke into his microphone to Shanwick Oceanic Area Control in Ireland. He gave his flight position and waited for the station to give them the flight corridor to reach New York safely. At 7.02 pm, the Irish air controller instructed, 'Clipper 103 you should take 59 north 10 west to Kennedy [Airport in New York].'

Busy as they are, air traffic controllers need answers quickly to move on to the next demand. Much to his surprise, the air controller dealing with Pan

Am Flight 103 received no answer. The time logs show that at 7.02.50 pm his visual contact on the transponder suddenly disappeared from the screen. He tracked the plane a short while later and found it at 55 degrees and seven minutes north, 3 degrees and 21 minutes west. Alarming, what should have formed a silhouette had fragmented into pieces.

We do not know what happened on board at 7.02.50 pm but subsequent information has allowed a reconstruction of the events. An explosion was heard by Bernt Carlsson and the other passengers and the electricity went out. Within milliseconds large sections of the forward fuselage were ripped apart and fell down fast. Big pieces of the plane broke away and started falling headlong while cold air streamed in. The conditions were similar to those on Mount Everest and medical opinion insists that the passengers would have lost consciousness immediately and felt no pain.

With the motors still going at full speed, the plane crashed at 7.03.26 pm into the small town of Lockerbie, south-west Scotland. The greatest damage was recorded at Sherwood Crescent, a street of suburban homes. Nearby, the earthquake monitoring centre in Eskdalemuir measured a blast of 1.6 on the Richter scale, with a policeman who lived close by describing it as if a 'small atom bomb' had hit the sleepy town.

We know something of what the citizens experienced in Lockerbie that night. In an article in *The Guardian* in February 2000, Cay Rademacher and Christoph Reuter described some witnesses' experiences, 'At 7.03 pm Bunty Galloway had just sat down in front of the television to watch *This is Your Life*. Outside it was windy and cold. No one was out on the narrow street in front of her house. Many of Bunty's neighbours were also watching TV and others were wrapping gifts. It was four days before Christmas. Suddenly, Bunty noticed a strange noise. She had never heard anything like it in her life. It was coming rapidly closer with a rising groan and howl as if at any moment the noise would make the house explode like a kettle under pressure. When she got to the door to look out, the roar had abruptly stopped. Now it was dark and quiet. The electricity had gone out.'

The two journalists reported, 'When she looked outside, the scene was as awful and bizarre as a Hieronymus Bosch version of hell; a wall of flames, down a hill and only about 600 metres away, was bathing the town in orange light. It smelled of kerosene. A terrace house was crushed from above, as if an enormous hammer had pounded through the roof. Two young women fell directly on to the street in front of her house. One lay on the asphalt and another was thrown over a low garden wall. The body of a child lay at the foot of the stairs that lead to Bunty Galloway's home. She would later remember that the child wore brown socks and blue pants.'

Two hundred and seventy people died that night. Among them, 259 were from Pan Am Flight 103, including Bernt Carlsson, and 11 of the

small town's 3,000 inhabitants. The journalists revealed their scepticism as to the real perpetrators of the tragic crash. 'Hours would pass before Bunty Galloway and her neighbours would learn that a passenger jet had crashed into their town. Days would go by before specialists were certain a bomb had caused the catastrophe. Months would pass before they could reconstruct the course of events. And it would take more than 11 years before two suspects would stand trial. And when this trial, which is scheduled to begin on 3 May near the Dutch city of Utrecht, ends after many months, it is likely it will be decided that the real culprits still haven't been found.' The journalists were correct.

Had Bernt Carlsson flown back directly from Brussels to New York and not stopped in London, he would have survived the terrible tragedy. Until the extraordinary investigations of a Swedish journalist, nothing was known of the meeting Carlsson had with De Beers.

There are two possibilities: firstly, that the meeting with De Beers was arranged in good faith and it was just bad luck that Carlsson met his death on that ill-fated flight; secondly, that Carlsson was lured to London and booked onto the flight because De Beers knew there would be a bomb on board and the company wanted him to perish with all the other passengers and crew.

It may be a great coincidence, of course, but the recent death of Yevgeny Prigozhin in Russia, may point to the efficacy of aircraft accidents, when pesky little opponents are creating problems. Writing in the press³ on 31 August 2023, Natale Labia, chief economist of a global investment firm, discussed the occasion the previous week, when Yevgeny Prigozhin's jet exploded and plunged from the air, crashing northwest of Moscow. He says 'Russian President Vladimir Putin just happened to be remotely addressing the BRICS Summit in Johannesburg. We can be sure that this was not a coincidence, because we all know who was behind the killing.' Labia points out that even Prigozhin himself, back in April, spoke of being killed and specifically mentioned that Putin would make 'the plane fall apart in the air'.

Labia refers to an interview with *The Financial Times* in August, in which Christo Grozev, the founder of the whistle-blower organisation Bellinccat, predicted it too. He said, 'Putin went on TV and called Prigozhin a traitor. Everyone knows what they do with traitors ... within six months [Prigozhin] will be dead.' Labia says that 'US officials are working on the assumption that the plane was brought down on the orders of Putin'. The facts were that Prigozhin was the most notorious of Putin's lieutenants, who derived his power from being close to the boss. He built the Wagner mercenary empire across Africa and amassed vast wealth. Labia says, 'In return for this, Putin demanded absolute loyalty. As soon as Prighozin broke this and betrayed Putin those months ago in his ill-fated march on Moscow, his days were numbered.'

To come to any conclusions on this matter, with regard to Carlsson, we need to look at the situation in Namibia at the time and Carlsson's role in the impending elections for a new democratic government. The reason is that we have to establish any possible motive De Beers might have for killing Carlsson and what they might gain from his demise.

Strangely, many prominent personalities – including international tennis player Mats Wilander and a high-powered South African Government delegation including Foreign Minister Pik Botha – missed that flight. With time there would be much speculation as to how Botha, who was central to the negotiations for the new Namibia, failed to board the flight, whereas Bernt Carlsson stepped onto Pan Am Flight 103, blissfully unaware of its deadly cargo. Were Botha and the Nationalist securocrats with him warned so that their lives might be spared? If so, what had led those responsible to conclude that their interests could only be served by killing Carlsson, even at the cost of hundreds of lives?

Carlsson was born in Stockholm in 1938 and from an early age was a champion of those who were politically downtrodden or poor. At just 16, he joined the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League, before studying economics at Stockholm University. After graduating with excellent results, he went into Sweden's foreign ministry as assistant to the minister of commerce in 1967. Three years later he became international secretary of the ruling Social Democratic Party of Sweden and Prime Minister Olof Palme appointed him as his special adviser.

A photo of Carlsson taken in April 1983 shows an earnest young man talking fervently about his views on socialism at the Socialist International Congress. He is pictured with former German Chancellor Willy Brandt on the occasion when Carlsson's term as general secretary came to an end and he handed over to Pentti Väänänen. Carlsson had assumed office as general secretary of the London-based Socialist International in 1976 and for the next seven years, he was engaged in extending the International's influence beyond Europe to Third World countries, channelling money and political support to the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa.

In his book *The New Radicals*, Glenn Moss described how in the 1970s efforts to develop a 'third way' in politics, beholden to none of the players in the Cold War [the Soviet Union and United States of America], were superimposed on this growing need for information from within South Africa. 'Social democrats from the Scandinavian countries had identified the Black Consciousness (BC) initiatives as a possible alternative to the ANC-SACP alliance, which they believed was overly influenced by the Soviet Union. This was one of the reasons for Lars-Gunnar Eriksson and the International University Exchange Fund's strong financial backing of BC projects and organizations.'⁴

Terry Bell and Dumisa Ntsebeza wrote in their book that the Scandinavian countries – in particular Sweden, under Prime Minister Olof Palme – shared the anti-Soviet position of their Western allies. But they were uncomfortable with support for the apartheid regime. ‘A small kitchen cabinet around Palme welcomed the emergence of anti-apartheid forces which were hostile to the Soviet system and the SACP ... Bernt Carlsson, general secretary of the Socialist International, Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, head of the IUEF, and Palme formed the core of this kitchen cabinet.’

Moss added that Eriksson was enthused by these ‘new forces within South Africa which rejected Soviet-style communism but seemed to embrace democratic forms of socialism and socialist humanism ...’ He explained how the Swedish kitchen cabinet, including Carlsson, resolved to provide as much support as possible to encourage the growth of this perceived new force while preserving a non-sectarian façade towards the ANC. ‘It was this desire to create a third way which helped propel apartheid spy Craig Williamson into the position of IUEF liaison in South Africa through his prominent and responsible position in Nusas.’⁵

Carlsson’s relationship with Williamson had seen them exchange many ideas but there was something about the man he never trusted. The role of Williamson in the death of Carlsson will be explored in the chapters ahead. This ‘third way’ had seen the Scandinavian countries achieve a political and economic model that sought to mix the best in the capitalist and socialist systems. In this scheme there was enough government control to ensure the capitalists did not appropriate all the wealth of the country and enough respect for freedom that did not force communism on the people. During this time Carlsson had made many enemies among those keen to prevent socialism and democracy reaching southern Africa, including Namibia and South Africa.

Carlsson was also instrumental in trying to bring the parties together in the Middle East. Not short of courage, Carlsson locked horns with Socialist International President Willy Brandt and his unique ‘nationalist’ brand of theory, saying, ‘This is a Socialist International – not a German International.’ There were repercussions as Brandt moved the Socialist International congress of April 1983 to Albufeira in Portugal because the venue in Sydney was considered inappropriate when newly elected pro-Israeli Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke campaigned against the PLO’s participation. Brandt marshalled his forces and Carlsson had to resign.

Carlsson left London and returned to Sweden in 1983 to become Palme’s special ambassador and plenipotentiary to the Middle East and Africa. Palme had handed him the hottest potato at the time, the war between Iran and Iraq. From 1985 to 1987 Carlsson was head of Nordic Affairs in Sweden’s foreign ministry and tried to bring peace to those trouble spots.

On 1 July 1987 Carlsson was appointed assistant secretary-general of

the United Nations and UN commissioner for Namibia. That position was described as the appointed UN governor of Namibia but as the *New York Times* put it, 'Because United Nations authority over Namibia is not recognized by South Africa, he is in practice the chief United Nations officer in charge of development programmes intended to prepare Namibia for independence.'

During his brief 17-month tenure he tried to bring about the fulfilment of his dreams for the vast country that, after the World War I, had become a vassal state and virtual fifth province of South Africa. Over the years his great interest in countries with repressive regimes had meant that Namibia and the oppressed people of South Africa had been a special study for him. Apart from this knowledge, he had immersed himself in the land and read all he could to understand the origins of the deep-seated problems. He often reflected on the cultured men and women that ran the government and the large companies that dominated the territory.

Carlsson's tenure in Namibia had not been easy and a series of incidents had made him wonder if he would suffer the same fate as previous UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. The story of Namibia was a tale of colonial greed and avarice against the territory's indigenous peoples. This was a land packed with fabulous minerals and highways of diamonds. Carlsson had learned much from both observers of the looting of Namibia and people active in the quest to facilitate Namibian independence, fearlessly fighting the apartheid government and Big Business.

To investigate Carlsson's stance on Namibia, we look at two characters who play a major part in the search for the real culprits behind the Lockerbie bomb. The first is Patrick Haseldine, ex-diplomat, fanatical sleuth and campaigner to unearth the secrets of Carlsson's death. The second is Laurie Flynn, journalist and filmmaker.

On 30 April 2015 Haseldine had lunch with Laurie Flynn who told him how in 1987, he had planned for Carlsson to travel from New York to Manchester to watch a film he had made about Namibia. Haseldine had joined HM Diplomatic Service in 1971, starting with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and after four years' service was sent as commercial attaché to the Paris Embassy. In 1978 he applied for and was posted to the British High Commission in Freetown, Sierra Leone. His interest in South Africa and the ravages of the apartheid regime started in 1982 when he was posted back to London and spent a year in the FCO's Southern African department. He kept track of the cultural and sports boycott of South Africa and compliance with the mandatory UN arms embargo daily. His strong views on the injustices of the South African regime displeased his bosses and to keep him quiet, he was moved.

Haseldine next caught the eye when on 22 February 1988 he was a member of the invited studio audience on the television show *Question Time*.

He asked several probing questions and was the first member of the audience to vote on the question of sanctions against the racist South African regime. His courageous public statements landed him in hot water and in March 1988 Haseldine was instructed not to publish any further documents in his own name. This clearly had no effect and the following month, after circulating material within the civil service without authorisation, he was suspended for six months.

On 7 December 1988 Haseldine wrote a letter to *The Guardian* in which he publicly accused then prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, of 'self-righteous invective' over her handling of an extradition request for Irishman Patrick Ryan to face terrorism charges in the UK. He contrasted the case to that of the Coventry Four, four South African businessmen who were charged in 1984 with evading the UN ban on military exports but who were released by the Thatcher government. Haseldine labelled the four South Africans 'terrorists' and was immediately suspended from work. Following a disciplinary proceeding, he was dismissed on 3 August 1989.

Haseldine wrote numerous letters to the press and articles on the internet.⁶ Much of what he wrote challenged the Lockerbie official narrative by accusing apartheid South Africa of targeting Bernt Carlsson in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. He submitted two unsuccessful petitions to 10 Downing Street, citing the criticism of the Lockerbie investigation by UN observer Hans Köchler and calling for a new UN inquiry into the bombing. Needless to say, nothing came of these efforts.

Do the rich and powerful always triumph? Of all the sins in the world, power must surely be the most seductive. It places in the hands of the few a godlike authority to alter the lives of people, to change the course of events and to enforce the will of the few on the many. And, as the saying goes, power inevitably becomes profoundly corrupted. A most unholy alliance was formed between government and corporations and their combined assets are used to subjugate and eliminate those who stood in their way. Central to the European colonisers' pillaging of Africa and South Africa was the limited liability company.

Homo sapiens is a complex being, at times sympathetic and loving and at other times ruthless, cruel and avaricious. There are those who believe he behaves worst when he is in a uniform, be it military, sport or the businessman's suit. The uniform is designed to take away individuality and breed discipline, teamwork and ruthless efficiency. Once in his uniform the soldier must obey orders without questioning whether they are the best means of achieving the goal or have any ethical or moral basis. Once a man puts on his business suit or his sporting gear he is subject to the commands of his superiors, be they CEOs, coaches or captains. In the commercial world, the executives and their employees are nowhere more subservient to the CEOs than in corporations,

especially the large and multinational ones. Many consider these criminogenic environments. But are these Leviathans inherently evil?

In *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power*, author Joel Bakan seemed to think so. 'The corporation is a pathological institution, a dangerous possessor of the great power it wields over people and societies.'⁷ Psychopathy expert Dr Robert Hare reckons many of the actions of the captains of industry are psychopathic as they try to destroy their competitors or beat them one way or another. Many features of psychopaths are to be found in company executives because 'in an attempt to satisfy the corporate goal, everybody else is put at risk'.⁸

In Perkins' book he explained what 'economic hit men (EHM)' are. He summarises their work as that of 'highly paid professionals who cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars. They funnel money from the World Bank, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), and other foreign "aid" organizations into the coffers of huge corporations and the pockets of a few wealthy families who control the planet's natural resources. Their tools include fraudulent financial reports, rigged elections, payoffs, extortion, sex, and murder. They play a game as old as empire, but one that has taken on new and terrifying dimensions during this time of globalization.'

How did Perkins know so much about them? His answer is irrefutable. 'I should know. I was an economic hit man.'

16 | Diamonds in the desert

‘The Master said, “If your conduct is determined solely by considerations of profit you will arouse great resentment”.’

Confucius

On the beaches of the Sperrgebiet in Namibia, alluvial diamonds littered the sands for the taking – and taken they were. Tales abound of adventurers seeking the dazzling sparklers that nature had strewn on the desert sands.

But all too soon the men in suits marched in, fenced off the whole area and called it ‘The Forbidden Zone’. Then they gobbled up millions of gems and spread their glittering booty around the world, leaving virtually nothing for the people of Namibia.

In 1987, Bernt Carlsson met Vincent Laurie Macpherson Flynn, a Scottish investigative journalist and television producer with more than 30 years’ experience, who had been to Namibia investigating allegations of over-mining of the nation’s most valuable natural resources, the diamond deposits of the Sperrgebiet (the Forbidden Zone).

Apart from writing articles, Flynn’s fascination with mining and exploitation in Southern Africa resulted in a documentary for Granada TV’s 1987 *World In Action* series called *The Case of the Disappearing Diamonds* and the 1992 book *Studded with Diamonds and Paved with Gold*. The latter reads like a spy thriller, detailing his encounters with the corporate giants. It deserves to be read.

Flynn described the De Beers man Rob Hudson as being full of charm, reiterating De Beers’ and Anglo’s strong corporate commitment to freedom of inquiry and ‘personally he could see no insurmountable obstacles to a decent working relationship and access to the mine’.

De Beers and Anglo American have always professed transparency and above-board human rights records. Anglo American founder and later De Beers chief, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer said, ‘We promise to earn profits for our shareholders but to do so in such a way as to make a real and lasting contribution to the welfare of the people of the countries in which [De Beers] operates.’

Cracks soon appeared in Hudson’s promises to Flynn. He asked Flynn the trap question of whether he entered the country as a tourist or with press accreditation. It later transpired that Hudson had reported his presence to the

chief immigration officer at Jan Smuts Airport, who sent an officer to warn him not to film in South Africa or he would be expelled.

After flying to Cape Town, Flynn met his informant and ex-De Beers employee, Gordon Brown, who showed him fascinating material. When he left Cape Town Airport to fly to Windhoek, lo and behold, he was again confronted by immigration officials, clearly on De Beers' orders. In Windhoek, Flynn contacted CDM PR manager Clive Cowley, a man who had been editor of the leading English newspaper in the land, *The Windhoek Advertiser*. Shortly after, he received a letter from De Beers dated 11 June 1987 saying, 'We regret to advise you that we are unable to agree to your filming at Oranjemund, or to offer you any assistance in the preparation of film material on CDM.' Cowley had copied the letter to the South African Police. So, all in cahoots then.

For Flynn this was an about-turn from the earlier promise of transparency, and he wondered why there was this obsessive need for secrecy. After all it was not a time of war nor was this a secret industry making nuclear material.

He hired a light plane and when they landed at Lüderitz to take on fuel, local fuel depot operator Helmut Jungst told them the police had been making enquiries. He knew immediately that he was being pressurised not to supply Flynn and his crew with fuel. They flew over Oranjemund and the control tower warned that they had no permission to land and were not welcome there. After taking aerial shots of the Sperrgebiet and the workings, they flew home.

Flynn was concerned his films would be confiscated or destroyed to prevent them being shown on international television. Human rights lawyer David Smuts told them of instances when the films had disappeared at Windhoek Airport.

After consulting Smuts, they decided to fly to Botswana from Eros, a small airport in Windhoek. Just as they were taxiing along the tarmac, they were ordered to go to Windhoek International Airport first. Flynn said, 'Customs clearance had now been withdrawn and the plane would now have to fly to Windhoek International before clearance to leave the country could be given. De Beers' friends in the Diamond Police had obviously been busy overnight.'

At the international airport, senior members of the Security Police impounded Flynn's films and David Smuts was summoned to assist in getting them out. Smuts approached the government media official and even the chief minister before the films were released to go to Manchester for processing. The documentary was finally aired and not well received by De Beers and its Central Selling Organization. The company placed large advertisements in British and other newspapers denying the allegations in the films and protesting the company's innocence.¹

Flynn also produced another documentary called *The Diamond Empire* which originally was aired by the BBC on 1 February 1994. Intrepid Australian journalist Janine Roberts conducted the research for the second film and also wrote a devastating book, *Glitter and Greed*, about the workings of the diamond industry, more especially De Beers.

Roberts was viciously assaulted both physically and sexually on 1 November 1992 while she was working on the film. She did not identify the perpetrators, but the consequent pain, trauma and concussion troubled her for years, in addition to requiring surgery on a cracked lens in her one eye.²

We know that Carlsson saw Laurie Flynn's films and read his book. They would have been rich information sources about a country that he was charged with leading to democracy.

Offshore mining executive John Gurney was interviewed in the film. He said, 'You can go to other coastlines and expect to find a few diamonds, but I think you can't build up a scenario that's as optimistic as one can build up for the west coast of Southern Africa. If you look at what's on the land – and there's three or four raised beaches on land that have produced more than 100 million carats of diamonds. In one of our concessions alone – and it's not one of the bigger concessions – we have mapped 22 beach levels, so you're again going to come out to a number which is of the order of a billion carats or in excess of that.'

We agree with the film's assertion that given the plentiful diamonds, De Beers' virtual monopoly is an astonishing feat.

To conclude this brief story about the glitz and the glam, the sparkle and shine of desert diamonds, we have seen how enough is never enough to satisfy the big boys' pervasive greed for ever-more profits. They will stop at nothing to safeguard what they consider 'theirs' for the taking – by hook or by crook.

17 | Enter the Oppenheimers

‘Turning corporations loose and letting the profit motive run amok is not a prescription for a more liveable world.’

Tom Scholz

Nature kept throwing stones – glittering ones – onto the beaches of the Sperrgebiet. This treasure should have made Namibia and its peoples among the richest in the world. Instead, corporate jackals, with the help of the South African state, confined Namibians to poverty and servitude, ripped out the diamonds and sold them throughout the world at huge profit, returning little to the land nature had so blessed.

News of the diamond discoveries filtered down to the Cape and pricked the interest of the Oppenheimer family. It was to be one very lucky break for Ernest.

Born in 1880 in Friedberg, Germany, Ernest Oppenheimer grew up in a large middle-class family. The eighth child and fifth son of a German cigar merchant, he probably knew the imperative of making his own way in the world. It was expensive to raise such a large family and the time soon came for Ernest to seek his fortune elsewhere. Aged just 16, he followed his older brother Louis to London, where he worked sorting diamonds at £1-a-week for the firm Anton Dunkelsbuhler. From his first introduction to the brilliant stones, diamonds fascinated the young man.

The English climate irked him and his second opportunity arose when a position opened thousands of miles away at the southern tip of Africa. Ernest happily left dreary London for sunny Kimberley, the new Golconda and diamond epicentre, to take charge of the local office there.

Clearly a hardworking, ambitious and ruthless man, within 30 years he had founded the mining house Anglo American Corporation, which was to become one of the richest companies in the world. His family motto *Spero optima*, ‘I hope for the best’, had been prophetic and civic honours were to follow his great wealth when he was knighted in 1921. While the cynical attributed the peerage to his wealth, other reasons suggested were his efforts in recruiting soldiers and workers for Britain during World War I.¹

When news of the diamond discoveries in Namibia reached the South African mining companies, Anthony Hocking in his hagiography *Oppenheimer and Son*, said it was likened to the boom days of Kimberley. ‘Fritz Hirschhorn led a De Beers delegation to investigate the discoveries.’² Albert Alletzheimer,

who has written an unpublished Oppenheimer biography, enthused, 'Ernest Oppenheimer, in 1914, two months before the outbreak of war, went there to survey the territory and came back with a report that was mind-boggling and subsequently hidden from the public, the fact that this was the richest diamond field in the history of the world.'

Flynn explained how well De Beers and Anglo-American exploited the opportunities presented in Namibia in the wake of World War I. 'Ernest Oppenheimer spotted the spectacular business opportunity to obtain a monopoly over the production and sale of Namibian gems and to make himself the king of diamonds. Oppenheimer was a financier with strong political connections in Britain and America. Conveniently he also had good contacts in Germany, the land of his birth, and in South Africa, his adopted home, where, like his role model and predecessor Cecil Rhodes, he pursued an active political career.

'Oppenheimer warned the German owners of the diamond concessions that they would lose everything if they didn't come in with him. He also pointed out the contrast if they were to merge with his business associates in the Union of South Africa. Their wealth could be protected inside his complex of companies, the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.'³

He managed to secure the capital to buy out the 12 German companies. With the help of Dunkelsbuhlers, Morgan Grenfell and Sir David Graaff, the various interests were amalgamated into Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, with Ernest as chairman and managing director, and nominal capital of £3,500,000.⁴

Given that South Africa was running the land as a colony, Oppenheimer also needed help from the South African Government. Flynn said he persuaded the new South African prime minister, Jan Smuts, and his cabinet to endorse his portfolio of problematic land and corporate titles and sign over an area three times the size of Wales. 'Inside this Sperrgebiet or Forbidden Zone he was given exclusive access and mining rights for 50 years. The rent for this huge private colony, from which he could exclude all visitors, was £130 a year.'

Flynn said when he made his abortive visit to the Sperrgebiet in 1987 'the 50-year lease signed in 1921 had neither expired nor been equitably renegotiated. The rent was the same and the no-entry signs were still in place.'⁵ By any standards this was an extraordinary rental and shows how little regard South African Prime Minister Jan Smuts and his government had for the needs or interests of Namibians, who lacked hospitals, schools and housing.

Ironically, one problem for De Beers was that the rental was so low it did not constitute a big enough expense to reduce the taxable income of his company. However, the ingenuity of Oppenheimer's clever accountants would soon remedy that.

Apart from the scandalously low rental, Smuts and his cronies dealt the citizens of Namibia a further blow. The German Government's Halbscheid Agreement was in place, which Flynn explained as follows, 'In a final master stroke, Oppenheimer and his business associates persuaded the South African administration to sign away for nothing valuable profit-sharing rights the government had just acquired as a result of years of work by those German colonial officials who had some notion of the public interest. The rights would have given Namibia a half share in the billions of pounds' worth of profits the Oppenheimer companies have since taken from the Sperrgebiet. All this would have been over and above the diamond tax revenue and export duty gathered in by the State.'⁶

Clause 3 of the Halbscheid Agreement provided that when working an area the company had to conduct operations as thoroughly and economically as it would its other mining fields. Finally, it had to carry out mining in a manner that was satisfactory to the administrator and not with a 'view to exhausting the superficial and more valuable deposits to the detriment of the low grade deposits'.

The unique role played by the South African state explains much of what transpired. According to Flynn, De Beers' main business partner in the diamond cartel was the white South African Government, and the company's continuing franchise to mine Oranjemund's magnificent beaches depended on prolonging the symbiotic relationship between itself and the South African state. 'As a result, where it might have been resisted and the resistance been justified in terms of international law, apartheid was enthusiastically introduced by De Beers inside its company town in the middle of the desert. Worse still, the option of passive resistance was not even seriously entertained by Africa's greatest business house. Throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, therefore, the contract workers from Ovamboland were penned in single-sex compounds and denied all rights to social life and union representation, which were guaranteed to whites.'⁷

This relationship also helped obtain extensions for De Beers each time the 50-year lease came up for renewal – once in 1940 and again in 1953.⁸

To jump ahead some 70 years to the early 1990s with the move to democratic government, CDM was transformed into the modern Namibian diamond mining company Namdeb, and through progressive legislation its seven mineral licences covering 16,000 square kilometres replaced the old grant area of the Sperrgebiet.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche commented on the contradictory forces at work in the world between democracy and capitalism. Democracy 'emphasises joint interest, equality, and common loyalties ...' while capitalism 'is based on self-seeking inequality and conflicting individual and group interests'.

Capitalism attempts to 'maximise efficiency and profit through merciless

competition in a free market system in which the strong, skilful and property owners win, and the weaker and less cunning lose'.⁹ At its simplest, each adult person has a single vote and yet the wealth and economic power of the country is divided among an unelected minority.

When government officials sit as directors on the company board, whose interests do they represent? The South African Government or the interests of De Beers? Do they advocate a policy of greater profits for the company, in which case there should be greater taxes for their government? If the company is embarking on tax avoidance or evasion, how do the government directors vote? Clearly they have to oppose these with all their will as such measures would deprive their constituents of taxes to build the necessary infrastructure.

The symbiotic relationship between the state and De Beers is crucially important when considering responsibility for the deaths of Bernt Carlsson and Anton Lubowski. Therefore, we will focus on the occasions when De Beers made use of government services such as police and others for private purposes. The fact that they were business partners makes it more obvious that they would work in tandem to achieve their mutual goal.

On Namdeb's website we read, 'Work resumed after WWI with the various colonial mining companies having been combined into the Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, later to be renamed CDM, and the prospector Reüning, discovering the classic diamondiferous raised beaches near Oranjemund, which have now been mined continuously for nearly 80 years and have yielded 65 million carats of high quality large gems over the years ... marine mining of deposits as deep as 140m under the sea, has brought Namibia the distinction of being the leading marine mineral mining country. Over the years, the various areas combined have produced about 95 million carats, including around 12 million from deep water marine mining.'

The question that exercised Bernt Carlsson's mind was a crucial one when contemplating his subsequent death. Who was benefiting from this largesse of nature and how would they react when the possibility arose of having to share it with the new Namibia's citizens?

To consider this question, we look back at the Treaty of Versailles which came into effect after World War I. The mandate system placed South West Africa in the hands of the victorious South African forces under General Louis Botha. In the Covenant is the very important proviso that 'there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant'.

Nothing could be clearer.

We return to Oppenheimer. Always with a beady eye for the main chance, he used his newly acquired diamond interests to capture control of

De Beers. In Flynn's movie, Alletzhauser explains that in the 1920s Ernest Oppenheimer said to De Beers (which largely controlled the diamond cartel), 'Listen, I am going to flood the world market unless you make me chairman of the company.'

And in 1929, he was made chairman of De Beers. That is the basis of the Oppenheimer fortune. Oppenheimer's mine, a private estate three times the size of New Jersey, became the exclusive territory known as the 'Forbidden Zone'. It was the bedrock of a worldwide De Beers diamond empire which the Oppenheims began to build.

By 1922, the people of Namibia were soon shunted into 'native reserves' in the poorest areas. This provoked resistance, met with bloodshed and the destruction of dwellings, cattle and crops. Despite having a 'sacred trust' to administer the territory 'in the interests of its population' South Africa breached its obligations in every way.

The indigenous people were forced to work the diamond diggings under the most appalling circumstances. To ensure discipline, mine management used extreme actions, including bombs, against any who objected. Flynn said, 'Since Sir Ernest's rules were backed by government proclamation and given the force of law, anyone who broke the rules was in breach of contract and faced not only harsh internal company discipline but could be brought before a court, fined and even, in some cases, imprisoned.'¹⁰ Again the symbiosis between state and company could not be clearer.

The company even bought all goods and services from other group companies instead of assisting the community to encourage local industry which could continue once the mine was exhausted. Avariciously, the corporation was hell-bent on keeping all profits within their vice-like control.

The Great Depression meant that GDP fell by about 27% between 1920 and 1935 and Anglo American Corporation responded to the fall in diamond demand by discontinuing diamond mining production.¹¹ This meant there was no employment and little in the way of taxation to swell public coffers or provide basic services. A drought ravaged African peasant farming for several years and only in 1933 was there some relief for limited subsistence activities.

When diamond prices recovered, Anglo American did not resume mining on the same scale as before, and that sector made a vastly reduced 13% contribution to the economy. The best land was then given to white South African settlers and these increased from 14,830 in 1914 to 31,800 by 1935. Meanwhile, a quarter of a million Africans were pushed into reserves comprising only 22% of the land surface.

Capital was made available to whites on easy terms to buy farms, and the most important diamond mines were transferred to Anglo American in 1919.¹² Racial segregation continued and cash taxes were introduced to force Africans into labour. The vote was restricted to whites, and administrative

control over Africans in the reserves was tightened by laws allowing the white authorities to appoint and depose African leaders.¹³

The League of Nations was seriously distressed by South Africa's trusteeship and refused its request in 1932 to be allowed to annex the territory. While the partnership between the South African State and the corporates thrived, those supposed to receive priority were almost totally neglected. In terms of the 'sacred trust' to serve the interests of the indigenous population, Valentine Dannevig, one of the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission, observed that '... where the need was the greatest and natives' desire for schooling well documented, administrations thought native education of no importance at all'.¹⁴

She summed up the plunder that took place and the failure of the mandate, 'I have often wondered what must be the thoughts and the feelings of thinking natives towards the European Governments who come and make themselves masters of their land and its natural riches for their own benefit, and who have not yet found it possible to give the original owners of the land a fair share of the considerable profits, for instance, by erecting schools to help them to improve their standard of life and further their intellectual development so as to enable them, in a future not too far removed, to take an effective part in the management of their own affairs and the development of their country, as is, in fact, implied by the mandates.'¹⁵

South Africa took no notice and the world did nothing. In 1950, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) held that South Africa continued to have international obligations towards the Territory, and that the United Nations should exercise the supervisory functions of the League of Nations. South Africa refused to accept the Court's opinion and continued to oppose any form of United Nations supervision over the Territory.

The South African Government under General Smuts again tried to annex the territory but this was thwarted by the United Nations. Smuts vowed to continue governing the Territory 'in the spirit of the mandate', but this was a charade as South Africa blocked the UN from exercising mandatory oversight and made it a fifth province in all but name. After the Nationalist Party won the 1948 South African election by a slender majority – in fact the United Party secured more votes – South West Africa was given four seats to ensure a larger majority for the white Afrikaner regime in the future.

As South Africa continued in breach of its obligations, the General Assembly of the United Nations finally passed Resolution 1361 of 1959 to the effect that apartheid, as enforced in South West Africa, was contrary to South Africa's obligations under international law, and that South Africa should be divested of its mandate to govern the territory.

Following this resolution, legal challenges were fought in The Hague from 1960–1966 before the International Court of Justice. In his book *Long*

*Road to Liberation: An Exiled Namibian Activist's Perspective*¹⁶ the author Hans Beukes related his experiences and some of the history of his homeland. Beukes explained, 'Before the Court could come to a decision, the removal of judges – both fortuitously and by political intervention – reduced the majority that had handed down judgment in the first phase. With the technical majority of a presiding Australian judge casting a double vote, the Court dismissed the case. Ignoring dissenting opinion that the Court could not act as an appeal instance to a prior decision of its own, it decided that neither Ethiopia nor Liberia had established their interest in the matter, and therefore the Court did not have to deliver any opinion.'

The world was astounded that such a clear violation of its mandate obligations by South Africa could find no redress in the highest court on the planet. For South Africa it was a great triumph and it proceeded to impose harsher racist measures. At the UN there was outrage and a majority of members voted to revoke South Africa's mandate and to establish a UN agency with a UN Commissioner in legal control of the territory. In 1966 the Assembly terminated that mandate and placed the territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

The following year, the Assembly established the United Nations Council for Namibia to administer the territory until independence. And in 1969 the Security Council recognised the mandate's termination, described the continued presence of South Africa as illegal, and called on South Africa to withdraw its administration immediately. In addition, the Security Council declared that all acts taken by South Africa concerning Namibia after the termination of the mandate were 'illegal and invalid'.

However, South Africa refused to comply with the United Nations resolutions and continued its illegal administration of Namibia, including the imposition of apartheid laws and exploitation of its resources.

If we are to try understanding possible motives for the killing of Bernt Carlsson, it is of paramount importance to consider a law promulgated at that time. In 1974 the Council for Namibia enacted a Decree for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, under which no person could take out any natural resources found in Namibia without the Council's permission. Anyone contravening the Decree could be held liable for damages equivalent to what such a government had lost as a result of the exporting of any resources.

Fires of fierce desperation flared up among the big companies. They needed to ensure that any new administration taking over a democratic Namibia was favourably disposed to them and would not invoke the Decree to sue for the huge damages – possibly amounting to billions of dollars.

18 | Namibian mining's shame

‘Where justice is denied, where poverty is enforced, where ignorance prevails, and where any one class is made to feel that society is an organized conspiracy to oppress, rob and degrade them, neither persons nor property will be safe.’

Frederick Douglass

To discover who was responsible for Bernt Carlsson and Anton Lubowski's deaths, two factors are important. The first relates to The United Nations, which was determined that South West Africa would move to majority rule. The second involves The Council for Namibia, which enacted the 1974 Decree for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, prohibiting export of natural resources without the Council's permission. As mentioned in Chapter 17, under the Decree companies could be held liable for damages by the future government of an independent Namibia.

These factors galvanised mining companies to take drastic measures to avoid such consequences. Their moves became public in an intriguing set of circumstances. In 1982 a judicial inquiry was appointed by the South West Africa Administration into corruption and poor governance in Namibia, headed by South African Supreme Court Judge PW Thirion. Hailing from an Afrikaans-speaking background, he was a conservative man with a quirky sense of humour, tremendous courage and a fierce fighter for justice. The Roman aphorism *Fiat justitia ruat caelo* – justice must triumph even if the heavens fall – might well have ruled Thirion's career. At the end of his enquiry he produced an eight-volume report that shook the mining barons of the land in their boots.

He and his two key investigators, Martin Grote and Gerhardt Visser, interrogated the behaviour of multinational mining companies in the former German colony. They investigated the stewardship of the nation's principal economic resource, the gem diamonds of the Atlantic beaches north of the Orange River. These remarkable diamond deposits, in seeming contravention of the free trade terms of the League of Nations mandate, had been given over to De Beers and its local subsidiary CDM (Consolidated Diamond Mines).

In his book, Laurie Flynn described how two businessmen, Gordon Brown and Eric Lang, were so impressed with the judge's efforts that they hoped he could assist them with their own problems.¹

Brown assumes such importance in this narrative that we must consider his life and background. Hailing from Glasgow in Scotland, Gordon Douglas

Brown sought a life in a warmer climate and came to South Africa as a teenager. Despite his keen intelligence, he did not attend university after finishing school, but instead persuaded a Cape Town motor dealer to give him a position in the accounts department. This experience taught him much about how businesses ran.

In 1968 he started work on the De Beers mines at Oranjemund as a mining supervisor of Ovambo labourers in the Alexander Bay diamond screening plant. He was bemused by the fact that they seemed to know more about the job than he did and yet he was paid five times their salary. Brown developed a lasting respect for the Ovambo workers and their behaviour under a mining regime which operated along strict apartheid lines.

Flynn learned that Brown was one of the few whites who made the effort 'to learn the beautiful Oshikwanyama language of his black mining colleagues so that a real conversation and exchange of views could take place.'²

Brown's energy and enthusiasm were rewarded with a position as technical assistant to the mine manager in June 1978, which effectively gave him control of the mine's complex documentation system for its mining plans and ore reserves. Many social issues on the mine troubled him, ranging from the pitifully low wages on such a profitable mine, to the appalling single-sex accommodation in compounds and absence of recreation and entertainment for the black workers when compared to the whites.

According to Flynn, after five years with De Beers, Brown developed a near-obsessional appetite for the intricate details of mining technology and history. The company recognised his qualities by moving him up in the management services' division, where he was privy to all manner of confidential business documents.

Soon Brown's anxiety about the employment conditions of black workers turned to alarm when he started noticing disturbing evidence of plans to run down the mine and take as much profit as possible ahead of Namibian independence.

Over time more important documents crossed Brown's desk. Flynn explained the options that were open to the De Beers' executives at that time with the United Nations pressures for non-racial elections. 'The options ranged from a mining strategy taking out maximum profits over a relatively short term to a much slower, more balanced and orderly exploitation of the mine.

'Given the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibia and the determination of the United Nations to achieve progress towards independence, the option chosen was highly sensitive. If there was a high rate of exploitation, most of the mine's best potential would be taken out before an independent government came into power and had a chance to review the generous leasing and taxing arrangements that had been set in place for CDM in early colonial times.'³

It became abundantly clear which option was selected. Brown saw a report produced by the assistant of the CDM general manager, D Borchers, with comments as to what was happening under his watch, such as 'the overmining of the high-grade large diamond size ore reserve blocks in the southern area in order to maintain the carat production call'. The report said, 'The over-depletion of the larger stones can never be rectified ... and that overmining in 1966, 1967 and 1968 of precious N blocks, the finest diamond deposits of all, was running from 219 to 326 per cent. If the mine carried on these policies, they could be mined out within three years.'

Other documents proved to Brown that this process had continued with the purpose of leaving nothing to any new democratic government.

'Some of the company's most senior local managers were making it clear that the mine was in overdrive, with more than a billion pounds of revenue being taken out in the short and medium term. Repeatedly senior mine managers returned to the theme, describing it in document after document as overmining. In one particular Life of Mine Review, the report prepared annually for the board of Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, the Oranjemund production manager described the mining strategy as a 'power dive', adding, 'Unless we have a conscious change in strategy ... we will power the mine into the ground and we will be unable to conduct the reclamation and clean-up operation which could extend the life of mine by three or four years The mine might even close by 1992.'⁴

Apart from Brown's knowledge, Flynn found other evidence of instructions to overmine coming from head office in Johannesburg. DE MacIver sent a telex to Pretorius in Oranjemund in September 1970 asking for an urgent response to this question, 'What could you increase your carat production to by September 1971, assuming no restriction on the plant and equipment that could be installed by that time, the working of that plant and equipment to maximum capacity and continuing sea operations with the two sea-going vessels already in use?'⁵

The reply came immediately, 'We do not clearly understand your requirement of no limit on diamond size. If we are to continue mining to reserve then no further increase ... can be expected. However, if we were to overmine we would expect the following: increasing upper terrace mining at expense of lower terrace, approximately 5,000 carats a month less, but size increased from 0.75 to 0.85 carats/stone, no additional working cost of capital and could commence immediately. Increasing N Blocks, approximately 20,000 carats per month increase. Size increased from 0.85 to 0.95 carats per stone. No additional working cost or capital and could commence immediately.'

MacIver replied on 2 October 1970 and set out De Beers' policy, 'The need to maintain an almost consistent annual stone size, M3 [cubic meters of ore put through] and total carats would seem to be of less importance than

meeting the needs of the market and getting maximum profits.' Clearly the De Beers board planned to leave nothing for the new non-racial government. The next two paragraphs in the telex ask a most revealing question: 'What are the estimated capital requirements to enable the mining operations to be completed in say 10 years and what effect does this have on profits? We should at this stage consider any possibility to obtain maximum profit even if unconventional!'⁶

Pretorius set out various scenarios on the last day of 1970. 'In all cases studied overmining increases the present value of future profits. The effects of overmining in diamond size are greater than the effects of overmining on grade.' This would increase the profits from R296 million by another R50 million. On 13 February 1971 Pretorius sent another highly secretive document and referred to the present plan to achieve the most profit 'to do selective mining in the larger stone size blocks throughout the mine and the continuation of foreshore mining'.

In the run-up to the inquiry, De Beers became aware of the first leaks about overmining and told Brown his services were no longer required. His integrity and forthright objections to what De Beers and the South African state were doing cost him the job he loved.

Brown gave evidence for a considerable period before Judge Thirion. Flynn covered the Thirion Commission extensively in his book and the 1987 film entitled *The Case of the Disappearing Diamonds*. In this film, former CDM manager Gordon Brown summarised the evidence he gave before Thirion. He said that De Beers had been extracting Namibian diamonds at Oranjemund for 20 years. 'Overmining took place on the upper terraces and the 'N' blocks [in the upper terraces, blocks K, L, and M were rich in diamonds and the richest of all were the 'N' blocks] which were the series of beaches situated furthest from the sea. That's where the richest blocks were in terms of grade and stone size. There was a central block between the two major beaches that was of lower grade. That was left behind – the company concentrated on taking out the ore reserves furthest from the sea. That's not good mining practice. Proper mining practice calls for the average ore reserve grade and average stone size.'

Fearful of the legal consequences, the Anglo-De Beers hierarchy in Johannesburg and London began to strike back. South African politicians tried to intimidate the judge and close the inquiry down. But Judge Thirion and Gordon Brown stuck to their principles and spoke out about the mining malpractices being used to denude Namibia ahead of independence.

De Beers denied the allegations. They agreed to let senior management give evidence only if it was heard *in camera*. Clearly De Beers feared cross-examination and public exposure. That their operations needed to be kept under wraps was a red flag bar none. Thirion rejected their condition.

Instead of giving evidence in public as Brown and others had done, De Beers then refused to give evidence and merely put up a statement by Doug Hoffe, CDM's chief executive. An irate Thirion dismissed this statement by saying that it was 'an insult to even the lowliest form of intelligence'.

In their book *South Africa Inc. The Oppenheimer Empire*, by Pallister, Stewart and Lepper, the authors wrote that De Beers was reduced to sniping from the sidelines through press releases claiming their aggrieved innocence. The truth was they did not have the courage to dispute the disgraceful allegations because there was no answer to them.

As they dug further, Judge Thirion and his researchers found evidence that the Diamond Board, which had been set up as an independent watchdog, had been transformed into a helpless poodle that De Beers liked to keep sitting securely in its generous corporate lap.

The situation with the government mining engineer and the inspector of mines was little better. The top officials had never even heard of the Halbscheid Agreement, the key controlling instrument taken over from the German colonial mining law to protect the diamond fields from irrational or improper exploitation. Not surprisingly, since both the government mining engineer and the inspector of mines admitted under questioning that they knew nothing about the agreement, they had never thought of enforcing its provisions or even of running the most basic checks on the mine.

The 350-page mining report from Judge Thirion and his team painted a devastating portrait of the worldwide De Beers diamond cartel and its behaviour towards Namibia. One of many caustic comments he made was, 'The protestations of multinational companies that their activities result in bringing prosperity to the host country reminds one of the cynical observations of Jeremy Bentham "I am a selfish man, as selfish as any man can be. But in me somehow or other, so it happens, selfishness has taken the form of benevolence".'

Thirion stressed how CDM's claims of helping the community were at variance to what he found. He made the obvious point that 'the overriding object of multi-national companies is to make a profit and all other considerations are subordinate to this one'.⁷

Instead of mining in a proper way, to the average grade of the whole deposit, Thirion found De Beers was blatantly over-mining ahead of independence and a new government.

'The Commission is satisfied that excessive depletion of the reserves in respect of grade and stone size occurred ... but also that excessive depletion in regard to grade occurred from 1963 to 1983 with the exception of 1971 and perhaps 1964 and 1965 ... Excessive depletion in diamond size occurred in the latter half of the 1960s and in 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1976 ... There was furthermore excessive depletion of the N blocks (the richest of all the

mine deposits) from 1964 to 1974 ... in both grade and stone size ...'Thirion was not speculating on these matters. They were based on De Beers' own figures.

Apart from having a devastating effect on the future resources of an independent Namibia, this practice was flagrantly illegal. Thirion found that, 'The excessive depletion of the deposit was a preferential depletion of the more valuable deposits to the detriment of the low grade deposits and therefore a breach of the provisions of clause 3 of the Halbscheid Agreement ...' This provided that when working an area, the company had to conduct operations as thoroughly and economically as it would its other mining fields. Finally, it had to carry on mining in a manner that was satisfactory to the administrator and 'not with a view to exhausting the superficial and more valuable deposits to the detriment of the low-grade deposits'. The probabilities are that the effect of the excessive depletion of the deposit would be to shorten the life of the mine and to detrimentally affect its profitability towards the end of its life.⁸

The Thirion report is one of the most disturbing documents about mining malpractice ever to reach the public domain. And the judge did not flinch from making his findings. He held that there were no meaningful controls over the country's most important industry. The supposedly independent Diamond Board for South West Africa was sited in premises given to it by De Beers. All the Board's agents who supposedly checked the diamonds leaving Namibia, assessing their size, quality and value, or counting them to see if the same numbers arrived in Kimberley or London, were in fact De Beers' employees. Millions of rands that might have been payable as taxes and duties added to De Beers' profits. Costs of running the 'independent' Diamond Board were met wholly by De Beers, who simply deducted those costs from the taxes due. The Diamond Board secretary who convened the meetings and wrote the minutes was a De Beers employee. 'More extraordinarily, the man who calculated the tax owing to Namibia, Stanley Jackson, the secretary of the Diamond Board, was also the company secretary of CDM.'⁹

Thirion was not fooled by the subterfuge. 'Despite the trappings and façade of state control, all aspects of the mining and marketing of South West Africa diamonds remains firmly in De Beers' hands ... This naivety and inability to conceive that a multinational corporation could stoop to any impropriety, pervades the approach of the State representatives on the Board and is not conducive to the proper watchdog functions which they have to perform. The pretence of the multinational corporation that it is incapable of abusing its power, convinces the unwary that there is no need for control.'¹⁰

Unlike South Africa at that time, the mineral wealth of Namibia vested in the state and Thirion spelt out the state's duty to the people of the country to see to it that these rights were dealt with in the best interests of the people.

He also drew attention to Sir Ernest Oppenheimer's promise 'to earn profits for its shareholders but to do so in such a way as to make a real and lasting contribution to the welfare of the people of the countries in which it operates'.

That the pretence continued is clear from another advertisement some years later. During July 2019 Anglo American ran a series of advertisements in all the national South African newspapers. The tagline was 'Real Mining. Real people. Real Difference.' The copy read, 'We only succeed when you succeed. We only thrive when you thrive. We only learn when you learn. We only go places when you go places. We only grow when you grow. We only win when you win. We only celebrate when you celebrate. Your roots are our roots. Your future is our future.'

The Thirion Report found there were no meaningful controls over CDM – Namibia's most important industry. The judge also found that, fearful of the advent of a black majority government, De Beers had overmined the diamond reserves ahead of Namibia's independence. This was a manifest breach of the laws that the diamond fields should provide Namibia with a source of revenue and employment for as long as possible.

CDM simply walked away with an extra billion pounds' worth of diamonds. With working costs at 25% of revenue, this meant that the company had plundered £750 million in excess profit and unjust enrichment, impoverishing Namibia as it headed for independence.

The unjust enrichment goes far beyond the value of the precious stones. It is in the best interests of any country to take part in cutting diamonds and making them into jewellery. This beneficiation process creates jobs in a country crying out for employment. Thirion found 'the state also has an interest in the beneficiation of the minerals before export so as to create job opportunities. At present by far the largest proportion of the minerals mined in SWA is exported without any beneficiation.'¹¹

A huge proportion of diamond-cutting, especially the smaller gems, occurs in India where the pitifully low wages ensure a big profit for De Beers. The sad fact is that De Beers seems to exercise little control over the cutting in India and there are many instances of young children being used because of their excellent eyesight.

Authors Pallister et al concluded that Judge Thirion 'found the allegations of over-mining and tax evasion proven and he accused the company of deliberately doctoring reports to state officials who were, in any event, incompetent'.¹² 'Doctoring reports' is of course fraud of the most serious nature, and when one considers the millions of rands involved, jail would be the appropriate sentence.

There were other victims of the evidence given to Thirion. Max du Preez, one of southern Africa's most admired reporters, summarised the evidence given in the Thirion Commission in his first piece in the *Financial Mail* and

faced the wrath of his editor. Du Preez was taken to Anglo head office in Johannesburg where he defended his journalism. The eventual findings of Thirion vindicated his brave stand, but he lost his job and subsequently told the story in a book of his life entitled *Pale Native*.

‘Hell hath no fury ...’ and that is the route De Beers took on Brown. The mining giant concocted cases against him and eventually he had to flee the territory to avoid imprisonment.

Apart from breaching the Halbscheid Agreement and multiple other offences, including fraud and tax evasion, the plunder of Namibia was of course in breach of the law passed by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the 1974 Decree for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, as already discussed.

Dire consequences ensued, not for the criminals, De Beers or the South African Government, but for Bernt Carlsson and patriotic Namibians who tried to sue the multinationals for breaching this law.

19 | Tax evasion on an obscene scale

‘It seems obvious that the real motive behind the scheme is the self-interest of De Beers ...’

Judge Thirion, report on mining corruption in Namibia

The only certainties in this life, so the saying goes, are death and taxes. As the corporate vultures gathered to rip out the mineral wealth of Namibia, death there most certainly was, but taxes were another story. The mining companies used every shady trick to dodge their tax obligations, having already robbed the country of resources desperately needed to meet basic human needs such as health, education, sanitation and housing. As long as the ill-gotten profits rolled in to swell shareholders’ bank accounts, who cared about the land owners?

We have discussed the role of diamonds in Chapters 16 and 17 and later we will consider the explosive issue of uranium. After considering the findings of Judge Thirion’s commission on the diamond deposits in the south, we turn to another treasure trove – Tsumeb. It has been described as a mineral Golconda second to none.

For centuries, Namibia’s Nama and Herero people had known of Tsumeb’s mineral riches. By the way, Tsumeb means ‘green place’ because the abundant copper deposits turned that shade after exposure to light and water.

On 7 June 1900, British engineer Christopher Jones reported that ‘the mixture of the ores constituting the outcrop are wonderful’. This was by no means the most appropriate superlative. Jones warned that the labour question should be handled carefully as ‘the boys are perfectly capable of going on strike if wrongly treated. I do not believe in starving hard-working men merely because it is the custom.’¹ Little did he know.

The land rights were bought by a company in the stable of Cecil Rhodes’s companies known as the South-West Africa Company and the minerals exploited by a company with the acronym OMEG, later taken over by British mining group Selection Trust, along with American companies American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining, for just over £1 million. As Flynn described in his book, these companies worked in tandem with their South African allies, including Anglo American and Gencor.

Newmont became a world-class mining company worth over a billion dollars – largely because of the stream of money from Namibia. As Newmont’s historian said, ‘The Tsumeb ore body has inspired such a string of superlatives

that anyone not familiar with the property may be pardoned a certain incredulity. Nevertheless it is true few ore bodies anywhere in the world have been as high grade in as many metals, have contained so many different minerals, have presented so complex a metallurgical problem, yet have proved as profitable as has the Tsumeb ore body.²

American researcher Gail Hovey wrote a book *Namibia's Stolen Wealth*,³ about British and American companies during South Africa's long and unlawful military occupation. She made precise calculations as to how much some people, already wealthy and living in comfort, made out of the poverty and distress of others. Her calculations showed that 'by 1977 on an original investment in 1946 of \$2.8 million dollars, and an additional mining and infrastructural investment of only \$99, most if not all of which was financed from cash flow and cost nothing at all, the Newmont Mining consortium had made metal sales of \$1.2 billion from Tsumeb. The annual rate of return was a staggering 348% from 1950 to 1970, with 90% of all the wealth produced leaving the country. This rate of return is anything from 10 to 20 times the best rate of return a mining company would have made even in the generous business climate of the United States and was partly obtained by cutting corners, depriving people of proper food and comfort, dignity and human rights.'⁴

Hovey said that in the same period the company contributed taxes of only \$200 million to the Namibian revenue, 'most of which was spent on keeping the African population in a state of subjugation so that the exploitation of the country could continue without interruption'.

Laurie Flynn explored how further tax dodges were employed to rob the African population of revenue for basic services, saying, 'Newmont had other ways of getting wealth out of the country, and successfully managed to avoid tax payments for years at a time. Despite mineral sales of around R120 million a year by the Tsumeb Corporation, the Thirion Report showed the company paid no tax since 1980. It achieved this enviable state by buying the Otjihase Mine with its manifold development costs, which it then offset against Tsumeb's profits.'⁵

'The Thirion Commission also fastened on to the Tsumeb Corporation's failure to report to the Namibian authorities the gold and silver content of the blister copper which the company exported for final processing in the United States. The amounts were not insignificant. In 1983 alone the copper sent abroad included 103 tons of silver worth £15 million and 247.3 kilos of gold worth at least £2 million.'⁶

Apart from the huge sums owing for fraud and tax evasion, from 1970 all sales were illegal without the United Nations' consent and damages were payable by the companies involved depending on the gross sales.

The conditions for the white employees were reasonable with houses set

in gardens and a nicely appointed country club with plenty of sporting facilities. However, the facilities for black employees were deplorable.

Ben Ulenga, who spent eight years on Robben Island for opposing the apartheid system, described the conditions as far worse than on Robben Island. Worst of all were the toilets. They consisted of 'public lavatories with people sitting in blocks of six on pans built like baths with giant baking trays slung over the top. There were no dividing walls and the miners shared odours, sounds and images of one another in varying states of excreting and undress.'⁷

There was a strike in 1987 and the grievances included pitifully low wages, inedible food, consisting of a form of porridge, with stews of stringy meat and badly cooked vegetables, mostly cabbage. After the strike they were given proper mattresses and they were allowed weekend passes and better leave.

David Pallister and his co-authors dealt with the strategies of Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM) (later the Namdeb Diamond Corp) and others to avoid paying tax in Namibia. 'Thirion was also critical of the network of internal CDM companies designed to reduce the taxable income. CDM leased the mine – 3 million hectares of the Sperrgebiet – under the Imperial Mining Ordinance of 1905 drawn up for the original German mining companies. The rent was R800 a year and it had never changed. De Beers, however, had created a number of subsidiaries that held its mining and prospecting rights, and the fees paid to them were set off against tax.'⁸

Thirion criticised CDM along with the South West Africa administration for the way in which a subsidiary, Marine Diamonds, was allowed to deprive the South West Africa fiscus of millions of rands by allowing exploration write-offs against tax. As was shown by Pallister et al, 'Diamonds are the second largest export-earner after uranium, so the impact on the economy of tax avoidance would be considerable.'⁹

They explained how this occurred, 'One subsidiary Marine Diamond Company (MDC), leased to CDM several prospecting and mining areas along the Atlantic coast. The agreement stipulated that CDM should pay a rental of R500 000 or the equivalent of the annual net profits, whichever was the greater. But the administration's receiver of revenue was unable to say what CDM's income was from the areas. Since diamond mines attracted income tax of 55 per cent and MDC only paid the ordinary company tax of 44 per cent, Thirion concluded that the deal was made to save De Beers paying tax.'¹⁰

Pallister et al evaluated further scathing comments by the judge. 'A further tax saving was made because the actual prospecting was carried out by another group company, De Beers Marine, which also was taxed at the ordinary rate.' Correspondence from De Beers to the administration merely noted that 'it is a longstanding principle of taxation in most mineral producing countries that prospecting expenditure is allowed against mining income'.

Thirion was unpersuaded by these arguments and said some countries were limiting those concessions because of widespread company abuse, and he concluded, 'It seems obvious that the real motive behind the scheme is the self-interest of De Beers ... The drive to find new diamond deposits in SWA is inspired, not so much by a desire to serve the interest of SWA, as by the necessity to maintain the production of its affiliated companies at a high level so as to enable it to keep its monopolistic position as a "swing producer".'

Pallister et al reported that Judge Thirion found 'the allegations of mining and tax evasion proven and ... accused the company of deliberately doctoring reports to state officials'. The commission and investigators produced evidence that diamonds were exported through a host of De Beers' subsidiaries, who each took a cut of profit, before the diamonds were channelled through the tax haven of Bermuda, returning only 86% of the selling price to the Namibian holding company liable for tax.¹¹

In addition, Pallister detailed more disturbing evidence from one of the commission's investigators about the way in which the diamonds are marketed. 'Martin Grote calculated that the export price of CDM stones was R213 rand per carat lower than the 1981 American import price. It emerged that diamonds were channelled through another daisy chain of CSO subsidiaries, each of which took a cut of the profits. Two of them were registered in Bermuda. The surprise was the scale of the Bermuda operations, which had been kept secret for 20 years. The commission learned that in the first six months of 1983 diamonds worth \$717 million were channelled through the tax-haven island.'¹²

Another scheme devised by some of the mining companies in Namibia, including CDM, was the export of mineral 'samples'. 'The Mining Commissioner who issued special permits for these consignments was never told of their content or value. Sometimes the quantities were huge: one small company exported over 420,000 tonnes of samples between 1978 and 1983. Large quantities of rare mineral samples were exported from the uniquely rich and diverse Tsumeb mine by part of the ConsGold-Newmont group. Many of these samples ended up in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, DC, which boasted 1,147 specimens. CDM and another De Beers company, Tidal Diamonds, both applied for permits for the removal of samples, without indicating the mass or what was in them.'¹³

De Beers declined to testify before Judge Thirion but lashed out at his report after he had left the territory. The company suggested that it could satisfy any 'impartial' inquiry because the allegations made against it were false. It wrongly claimed (and this was later written into the De Beers' annual report) that the commission's findings had been made without CDM 'having given evidence or been called upon to do so'. We know that they were allowed to do so but had to have the courage to appear in a public hearing.

Not surprisingly, given the lack of state control, it was able to argue that the administration in Namibia had never suggested that CDM was not mining in a satisfactory manner. At one point its rebuttal admitted that the production rate rose to meet market demand. But it rested its case on the assertion that 'by the introduction of innovative and cost-effective techniques CDM had rendered hitherto unpayable ground payable, and thus progressively extended the life of the mine'. The available and persuasive evidence may point in the opposite direction, but who in South Africa has the means and wherewithal to challenge the mighty De Beers?¹⁴

Pallister et al recorded how the Thirion report quickly disappeared. Enquiries at Johannesburg Public Library, Anglo's library in Marshall Street, Oppenheimer's Brenthurst library and De Beers' Johannesburg library had no copies. Standard Bank tried to obtain a copy without success. Academics could not find a copy in the Wits Library.

In his film Laurie Flynn summed it all up when the voice-over said that De Beers had 'secretly been stripping one of the world's poorest nations of its main asset ...'¹⁵

20 | Follow the yellowcake road

'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.

Oliver Goldsmith

A strong thread of hypocrisy weaves throughout this tale of the road to riches and greed. On one hand, major industrial countries got together with great fanfare to form the United Nations Organisation to ensure world peace and fight poverty and injustice. But on the other, these same countries totally ignored United Nations Council for Namibia (UNCN) Decree No 1 and illegally continued plundering Namibia almost at will.

UN Commissioner for Namibia Bernt Carlsson had been determined to bring both governments and the offending corporations to court. But he was murdered in the Lockerbie air bombing and suddenly the multi-billion dollar court cases disappeared like a puff of smoke.

The declaration that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal did not signal an end to it. Rather, it led to the apartheid government collaborating with the multinationals to move heaven and earth – the pun is an apt one – to ensure that little would remain of the mineral wealth for the people of Namibia when they eventually achieved independence.

As any cessation or voluntary moderation of mining activities was considered improbable, legislation became necessary. UNCN Decree No 1 forbade any person from taking any natural resources out of the country without the Council's consent. It also warned that violators could be held liable for damages to be computed on the value of removed resources. The foreign-based corporations disputed that Decree No 1 was legally sound on the grounds that it was vague and unenforceable and no court had jurisdiction to deal with claims.

Rössing Uranium Mine in Namibia is one of the largest open pit uranium mines in the world. It aimed to supply at least 10% of the global uranium market, at least one third of Britain's needs, and probably a larger share for Japan.

The mine's genesis and its strategic importance were veiled in secrecy until recently. In February 2015, former secret agent Tony Holland decided to reveal all in an unpublished book.¹ His account reads like a James Bond novel. He related that while employed in South Africa he told his MI6 bosses of a highly secret meeting he attended in Johannesburg between mine engineers and charismatic Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan.

The reason for the meeting was a secret trade agreement under which South Africa ensured uranium oxide supplies for the Israeli atom bomb project at Dimona. Holland graphically described how Dayan arrived sans eye patch with his blind eye visible. They were told if anyone asked what he was doing in Johannesburg, they were to say he was there for an eye operation. 'They weren't supposed to be developing their own bomb, but we helped them by turning a blind eye.'

Chiselled out of the earth like some waterless Grand Canyon, the Rössing mine presents a layered valley from which huge graders and scrapers rip out the soil and extract the most dangerous material on earth. By 1976, Rössing Uranium Limited started sending out the yellowcake (processed uranium ore) overseas.

Rössing's disparate owners comprised British mining conglomerate Rio Tinto Group; the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran (AEOI); the South African parastatal Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), which also controlled most of the voting shares; and the French-based Total Compagnie Minière (TCF). Part of this corporate mix is Urenco, which was to be the defendant in a case relating to illegally extracting minerals from Namibia.

The Urenco Group is a British nuclear fuel company operating several uranium enrichment plants in Germany, the Netherlands, United States and United Kingdom. It supplies nuclear power stations in about 15 countries and stated that it had a 29% global market share for enrichment services in 2011.

In July 2012, government interests of Urenco were put out for sale. Headquartered in Stoke Poges, England, one third of the company was owned by the UK government, one third by the Dutch government and the rest by two major German utilities. That governments assist private companies with diplomatic and other help is axiomatic. But when the national government is part-owner of the company, the urgency to support it becomes overwhelming. We have seen the support of British and American intelligence services in Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld's killings.

Urenco secured contracts for benign yellowcake use with German and Japanese utilities, as well as the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (UKAEA).

Rössing was illegal right from the start since apartheid South Africa continued to occupy Namibia in defiance of UN Security Council Resolution 435. After South Africa's mandate to govern the territory ended in 1966, the UN handed over control to the newly created United Nations Council for Namibia (UNCN) until non-racial elections could be held.

Part of the UN's strategy was to insist on the immediate withdrawal of South African troops. There was international legal opinion to that effect as in 1971 the International Court of Justice ruled these UN measures were

binding and in 1973 the UN General Assembly recognised the freedom-fighting SWAPO as the 'sole authentic representative' of Namibia.

Some thought that for this reason alone Rössing would be the first target when enforcing the legislation. Any transactions after Decree No 1 commenced were illegal, yet uranium exports amounting to billions of dollars² ran from 1976 to 1989.

There was hot international argument over Decree No 1 and much centred around Rössing Uranium's legitimacy, as it was owned by countries with professed democratic values. Pressure built and the UNCN held a week-long seminar in July 1980, during which various leading experts and interested parties from Europe, Japan, and the United States made rousing speeches on the gravity of Rössing's operations and contracts, and the TV documentary *Follow the Yellowcake Road* was screened.

The argument presented was that South Africa and Western powers benefited from taxes on the uranium and were using the product in a manner that hindered progress to liberation for the disenfranchised. The next year saw SWAPO set up a seminar for West European trade unions showing the appalling working conditions at Rössing and commenting on the excesses of the mine's paramilitary security forces.

These reports were syphoned through to the International Socialist movement, where Bernt Carlsson was secretary-general. He had always recognised the parlous state of the workers and the extent to which South Africa's colonial rule had plundered the resources.

On 2 May 1985 the UNCN's Steering Committee decided to institute legal action against corporations who were violating Decree No 1. The Committee determined that those legal proceedings would start in the Netherlands against Urenco, a company which it said was known to process Namibian uranium in violation of the Decree.

Not only did the export of diamonds, uranium, copper and the plethora of minerals found at Tsumeb require the UN's permission, but so too did any wool or meat products marketed without consent. There was no recorded instance of any corporation seeking consent for any of the above activities. The Steering Committee indicated that other countries against which such action might be taken were Belgium, France, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom and United States.

The international press was fascinated by the unique nature of the UNCN proceedings against Urenco and the far-reaching consequences for the defendants. This was the first time a United Nations body had sued a government.

It was not as if the uranium extraction was to be the only area hit by the litigation. Council President Peter D Zuze of Zambia said the action was 'only a first step by the Council in implementing its decision of May 1985 to

institute legal proceedings, as one of various options, to safeguard the natural resources of Namibia'. In other words, this was but the first of a long line of cases aimed at all companies involved. To sue one and not the others would smack of favouritism and be a breach of the fundamental rule of law against partisan litigation.

The writ of summons was served on the defendants on 14 July 1987. Nine days later, the Netherlands called the action 'unprecedented'. The case against Urenco was in the nature of a test case and when it was adjourned, SWAPO's UN representative, Helmut Angula, insisted that other companies, such as Shell, De Beers (Consolidated Diamond Mines), Newmont and Rio Tinto were also likely to face prosecution for breaching the UCN Decree. These were incredibly powerful companies who had reaped billions of dollars from robbing the territory and any adverse court order would cause huge financial distress.

As the man responsible for Namibia under international law, Bernt Carlsson spoke about the case against Urenco and other proposed cases in the *World In Action* TV documentary *The Case of the Disappearing Diamonds*, which was broadcast by Thames Television in September 1987.

When asked if he would be acting against other companies such as De Beers, Carlsson replied, 'All the companies which are carrying out activities in Namibia which have not been authorised by the United Nations are being studied at present.

'As far as De Beers is concerned, the corporation has been trying to skim the cream which means they have gone for the large diamonds at the expense of the steady pace. In this way they have really shortened the lifespan of the mines.'

Clearly Carlsson had read and studied the Thirion Report and Laurie Flynn's investigations and he was scathing in his outrage, 'One would expect from a worldwide corporation like De Beers and Anglo-American that they would behave with an element of social and political responsibility. But their behaviour in the specific case of Namibia has been one of profit maximisation regardless of its social, economic, political and even legal responsibility.'

One month after the film was broadcast on British television, Gordon Brown in Cape Town wrote to Bernt Carlsson in New York offering his expert assistance in building the prosecution case against De Beers for over-mining Namibia's diamond gemstones. In his letter, Brown had calculated the quantum and value of diamonds illegally removed from Namibia from 1967, when South West Africa became the responsibility of the United Nations, until the territory was likely to become independent in 1989/90. He estimated that De Beers/Anglo American and the apartheid state would have illegally removed 44 million diamonds, weighing 33 million carats, with an average diamond size of 0.75 carats per diamond. Current value amounted

to £11.0 billion, (\$18.7bn) which was the revenue from diamond sales at the Standard Selling Value.

If the litigation was successful, further damages De Beers would have to pay Namibians would be £7.7 billion (\$13.1bn) of working profit, distributed as follows: £4.4 billion (\$7.5bn) as De Beers/Anglo American's profit share, and £3.3 billion (\$5.6bn) as apartheid state's profit share through taxes and royalties. Brown deducted £3.3 billion (\$5.6bn) spent on working costs and capital expenditure

Carlsson replied by letter dated 19 November 1987, 'Thank you for your letter dated 20 October 1987, in which you expressed interest to be of assistance to this Office with regard to the over-exploitation of the Namibian diamonds. The United Nations Council for Namibia is still in the process of examining the appropriate action to take in order to halt the over-exploitation and depletion of Namibia's diamond resource. I note with interest your extensive experience in and in-depth knowledge of the diamond industry and CDM activities. We will, therefore, retain your letter on our files and, should the need arise, contact you for assistance in the matter.'

Almost exactly 14 months later on 21 December 1988 Bernt Carlsson died in the Lockerbie crash of Pan Am Flight 103. A year later, the case against Urenco was inexplicably dropped and no further prosecutions took place of the companies and countries that were in breach of Decree No 1. Did the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 have anything to do with the otherwise inexplicable termination of these multi-billion-dollar cases that could have restored the wealth of Namibia to its people?

Ex-diplomat Patrick Haseldine believed it did. He told a Namibian newspaper that Carlsson was the main target of the bombing 'to end his high-profile investigation into allegations that there was a secret contract and operations arranged by British-based Rio Tinto Zinc Corp to import into Britain uranium (yellowcake) from Rössing in Namibia'. Although he called for support of a UN inquiry into the deaths of Carlsson and former UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and petitioned the British Government to conduct a full enquiry, there was no response.

Following Carlsson's death, Martti Ahtisaari was sent to Namibia in April 1989 as the UN Special Representative to head the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG). Ahtisaari was the tenth President of Finland (1994–2000), Nobel Peace Prize laureate and United Nations diplomat and mediator. He had served as UN Commissioner for Namibia from 1977 to 1981, working to secure the country's independence from South Africa.

Because of SWAPO's illegal incursion, the South African-appointed administrator-general (AG), Louis Pienaar, sought Ahtisaari's agreement for deploying SADF troops to stabilise the situation. Perhaps because of his

reluctance to authorise this SADF deployment, Ahtisaari was alleged to have been targeted by the South African Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB).

According to a hearing in September 2000 of the South African TRC, two CCB operatives, Kobus le Roux and Ferdinand Barnard, confessed that they were tasked not to kill Ahtisaari, but to give him 'a good hiding'. Any observer might view this rather sceptically and speculate more accurately that the real purpose was to kill him. It will be recalled that Barnard was responsible for murdering David Webster, who lived a few blocks from the South African Institute for Maritime Research marine biologist Dagmar Feil.

To execute the assault, Barnard had planned to use the grip handle of a metal saw as a knuckleduster. In any event, Ahtisaari did not attend the meeting at the Keetmanshoop Hotel, where Le Roux and Barnard lay in wait for him, and thus Ahtisaari escaped injury. If the CCB was responsible for the proposed attack on Ahtisaari, was it not probable that they were also involved in Carlsson's killing?

Ahtisaari took British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's advice and later approved the SADF deployment. A period of intense fighting ensued when at least 375 SWAPO insurgents were killed. In July 1989, Glenys Kinnock and Tessa Blackstone took part in a British Council of Churches visit to Namibia and reported, 'There is a widespread feeling that too many concessions were made to South African personnel and preferences and that Martti Ahtisaari was not forceful enough in his dealings with the South Africans.'

Vis-à-vis Thatcher's advice to Ahtisaari, Patrick Haseldine wrote a letter to *The Guardian* of 5 August 1991, called 'Missing diplomatic links and the Lockerbie tragedy' in which he said, 'Whether Mrs Thatcher could have persuaded UN Commissioner for Namibia, Bernt Carlsson, to agree to such treachery we shall never know since Mr Carlsson was assassinated four months earlier, on December 21, 1988. It may not be entirely coincidental that on the same day (July 25, 1991), as South Africa's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha admitted the illicit funding of anti-SWAPO political parties in Namibia.'

The letter mentioned a South African link to Lockerbie for the first time. 'In the light of Major Basson's evidence (detailed by Phillip van Niekerk's article, *Guardian*, July 27) and Pik Botha's admission, I think that, even at this late stage, the Scottish police should reopen their investigation and look for a South African connection to the Lockerbie tragedy.' Haseldine would have made an excellent detective as he was to investigate a statement made by Pik Botha that he had been warned not to board Pan Am Flight 103 before it crashed over Lockerbie.

During the struggle against apartheid many countries had given arms and support to freedom fighters, and one of the best examples was Libya. In fact, Nelson Mandela had spent time there garnering support to topple the

white racist regime in South Africa. If Pik Botha was warned of the bomb on board, the likelihood of Libyans warning him was zero given their antipathy to apartheid over the years. Haseldine was also to probe claims that Carlsson was lured to London by De Beers for a meeting to ensure he was on Pan Am Flight 103.

The case against Urenco was brought by UNCN which was largely controlled by SWAPO. If they were behind the case why did they drop the matter as the death of Bernt Carlsson could not possibly affect the merits? This led to deeper thinking as to the fate of other actions against the multinationals. Was it only Carlsson behind the cases? Some voices even queried whether SWAPO had been got at by the multinationals. If the British Government had a one third share of Urenco and the death of Carlsson redeemed them from paying back to the people of Namibia the damages they suffered, would this not give the British Government a huge motive to get rid of the pesky Swede with the iron will?

Let us return to the work of renowned investigator Hennie van Vuuren in connection with the highly secretive Le Cercle described in Chapter 13. Van Vuuren believed that the corporates involved in Namibia were conspiring with SWAPO to ensure their safety when majority rule took place. He said, 'Other British corporations were also starting to hedge their bets by the mid-1980s, such as mining giant Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ), which owned Rössing Uranium in Namibia, one of the world's largest open-pit uranium mines. According to a top-secret SADF memo, the company had, by 1983, started to meet the liberation movement SWAPO to ensure that board member appointments were acceptable to them.'

Van Vuuren maintained that RTZ saw the SWAPO dealings as an insurance policy and standard business practice. The memo showed that the SADF was concerned about the risk of RTZ becoming co-opted by SWAPO for subversive ends. It also noted that the RTZ policy was unlikely to protect it from nationalisation upon SWAPO's takeover, given the experience elsewhere in Africa. Van Vuuren concluded that 'history has proved that SADF wrongly predicted RTZ's demise in Namibia: the British multinational has increased its share in the mine from just over 50% to 69% over the past three decades. The Namibian government, far from nationalising the asset, has been accommodated through a puny 3% shareholding.'³

In discussing the plunder of Africa in Chapter 7, we noted Martin Meredith and Tom Burgis's views that none of this could have occurred without the compliance of corrupt African elites. If the African elites finally became staggeringly wealthy to the detriment of their fellow countrymen, it is tempting to infer that they were part of the conspiracy throughout the process.

Because, when you want to know why something has been done, follow the money.

21 | Brave man's death

'A change made by assassination and not by election is not democracy but it is reversed oppression.'

DJ Kyos

If we are looking for someone of Chris Hani's steadfast stature in Namibia, we need look no further than Anton Lubowski. Both were idealists who were fighting to change the political and economic order in their countries. On 12 September 1989 Windhoek advocate Anton Lubowski was shot in cold blood as he got out of his car in front of his house in Sanderburg Street, now Anton Lubowski Street. South West Africa's long history of oppression and exploitation at the hands of the South African administration and mining conglomerates has been set out in previous chapters. Lubowski arrived on the scene when the final emancipation from colonial rule was about to materialise. His assassination took place in the context of a country trying to decide how its future would evolve.



Delegates at the 10th anniversary of the UN Council for Namibia in 1977 included, inter alia, Namibians Hidipo Hamutenya (left), Anton Lubowski (second left), Charles Courtney-Clarke (third left), Sam Nujoma (centre front), beside Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, and Hage Geingob (centre back).

Let us examine what Lubowski had proposed for a new Namibia and who stood to lose if his vision were to be realised. Gabrielle Lubowski published a book in May 2011, *On Solid Ground*, in which she set out the story of her life with her husband, Anton.¹ Her account is useful because she not only had a close understanding of Lubowski's political and economic views of what Namibia should look like after SWAPO took over, she was also a keen observer of the events leading up to his murder.

Anton Lubowski was born in Lüderitz, Namibia (called South West Africa by the colonialists), on 3 February 1952. He was the second child of a German-speaking father and an Afrikaans-speaking mother. When he was eight, his parents sold their business in Lüderitz and moved to the family farm near Aus in southern Namibia. Because schooling opportunities were limited in such a rural area, Lubowski was sent to high school at the Paul Roos Gymnasium in Stellenbosch, South Africa when he was 13. Later, he attended Stellenbosch University to study law and thereafter continued his studies at the University of Cape Town, where his 'liberal' views developed.

While there, he married childhood friend Gabrielle Schuster who had also attended Stellenbosch University and was teaching in nearby Paarl. In 1971 he was conscripted into the South African Defence Force where he attained the rank of second lieutenant. He held the rank until 1984 when he was released from service because he was a member of the SWAPO, an enemy of the South African apartheid government. After completing his studies, the couple relocated to Windhoek in 1978. There, Lubowski joined the respected law firm Lorenz and Bone. Racial mixing was frowned on and Anton showed his pluck early on when, as an articled clerk, he defended young black men.

At the start of her book Gabrielle posed the question Anton agonised about throughout his short life. 'It is not known if the question ever arose in his mind while he was a schoolboy in Lüderitz and Aus, but somewhere during his student years at Stellenbosch and Cape Town universities it must have struck him: Why was Lüderitz, surrounded by the richest diamond fields and fishing waters in the world, so dirt poor, desolate, semi-destitute and seemingly forever headed for economic slavery?'

Anton became an advocate and quickly established himself as a human rights lawyer fighting for the underdog. The year 1978 was important for Namibia because, after protracted negotiations, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 435 which provided the Namibian independence blueprint. It was also an important year for Lubowski because, as a lawyer, he came face to face with prisoners who had been tortured because of their pro-SWAPO stances. The brutality further entrenched Lubowski's opposition to the status quo. As a result, he became involved with political movements committed to an independent, democratic and non-racial Namibia.

During the next few years, Lubowski worked on a number of cases that

involved captured SWAPO prisoners and political detainees, seeing the human face of the movement that was demonised and vilified in the Namibian media, nearly all of which were either strongly South African-inclined or were officially controlled. Lubowski worshipped Sam Nujoma. He finally met the exiled SWAPO leader in Paris and swore to become his faithful lieutenant. Anton thought that they shared a vision of what the country could become – with no poor person. This simple principle that distribution should undo excess could have been the single most important motive to kill him – among those who wanted to hoard the wealth exclusively. Patrice Lumumba had said the same and met a brutal end. Ditto Hammarskjöld, Olof Palme and Bernt Carlsson.

Lubowski was convinced that Nujoma and his colleagues were patriots who wanted to make a success of independent Namibia and, moreover, were committed to human rights and a democratic society. He was invited as an official SWAPO delegate to a peace conference in Lusaka, Zambia. On returning to Windhoek, he publicly announced that he had joined SWAPO and called on other whites to do the same. He was the second white person to do so, an extraordinary fact given the white population was 75,000.

After that dramatic announcement, apartheid's jackals took charge. Lubowski's movements were watched, his phones were tapped and he became a marked man. He received pamphlets, depicting his head full of bullet wounds, and others with the most filthy Afrikaans invective. There were comments in a Windhoek newspaper such as, 'Anton now you'll know what hell on earth is, you'll know what it's like to walk down the street and to know that eyes are following you. You are now the inmate of the outer sphere of hell and particular darkness, you're a marked man.'

Lubowski's father Wilfried showed the TRC an example, 'SWAPO you're out, you are filth, you are worse than the excrement of a snake, you communist, away with you, *k*****boetie* [very derogatory term meaning brother of an African], you are going to die, you filth. You are no good, pig head, and child of a whore.'

On 1 May 1985, Anton Lubowski wrote in his diary, 'Most governments abuse the law in order to strengthen their authority. But the South African government goes much further – it raises segregation and racial persecution to the ethical level of law. Evil becomes good, egotism is interpreted as compassion. Justice is manipulated and perverted. Because of my colour I am supposed to be superior to black people. I am supposed to belong to another social order as well as ethnic order. I am supposed to belong to another humanity. Racism is dreadful, but when it pretends to be legal, and therefore just, it becomes absolutely repugnant. I cannot but often be ashamed of my liberty. That is the reason why I will fight this system for as long as it exists, no matter the consequences. I will never speak carefully or in a muted voice or try

to prettify reality. I will speak and fight against it in every possible way at every possible opportunity and let the sanctity of truth always reign supreme.”²

Lubowski addressed meetings and marched with demonstrators. He was soon detained by the Security Police for his activities (which were all lawful) and interrogated as a traitor to white supremacy. The persecution persisted but he continued fighting against apartheid, plus the accompanying racial oppression and economic plunder.

They detained him six times – the last occasion being the worst. In 1987 he was held, together with five senior SWAPO officials in Namibia, at the notorious Oshana detention camp. There, wearing only underpants and sitting on dirt floors, they were kept in solitary confinement in corrugated iron shacks, which became unbearably hot during the day and freezing at night. After three weeks, Lubowski developed a dangerous kidney stone infection and was taken to hospital for treatment. During this time, a Supreme Court judge ordered the prisoners to be released.

Lubowski created the NAMLAW Institute that ‘analysed discriminatory political and economic legislation (specifically fishing and diamonds)’. He quickly assumed the leading role in these discussions, becoming SWAPO’s finance secretary. As such, he built up an unprecedented rapport with the SWAPO president. He also spearheaded the effort to level Namibia’s political and economic playing fields – further proof that he would become a thorn in the flesh to those who had monopolised the country’s fishing and mineral wealth for so long.

Apart from his legal work and his functions as a SWAPO representative, he became involved in mobilising the trade union movement from the mid-1980s. SWAPO needed an energetic and skilled organiser and, according to Gabrielle, he legally registered the first labour union, the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), in the country in late 1986. This soon led to the formation of the Mineworkers’ Union of Namibia and others – to the chagrin of the CEOs of greed.

Gabrielle said that he raised several vitally important economic and legal issues, such as discriminatory legislation and over-exploitation of fishing and diamond resources through NUNW, and was adamant that this should change after 1990.

She wrote that as independence approached, it became clear within SWAPO that the party had virtually no economic plan to speak of. Anton told her in 1989, ‘... You won’t believe how many stakeholders approach me about this or that deal or project.’ She wrote further, ‘By the end of 1988, when it became clear that UNSC Resolution 435 was a done deal, Anton had clearly become a rising star in the party. Through the unions, he was able to mobilise local opposition to the robber-baron capitalism that was (and still is) so typical of the dominant South African companies. With this, SWAPO’s

own fortunes suddenly also seemed much brighter – and this started making the then-political/economic establishment very nervous.³

A strong motif in Lubowski's work for SWAPO was his concern that fellow white Namibians should understand that SWAPO was not a band of demons and blood-thirsty terrorists, but a nationalist movement that, among other concerns, propagated a genuine non-racial society in which whites would be welcome as citizens. To this end, he was instrumental in arranging meetings between SWAPO leaders and whites. Because most SWAPO leaders were in exile, these meetings all took place on foreign soil.

When UN Security Council Resolution 435 was finally implemented and the independence process began on 1 April 1989, Lubowski was deeply involved in the election campaign. He was a member of the internal SWAPO delegation that welcomed the exiled SWAPO leaders back to their country. Sam Nujoma was due to return during the third week of November 1989 to lead the election campaign's final phase, before the assembly wrote the country's first constitution, which ultimately would lead to independence. Lubowski did not live to see this.

During the early evening of 12 September 1989, a gunman sprayed bullets into him as he entered his front gate. Lubowski died on the spot. He was the first white person to be buried in the graveyard in Katutura, Windhoek's black, working-class township. Gabrielle tried to identify those responsible for his death. 'Anton was killed by jealousy, greed, hate, fear and the need to control – it is irrelevant who the specific person or persons were ...' She went on to piece together all the evidence, including impressions and inferences as to who Anton's enemies were.

She wrote, 'Shortly after Res. 435 took effect, in March 1989, the first "Trojan Horse" arrived at Anton's doorstep: the rangy, chain-smoking CIA operative Bill Ullman, replete with accreditation from SWAPO's top brass in New York, where Ullman's boss Maurice Tempelsman plies his trade as the head of one of the world's largest mineral consortiums.' Tempelsman worked closely with the De Beers diamond syndicate in Africa and elsewhere over the years. The mining companies knew that at some time or other, they would face a democratic government in Namibia, so they planned ahead to ingratiate themselves with the dominant party which was set to win the election.

Gabrielle mistakenly believed that SWAPO only met Tempelsman in 1984 but in fact the meetings took place much earlier. She commented on the close relationship that developed as 'Nujoma had occasionally been accommodated by Tempelsman when visiting United Nations HQ, and by some accounts, the American had eased many of the party's cash-flow problems in those disorganized days. It is my assumption that Maurice Tempelsman and the exiled SWAPO leaders were something like a close unit of mutual support, part of the inner circle who socialized and politicized together.'⁴

Of the first meeting between Ullman and Anton, she said, 'Andreas Shipanga⁵ introduced us to Bill Ullman, who suddenly appeared on the scene when in 1978 talks resumed around the independence of Namibia from South Africa. In my opinion, all our troubles and problems started when Bill Ullman entered our life. At first, it all seemed so innocent and insignificant. Growing up in the remote little town of Lüderitz and surroundings had not prepared us to recognize the crafty and devious ways of the world. Being raised in a small and close-knit community with high moral values left us naïve and gullible and we trusted people easily. For the first time it seemed a force entered our life that we knew very little about.'⁶ Ullman's false acquiescence to the Lubowskis' views on Namibia's problems made it easy for them to like him.

However, his real views were those of his boss, Tempelsman, and the mining giants. He represented what Gabrielle described as 'a force that was used to getting its way. A force that was in control of all the mineral riches in Namibia since the process of transformation. A force that was in control of all the mineral riches in Namibia since the First World War. A force that plays with people and people's lives just like a cat plays with a mouse. It bribes, manipulates and controls people and hooks into their weaknesses and blind spots.'⁷

In *Glitter and Greed*, her exposé of the diamond syndicate, Janine Roberts explained the connections between Tempelsman and the Oppenheims, Anglo American and De Beers. From as early as 1957, Tempelsman toured Africa with US presidential hopeful Adlai Stevenson. 'In 1980, his Vice President William Ullman travelled with the younger Kennedys in a trip organized with Oppenheimer's Anglo American.'

According to the *Soweto Post* of 11 July 1980, Ullman turned up at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) annual Heads of State conference in Freetown, Sierra Leone, at receptions given by and for presidents, accompanied by JFK's son, John F Kennedy Jr. The latter was said to be working temporarily for Tempelsman in Zaire and Africa. A photograph showed Kennedy Jr with African children in Soweto. The caption said he 'was the guest of Anglo American who took him into Soweto. The baldish man next to him is Bill Ullman, an employee of Leon Tempelsman and Company, a New York firm dealing in diamonds and metals'. Tempelsman also took President Kennedy's daughter, Caroline, to Africa. She was treated to a 'tour of Oppenheimer's diamond mine in Namibia'.⁸

Roberts said, 'Tempelsman had first met Nujoma prior to Namibia's independence in the early days of his party, SWAPO. As its campaign started to succeed, Tempelsman lent Nujoma his private plane and helped him when he visited the United Nations. Tempelsman also instructed Bill Ullman, a man who had allegedly previously worked for the CIA, to contact the SWAPO offices in Europe, offering them assistance.'

As Namibia was finally preparing for democratic elections and independence, Ullman reappeared in 1989 while Gabrielle was living with the children in Cape Town. He stayed for about four months as a guest in Anton's house. This was at the request of SWAPO and Gabrielle said, 'It strikes me as odd now that a man, who works for a billionaire and can even stay in a 10-star hotel, should be accommodated in the humble home of a freedom fighter.'

She said SWAPO leaders assured her Ullman could be trusted as he bought one of them a fridge and provided a car for another but 'in hindsight it seems scary, even irresponsible how naïve both Anton and I were, accepting strangers into our house and lives. We never questioned or investigated Bill, finding out exactly who he was and what he did, although Bill questioned us about ourselves. He even visited Anton's parents in Aus, a small farm village 120 km away from Lüderitz, to understand who Anton was. During that time, we only distinguished who was for or against SWAPO and Bill seemed to be a supporter. The impression I got from the conversations I had with him during lunches, dinners and other gatherings, was that he had often moved around Africa. He told us he had built a close relationship with the president of Sierra Leone a long time before he became the president of that country, buying him fish and chips.'

But people around Anton started questioning Ullman's intentions in Namibia. Well-heeled, he cultivated as many of Anton's political contacts as he could. He became highly interested in the sensitive work Anton was doing in setting out an economic plan of action for a soon-to-be-independent Namibia. Witnesses recalled that Ullman and his two associates were seriously interested in mining rights.

Apart from his links with De Beers there were other suspicions. The editor of *Business Day* at the time, Ken Owen, published an article on the front page titled 'A CIA Sleeper Surfaces in Windhoek' with a picture of Bill Ullman and SWAPO dissident Andreas Shipanga taken some years before in Paris. There was mention that Bill Ullman was caught red-handed rifling through Anton's desk by one of Anton's friends – some other sensitive documents had already disappeared mysteriously from his house.

Janine Roberts said, 'In 1989, as the elections grew closer, Tempelman posted Ullman to Namibia to monitor developments. SWAPO was then developing its economic policies. One of these was to support the setting up of a major local diamond cutting industry, something long opposed by De Beers. The party had asked a former CDM manager, Gordon Brown, to help them with this. When I met Brown, he told me Ullman and he had met.'

This is of great significance as Ullman realised how opposed Brown was to De Beers' plundering policy. He knew about the devastating evidence Brown had given to Judge Thirion and the latter's explosive findings. If Brown and Lubowski had the future economic plan for Namibia in their hands, then

a redistribution of its wealth was certain and De Beers' monopoly was in serious jeopardy. Roberts confirmed that Ullman had positioned himself well to learn what was happening by persuading SWAPO's Head of Finance, Anton Lubowski, to accommodate him in his own home.

A businessman and friend of Lubowski, Anton Charles Courtney-Clarke, was staying in the Lubowski house at the time of Ullman's infiltration and said, 'This exposure of the working relationship between Tempelsman and De Beers clarifies Tempelsman's role in the alliance between De Beers and the South African apartheid Government bred "Third Force". (Members who are strategically placed in government departments, the police, prosecutor's office and the judiciary are cited in this matter.) Tempelsman sent Bill Ullman to Namibia just before the implementation of Resolution 435 (April 1989 to March 1990, UNTAG – United Nations Transitional Assistance Group), to cover the independence of Namibia. On arrival in Namibia Ullman was a guest in Lubowski's house, when he knew he would not be home. He is also held responsible for the theft of my briefcase from Lubowski's desk at his home.'

Courtney-Clarke explained that his briefcase contained the seminal document that would create disquiet in the hearts of the industry and mining captains – the revolutionary *National Economic Plan of Action for the new Namibia*. This included the constitution of CONROC (Concerned Namibians Natural Resources Organizational Committee), formulated over a period of 10 years.

CONROC was focused on identifying, shaping and realigning the country's key industrial activities, including energy, mineral resources, agriculture, fisheries, property, tourism and financial institutes. It was a natural resources-based business initiative geared to enrich a nation endowed with such abundant natural resources.

The group's aims and objectives were 'motivated by the necessity to react to the increasing monopolisation and overexploitation by foreigners, of our natural resources'. The objectives were furthermore 'to devise strategies which will lead to increased ownership and control of the Natural Resources in the hands of bona fide Namibians in a mixed economy ...'. In addition, the organisation resolved to 'research and analyse the existing constraints, irregularities and deficiencies in the economy that prohibit the development of own industries in all respects'.

Finally, CONROC planned to seek and secure mutual support with other like-minded organisations who wished to Namibianise the natural resources. It was dated 11 August 1988 and signed by eight prominent Namibian citizens and businessmen, including Courtney-Clarke. It is difficult to underestimate the importance of Lubowski's work and these documents, as 13 months later Anton Lubowski was gunned down.

So, Ullman exploited Anton and his wife's naïve and genuine friendship, insinuating his way into their home. Why was he allowed the opportunity to spy on his host and discover plans for the new Namibia, which clearly were at odds with De Beers' and other companies' intention to continue plundering the resources?

In an article headlined 'Lubowski's guests in spotlight' in the *Mail & Guardian* of 6 February 1998, reporter John Grobler gave a preview of what he called 'an inquest into an inquest'. A second judicial investigation into Lubowski's assassination was due to start the following week in the Windhoek High Court. Grobler noted the findings of the first investigation, in which Judge Levy named 'local policeman Inspector Terrie Terblanche and Charles Wildschut/Neelse as being involved in the planning – if not the act – of assassinating Lubowski.'

In Chapter 18 we detailed former De Beers manager Gordon Brown's evidence before Judge Thirion. He was then falsely implicated in a diamond case. When Brown left court to begin his jail sentence, a Namibian police officer informed him that he was now charging him with another serious charge – attempted extortion. To make this new arrest, on cue and just minutes after Brown received a five-year jail sentence, Anglo-De Beers security officials had roped in a Namibian police officer, the self-same Terrie Terblanche. This highly problematic officer's involvement was extraordinary and reveals De Beers' links with the apartheid state. Within weeks, this self-same Chief Inspector Terblanche would be publicly exposed by Judge Levy as an accomplice or an accessory to Lubowski's murder. The judge found that Terblanche had known the murder was about to take place and had done nothing whatsoever to prevent it. This, Judge Levy found, made him an accomplice to the crime and/or an accessory to murder before and after the crime.

Grobler then recorded how Ullman came on the scene. 'On August 7 1989 *Business Day* featured an article detailing how Bill Ullman, a CIA agent and front-man for New York diamond dealer Maurice Tempelsman, had made an appearance on the political scene. Ullman spent several weeks in Lubowski's house in early 1989, ostensibly to discuss future mining and energy investment with the SWAPO leadership. Ullman has disappeared into thin air. To subpoena Tempelsman will be difficult: a member of the highly influential Washington-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, he is a personal friend of Namibian President Sam Nujoma. To make him testify would require serious clout – and it is doubtful whether the government would want to risk embarrassment on this level.' Needless to say, neither Ullman nor Tempelsman were subpoenaed and the Windhoek High Court did not disclose anything further.

In her book, Gabrielle revealed that three 'high up people' were responsible for Anton's death and that these were (1) a SWAPO member, (2) a SA

army general and (3) an international mining and diamond magnate. She said that shortly before his murder, her husband had received a telephone call from a business associate asking what time he would get to his house at Number 7, Sanderburg Street. Earlier that day, Lubowski had a long walk-and-talk along Windhoek's main street with Hein Geingob. The latter was SWAPO's elections director for the 1989 poll and Lubowski was his deputy.

The formal inquest into Lubowski's death before Judge Levy found that a gunman carrying an AK 47 sprayed his body with bullets and then shot him in the head. The following day, on 13 September 1989, an Irish national, Donald Acheson, was arrested. On 18 April 1990, Acheson, a hardened soldier who served in the Rhodesian Army and possibly also in the South African Defence Force, appeared in the High Court of Namibia, charged with the murder of Anton Lubowski. However, the prosecutor-general, Advocate Hans Heyman, applied to postpone the case and for Acheson to be remanded in custody. The reasons given were that Heyman wanted two co-accused to be joined in the case. They were both South African citizens and there were various difficulties in securing their attendance at the Windhoek trial.

The court granted a postponement until 7 May 1990 so that the prosecutor could produce evidence of diplomatic initiatives to procure the two persons' attendance in court. As the prosecution could not produce any such evidence on the postponement date, the murder charge against Acheson was consequently withdrawn.

The inquest ran from April to June 1994. When the court made its findings on 23 June 1994, Justice Levy was clear about Acheson's guilt, 'Any doubt which the Prosecutor-General may have had as to Acheson's guilt must certainly have been removed by Acheson's own affidavit made on 14 January 1991 at Bedfordview in the Transvaal, after the charge of murder had been withdrawn. The reference in the written statement found under his mattress to 'my people' whom he had to contact, was expanded in the affidavit. It becomes clear that they were members of the CCB for whom he was working after being recruited by Sgt Knox and Ferdi Barnard and that his 'handler' at the time was Chappie Maree.'

Justice Levy laid the blame for Lubowski's assassination squarely on the shoulders of the South African Government. 'The escalation of the liberation struggle both in South Africa and in South West Africa caused those in charge to resort to whatever means they could to combat or even to contain such struggle.' He said the Koevoet (Crowbar) Unit, 'a ruthless killing machine [of the SA Defence Force] ... took the initiative as to who should be killed or not and very many were indeed killed without any justification whatsoever'.

The judge continued, 'In South Africa, particularly those in control of the military, decided that the enemies of apartheid should not only be fought within the borders of South Africa but also beyond the borders ... An

organization, the South African Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau [CCB], was evolved to eliminate the opponents of apartheid wherever they may be found and to engage in any activity which would destabilise those countries or those organizations which this particular organization chose to target.'

Because of the importance it will in due course assume, we should consider the workings of the CCB and some of its victims. Although the entire truth about the CCB may never be known, South Africa's TRC concluded that 'the CCB was a creation of the SADF and an integral part of South Africa's counter-insurgency system which, in the course of its operations, perpetrated gross violations of human rights, including killings, against both South African and non-South African citizens. The Commission finds that the activities of the CCB constituted a systematic pattern of abuse which entailed deliberate planning on the part of the leadership of the CCB and the SADF. The Commission finds these institutions and their members accountable for the aforesaid gross violations of human rights.'

Operatives were required to have a 'blue plan' and a 'red plan'. The former referred to a front operation (mostly a business) funded by the CCB. Proceeds from all blue plan activities vastly exceeded the CCB's state funding. A large private sector was created, which employed tens of thousands of people. Former security officers not in the CCB ran these companies alongside CCB officers. In December 1993 the Goldstone Commission task group found that ex-CCB members were involved in various illegal activities, including gun and drug smuggling.

Red plans detailed the activities they would undertake against the enemy. Operations could be of a criminal nature, as long as they had prior approval from the CCB bureaucracy. These mostly began with a feasibility study. If the report showed merit, it was verified, then reviewed by a panel of five: the operative, the manager or handler, the coordinator, the managing director and in the case of violent operations, the chairman. Where loss of life was anticipated, the chairman was required to obtain approval from the chief of the army or the chief of staff.

Eight people applied to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for amnesty in connection with the CCB's Region Six, which covered activities inside South Africa: Major General Edward Webb, GOC Special Forces and CCB 'chairman'; Colonel Pieter Johan 'Joe' Verster, CCB 'managing director'; Wouter Jacobus Basson, aka Christo Brits, Region Six 'co-ordinator'; Daniel du Toit 'Staal' Burger, Region Six 'manager'; Leon Andre 'Chappies' Maree, Region Six, Natal; Carl Casteling 'Calla' Botha, Region Six, Transvaal; Abram 'Slang' van Zyl, Region Six, Western Cape; and Ferdinand 'Ferdie' Barnard.

According to TRC records, CCB operatives were tasked to eliminate the following people: Gavin Evans; Theo-Ben Gurirab (SWAPO); Hidipo

Hamutenya (SWAPO); Pallo Jordan; Ronnie Kasrils; newspaper editor, Gwen Lister (SWAPO); Winnie Mandela; Kwenza Mhlaba; Jay Naidoo; Joe Slovo; Stompie Sepei; Oliver Tambo; Daniel Tjongarero (SWAPO); Andimba Toivo ya Toivo (SWAPO); and Roland White. The number of Namibian victims is instructive. Previously we have mentioned Ferdi Barnard and fellow CCB operative Kobus le Roux's failed plan to give Martti Ahtisaari (Bernt Carlsson's successor in Namibia) 'a good hiding' with a knuckleduster.

Investigative journalist and writer Michael Schmidt penned a horrifying account of how deaths were executed in *Death Flight*.⁹ From the late 1970s, the apartheid government devised a murderous scheme using a secretive unit called Delta 40. The use of the name Delta recurs in a number of macabre contexts. This unit's primary task was the murder of hundreds (more than 200 on some accounts) of ANC, PAC and SWAPO members. Victims' bodies were thrown from small aircraft into the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of South West Africa. The book gives a detailed account of these killings from interviews with the perpetrators.

To return to the inquest into Anton Lubowski's death, Judge Levy mentioned a number of murders in South Africa, including David Webster and activist attorneys Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, and the revelations about the death squads, led by Dirk Coetzee and Eugene de Kock. We have explained the admissibility of similar fact evidence in Chapter 5 and its relevance to Chris Hani's killing. He concluded that the murder of Anton Lubowski was far too similar to those of the other activists to be a coincidence. The judge referred to the fact that 'South West Africa was regarded as a vital area for the operations of the CCB'.

He also found that 'Donald Acheson's affidavit makes it quite clear the entire organization which paid him and his legal expenses had as its purpose the disruption of the elections in Namibia and the killing of leading SWAPO personalities'. In his statement, Acheson admitted that he had been employed by the CCB to kill *The Namibian* newspaper's editor Gwen Lister by using 'slow acting poison which could be injected into her toothpaste, placed on her Tampax or put into anything she could eat or drink'.¹⁰

Acheson, who had fought as a mercenary in the Rhodesian war in the 1970s, fled to South Africa and thereafter was hidden in Crete. He feared for his life and after returning to South Africa, was deported to Britain in 1991. He subsequently disappeared from the face of the earth – possibly permanently. There were also suggestions during the inquest that Acheson was supposed to have been shot while 'attempting to escape' – bringing the investigation to a dead end. It was widely believed that Acheson had been set up.

The judge pieced together the CCB's modus operandi from the inquest evidence and documents. He concluded that on 8 May 1989 a project known as Project Imperial had been devised to collect information on Namibian

activists. Evidence from CCB members Johan Niemoller and Charles Neelse shows that about this time they were making videos of Lubowski's house. The Court found that Acheson had executed the assassination on the CCB's instructions. Judge Levy found a number of men to have been accomplices to the murder, namely: Ferdi Barnard, Chappie Maree, Staal Burger, Calla Botha, Slang van Zyl, Joe Verster, as well as Johan Niemoller and Wouter Basson.

There are important links here with Janusz Waluś. In speaking about the events when Hani was shot on 10 April 1993, Evelyn Groenink mentioned a witness to the shooting whom she called 'Dudu Mkhwanazi'. Dudu spoke of two cars following Hani: a red and another white car. She looked at the men in the cars and thought they were his bodyguards because they drove so closely behind him. She identified one as blond and the other a big, dark, heavy and rough man. Her nephew who accompanied her that day backed up her account. The blond man was arrested but the other sped away. There is a strong probability that this man was CCB agent Alec Vasiliades, a close friend of Waluś.

Another member of the Greek mafia in Johannesburg who must have known Vasiliades was Alex Kouvaris, who the TRC was told was a friend and colleague of the CCB's Staal Burger. Kouvaris helped in trying to steal a book that implicated the CCB in Lubowski's death. This evidence was given at the amnesty hearings of Carl Casteling 'Calla' Botha in Cape Town on 2 October 2000.

Botha told the hearing, 'A meeting was held where they discussed the death of Mr Lubowski ... the people who attended was myself, Mr Maree and the other members of the cell also present. There was some nervousness with regards to Mr Acheson's possible involvement in the death of Mr Lubowski and they told me to lie low ... the connection that I made was that Acheson was possibly involved without Mr Maree knowing about it and then they wanted to do damage control. I do not think they knew exactly what he did. But just the involvement confused them ... the evidence of Mr Barnard was that we went to go and steal a book, a book concerning Acheson ... at the Royal Ascot Hotel in Norwood.

'I heard that Mr Maree had a meeting with Acheson and they wanted to destroy the evidence ... the person sent to steal the book was Mr Staal Burger ... and Ferdi Barnard went with him ... It was urgent ... at the Royal Ascot Hotel, Burger and Barnard attempted to get hold of the book ... unluckily it was the wrong one ...'

He went on to say, 'Another person Alex Kouvaris appeared at the scene ... a friend and a colleague of Mr Burger. He was also in the hotel industry and it was very strange that I met him there. It was just such a strange coincidence and I also felt that Mr Burger tasked him to steal the book.'

We have noted earlier in the book that the South African Institute for

Maritime Research (SAIMR) had an intelligence wing codenamed Delta. The unidentified commander of its military division, Echo, confirmed unequivocally that SAIMR had links with Military Intelligence (MI) in Pretoria until President de Klerk came to power, although the SADF denied this. However, the Echo commander said, 'We severed links with MI because the whole South African intelligence network had gone into turmoil.'

The unnamed commander said the links did not mean that SAIMR did any clandestine operations for MI or the CCB. 'The only contact I had with the CCB was on a friendly basis through the South African police with Staal Burger and Chappies Maree.' That is, with two agents found by Judge Levy to have participated in Anton Lubowski's murder.

It will be recalled that Courtney-Clarke was staying in Lubowski's house at the time Ullman was spying on him. His conclusion may sum up who conspired to kill Lubowski. 'This exposure of the working relationship between Tempelsman and De Beers clarifies Tempelsman's role in the alliance between De Beers and the South African Apartheid Government-bred "Third Force".' The Third Force was the murderous CCB brought into being to kill any opponents of this unscrupulous gang.

According to journalist John Grobler, Lubowski's late father Wilfred was convinced his son was murdered because of the threat he posed to the vested economic interests in Namibia's mining and fishing industries, with their secret links to senior SWAPO politicians. In the presence of Sam Nujoma, Lubowski senior accused the Namibian government directly of protecting 'someone very high up in the government'.

There has been no attempt to bring those who organised his death to justice. This explains SWAPO's impenetrable wall of silence about Lubowski's murder. As Gabrielle told *The Namibian* on 25 April 2010, 'It is very obvious there's no political will, either from South Africa or Namibia. That poses the big question: Why?'

22 | Diamonds are SWAPO's best friends

'And did we tell you the name of the game, boy?
We call it Riding the Gravy Train.'

Pink Floyd, *Have a Cigar*

Corruption follows wealth like a shadow. Soon after Namibian independence, greedy snouts were buried deeply in the trough, gleefully filled by the multinationals with the land's ill-gotten treasure. As for the people, there was little left in the trough for them. It happens time and again. At the dawn of liberation from colonial rule, business barons bribe the black elite to avoid wealth-sharing with the people. The corollary of this is that anyone opposing the deal is likely to be eliminated. We have speculated about why the court case against Urenco was dropped after the death of Bernt Carlsson. After all, SWAPO was behind the action and seemed keen to recover the billions taken illegally out of Namibia in breach of the UN's Decree No 1. Could it be that SWAPO's head honchos were bribed to stop the litigation in return for lucrative diamond deals?

This is not a difficult road to follow. The new elite are greedy for wealth and quickly abandon their previous idealism. It is not a phenomenon restricted to Namibia.

The article 'Diamonds are SWAPO's best friends' appeared on 18 September 2014 in the *Mail & Guardian*. It was subtitled 'Namibia's elite have benefited from billions in rough diamonds over the past six years'. It is a witty play on the song *Diamonds are a girl's best friend*, sung by glamour star Marilyn Monroe. This amaBhungane investigation found members and friends of Namibia's ruling elite owned at least nine of the 11 'sightholder' firms, and most were members of the Aawambo (formerly Ovambo) tribe, who dominate the SWAPO leadership.

Sightholders are a privileged group who have the right to buy diamonds from De Beers, with very strict conditions attached, mostly to benefit De Beers and maintain tight control of its monopoly. The sightholders were Almod Diamonds, Ankit Gems, Crossworks Manufacturing, Diacor International, Hard Stone Processing, Julius Klein Diamonds, Laurelton Diamonds, Lazare Kaplan International, Schachter & Namdar, Pluczenik Diamond Company and Trau Bros NV. The contracts ran from 2012 to 2015. Featuring prominently on the list were Maurice Tempelsman and Aaron Mushimba.

Belgian-American diamond tycoon Tempelsman and his agent Bill

Ullman were working closely with De Beers to further their interests. It was Ullman who pretended to be Anton Lubowski's friend but was alleged to be spying on him.

Tempelsman's interest was through Lazare Kaplan Diamonds Namibia, which had a stake in Namdeb's subsidiary, NamGem. The article said, 'Tempelsman, the chairperson of New York-based global diamond empire Lazare Kaplan International, has strong connections with Namibia's political kingpins, including its first president, Sam Nujoma. His Namibian business partner was Nujoma's late brother-in-law Aaron Mushimba, an empowerment magnate who died in August 2014.'

In her 2007 book *Glitter and Greed: The Secret World of the Diamond Cartel*, Janine Roberts reproduced a letter, apparently written by Tempelsman to Nujoma, offering a loan of R500 million or more if the government dropped plans for independent checks of the prices De Beers paid Namibia for diamond exports. Just as Judge Thirion found that De Beers had thwarted any government checks during the apartheid days, so they succeeded with the new government. Attempts to check diamond prices were quietly shelved, resulting in huge tax savings for the diamond giant and massive losses for the national fiscus.

Tempelsman's influence in Namibia dated back to the 1950s and continued unabated. According to Roberts, after independence Tempelsman was an adviser to government officials. In 2003, he and the late Mushimba formed Lazare Kaplan Namibia, of which Tempelsman's son, Leon, was also a director. Tempelsman continued to court Namibia's political leaders and in 2007, the year he landed a licence, he visited President Hifikepunye Pohamba at State House in Windhoek.

Tempelsman had been influential in other diamond-rich African countries, such as Angola and Botswana. His lawyer in southern Africa, Christian Merkling, said Tempelsman was privileged to know Nujoma before and after independence and to work with Mushimba on various business deals. Merkling said it would be an insult to Mushimba's memory and tarnish the 'enormous contributions' the late businessman made to Namibia to imply that he and Tempelsman were connected only as cronies.

'Tempelsman is privileged to have been asked for advice by senior Namibian decision-makers from time to time on various matters, some diamond-related and many others not, which he provided in good faith, with a full disclosure of interests, and in confidence. It is not for him to discuss such consultations publicly,' Merkling said.

Merkling doubled as Tempelsman's lawyer and the Namibian government's legal consultant when the Diamond Act of 1999 was drafted. He branded reports that Tempelsman had been a De Beers negotiator as 'entirely untrue' and said they 'would be legally actionable'. Roberts quoted the lawyer,

‘Tempelsman’s view is that in the area of diamond governance ... Namibia’s course has been wise, and has delivered exceptional, progressively increasing rewards for the nation since 1990.’

The article on diamonds being SWAPO’s best friend pointed out that, far from providing rewards for the nation, Namibia’s diamond wealth only benefited the lucky few SWAPO-connected loyalists. AmaBhungane found that politicians, their children and business people affiliated with SWAPO dominated the list of hand-picked recipients (sightholders) who benefited from more than R12 billion in diamonds over the six years to 2014.

According to the report, beneficiaries included relatives of former president, Sam Nujoma, as well as Tempelsman. Nujoma’s inclusion raises strong suspicions that he was a pawn in the hands of De Beers and other industrialists, throughout the election process. Nujoma’s youngest son, Zacky Nujoma, owns Nu Diamond, which has a stake in sightholder Crossworks Manufacturing. The ex-secretary of the national tender board, Meriam Onesmus, is also a director. Zacky was a partner in a diamond company with convicted mafioso Vito Palazzolo.

Nujoma’s oldest son, Utoni Nujoma, is also a diamond dealer but amaBhungane could not establish whether he was a sightholder. Utoni, while Minister of Justice, declared to Parliament in 2009 that he had owned 10% of Namibia Diamond House since 2006. John Nauta, personal assistant to Nujoma, denied that Zacky had been favoured, adding that it was his constitutional right to apply for mineral rights, like anybody else. ‘Zacky is a geologist by profession. What will he survive on if he does not get opportunities like any other person?’ he asked.

The article noted the dominance of foreigners and ‘only one sightholder company is wholly Namibian-owned; most are local subsidiaries of international operations, with Namibian partners’. The local partners are the recipients of the benefits accrued as a reward for selling out their fellow countrymen.

Despite De Beers’ efforts to snatch the country’s diamond wealth before independence, as proved by Judge Thirion’s report, the country still has immense diamond resources. The article estimated Namibia’s marine diamond at around 80-million carats. ‘De Beers still dominates the country’s diamond industry and the trade is controlled by Namdeb Diamond Trade Corporation [NDTC] – a joint venture of the government and De Beers.’

Estimated diamond production by value of top producers worldwide in 2011 places Namibia sixth on the list. Through a Namdeb subsidiary, the NDTC launched in 2007, the listed sightholders could buy rough diamonds at a discount 10 times a year for three and a half years. At the time of the investigation, they received 10% of Namibia’s gem-quality diamond output.

The benefits of this arrangement did not extend beyond the sightholders, who demonstrated no interest in processing diamonds within the country.

Kennedy Hamutenya, Namibia's diamond commissioner and the government's chief diamond negotiator, stated in the article, 'We know some people just want to get their hands on the rough diamonds to trade and make quick margins, while others want to send them for cutting and polishing to other countries where labour is much cheaper.'

Professor Roman Grynberg investigated the wages of diamond cutters in Namibia, Botswana and India.¹ His findings revealed that in India there were 800,000 cutters while in Botswana a paltry 3,750. By 2020, there were only a few hundred diamond cutters in South Africa, compared to nearly 5,000 just 20 years previously.² 'De Beers in its 2014 Diamond Insight Report has said that the cost of cutting in 2013 ranged from \$60-120/ct in Botswana while in India the range varies from \$10-50 per carat.'

According to Grynberg, this made Botswana six times more expensive than India for cutting smaller diamonds and almost three times as expensive for the larger stones, due to low productivity, cost of ancillary services and number of working days (232 per year in Botswana compared to more than 280 days in India).

Namibia and South Africa have tried to induce De Beers to implement beneficiation but the costs of cutting in both Namibia (\$60-140/ct) and South Africa (\$130-150/ct) are higher than Botswana and much higher than India. Grynberg said if the world's 'diamantaires' had their way, no cutting or polishing would occur in Botswana and southern Africa at all. De Beers only did it because they were forced to by government policy.

Dealers only wanted local partners as window-dressing to fool Namibians that the country was benefiting, said Hamutenya. In the *Mail & Guardian* article, Prime Minister Hage Geingob acknowledged that 10% of its 2.1 million citizens controlled the country's wealth.

What sort of amounts are involved here? NDTC CEO Shihaleni Ndjaba said that since 2007 the company delivered rough diamonds worth more than R2 billion to sightholders each year. Despite the scandalous favouring of the political elite, Ndjaba had no qualms about defending the selection process, saying it considered factors such as beneficiation performance, financial status, the quality of gems requested and their availability. 'Not only does NDTC pay substantial taxes and royalties to government, but it also generates significant employment benefits.' In substantiating this statement he said that the cutting and polishing industry supported by the sightholder system employed about 12,000 workers.

Ndjaba went on record in the government-owned *New Era* newspaper saying that sightholders were compelled to 'involve local shareholders', but he told amaBhungane there was no pressure to choose particular partners. Strangely, given that it was part-owned by government and it was clearly in the public interest for the facts to be made known, Namdeb declined to give

details of the sightholders, including their shareholding, saying they should be approached directly.

Other SWAPO members and the Namibian elite were fortuitous recipients of the country's wealth. Helmut Angula, Namibia's first deputy minister of energy who served in five cabinet portfolios from 1990 to 2009, was a sightholder through a 45% stake in Dinamo Diamonds, which he declared to parliament. Dinamo is the local partner of the New York-based Julius Klein Diamond Group, which holds the sightholder's licence. Angula has also owned 10% of Namibia Diamond Holdings since 2006. He brought his daughter Phillipine into his business empire as a director in Dinamo Diamonds and oil company Eco Namibia.

The chief executive of the state-owned defence company, Brigadier General James Auala, is a sightholder through Hard Stone Processing, which he chaired. Colonel David Ndatipo, a liberation struggle commander and Soviet-trained intelligence officer, was a director and co-owner of the company. The other co-owners were Benjamin Thobias, a senior police official in the security ministry, and Turkish national Burhan Seber, who was appointed to the advisory Namibian Diamond Board by the mines minister Isak Katali in 2013. Dr Kalumbi Shangula, chairperson of the ruling party's business empire Kalahari Holdings, is a director of Ankit Gems and a sightholder through Ankit Gems Namibia. Shangula also is the former permanent secretary in the health ministry and chairs the SWAPO think-tank.

Ankit Gem's managing director is former ministerial assistant Mikka Asino. Sadike Nepela, a businessman and a sightholder through Israeli-owned diamond firm Schachter and Namdar, is the son of one of the founders of the Ovambo People's Organisation (now SWAPO). His father, Lucas Nepela, was the first OPO chairperson in 1959. Sadike is a former assistant to both the mine and trade ministers.

Frans Ndoroma was CEO of state-owned telecommunications company Telecom Namibia and worked at De Beers from 1981 to 2002. He is a sight-holder through Laurelton Diamonds, the Namibian arm of international company Laurelton Reign Diamonds. Ndoroma was a board member of Namdeb sister company De Beers Marine Namibia.

Sara Shikongo is a director of Duiker Investment 142, the Namibian subsidiary of New York-based sightholder Almod Diamonds. Shikongo's political connections are through her husband, Mateus Shikongo, who served as Windhoek mayor for 17 years on a SWAPO ticket. Former beneficiaries of the sightholder system also include Dantagob Gurirab and Hanganee Gurirab, sons of National Assembly Speaker and former prime minister, Theo-Ben Gurirab.

Geographically speaking, Namibia is a huge country, but the population is small. There is enough wealth to cater for all adequately as Anton Lubowski

and Bernt Carlsson planned. Sadly, the depredations of the big corporations, aided and abetted by the political elite's corruption, have meant that the wealth is either spirited abroad or into the pockets of the 'connected' upper crust.

Statistics show that the Gini coefficient, which measures the gap between rich and poor, is the worst in the world in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana, even after majority rule and the new parties' hollow promises of benefits to the citizens.

23 | Pan Am Flight 103

'Justice is the handmaiden of truth, and when truth dies, justice is buried with it.'

Ravi Zacharias

Bernt Carlsson's mission to halt the rape of mineral-rich Namibia led him to a fiery death when the aircraft he was travelling in exploded over the small Scottish town of Lockerbie.

The true story of that disaster has never been told. But it involved politicians, spies and Big Business – all besmirched with murder. And the only innocent seemed to be the man found guilty of the atrocity. Collateral damage mattered little to the powers who perpetrated the murders discussed in this book in which aeroplanes exploded in the air.

Carlsson's death might have been a case of being in the wrong place at the wrong time and nobody intended killing him. Or, he was the target of those who brought down the plane.

In favour of the first version we can place on record that on 14 November 1991, nearly three years after the Lockerbie tragedy, prosecutors in Scotland and the United States charged two Libyan nationals, Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed al-Megrahi and Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah. It was alleged that they were agents of Libyan intelligence service the Jamahariya Security Organisation (JSO) and at the instance of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi had executed the bombing¹. Allegedly, it was done in retaliation for the US bombing of Tripoli on 14 April 1986 from airbases in Britain, when about 100 civilians were killed, including Gaddafi's favourite two-year-old adopted daughter.

The prosecution claimed that Megrahi and Fhimah arranged for a brown Samsonite suitcase containing a bomb to be placed on Air Malta flight KM180, which left Luqa airport in Malta for Frankfurt on the morning of 21 December 1988. The suitcase was checked in as unaccompanied baggage and tagged for onward transmission, first on a feeder flight from Frankfurt to Heathrow and then on Pan Am Flight 103 from Heathrow to New York's JFK.

The charges against Fhimah, who as station manager for Libyan Arab Airlines in Malta knew his way around Luqa airport, arose because he was alleged to have provided stolen Air Malta luggage tags for this purpose. Made out of Semtex, the bomb was contained in a Toshiba RT-SF 16 radio cassette player. The suitcase also contained clothing items purchased from a shop in Malta, known as Mary's House, in Sliema by Megrahi.

Eventually, the two accused were tried under Scottish law by three Scottish judges at Camp Zeist in the Netherlands. The main witness for the prosecution was Abdul Majid Giaka, a member of the Libyan intelligence service JSO who, a few months before the Lockerbie bombing, offered his services to the CIA. In July 1991 he gave the CIA startling eyewitness evidence connecting Megrahi and Fhimah with the Lockerbie bomb. This was glorious news for the CIA who placed him under witness protection in the US where he has remained ever since.

According to the judgment,² Giaka worked for Libyan Arab Airlines at Luqa airport from December 1985 and knew both Megrahi and Fhimah well. He worked for Fhimah, who was station manager at Luqa from 1985 to October 1988. His importance lay in the fact that he supplied the only eyewitness evidence connecting Megrahi and Fhimah to the bomb, with no uncertainty about identification.

As the judgment recounted³, Giaka said he saw them arriving together at Luqa airport off a flight from Tripoli sometime between October and December 1988. The date was eventually pinned down to 20 December, the day before the bombing took place. Crucially, he said he saw them at the luggage carousel and that Fhimah collected a brown Samsonite suitcase which he took through customs. He also told the CIA that explosives (TNT, not Semtex) that Megrahi supplied had been stored in Libyan Arab Airlines offices for months under Fhimah's control. He had mentioned the explosives to the CIA before but it was not until July 1991 that he associated the two accused with them.

He also said that in 1986 senior JSO figure Said Rashid had asked him whether it would be possible to check in an unaccompanied bag on board a British aircraft at Luqa airport. He replied that it could be done and had later discussed the matter with the first accused, Megrahi. According to the judgment, there was no doubt that the explosive device was contained in a Samsonite case and surrounded by clothes bought at Mary's House in Sliema.

The judgment accepted the prosecution case that the explosive device was made of Semtex, triggered by an MST-13 timer and contained within a Toshiba radio cassette player.⁴ The importance of this is that evidence was advanced to show that MST-13 timers were sold by MEBO AG to Libya⁵ and therefore could be available to Megrahi as a senior JSO figure, which was not disputed.

Tony Gauci, a partner in Mary's House, identified Megrahi as the person who bought the clothes contained in the Samsonite case. The judges held that the suitcase began its journey at Luqa because there is some evidence that an unaccompanied bag from the Luqa flight went through the computer-controlled baggage handling system at Frankfurt airport. However, it is clear that no passenger who came in on the flight from Malta flew out of Frankfurt

to Heathrow. The court found that the baggage-handling records at Frankfurt revealed that the relevant suitcase which arrived on the flight from Luqa was entered into the baggage-handling system for transfer to the London flight.

There were many problems with this evidence as this transit baggage was X-rayed⁶ and no explosive device was found at Frankfurt Airport. There is also evidence that staff at Frankfurt had been warned to look out for explosive devices hidden in radio cassette players, most recently in October 1988. Further, the prosecution did not present evidence that Megrahi put the case on the flight from Luqa to Frankfurt. No explanation was given as to how any unaccompanied bag could be put on any plane at Luqa, as that airport had very stringent safety precautions. The case against Fhimah was totally inadequate. The judges unanimously found Megrahi guilty and acquitted Fhimah on 31 January 2001.

There has been widespread dissatisfaction with this verdict. Books have been written and documentaries produced, most showing that the wrong people were charged and pointing fingers at others. Even so, successive British governments have refused numerous requests for a commission of enquiry. In his 2005 article 'The Lockerbie Trial: A perverse verdict', David Morrison⁷ said, 'It is clear from the judgment itself, without referring to the trial proceedings, that the conviction of Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed al-Megrahi was perverse. In it, the judges relate the prosecution's account of how the Lockerbie bombing might have been carried out – by introducing an unaccompanied bag containing a bomb into the international airline baggage system at Luqa airport in Malta – and conclude that it was done that way, and that it was done by Megrahi. But there is no evidence, let alone conclusive evidence, that a bomb was introduced at Luqa airport and no conclusive evidence connecting Megrahi with the bomb.'

Morrison explained that just over a week before the Lockerbie bomb, on 13 December 1988, a diplomat at the US Embassy in Moscow signed an 'administrative notice' for the benefit of all embassy personnel with a sinister warning. 'The embassy has been notified by the national flight authorities that an unidentified individual phoned a US diplomatic service in Europe on 5 December 1988 and claimed a bomb would be planted on a Pan Am flight from Frankfurt to the US sometime in the next two weeks ...'

The Federal Aviation Administration passed on the warning to the US Department of State as well as the affected airline and airports. It must have triggered extra security at Pan Am luggage areas to check every piece of baggage, especially on the route from Frankfurt to the US. As Morrison said in his article, Margaret Thatcher authorised the use of airbases in Britain, and to everyone's surprise, Lockerbie was not mentioned in her 900-page tome, *The Downing Street Years*.

Of the predicted Libyan retaliation for the bombing she said '... it [the

US bombing of Tripoli] turned out to be a more decisive blow against Libyan-sponsored terrorism than I could ever have imagined. ... There were revenge killings of British hostages organized by Libya, which I bitterly regretted. But the much vaunted Libyan counter-attack did not and could not take place. Gadaffi had not been destroyed but he had been humbled. There was a marked decline in Libyan sponsored terrorism.⁸

So the Lockerbie bombing was framed in court as a Libyan counter-attack but even though her book was published in 1993, long after the two Libyans were charged, Thatcher omitted all details. Morrison did not believe in a Libyan connection. There were holes and irregularities galore in the trial. When speaking to the CIA prior to July 1991, even when they asked him if he knew anything about the possibility of the bomb which blew up PA103 being sent from Luqa, main witness for the prosecution Abdul Majid Giaka did not mention the accused's link with the bomb.

It became clear that key witness Giaka's CIA handlers sent cables about him back to Langley from August 1988 onwards. Later, these were heavily censored, with large portions blacked out. They were a bonanza for the defence, revealing that Giaka had been working for the CIA since mid-1988 and by 1 September 1989 CIA handlers were highly critical of him and the lack of important information he was able to give them. He is described as a man in the business of selling information for his own benefit; as someone who will never have the penetration of Libyan intelligence services that had been anticipated; as someone who had never been a true member of Libyan intelligence; and as someone whose CIA salary of \$1,000 a month should be cut off if he supplied no significant information.

Morrison explained that by 1 September 1989 Giaka had still not given the CIA the crucial evidence incriminating Megrahi and Fhimah. The unedited cables were the nemesis of Giaka when he gave evidence from 26 to 28 September. Scotland's Lord Advocate, who led for the Crown at the trial, told the Court there was nothing in the cables that had any relevance to the Lockerbie disaster or the credibility of Giaka. Morrison called it a bare-faced lie by the chief law officer of the Crown in Scotland. 'The uncensored cables revealed, among other things, that the CIA believed Giaka to be in the business of selling information for his own benefit. One doesn't have to be a lawyer, let alone the chief law officer in Scotland, to recognise that this "impinges upon the credibility" of Giaka as a witness, as did other matters from the uncensored cables. A witness in court who is caught out lying can be charged with perjury and even jailed, but the chief law officer of the Crown in Scotland can apparently lie with impunity.'

In most jurisdictions lawyers who lie to courts are inevitably struck off the roll. The Lord Advocate was instructed by the Court 'to use his best endeavours to ensure that the information in the unedited cables was

disclosed to the defence'. The CIA agreed to hand over the full version and as Morrison said, 'The credibility of any witness should be of concern to prosecuting authorities. The more so when he is the key witness in the biggest murder trial in British history with profound geopolitical implications. Even more so when he is a former member of Libyan intelligence who has defected to the CIA and who stood to receive \$4 million of reward money from the US government if his evidence was instrumental in securing a conviction for the Lockerbie bombing.' The judges rejected Giaka 'as a credible and reliable witness on any matter except his description of the organisation of the JSO and the personnel involved there'.

Another important witness was Tony Gauci whose evidence linked the clothing in the bomb suitcase with Megrahi who he said had bought the clothes.⁹ His identification evidence became vital as, once Giaka was discredited, there was nothing linking Megrahi with the bomb. Although Gauci picked out Megrahi at an identification parade at Camp Zeist this had no evidential value as he had seen so many photographs of him over the years. In fact the differences in appearance were stark. When first interviewed by the police, he said that the purchaser was six feet or more in height and aged 50 whereas Megrahi is 5'8" in height and in December 1988 he was 36 years old.

Despite this the judges accepted the identification. Morrison was heavily sarcastic of this finding. 'Tony Gauci picked out, in one way or another, three different people who resembled the purchaser. But, most important of all, he wasn't sure that any of them was the purchaser. Because Megrahi looked like the purchaser, according to Gauci's evidence, and conceivably might have been the purchaser, the judges have elevated that possibility into a certainty and declared him to be the purchaser.'

The trial preparations led to economic sanctions being imposed on Libya for most of the 90s at the behest of Britain and the US in an attempt to force Libya to hand over the accused for trial. Morrison hinted at perjury and suggested that the CIA supplied Giaka with the 'evidence' incriminating Megrahi and Fhimah and dangled a carrot of a \$4 million reward in front of him if he performed well enough at a trial to get them convicted.

The Scottish judges' handling of the case also was harshly criticised in an article headlined 'UN claims Lockerbie trial rigged; Court was politically influenced by US' appearing in the *Sunday Herald* (Scotland) on 8 April 2001. German jurist Dr Hans Kochler, who attended the trial, suggested that the trial was rigged and maintained that Megrahi's guilty verdict was arbitrary and irrational. He said the presence in court of two US Department of Justice state prosecutors was irregular. The impression was given that they were 'supervisors' and were handling vital matters of the prosecution strategy and deciding, in certain cases, which documents were to be released in open court or what was to be withheld.

He mentioned the censored CIA documents and said this distasteful episode seriously damaged the integrity of the whole legal procedure. Kochler spoke of a consistent pattern during the whole trial of political interests resulting in substantial information being withheld from the court. He maintained that almost all the prosecution's key witnesses were proven to lack credibility to a high extent, and said the verdict was based exclusively on circumstantial evidence while not one single piece of material evidence linked Megrahi to the crime.

On 14 March 2002 five judges rejected the appeal, ruling unanimously that none of the grounds of appeal were well founded, adding emphatically that the proceedings were then to all intents and purposes at an end. Soon after, a helicopter took Megrahi from Camp Zeist to serve his life sentence in Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow. There had been other pockets of outrage throughout the trial and, at the beginning of 2003, former South African president, President Nelson Mandela, asked the Church of Scotland's leading expert, Dr John Cameron, to re-examine the whole record. The result was a scathing report on the forensic experts and the evidence they presented. This had no effect save to swell the sense of public unease all over the world.

The next body to be approached was the Scottish Criminal Cases Review Commission, which after many years concluded there was evidence that a miscarriage of justice might have occurred. Cancer intervened and on 20 August 2009, Megrahi was granted compassionate release, only once he had given notice that he was not proceeding with his appeal. Anxious about further revelations tainting the proceedings and also implicating others, his death probably came as a relief to the prosecuting authorities and the governments involved.

While the trial was proceeding, the world was swamped with books and films with different versions of the causes of the bomb being placed on Pan Am Flight 103 and the real perpetrators' identity. *The Maltese Double Cross – Lockerbie* is a 1994 documentary film about the bombing, produced, written and directed by Allan Francovich and financed by Tiny Rowland.¹⁰ Although not widely distributed, the film stirred up much controversy – particularly in the United Kingdom. The film discussed evidence and witnesses that would eventually figure at the trial in 2000. Oswald LeWinter, a CIA operative, said the appointment of 'Libyan dirty tricks expert', Vincent Cannistraro, to head the CIA's team investigating Lockerbie 'would be funny, if it were not an obscenity'.

An article, entitled 'Lockerbie documentary demolishes Maltese key witness's testimony', appearing in *Malta Today* on 28 February 2012, reported that key witness Tony Gauci and his brother Paul were paid some US\$3 million to keep up their testimony that Abdelbaset al-Megrahi had purchased clothes from Mary's House shop. Gauci was found to have met Scottish detectives as

many as 50 times, while the prosecution's case was being prepared, making 23 formal statements. He repeatedly changed his account, including identifying people who looked like known Middle Eastern terrorists.

A stunning article headlined 'Former police chief says Lockerbie evidence faked' appeared on 28 August 2005 in *The Scotsman*. After Megrahi's appeal before a bench of five Scottish judges was dismissed in 2002, a retired high-ranking Scottish police officer told Megrahi's legal team that 'the key piece of evidence, a circuit board fragment from a timing device that implicated Libya [and Megrahi] had been planted by US agents'. This was allegedly found in a wooded area many miles from Lockerbie. 'The fragment was later identified by the FBI's Thomas Thurman as being part of a sophisticated timer device used to detonate explosives. Thurman has been revealed as a fraud who had given false evidence in American murder trials. He had little in the way of scientific qualifications.'

The same paper reported that in 2003, a retired CIA officer gave a statement to Megrahi's lawyers in which he alleged evidence had been planted. Ten years earlier, in June 1995, Member of Parliament Tam Dalyell declared in the British parliament, 'I have been driven to the conclusion that the device was a CIA plant.'

These disclosures would most certainly have prevented the Libyan from being convicted of mass murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. When asked why he had not come forward before, the senior officer admitted he had been wary of breaking ranks, afraid of being vilified.

So his lack of courage resulted in the most spectacular travesty of justice. Dr Jim Swire, whose daughter Flora was killed in the bombing, publicly expressed his belief in Megrahi's innocence. He said it was right that all relevant information should be put to the Scottish Criminal Cases Review Commission for thorough examination.

Apart from the evidence that the Libyans were not guilty, there also have been suggestions that US drug enforcement officers were on board the flight and the bomb was placed to eliminate them. What needs to be considered in the current context is whether the actual target on the Lockerbie flight was Bernt Carlsson.

24 | The plot thickens

‘The world’s most elusive criminal is the government.’

Tamerlan Kuzgov

Was there a South African link to the Lockerbie disaster? Nobody has researched the facts of the Lockerbie tragedy better than diplomat and civil servant Patrick Haseldine. A summary of his theory was published in a Facebook article in March 2011. He noted South Africa’s continued occupation of Namibia while exploiting its valuable mineral resources in violation of international law. ‘Carlsson had already issued a clear warning to the companies and countries that were flouting the UN prohibition on exploiting Namibia’s minerals (especially uranium and diamonds) that he intended to take legal action against them.’

He presented the argument that Iran was responsible for blowing up Flight 103 as it was one of the countries facing prosecution because, as well as owning 15% of the Rössing Uranium Mine, it was receiving shipments of Namibian uranium to develop its nuclear programme. ‘In targeting Pan Am Flight 103, therefore, Iran not only avenged Iran Air Flight 655 but also took out the one individual at the United Nations with the power to prosecute the companies Rio Tinto Group (joint owner of the Rössing Uranium Mine) and De Beers (owner of CDM diamond mines) and countries such as Iran and South Africa that were in breach of UN law.’

Pik Botha’s party could not fly South African Airways (SAA) directly to New York from Johannesburg because the 1986 US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act banned SAA flights from landing in America. In a question-and-answer session Haseldine said the Iranians relied on their South African friends to ensure Carlsson would travel on Pan Am Flight 103 of 21 December 1988.

Haseldine was asked if it was the Iranians or the South Africans that put the bomb in Bernt Carlsson’s checked-in suitcase while it was unsupervised at Heathrow. His view was that this was masterminded by the apartheid regime’s superspy Major Craig Williamson. He said Iran’s revenge attack was executed by South Africa’s CCB Europe Branch (based in London), whose operatives substituted the ‘bomb bag’ for Bernt Carlsson’s suitcase at Heathrow Airport. No trace of his suitcase was ever found.

Haseldine does not provide any proof of Iran’s involvement. He accused the CCB’s Lt-Col Eben Barlow as having overseen the Lockerbie bombing.

Despite these damning allegations, Craig Williamson and the other South Africans have never instituted proceedings, including defamation, against Haseldine. Williamson's part in Sweden's Olof Palme's killing has been discussed and we deal with him once more in another chapter. However, it is telling to explore the London-based Europe branch of South Africa's CCB and its leader Eeben Barlow.

Barlow calls South Africa his adopted country and appears to have British origins. He loved war as a child and his father and uncles were decorated in World War II. He joined the South African Defence Force and was commissioned into the Engineer Corps which was employed in the Angolan war from 1975 onwards. In his book, *Executive Outcomes – Against all odds*,¹ Barlow said, 'America initially provided assistance to the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] but later, for reasons of its own, switched its support to UNITA. At that time it was speculated that it was because UNITA controlled the Angolan diamond-rich areas. South Africa also chose to assist UNITA, despite the fact it [the Mozambican rebel group] was supporting SWAPO. Again rumours were rife that it was because of diamonds.'

Barlow bemoaned the fact that he was initially involved in construction work because he longed for action. He managed to join the notorious 32 Battalion – a clandestine infantry unit virtually unknown to the wider South African public. 'It was this battalion, however, that bore the brunt of South Africa's war in Angola.' Warned that no-one received medals, he told the commander, 'I'm not a political or religious animal. I don't care who's governing the country. I just want to soldier.'² His unit fought behind lines and they revelled in the enemy slaughter.

Graduating from this killing spree Barlow was asked to join the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC), a department of the SA Military Intelligence Division in 1982. Having established his credentials earlier in his book as an apolitical killer he said, 'For me the enemy had changed from SWAPO and FAPLA to the ANC and MK with the SACP ... but specifically Botswana in my case.' By 1985 the ANC were well established in Botswana and destabilising that country fell under the DCC's subsection C, for which Barlow was responsible. He had attended school in Francistown and knew something of the terrain. Barlow learned that the Botswana Defence Force was turning a blind eye to the ANC activities and in the past had even given them clandestine support.

De Beers has had interests in Botswana from 1955 when it began exploration work. In his book *Diamonds, Dispossession and Democracy in Botswana*,³ Kenneth Good sketched the beginning of a symbiotic relationship between the government and the multinational diamond giant. He explained how the discovery of incredibly valuable diamond deposits at Orapa, Letlhakane, Jwaneng, Damtshaa and Gope had changed the country forever. De Beers

Botswana Mining Company (Debswana), an equal share arrangement with the Botswana Government, was established in 1969. The mines were prolific and the value of diamond exports rose from \$43 million in 1976 to some \$1,400 million in the mid-1990s, which represented 35% of Botswana's GDP. Good said, 'From the outset, diamonds, the De Beers corporation, economic growth and the government have been closely interlinked in Botswana.'⁴

A report published in 2009 by independent NGO, the Bench Marks Foundation, entitled *Corporate Social Responsibility in the Diamond Mining Industry in Botswana*, and written by David van Wyk, said, 'Shortly after independence in 1966, De Beers paid Botswana \$20 million for a diamond concession in 1969, which reportedly returned \$60 million in profits a year. In other words, the payback period was four months!'

According to the report, this huge wealth did not benefit the average Batswana. 'For the period 1993–2003, some 50% of the Botswana population lived on less than \$2 a day. Recently the country's Human Development Index was placed lower than Myanmar/Burma. Unemployment remains persistently high at between 24–40% and most devastatingly, at 40% of the adult population, Botswana suffers from the world's highest HIV infection rates.

'The great danger in Botswana is that because of the marriage between De Beers and Botswana, and the dependence of Botswana on a single commodity produced by a single corporation, the state (particularly where a single party has controlled the state for an extended period) begins to behave as if it were a corporation placing the country under the near total control of the state under the management of the dominant party. This perhaps accounts for the fears of ordinary people researchers spoke to and of the media and opposition parties concerning the seeming disintegration of democracy and the militarisation of the state.' We have seen this collaboration between state and the corporate sector elsewhere in Africa.

The report highlighted suggestions of covert collaboration between Botswana, Debswana and the South African National Intelligence Services (NIS), noting that Barlow designed Debswana's security training manuals and provided security training for both De Beers and Debswana between 1990 and 1993. Van Wyk said Debswana ended its relationship with Barlow when Executive Outcomes was contracted by the MPLA government in Angola to fight UNITA in 1993. 'De Beers saw this as a threat to its illicit trade in conflict diamonds with that terrorist organisation.'

Over time Barlow started wondering why he had put his life in danger. 'Years later, while still a soldier, I started to question the motives of the war we were embroiled in. I came to believe we were fighting to gain control of the huge diamond and oil reserves in Angola. We were also fighting to destabilise our African neighbours. I didn't think this could hold any long-term advantages for South Africa.'⁵

Barlow collected intelligence on the ANC and the BDF in Botswana and met Major Gray who worked for Project Barnacle. The apartheid government had been involved in dirty tricks stretching back to the Vorster years as detailed by Gordon Winter in his book *Inside Boss* and by Alan Elsdon in *The Tall Assassin*.

The activities of these shadowy bodies were executed in the greatest secrecy, but with time the facts emerged. De Wet Potgieter explained in his book that Project Barnacle was started as early as April 1979, with Special Forces commander Major General Fritz Loots at the helm. Although its existence was denied, it later transpired the project had the approval of defence chief Magnus Malan. Initially it conducted clandestine operations in support of what were termed Recce missions. Prior to this it was called D40 and involved spies infiltrating enemy ranks who, according to Potgieter, 'had been captured, ruthlessly tortured, threatened or paid to turn on their 'terrie' comrades'. Potgieter explained that documents not shredded showed that Barnacle's primary role by the end of 1980 was 'eliminations'.⁶

In the years to come, premises were acquired from which death squads operated under the command of Dirk Coetzee and Eugene De Kock. Just as one such farm, Vlakplaas, was being set up, Barnacle was given the following orders by the government on 12 December 1980, 'The RSA is in a state of war ... and world opinion notwithstanding ... certain tasks must be carried out in such a manner that they cannot be traced back to the SADF or compromise the government.' The same orders stipulated that Barnacle's tasks should include eliminations, ambushes, information gathering, providing combat intelligence and chemical operations. In April 1986, Barnacle became the notorious Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) with Joe Verster as the man in charge.⁷ In the light of subsequent revelations, we might pause to take especial note of the 'chemical operations' that were authorised.

Wikipedia describes Barlow as 'a retired Lieutenant-Colonel in the South African special forces ... former Europe Director of the shadowy South African Civil Cooperation Bureau in the 1980s, when he was employed by De Beers in London and was responsible for setting up front corporations to evade sanctions such as UN Security Council Resolution 418 which imposed a mandatory arms embargo on apartheid South Africa (1977–1994)'.

Anglo and De Beers had attempted a hostile takeover of Gold Fields and international detective agency Kroll investigated De Beers. The financial chief and director of Gold Fields, Anthony Hitchens, showed author Janine Roberts several volumes of evidence he had stored behind his desk from the Kroll probe.

Hitchens said, 'Do you know that De Beers finance some MI6 operations?' When Roberts pressed him for proof he said his source was confidential. She suspected that it was Kroll since it had links to former intelligence personnel.

Some three years later she learned ‘from an experienced diamond industry researcher and colleague, Laurie Flynn, that De Beers allegedly used a security firm headed by a former member of BOSS, the South African intelligence service, to monitor the movements of its own diamond sorting staff in London’.⁸

While in the CCB, Eeben Barlow, who is recognisable by his one green and one blue eye, was assigned to western Europe. There he was in charge of spreading disinformation against the ANC. For example, he would release propaganda in England that the ANC was working with IRA terrorists. He was also responsible for setting up front corporations to evade sanctions and sell South African weapons abroad. During this time, Barlow is suspected to have made many corporate contacts that would later prove useful. Military historian Al Venter wrote, ‘Barlow was well known to British intelligence ... he had been friends with them in Rhodesia and had used his links to London for sanctions-busting operations while in the CCB.’⁹

The TRC found that the goal of the CCB was ‘to create a global subterranean network of companies that would be both legitimate businesses as well as fronts for operational intelligence ... Joe Verster confirmed the long-term nature of the CCB project. He described the goal as setting up a first line of defence outside the country.’ The TRC went on to quote the CCB as aiming for maximum enemy disruption with five dimensions: ‘death, infiltration, bribery, compromise or blackmail and destruction’. A year before Lockerbie, the CCB put out a secret Year Plan from 1987 onwards. ‘Through covert operations the CCB must disrupt any enemy operations inside and outside the country to the maximum ... 24-hour CCB integrated citizen communications systems should be established.’¹⁰

Again, we might pause to emphasise the operations ‘outside the country’. In his book Barlow said, ‘The top-secret CCB appeared nowhere on the SADF’s organizational charts, and only a select few Special Forces operatives knew of its existence. Its mission was to covertly gather both strategic and tactical intelligence for Special Forces’ operations. It was also authorised to engage “fleeting enemy targets” (targets of opportunity) of strategic and tactical value. It could take whatever action was deemed appropriate, but only with official sanction, unless it was unavoidable. This included assassinations, disinformation, or whatever other means were available to neutralise the enemy.’¹¹

In the chapter on the killing of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme it will be recalled that the psychopathic killer Athol Visser indicated the background to the assassination. Visser said, ‘Just after the new year of 1985–86, I was called back to Pretoria. We’d been in Europe for six months solid and ... I’d by now passed three new team members into Gladio, who were far better at administration than I ever was, while I remained focused on more

“terminal issues”, or the planning thereof ... But back in Pretoria the winds were changing ... Section 6 [the European section of the CCB, headed by Eeben Barlow], meanwhile, had succeeded in achieving its objectives. In a short time we’d befriended and joined forces with Europe’s best-kept secret and now counted them as an ally, while many of Europe’s governments only paid lip service to condemning us.’ It seems possible from this that Barlow had knowledge of Olof Palme’s killing.

Joe Verster, the general officer commanding special forces, told Barlow, ‘I’m aware of some of the operations you have been involved in and I believe you’re either a good actor or you genuinely seem to be fearless ... your mission will be threefold, you will infiltrate or penetrate the enemy’s organization through the use of agents, secondly you will disseminate the intelligence you and your agents gather through your coordinator and finally you will conduct specific specialist operations the other elements of Special Forces cannot do, for whatever reason.’

Verster told Barlow he must be incredibly careful to cover his tracks as the SADF or SA Government would never acknowledge their existence. ‘To my mind I was simply an operative working under the deepest cover I could create and maintain. My “coverts” were my agents who had been recruited by whatever means possible, be it under false flags, coercion, lies or whatever. I would establish my cover ... I would contact some of my old agents in Europe, reactivate them and tell them to expect a meeting in the near future. Until then, they were to come out of hibernation and keep their ears to the ground. If I needed assistance, some of them would be able to provide me with weapons, explosives, vehicles and safe houses.’¹²

Barlow and Gray worked on targets in Botswana and one person they identified was Thami Mnye. On 14 June 1985, South African special forces attacked Gaborone and 14 were killed, including Mnye. Barlow started broadening his network across Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, England and Portugal.¹³ He recruited a British businessman as an agent, saying he suspected he was linked to MI6 and was using South Africa as a safe base to work from.

Barlow then said something most peculiar, ‘During 1988, several apparently unrelated events occurred that had the potential to place South Africa in an even more precarious international position than it was in already. Members of Britain’s elite Special Air Service (SAS) were in Botswana at that time, training the BDF’s Special Support Group. Pan Am Flight 103 was blown out of the sky over Lockerbie, Scotland, on 21 December 1988. In retaliation, the US Air Force launched F-111s strike jets from RAF Lakenheath in England to bomb targets in Libya.’¹⁴

The official version was that the bombing was the work of two Libyans. How did that place South Africa in an ‘even more precarious international

position'? In the following chapters we shall discuss Carlsson's meeting with De Beers, as well as Pik Botha's knowledge of the imminent disaster and his decision to board an earlier flight. If we factor in these circumstances we can see why Barlow worried about the Lockerbie bomb placing South Africa in a 'precarious international position'. All these issues point to South African involvement in Carlsson's death.

We know that Craig Williamson decided to flee South Africa for Botswana in 1976. There he met the head of the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), Lars Gunner Erickson, who gave him a job. The IUEF was founded to finance the education of African students. Among the other directors were Pierre Schori (later Sweden's deputy foreign minister, MEP and ambassador at the UN) and two other leading Social Democrats, Mats Hellström, Sweden's minister for foreign trade, and Bernt Carlsson, secretary-general of the Socialist International from 1976–1983.

So closely did Schori, Hellström and Carlsson work in the IUEF that they became known as 'the three musketeers'. The IUEF gave Williamson access to valuable information that he used to target potential leaders in South Africa for harassment and murder. The ANC debriefed Williamson in 1977 and he infiltrated them. He then took up his position in Geneva, which involved channelling funds clandestinely to anti-apartheid organisations in southern Africa through a network of agents. So Williamson would have been acquainted with Carlsson and in a position to evaluate any actions Carlsson might take, such as recovering the resources taken out of Namibia in contravention of United Nations laws.

Barlow mentioned that ex-Citizen Force sapper officer Nico Palm approached him in 1988 to help him import a UN-prohibited, linear-shaped explosive charge known as 'Dartcord'. These are explosive charges in strip form with a primer and detonator for each. With its chevron cross-section, the Dartcord will blow precision holes through doors, steel and brickwork with minimum effort. Barlow's two agents in England were someone in the import/export business and 'a dapper ex-British army cavalry officer', who facilitated the export of two container loads of Dartcord to South Africa – to the glee of the SADF. Just the sort of equipment needed to blow a hole in the side of a large commercial airliner.

A new assignment now awaited Barlow when he was transferred to a newly established section in DCC known as Section Terrorism. 'Its aim was to gather intelligence on terrorist organisations that posed a threat to South Africa ... My task was to focus on the identification, recruiting and running of agents engaged in terrorist activities. Within a relatively short time, without help from the CCB or the SADF, we took a barren operational region and transformed it into one that boasted 'offices' and agents in Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Lebanon and several other

countries. This gave us access to passports, personalities and even weapons and explosives if we needed them.¹⁵

Barlow explained how he helped MI6 to create a 'propaganda sting' to assist Margaret Thatcher's government to show a link between the IRA and the ANC. Barlow found someone who 'was instrumental in assisting me to get weapons from different countries' into the UK. 'Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was able to stand up and tell the House of Commons that unsailable evidence had come to light of co-operation on the terrorism front between the ANC and IRA. I know that my small role in the operation had achieved a measure of success that would hopefully buy some time for South Africa.'¹⁶ This venture is an excellent example of a false flag operation.

Barlow was scathing about the CCB's operations, saying, 'The true responsibility for the CCB debacle can squarely be laid at the feet of General Malan and General Geldenhuys for forming Region 6 [South Africa] in the first place. It was formed as a sort of "Murder Incorporated" that was sanctioned to operate within the borders of South Africa. Drawn mainly from the South African police, its members were ill equipped to deal with Special Forces operations or covert operations. The internal operations conducted by this regional unit were often absurd and exceeded the bounds of normality. Murders and other criminal activities committed by Region 6 personnel were poorly planned and seemed to have no military benefit ...'

He was suggesting that he would have done it better of course. He said later, 'As explained earlier, intelligence agencies worldwide frequently assassinate enemies of the state abroad. However, it has never been the norm in democratic countries to do the same at home because there is a criminal justice system, supported by the police and the courts, available to deal with offenders.' So is Barlow saying that it is public policy to 'assassinate enemies of the state abroad' and this is no crime? Could the Lockerbie bombing be but one of those instances?¹⁷

Once the CCB was exposed, Barlow moved into the private sector. In 1989, he worked with Simon Mann, a former British SAS officer (and a great cricketer's son) to form the private mercenary company, Executive Outcomes (EO) in South Africa.

EO flew below the radar for some years but in late 1993, Barlow, Mann and Tony Buckingham registered Executive Outcomes (UK) Pty Ltd in London. After 1994, EO was hired in Angola and later Papua New Guinea and Sierra Leone. Consequently, it was on the press radar. Laws were passed against mercenaries in South Africa and EO allegedly closed its doors on 1 January 1999 after 10 years' operations, Barlow having ceased to be its chairman in 1997.

In an August 2004 article entitled 'Tony Blair's Pet Bulldog? The Curious Case of Colonel Tim Spicer', William Bowles dealt with private military

companies and said, 'Barlow, it seems, was based in London during the 1980s and it was his job to disseminate disinformation about the ANC but one can speculate on what other activities he and the other CCB operatives got up to while stationed in Europe, including their involvement in the assassination of the ANC representative in France, Dulcie September, in 1987.'

Apart from its role in assassinating Anton Lubowski, Bowles said the CCB was also involved in the manufacture and distribution of drugs and the Third Force that destabilised South Africa in the run-up to the 1994 elections. 'Dr Wouter Basson (so-called Dr Death) was also part of the CCB operation and behind a CBW [Chemical and Biological Warfare] programme code-named Project Coast.' We will learn much about the controversial Dr Death in subsequent chapters.

Bowles also linked the corporates with Executive Outcomes. 'The activities of EO, the clients it served, and the global transnational corporate elite that included the De Beers diamond cartel, Texaco and Gulf-Chevron reveal the role of mercenary groups like EO, especially in Africa. Much of its income came from doing deals, that is, getting lucrative mining concessions as payment for providing protection or overthrowing governments that got in the way of doing business such as those conducted in Sierra Leone, Angola and DR Congo. And here the connections between EO and companies such as Diamondworks, becomes important, for the close association between EO and the diamond and gold concessions reveals that EO not only got paid cash for supplying mercenary forces, but also obtained lucrative mining concessions as well.'

This brings us to the possibility that Barlow or one of his agents placed the bomb on flight Pan Am 103. Heathrow security guard Ray Manly was doing his rounds on 20/21 December 1988. He wore a warm jacket and raincoat to keep the sniping cold and rain at bay. As he swung his powerful torch in a long arc to examine the outside doors of the baggage warehouses, he saw that the padlock had been cut on security door CP2, which led to the Pan Am baggage area. Haseldine was asked if the break-in had anything to do with the bombing. He quoted what Manly had said at the Lockerbie appeal, 'I believe it would be possible for an unauthorised person to obtain tags for a particular Pan Am flight and then, having broken the CP2 lock, to have introduced a tagged bag into the baggage build up area.'

Manly immediately reported the break-in to the police but the Metropolitan Police did not interview him until 31 January 1989. No mention of the Heathrow break-in was made at the 2000–2001 Lockerbie trial of the two Libyans Megrahi and Fhimah. Nor was it acknowledged during the exhaustive investigations. There was no suggestion of tampering with any machinery or equipment in the luggage zone. So what would a burglar be doing if he was not stealing or interfering with any equipment? The

only reasonable inference seems to be that he was placing something inside. Perhaps he was sneaking a bag on board so that it would be carried free to America for collection by a friend or relative. But there was no trace of anyone who expected such a bag on the US side and no indication that this practice had ever taken place before.

Ostensibly, the officers who interviewed Manly did not pursue the lead or pass on the information to the persons conducting the investigation. His account of the break-in at Heathrow remained hidden for more than 12 years, then suddenly made front page news on 11 September 2001 in the *Scottish Mirror* and was carried by BBC News that morning at 8:42. It is no surprise that this news was not discussed much as that day was the tragic 9/11 crash in New York.

Nicola Hall was booked on the evening flight Pan Am 103, departing Heathrow at 18:00. As she had arrived on SAA the previous night she must have collected her baggage and then moved to the terminal where Pan Am had its departure lounge. When she departed her suitcase did not accompany her. It had been transferred at Heathrow to the morning flight Pan Am 101 and arrived safe and sound in New York later that evening. The first possibility was that the suitcase was wrongly identified as part of Pik Botha's delegation and included with the group's luggage. Given that they were all in business class and were clearly a separate group, that was unlikely. Pan Am security officer Michael Jones later established that SAA was involved in unlawfully switching baggage that day when Nicola's bag was placed on the earlier Pan Am 101 flight.

The Pan Am 103 was a Clipper Maid of the Seas and carried eight containers of passenger luggage. Seven of these were filled with suitcases checked in at Heathrow and sorted into containers in the large baggage build-up shed at the airport. The eighth was container AVE4041 that had been partially loaded at the Interline Baggage Shed and filled outside on the tarmac, taking luggage directly from the Pan Am feeder flight (Pan Am 103A) which had arrived late from Frankfurt, with only 20 minutes to spare. Without entering the terminal buildings, that container was sent straight to the adjacent stand where transatlantic flight Pan Am 103 was preparing to depart.¹⁸

Baggage handler John Bedford's police statements reveal that when he set up the container to receive luggage for Pan Am 103, there were already two suitcases sitting beside the x-ray machine. He duly placed the cases in the container at the back, to the extreme left of the flat part of the floor, upright with the handles up. During the afternoon another four or five cases arrived, which he added to the line he had begun, working from left to right. At about 4.15 pm, as all was quiet, he went for a tea break with his supervisor Peter Walker.

The only luggage that could possibly have arrived in the shed before Bedford set up the container just after 2pm was Bernt Carlsson's single grey Presikhaaf hardshell suitcase and Nicola Hall's suitcase. However, Nicola Hall's suitcase had been sent to New York on Pan Am 101 which left at mid-day.

So, what was the other suitcase Bedford saw and who had put it there? One strong probability is that the person breaking in placed a suitcase with a bomb on the Pan Am container and that Nicola Hall's suitcase was illegally moved to the earlier flight, so the baggage tally would be correct. The claim of the warning to Pik Botha and his entourage, coupled with the pressurising of Bernt Carlsson to go via London, strongly suggest that there was a South African connection to the Lockerbie deaths and that Carlsson was the real target.

Another possibility is that Carlsson's luggage was opened and tampered with. In Peter Harris's book¹⁹ *In a Different Time – the inside story of the Delmas four*, he deals with the manufacture and delivery of a bomb, which finally killed human rights attorney Bheki Mlangeni on 15 February 1991.

On 2 May 1996 the TRC heard evidence from his widow Sepati about how Bheki was killed by an explosive device, meant for former Vlakplaas Security Police commander Captain Dirk Coetzee. Coetzee fled to Lusaka after exposing alleged hit squad activities at the Vlakplaas police base and testifying before the Harms Commission. His political masters had devised the plan to send the bomb to him in London to silence him permanently. Because the parcel was declined by Coetzee it was returned to the purported sender, the unfortunate human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

She said her husband received a call from his office telling him that a package was waiting to be collected. After fetching the parcel, which was addressed to Coetzee at the ANC's Lusaka headquarters and purported to come from Mlangeni, he took his wife to the cinema and then to a tearoom for a drink. At the tearoom, Mlangeni opened the parcel and found a cassette player with headphones and a cassette with 'evidence of hit squads' written on the outside. When they returned home, Mlangeni connected the earphones to the cassette player. Sepati heard a big explosion and saw her husband drop slowly to the floor of their Soweto home.

Sepati said her husband's killers had been identified in the murder trial of former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock. While De Kock had not admitted to the murder, former Vlakplaas operatives testified to seeing earphones packed with explosives placed on the heads of pigs and then detonated. Coetzee told the Harms Commission he had received the package, but said he was suspicious of it and returned it to the sender.

According to Harris, Japie F Kok worked in the mechanical department of the security branch of the South African Police in Rebecca Street, Pretoria.

Colonel Waal du Toit was the commander of this office and according to one of his former colleagues, he 'made the most beautiful little devices'. This occurred in the mid- to late-1980s and would cover the period before 21 December 1988 when the Lockerbie bombing took place.

In this witches' cauldron of an office 'unofficial devices' were made: special phone taps, booby traps, silencers, timing devices, detonators, grenades without the time delay. 'Here too containers are specially constructed to carry carefully designed weapons of assassination: poisons made of various toxins and poison dispensers, and, of course, bombs. Parcel bombs, letter bombs, letter-box bombs, limpet-mine bombs, fire bombs, bombs powerful enough to blow up buildings and bombs designed merely to blow off your hand. Bombs in all shapes, forms, intensity and guises.'

According to Harris, the weapon of choice for the bomb in question, that killed Bheki Mlangeni, was an explosive known as Pentaerythritol Tetranitrate or P4, a durable substance like Prestik, that travels well and can be compressed in small compartments. Having no metal components, it cannot be picked up by standard detectors. P4 is immensely powerful and does not need a bulky casing – five to ten grams are enough. The bomb is designed to be placed in a small compartment, such as a cassette player or tape recorder. These bombs kill individuals and are bombs potentially designed to bring down airliners and kill pesky UN administrators hell-bent on redistributing wealth in a small country with great mineral resources.

The final proof, if that is indeed necessary, lies in a leading Austrian newspaper from the mid-1990s. In his 2015 book *Coup d'Etat in Slow Motion: The Murder of Olof Palme*, author Ole Dammegård wrote, 'Investigations by the Austrian newspaper *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, proved that in fact South African agents had placed a specially-prepared bomb in Bernt Carlsson's small tape recorder. By blowing up a whole passenger plane in the air, the motive was hidden very effectively, because the investigators had no possibility of knowing which one of the passengers was the target.'

People walking the Vienna streets on 6 October 1996 would have seen placards on lamp poles screaming the headline 'Pan Am mystery Lockerbie – it was South Africa! ... As Well as Olof Palme'. Quickly turning to page 4 of *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, readers would have seen a huge article with photographs of Bernt Carlsson and the wreck of Pan Am Flight 103. A small inset showed a radio-cassette player of the type mentioned in the piece. The article said, 'The revelation a few days ago had an explosive effect: two senior people in the dirty tricks' department of the apartheid regime said independently in court, and while being filmed, that Sweden's Olof Palme had been the victim of a South African murder plot in February 1986.

'Truly sensational: a big murder mystery appeared finally to have been solved! All of which helped explain an even bigger terrorist murder mystery:

that South Africa was also behind the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie in Scotland in December 1988. Sweden's Social Democratic Party gave *Kronen Zeitung* access to insider information which confirmed that it was neither Gaddafi, nor Iran, nor Syria that bombed the US jumbo jet, but instead that – as with Olof Palme, as well as the Lockerbie bombing – the trail leads to the same plotters: the South African apartheid regime!

The article's next paragraph is headed 'South African, dirty tricks' and stated that Bernt Carlsson, a close colleague of Olof Palme, who was seated on the plane, had been an archenemy of the apartheid regime. The piece posited that the South African secret services wanted those two Swedish Social Democrats dead because the 'dyed-in-the-wool' anti-apartheid Swedes were alleged to be supplying arms, via socialist routes, to the ANC. 'These had to be secret operations because, officially, the Socialist International only offered non-military aid to the South African freedom fighters of the ANC and SWAPO.'

Another explosive revelation was that Bernt Carlsson was allegedly in the habit of carrying a tape recorder with him to record conversations with his interlocutors surreptitiously. 'This was one of the main reasons that Willy Brandt, the Socialist International president, was said to have wanted Bernt Carlsson to stand down in 1983.'

The article trumpets the truth of the perpetrators of the Lockerbie tragedy, 'Having been removed from the Socialist International, Carlsson continued with secret underground contacts. It would have been easy for South African secret service agents, who had infiltrated Sweden's anti-apartheid movement, to exchange Carlsson's tape recorder in a hotel room against one containing the bomb. And then placing it inside one of those "ubiquitous" Samsonite suitcases so beloved by the peripatetic Bernt Carlsson.'

25 | A cloak-and-dagger meeting

‘The very word ‘secrecy’ is repugnant in a free and open society; and we are as a people inherently and historically opposed to secret societies, to secret oaths, and to secret proceedings.’

John F Kennedy

One of the keys to unravelling the last movements of Bernt Carlsson is a series of three articles written by ace sleuth and journalist Jan-Olof Bengtsson, political editor of *Kvällsposten* newspaper in Malmö, Sweden. The articles appeared in Sweden’s *iDAG* newspaper in mid-March 1990, but for our purposes, we discuss only the first two.¹

In the article, ‘Stressed and nervous before death crash’, Bengtsson wrote, ‘... at 11.06 am on 21 December 1988 he [Carlsson] arrived in London on flight BA391. Strictly speaking he was meant to fly directly from Brussels to New York in time for the historic signing of the Namibia Independence Agreement the day after. But Bernt Carlsson could not make it. He had a meeting. An important meeting with a “pressuriser” from the South African diamond cartel, which was so secret that evidently not even Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, UN secretary-general, knew anything about it.’

Bengtsson said that when Carlsson died in the Pan Am bombing, he was less than 24 hours away from fulfilling his dreams with the signing of the Namibia agreement in New York. He had ‘great support from SWAPO but much less so from South Africa because of that country’s substantial economic interests in Namibia, an interest in gold, uranium but above all in diamonds’. At the memorial, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar described the last day of the life of Bernt Carlsson and added, ‘He stopped briefly in London to honour a long-standing invitation by a non-governmental organisation with interests in Namibia.’

The incisive journalist said that Pérez de Cuéllar was wrong. While Bernt Carlsson’s trip to Brussels had indeed been planned almost six months earlier, ‘his decision to return to New York via London was only made on 16 December 1988. The meeting in London was definitely not a long-standing invitation by Namibia sympathisers. This was about a secret meeting with a “pressuriser” from De Beers.’

Someone must have told Pérez de Cuéllar that there was a ‘long-standing invitation’ from an NGO with interests in Namibia, which was a lie. Whoever spoke to him wanted him to hide the truth that Carlsson was in fact meeting

De Beers. Presumably at this stage all the horse-trading over the free and fair elections and independence in Namibia had taken place as the agreements were to be signed the next day. Bengtsson continued, 'But why a secret meeting with the diamond cartel in London? A meeting which to all intents and purposes he did not want to have but was forced to.'

Carlsson would not want to be seen meeting with a major player in the negotiations for the new and free Namibia. The fact that he was cajoled into having the meeting is suspicious.

According to Bengtsson, Carlsson received a telephone call from the 'pressuriser' in London at his United Nations office in New York around 8 or 9 December. He explained how on the morning of 16 December, the day on which the travel arrangements were changed, Bernt Carlsson met an old friend who came to see him. The friend was Weine Karlsson, department head at Stockholm University, who told Bengtsson, 'In the early morning we sat talking in Bernt's office. But after only a few minutes he became uneasy and asked me to go and wait in another room of the office. He had something urgent to deal with. It is possible that it had something to do with the trip. He said that "important business needs to be done". He was away for about half an hour.' Whatever he was discussing on the phone was so confidential that he could not even tell his old friend. The obvious topic was the change of plan which involved him flying from Brussels to London instead of New York.

Bengtsson related what Weine Karlsson told him. 'We all know that Bernt was very unobtrusive. Shy almost. Only, now and again he exploded. As when suddenly he said to me, "You've got no idea what polished gangsters (South Africans) we are dealing with here".' So this shy and unobtrusive man has been told something that makes him very angry. 'Polished gangsters' has a poetic ring to it. Rogues are often stigmatised as 'rough diamonds'. A 'polished' gangster could mean someone who has connections with the diamond trade. Possibly someone who dresses well and is cultured. With the historic Namibia agreements in place to be signed in New York, what was said must have had a bearing on them for Carlsson to change his plans so as to meet the South Africans in London before travelling to New York. By calling them 'gangsters', the obvious inference is that he was not only angry with them but feared them.

Continuing, Bengtsson said, 'On 19 December, Bernt leaves New York for Brussels to make his speech in the European Parliament the next day. The visit was arranged by David Lowe, now with the Socialist International. Right up to this interview, he has felt "guilt-ridden" and convinced that it was he who "enticed" Carlsson to go to Europe and therefore is "indirectly responsible for his death on the plane". But when Lowe learns about the secret meeting in London, he is calm again.'

Lowe told Bengtsson that after Carlsson made his speech before the

Development Committee they went for lunch with friends. At about 3 pm, 'Bernt suddenly said that he had to check out as he had to meet "some friends" in London. I thought to myself, Good Lord, he has all this going on in New York. He will be even more tired than he is already. I remember thinking he was mad and why not go directly to New York for the signing of the agreement? I gathered he would catch a flight from Brussels to London at about 5 pm that evening.'

Given that Carlsson had already complained about 'polished gangsters', when he spoke of seeing 'some friends' in London, the probabilities favour that he was being sarcastic as he did not want the meeting.

Bengtsson explained that Carlsson 'lied' to his friend Lowe, because he actually stayed in Brussels that afternoon and night, only arriving in London the day after on 21 December. The journalist telephoned his old colleagues at the Namibia office, but none of them wished to talk about the meeting with the mysterious diamond cartel 'pressuriser'. One said something that could not possibly be true, 'All I know is that Bernt Carlsson was travelling to London to meet representatives of an NGO (in this case organisations friendly towards Namibia),' is the version of Malthi Ranin who was his secretary at the time. One gets the impression that she was a Namibian, possibly supplied to him by the old regime in South West Africa.

Bengtsson's newspaper *iDAG* had a private memorandum to Bernt Carlsson from his own office in New York: 'Mr Timothy says he will be waiting for you as soon as you get through the tunnel. Your meeting will finish in time for your next arrangement at 2 pm. He will also provide a car to take you round.' It will be recalled from earlier in this chapter that he arrived at 11.06 am from Brussels. Assuming Carlsson would take half an hour to clear customs and immigration, he would have been collected just before 12 noon. So the cynical will see that all is in place for a meeting, whether necessary or not, and the all-important flight that Carlsson must be on.

Timothy would have Carlsson ready by 2 pm 'for this next arrangement'. Clearly Carlsson was seeing someone else before returning to the airport. Even if he saw another person for an hour or two he would still have been in time for his evening flight. Heathrow Airport records show that at 6.25 pm exactly the control tower gave Pan Am Flight 103 permission to take off on the long flight to New York.

When one learns of the company 'Mr Timothy' worked for, the extent of the contradiction becomes apparent. Bengtsson did his homework on Bankole Timothy. 'Not much is known about him. Just another name 'working for the diamond cartel. But one who does know something about him is Randolph Vigne, secretary of the Namibia Support Committee.'

Vigne told the Swedish journalist that Bankole Timothy had worked for the De Beers PR department for 15 to 20 years. He said, 'I understand they

pensioned him off but called him back when the independence of Namibia suddenly started accelerating. They probably felt they needed someone like him with contacts.'

Vigne did not explain why Timothy was needed but it had to do with securing the rights of De Beers after independence. That this would have had to be the broad objective arises from the fact that since the 1920s De Beers had been in undisturbed possession and had nothing to fear until majority rule. Vigne continued, 'I don't think he works for them anymore. I believe he had a temporary assignment which is now completed.' In December Timothy would have been 65 years old and doubtless ready for retirement. Was Bernt Carlsson that temporary assignment?

Born on 3 July 1923, Emanuel Bankole Timothy lived a full life and died more than 70 years later on 20 June 1994, a few months after South Africa became a democracy. Although he is described as a Sierra Leonean journalist who was editor of the *Daily Graphic* in Accra for many years, he was much more than that. He was a prodigious writer and penned biographies of Albert Margai, prime minister of Sierra Leone (1964–67) and Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana (1960–66). He was immersed in the world of intelligence and diamonds. His first assignment was in 1941 as a clerk in the confidential branch of the Colonial Secretary's Office. One of his more important assignments was the perennial problem of illicit diamond-buying. The diamond industry became an integral part of his exciting career. He would later join the Diamond Corporation West Africa Limited.

Timothy appears to have had two faces, one highly principled and religious and the other mysterious and sinister. He moved easily from pioneering idealist and critic of imperialism to advocate of greed and corporate manipulation. Timothy saw the past suffering of his people under colonialism and yet embraced a future that perpetuated just this.

In 1965 he was appointed to the Diamond Corporation West Africa Limited and a short while later left Freetown for London. The leadership of De Beers harnessed Timothy's communication skills and understanding of problems and issues relating to developing Africa for their own ends. His West African connections meant that he played a central role in strengthening Diamond Corporation West Africa Limited's relationship – as part of De Beers' Central Selling Organisation (CSO) – with the major West African producers. In a nearly three-decade career he briefed senior management on West African affairs until his retirement in July 1993. Timothy's political acumen helped the London Diamond Companies deal with the African correspondents of the UK press. And his excellent contacts in UK and foreign diplomatic circles opened doors to bolster the London Diamond Companies' image.

Bengtsson phoned Timothy to try to establish what Carlsson's meeting

with De Beers was about. He described the telephone conversation as brief and aggressive.

His first question was, 'Could you tell me what you and Bernt Carlsson talked about when you met in London on 21 December 1988?' Timothy replied tersely, 'I am sorry. I am very, very sorry but I have nothing to say about it.' It was an unusual response. Timothy was not denying that such a meeting took place but seemed to be harassed and almost guilty about the fact that they met. Bengtsson tried again. 'You do not want ... (we are interrupted).' Timothy shouted, 'Do not disturb me anymore. I am going out. I don't know how you got my number. I'm going out and you start asking questions about ...'

Timothy's reluctance to speak was all the more surprising given that he was also a man of the cloth. Bengtsson tenaciously persisted and asked, 'You met Bernt Carlsson on the morning of 21 December and (we are interrupted)'. Timothy said, 'Don't disturb me anymore. What are you on about?' (screams) I don't know who you are. And you want to interview me on the phone. I have no comments to make!

If the purpose of the meeting was innocent, the response was most peculiar. Even if De Beers was putting pressure on Carlsson to move from the position of the agreements to be signed the next day, it was something that Timothy should have had no problem discussing. However, if the purpose was not innocent, and the reason was to get Carlsson on the death flight, then his rage and abruptness are understandable. If the meeting's intent was indeed innocuous, then we must also question why it was arranged in cloak-and-dagger style and untruthfully said to be with an NGO. What compelled Carlsson to change his flight plans and return to New York via London?

Bengtsson mentioned a phone call Carlsson made from the airport to his friend and Socialist International's then secretary-general, Pentti Väänänen, at about 5.30 pm on the evening he was killed. 'They exchanged Christmas greetings and talked a little about the Namibia agreement. Carlsson did not tell Väänänen who he had seen in London. Asked how Väänänen would describe his (Carlsson's) frame of mind he said, "If you want me to tell you in just a few words, he sounded nervous."' Bengtsson could not understand why Carlsson would be nervous and suggested he might be excited as he was close to the climax of his life with the Namibia agreement to be signed the next day.

We know from this information that Timothy had made sure Carlsson was at the airport by 5.30 pm. Clearly it was important that he should not miss the flight.

The second iDAG article about Bernt Carlsson was published on 13 March 1990 and was headed 'Beware Christmas Parcel Bombs'. It was subtitled The Safe was Empty – Who broke the seal to Bernt Carlsson's Apartment? Bengtsson wrote, 'When Bernt Carlsson's safe was opened six

days after the Pan Am explosion, those present had a minor shock: the safe was empty! Despite the fact that the office had been sealed on 21 December 1988, and his private apartment the day after, by the UN's own security staff.'

In the days before Bernt Carlsson made the trip to London, he was uneasy. Bengtsson spoke to his girlfriend, Sanya Popovic. She told Bengtsson, 'December was like clouded in a nightmare. [Bernt] became increasingly nervous. He said if I received a parcel I was not to open it under any circumstances. This was on 17 December. He said people usually start getting parcels at this time, it being Christmas. But unless I knew who sent it, I was not to open it.' A few points need to be emphasised. Firstly, that she regarded December as a nightmare with Carlsson becoming increasingly nervous. We can assume that he feared for his safety. This is fortified by his warning not to open any parcel as it might contain a bomb. That was on 17 December and being near the festive season people usually received gifts in the post. We know that on a previous occasion there had been a warning about a bomb on a plane.

In investigating Carlsson's murder, Scottish police detective John Crawford stated in his book *The Lockerbie Incident: A Detective's Tale*, 'We even went as far as consulting a very helpful lady librarian in Newcastle who contacted us with information she had on Bernt Carlsson. She provided much of the background on the political moves made by Carlsson on behalf of the United Nations ... He had survived a previous attack on an aircraft he had been travelling on in Africa.'

Bengtsson recorded more suspicious circumstances. He said that on 22 December – the day after the Pan Am bombing – Bernt Carlsson's apartment was sealed off. Popovic told him, 'The lock was changed. I was given one key, and the UN security department had another. I was told that sealing off everything could take a long time pending the analysis. I therefore ensured that all windows were properly locked, all lights switched off, etc. A few days later, however, a friend and I passed by the apartment in a taxi ... My friend pointed out that the lights were on. So I got out and walked back. I found that some lights were switched on but there was no-one there. If there was anything of interest in the apartment, someone else got to it first.'

Evidently someone had entered the apartment and looked around for whatever interested them and forgot to switch off the lights. Obvious items being sought in the apartment would be clues as to who wanted Carlsson dead. The article provides a pointer as to what items were being sought. 'On the evening of the disaster, the Swedish foreign minister, Sten Andersson, telephoned Bernt Carlsson's sister Inger Carlsson-Musser, who had lived in the US for almost 20 years, to give his commiserations. On 28 December 1988 Carlsson-Musser travelled to New York to go through Bernt Carlsson's belongings in his UN office.' Carlsson-Musser asked Sanya Popovic and the

embassy counsellor Stefan Noréen to help. When they found that his safe was empty, Popovic said, 'This was very unlike Bernt who was most security-conscious and kept all his documents under lock and key. But above all the office was sealed off. No-one should have been able to get in.'

The only inference from these events and statements is that on several occasions unauthorised persons entered the flat and probably removed his documents. It seems the culprits must have feared that any documents would help to identify the persons with a motive to kill him. The attitude of Embassy Counsellor Stefan Noréen beggars belief. After Bengtsson asked him whether he would confirm that the safe was empty when it was opened, he said, 'I refuse to comment. I was there. But I do not want to talk about what exactly happened. If anyone should comment surely they should be Bernt Carlsson's family.'

Bengtsson tried to contact Carlsson's sister Inger Carlsson-Musser but without success. The purpose was clear. 'We would have asked her about the empty safe. Also, to explain information from foreign investigative journalists who claimed that foreign minister, Sten Andersson, had asked her to keep an eye out for a specific document which was supposed to be held in the safe.'

'A specific document which was supposed to be held in the safe ...' And yet the safe was empty – so someone had broken in and stolen that document. Bengtsson could not obtain any comment from Sten Andersson either. However, he spoke to his private secretary, Pierre Schori, who used to be a close friend of Carlsson. He asked, 'During a secret meeting in London, Bernt Carlsson met a person called Bankole Timothy. Do you know him?' The answer was strange. 'No, I know of no-one of that name.'

Bengtsson explained that Bankole Timothy represented the diamond cartel. 'The diamond cartel?' is the only answer Pierre Schori gave and Bengtsson said he was almost laughing. 'I know nothing about that.' This is the person who worked for Andersson and would be expected to know what his boss was doing, especially with regard to his own friend. His other answers are also bizarre. Schori admitted he knew that Sten Andersson telephoned Bernt's sister Inger Carlsson-Musser in the US. Bengtsson asked, 'We are informed by foreign journalists that Sten Andersson was looking for some documents which Bernt's sister Inger was supposed to be able to help in finding, and which were kept in Bernt's safe.' Schori said, 'This is nonsense, as far as I'm concerned. What's this all about?'

Asked if he knew that the safe was empty when it was opened, Schori said, 'I know nothing about that. I don't understand a word. All I can say is that it is nonsense to claim that Sten Andersson should have done this or that.'

In the December 1988 broadcast of Granada's British TV documentary, *The Case of the Disappearing Diamonds*, Carlsson spoke about the ruthless

exploitation in the diamond business. 'Business has tried to pick the raisin from the cake. This means that they have been after the large diamonds instead of calm but constant development. The way they are doing it will endanger the survival of the mines.

'One would expect from a worldwide organisation like De Beers to behave in a socially and financially responsible manner. However, as far as Namibia is concerned, they have only been interested in the maximum profit without regard to social, economic-political or even legal considerations.'

The full facts behind Pan Am Flight 103 and the death of Bernt Carlsson might never be unearthed but the evidence about who benefited from the tragedy is as clear as a De Beers diamond.

26 | Lucky escapees

‘Things come apart so easily when they have been held together with lies.’

Dorothy Allison, *Bastard Out of Carolina*

Like beauty, truth is slippery. Lies have no such mystique. They are a blunt instrument to bludgeon us into believing what is not so. As George Orwell said, ‘The further a society drifts from truth, the more it will hate those who speak it.’

And in this yarn, lies abound.

What do Mats Wilander, the No 1 tennis player in the world in 1988, and former Nationalist Foreign Minister Pik Botha have in common? Both were supposed to be on Pan Am flight 103, which crashed over Lockerbie on 21 December 1988, killing everyone on board.

Wilander had made a reservation but did not take a seat on the flight. Pik Botha claimed that his delegation ‘outsmarted’ a plot to kill them by changing their flight – without warning anyone else of the danger. The South African Government quickly contradicted this, saying that the group had been booked on an earlier flight. Later, they said there had been a change of flight but no warning of an attack.

There are several South African links to the tragedy. That South African Airways (SAA) was involved in unlawfully switching baggage from the fated flight was confirmed by Pan Am security officer Michael Jones at the Lockerbie inquiry in October 1990. Jones told the inquiry that a breach of aviation rules had been committed because the suitcase of South African passenger Nicola Hall had been put on the earlier Pan Am 101 flight (with Pik Botha’s delegation) whereas Miss Hall was booked – and died – on PA103. If someone had wanted to check in a bomb-laden suitcase on PA103 then they would need to allocate it to a passenger. One way to do this would be to put a suitcase belonging to a passenger booked on the targeted flight onto a different flight, and the suitcase with the bomb on the targeted flight under that passenger’s name.

There is little doubt that apartheid South Africa – at the time a regional superpower probably armed with nuclear weapons and with technologically advanced aerospace companies such as Kentron and highly qualified individuals such as the Coventry Four – would have had the expertise to design an improvised explosive device (IED) capable of bringing down an aircraft. In fact, Electronic Magnetic Logistical Component (EMLC), an SADF

division, actually developed specialist weapons in the form of letter, car and briefcase bombs, as well as gadgets such as umbrellas and radios.

Headed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the South African delegation arrived at Heathrow on 21 December 1988 en route to UN headquarters in New York to sign the agreement relinquishing control of Namibia to the United Nations, as demanded by Security Council Resolution 435. The whole delegation, including Defence Minister Magnus Malan and head of military intelligence General C J van Tonder, were booked for onward travel on flight PA103. But according to the Reuters report, their inward SAA flight from Johannesburg had cut out a stopover in Frankfurt and arrived early at Heathrow. The SA Embassy in London re-booked Botha and six of his party on the 11:00 Pan Am 101 flight to New York.

Returning to the motive for killing Carlsson, it could not have been for any reason preceding the peace protocols as they already had been agreed on and were to be signed the next day. But what if the reason was to influence the future state of Namibia? To determine what sort of economic order would prevail? To prevent steps by the new state of Namibia to recover billions of rands from the corporates that mined the uranium deposits, minerals and diamonds?

On 11 January 1989, three weeks after the Lockerbie tragedy, Pik Botha travelled to Stockholm in Sweden with other foreign dignitaries – including UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar – for Bernt Carlsson's funeral. Sue MacGregor interviewed Botha for BBC Radio 4's Today programme. He alleged that he and his delegation were booked to fly from London to New York on 21 December 1988, but changed their flight after being alerted about ANC plans to kill him. Botha boasted on radio that they 'managed to outsmart' the ANC by taking the earlier Pan Am Flight 101 from Heathrow to JFK New York.

Why this alleged threat was not reported to airline security and no effort was made to prevent the other passengers facing their deaths remains unanswered. If Pik Botha was warned of a threat to Flight 103 and said nothing, can there be any conclusion other than that he was happy for hundreds of people to go to their deaths?

Statements in the 1994 film *The Maltese Double Cross* bolstered the notion that Botha was warned. This film was made by Allan Francovich, who later died under suspicious circumstances. In the film, Oswald Le Winter, who worked for the CIA from 1968 to 1985, quoted Tiny Rowland as disclosing that Pik Botha told him he and 22 South African delegates were going to New York for the Namibian Independence Ratification Ceremony and were all booked on Pan Am Flight 103. They were warned by a source which could not be ignored and changed flights. Le Winter revealed the source as the South African Bureau for State Security (BOSS), which he claimed had close contacts with Israeli intelligence and the CIA.

The subsequent contradictions after Botha's initial scandalous faux pas are laughable.

In a Reuters Textline of 12 November 1994 under the heading, 'South Africa Minister denies knowing of Lockerbie Bomb', the article said, 'Former South African foreign minister Pik Botha denied on Saturday he had been aware in advance of a bomb on board Pan Am Flight 103 which exploded over Lockerbie in Scotland in 1988 killing 270 people. *The minister confirmed through his spokesman that he and his party had been booked on the ill-fated airliner but switched flights after arriving early in London from Johannesburg.*' Pik Botha's spokesman Gerrit Pretorius made another statement which was in appallingly bad taste, 'The minister is flattered by the allegation of near-omniscience.'

Another spokesman for Pik Botha also confirmed the change of flight. Roland Darroll told Reuters after consulting the minister, 'Had he known of the bomb, no force on earth would have stopped him from seeing to it that flight 103 with its deadly cargo, would not have left the airport.' Darroll was also quoted as saying, 'South African diplomats in the United States were convinced at the time that Botha and his team were on flight 103.'

So there are numerous sources showing there was a change of flight.

Botha had never denied he was supposed to be on the later flight. The big change was that now he refuted his own public claim that he had been warned of the bomb on board. Clearly he had realised how criminally negligent or even complicit he was in not warning other passengers.

There is more. Two years later, acting on behalf of a victim's family member, South African MP Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party asked Justice Minister Omar in parliament on 5 June 1996 whether Pik Botha and his entourage had any plans to travel on this flight (Pan Am Flight 103) or had reservations for this flight; if so, why were the plans changed? Replying a week later, Omar stated Botha informed him that shortly before finalising their booking arrangements for travel from Heathrow to New York, they learned of an earlier flight from London to New York: namely, Pan Am Flight 101. Consequently, they were booked and travelled on this flight to New York.

After Eglin investigated the matter further, he wrote to the family member on 18 July 1996, disclosing that the person who made the reservations on behalf of the South African foreign minister Pik Botha and his entourage assured him that he and no-one else was responsible for the reservations, and the reservation made in South Africa for the South African group *was* originally made on PA 101, departing London at 11:00 on 21 December 1988. It was never made on PA 103 and consequently was never changed. Eglin gave the victim's family the assurance that he had 'every reason to trust the person referred to' since he had been given a copy of 'rough working notes and extracts from his personal diary of those days'.

Could the 'rough working notes' and the 'personal diary of those days' have been fabricated to save Pik Botha's skin from a most embarrassing and possibly criminal act?

In Theresa Papenfus's hagiography of the erstwhile minister, *Pik Botha and His Times*, she related that 'the party was booked on Pan American World Airways Flight 103 from Frankfurt via London to New York'. However, the flight was changed because one official in the party wanted to spend more time with his fiancée in London. 'He quietly arranged for the delegation to take an earlier flight, from Johannesburg to London and then from London to New York.' How could changing to an earlier flight allow the official to have more time with his fiancée in London?

Papenfus wrote, 'Pik was highly displeased that his wishes had been ignored. "You people never listen to me!" he shouted at the official and chased him out of his office. The party had to follow the new itinerary and take a different Pan Am flight (Pan Am 101), which took off from Heathrow an hour before Pan Am 103.'

Contradictions aplenty! Papenfus continued, 'At the hotel the official found Pik staring at the TV screen. "Thank you," the minister said quietly, "for changing the arrangements." That evening at the residence of Mr Jeremy Shearer, South Africa's ambassador to the UN, Pik expressed his condolences to the relatives of the victims of the disaster. "Thank God that we escaped death. It was close. We could have been on the fatal flight." He again thanked his staff for changing the booking.'

Papenfus included a reference to the change in the story: 'In response to enquiries the Department of Foreign Affairs initially officially denied that seats had ever been booked for the ministerial party on Pan Am Flight 103. They said that the bookings had been on Flight 101 right from the beginning.'

One more detail shows the mendacity of the claim that the South African party was always on Flight 101. If all 22 were booked on that flight, why do we learn that only five were able to join the earlier flight due to insufficient seats being available, and that the remainder had to return to South Africa?¹ If they had originally been booked on Flight 101, then they would have been assured of seats.

On 22 December, the day after the Pan Am bombing, Consolidated Diamond Mines, wholly-owned by De Beers, announced that \$36 million was being invested in new diamond production in Namibia. This would be done in Auchas, 45 km from Oranjemund. It was estimated that the annual yield of diamonds over a 10-year period would amount to roughly the equivalent of 50 million Swedish Krona (SEK).

On 16 March 1989 De Beers announced yet another diamond find in Namibia. This time it was a mine in Elizabeth Bay from which over the next ten years SEK300 million worth of diamonds were expected to be dug up.

This particular find appeared to delight the mysterious Bankole Timothy and, unusually, he himself issued the press release.

In January 2023 Haseldine made another startling discovery. On re-reading the report of the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism (PCAST), which was established in 1989 'to investigate the events surrounding the destruction of Pan Am Flight 103', he looked for Carlsson's name. It will be recalled that the PCAST report was a serious investigation and was handed over to President George Bush Snr on 15 May 1990. The 270 names are given, but on page 132 the name of the highest profile victim is misspelled as 'Carlsson, Brent Wilson, 50, New York, New York, Swedish'. His name is in fact Bernt Wilmar Carlsson.

Haseldine maintained that Assistant Director Oliver 'Buck' Revell was in charge of FBI investigative programmes and oversaw the Pan Am crash. Haseldine contended that Revell deliberately misspelled Carlsson's name to pervert the course of Lockerbie justice.

27 | Gloating ‘superspy’

‘The devil asked me how I knew my way around the halls of hell.
I told him I did not need a map for the darkness I know so well.’

Justice Howard

While not central to our quest for who REALLY killed Chris Hani, Craig Williamson plays a pernicious role in many of the events described in this book. As discussed in Chapter 14, he was part of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme’s killing, but his presence infiltrates other evil deeds. Therefore, we touch on his life and nefarious activities briefly.

Born on 23 April 1949, Williamson attended two expensive private schools, St Stithians and St John’s Anglican School in Johannesburg. Even in those early years his right-wing and racist views manifested themselves, according to Bell and Ntsebeza’s book *Unfinished Business – South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*.¹

After matriculating in 1967, he joined the South African Police the following year, becoming a Parkview-based sergeant. Subsequently, he was offered the position of campus spy at the University of the Witwatersrand, all paid for by the police. In 1971 he was recruited into the intelligence arm of the police, then joined the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and began reporting to his apartheid bosses on student activities. The next year saw him elected to the students’ representative council (SRC) and by 1974 he had become a member of the SRC executive. Williamson moved to Cape Town as Nusas national finance officer and was elected vice-president in 1975.

However, the time had come for him to go abroad to spy on more dangerous foes. In 1976 Williamson ‘fled’ South Africa for Botswana where he met the head of the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), Lars Gunner Erickson, who gave him a job. His position in Geneva involved clandestinely channelling funds to anti-apartheid organisations in southern Africa through a network of agents. Instead of sending the money to these bodies he syphoned it off to Security Branch operations such as Operation Daisy. The money was then used for the hit squads at Vlakplaas.

We learn something more about Williamson in *A Friend who was a Spy – 1975 to 1980*, an internet post of 30 November 1999 by Tad Mitsui, a retired United Church Minister. Mitsui regarded him as a ‘trusted ally, a comrade-in-arms in a common cause’. He said when he discovered that he had always

been a mole for the South African security authorities in 1980, he realised belatedly that 'deception was his nine-to-five job'. He also said, 'I am now sure that he was the main instigator and planner of the murder of Steve Biko.'

After being exposed as a spy, Williamson returned to South Africa and continued to work for the security forces. He harboured hopes of a political career but failed to win a position as National Party MP for Bryanston in 1987. That year he was appointed to the President's Council, where he remained until 1991.²

Central to combating the growing wave of anti-apartheid measures was a sinister body little known to South Africans and the rest of the world – the State Security Council (SSC). In his book *Total Onslaught* De Wet Potgieter explained the genesis of the SSC under the chairmanship of PW Botha and a mix of politicians and civil servants from the departments of defence, law and order, foreign affairs and justice. According to Potgieter this sinister body issued orders to operators for assassinations and elimination of SSC-identified targets. As at the CIA, such operations were referred to as 'sharp', 'wet' or 'black'.

Williamson was very much a part of this planning and he established Operation Longreach in the late 1970s. We have seen the role he played in the killing of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. As a front organisation it was financed from Military Intelligence and Security Police slush funds. Potgieter said 'It had a broad and extremely vague mandate and was supposed to report to the SSC through cut-outs. The nature of the mandate was such that Longreach had unlimited authority. It was staffed by a number of well trained operators and intelligence experts drawn from the former Rhodesian SAS, Selous Scouts, British Special Boat Service, Recces [South African Special Forces Brigade], Security Police and National Intelligence (NI). Longreach's speciality was foreign operations and, thanks to Williamson's experience in the Scandinavian countries, the focus was on Europe and the United Kingdom.'

Consequently, South African hit squads began to make their presence felt abroad beginning in 1982 with a burglary at the office of the Pan African Congress (PAC) in London. Two suspects were arrested. A British court eventually acquitted one of them, the Swede Bertil Wedin. However, Wedin admitted he was working for South African intelligence – in particular Williamson. The other suspect, SADF Sgt Joseph Klue, had diplomatic immunity and was ordered to leave the UK.

In the same year, Ruth First – a close friend of Olof Palme and wife of South African communist leader Joe Slovo – was murdered in Mozambique on Williamson's orders. First was an exiled campaigner for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC author of a pioneering study of Namibia. She was killed by a letter-bomb in Maputo on 18 August 1982. Also in 1982, a bomb

exploded in the ANC's London office in an attempt to kill the then ANC President Oliver Tambo, who had planned to attend a meeting in the office but was unexpectedly prevented from coming. The same day, Wedin and another of Williamson's men, Peter Casselton, hastily left London for Cyprus.

On 28 June 1984 Craig Williamson mailed a letter-bomb which killed Marius Schoon's wife Jeanette Curtis Schoon and their six-year-old daughter Katryn at the family's home in exile in Lubango, Angola. Both Jeanette and Marius Schoon were prominent South African anti-apartheid activists and ANC members. While in exile in Botswana some years earlier, the Schoons had broken Williamson's cover internally within the ANC, several months before his public exposure in the UK, allowing the ANC leadership to attempt to manipulate Williamson covertly for their own purposes. The Schoon's younger son Fritz, then aged three, witnessed his mother and sister's murder at close hand. He was found severely traumatised, wandering alone in the house. He developed epilepsy from which he never fully recovered.

No foe of the apartheid regime was beyond the reach of the burly psychopathic killer whose remit stretched far and wide, from important activists in the Eastern Cape to Samora Machel, the president of Mozambique. Williamson stood at the centre of military intelligence and worked under General Tienie Groenewald, whose egregious role in many of the events will be uncovered in this book.

These were not the acts of individuals with some personal vendetta. They were executed on orders from the top. In the judgment of Nazi Adolf Eichmann, the court was at pains to point out that those who gave the orders were the most serious offenders.

In my book *Permanent Removal – Who killed the Cradock Four?* I dealt with more of Williamson's victims. The truth finally emerged from the testimony of one Jaap van Jaarsveld to a TRC amnesty hearing on 1 June 1998. In mid-1984, Van Jaarsveld received an order from Williamson to investigate whether it would be possible to take out Matthew Goniwe.

Various measures had been taken against Goniwe and the others, including banning. Nothing seemed to stop them fighting for justice and democracy in South Africa. So more drastic action had to be taken. In their evidence to the TRC, General Nick van Rensburg, Herman du Plessis and Sakkie van Zyl conceded that around 6 or 7 June, a Colonel Snyman returned from a Joint Management Council (JMC) meeting and mentioned that the Defence Force was putting the Security Branch under pressure because the Security Police were unable to 'stabilise the position' regarding Goniwe's activism. The SADF said that the only option was 'to eliminate Goniwe and his lieutenants'.

On 7 June 1986, Brigadier van der Westhuizen, who chaired the JMC, sent the 'signal' proposing the 'permanent removal' of the Cradock Four to the

SSC and on 27 June they were murdered after their car had been pulled over on the road. The headline in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper of 28 May 1999 said it all: 'The top Nats who ordered Goniwe's death'.

Williamson was also linked to an attack on ANC representative Godfrey Motsepe in Brussels. On 29 March 1988, the ANC representative in Paris, Dulcie September, was shot and killed. Williamson's protégé, former SADF Sgt Joseph Klue, and South African spy Dirk Stoffberg were in the frame for both the Brussels and Paris shootings.

We have noted Pan Am Flight 103 which was sabotaged over Lockerbie, Scotland and Williamson's alleged role. In addition, the CCB assassinated social anthropologist and anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster on 1 May 1989 in Troyeville, Johannesburg, where marine biologist Dagmar Feil was also murdered. A few months later, the CCB killed SWAPO activist Anton Lubowski in Namibia.

Williamson was also a busy bee on the propaganda side. Together with Peter Worthington, he was one of the main collaborators in the pro-apartheid video *The ANC method – violence*, which was distributed throughout Canada in 1988 by Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform, an ultra-right wing group opposed to foreign aid and immigration. In the summer of 1988, just as plans for the Pan Am bomb were being executed, the US-produced film *Red Scorpion* was made in Namibia which South Africa helped finance.

Williamson played a central role in efforts to destabilise the entire southern African region for the economic and political interests of local and global elites. This is illustrated most clearly in his links to the events of 19 October 1986 when a Soviet-built aircraft crashed at Mbuzini, a village in what is now eastern Mpumalanga. Of the 33 people killed, the clear target was Samora Machel. He was within a few kilometres of his own land and he was hurrying back for his wife's birthday.³

Samora Machel was both a revolutionary leader dedicated to the liberation of Mozambique and a vehement opponent of the apartheid regime that was doing all in its power to destabilise neighbouring states. His death in 1986 occurred in an aeroplane 'accident' which many suspected was in reality an assassination.⁴ There are glaring similarities with the fate of Dag Hammarskjöld and Bernt Carlsson. It's a global pattern of removing those who stand in the way of plunder.

Judge Cecil Margo, who managed the Hammarskjöld enquiry, found that the plane was still in good condition, the weather was not a problem and the crew were rested and fit for duty and had extensive experience with that type of aircraft. Margo highlighted possible communication errors between the flight controller, who was speaking English, and the crew – whose members spoke Portuguese and Russian as first languages. Margo finally found that the crash was an accident due to pilot error.

What amazed the world was how quickly South African security personnel were on the site. Some non-South African bystanders who offered to help were turned away from the scene while officials collected documents. One press report maintained that Machel was still alive and was injected with poison, while Lothar Neethling was on the scene. Yet the government of Mozambique was only informed of the incident nine hours after the crash.

Sir Chris Marrow, working for Action Aid in Mozambique, related an intriguing conversation with a taxi driver, who survived the crash. According to the taxi driver, Machel and others were still alive after the crash but army officers, with no identifying insignia, and speaking neither Portuguese nor English, in all probability Afrikaans, executed some survivors, including Machel. Once it had been established that the main target, Samora Machel, had been eliminated, the taxi driver was spared.⁵

The South African Government refused to hand over the 'black box' flight recorders. In 1998, the *Mail & Guardian* featured an article by Debora Patta saying that 'a foreign intelligence document from a neighbouring country' claimed that large sums of money were paid to Maputo airport officials to switch off crucial systems. General Tienie Groenewald told the *Sunday World* on 6 April 2003 that 'junior officers at the Maputo control tower could not have executed such an operation ... without close cooperation with the Apartheid Government and the CCB ...'⁶

In 2008, former special forces operator Hans Louw appeared on a *Special Assignment* programme. He spoke of a covert operation near the Mozambique border. Asked if a target was mentioned he said, 'That target was specifically mentioned – the plane of Samora Machel.' Louw said he and the other operatives were told the plane would be expected that night in that specific vicinity. He was part of a backup team tasked with shooting down the plane with a surface-to-air missile if the first plan relating to the decoy beacons did not work.

So, what explanation did the burly intelligence chief ever give for his murderous actions? In a television series on the TRC he was interviewed by Jacques Pauw. The first episode began with a scene from 1980 where a visibly younger Williamson said, 'Until these organisations [the ANC and PAC] are totally destroyed, they will always be active.' Williamson said, 'It was my job to carry out operations against the ANC.' Pauw commented, 'Craig Williamson did his job well. His victims are scattered across the sub-continent. He organised raids into Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia.'

Admitting this, Williamson said, 'If you are talking about target selection you are talking about military operations like Maseru, Maputo and Gaborone ... which were approved by the State Security Council, approved by the President at top level ...'

Apart from those operations, Williamson said the top politicians knew about the individual assassinations. 'When you carry out operations and you are congratulated, decorated and honoured and given all the accolades of a successful officer ... you believe that the people honouring you know what you did to be so honoured.'

What needs to be understood is that his killings were intended to prolong a system that had been condemned as a crime against humanity. As part of a strike-back against his political masters, who betrayed him and the other apartheid killers, by leaving them to take all the blame, Williamson told the Johannesburg *Sunday Independent*, 'I hope that those politicians, who are in such an incompetent, self-serving, pension-protecting and cowardly way, betraying the members and political heads of the security forces, which kept the NP in power for so long, do not think we have forgotten who gave us the orders to do what was done during the conflicts of the past.'

He named his masters, 'Those who sat on the State Security Council ... those who signed the orders, those who often begged us to restore order in their ideological apartheid creations must know that we remember them, though they seem too frightened to remember us. I suppose they also believe it was the NP's political brilliance which kept them in power for 46 years and not security force action.'

No wonder Williamson has never been prosecuted.

Despite all the disclosures over the years, questions remain about Williamson's involvement in the killing of Chris Hani. We have mentioned the sinister links between SAIMR, the abortive coup of the Seychelles and the survival of its left-wing Prime Minister Albert René. The latter had links with the notorious corporate raider and gangster Giovanni Mario Ricci, as well as persons living near Chris Hani – including the first witness on the scene after his murder, Michael Buchanan.

When Joseph Conrad wrote his masterpiece, *Heart of Darkness* he must have been thinking of Williamson when he said, 'I've seen the devil of violence, and the devil of greed, and the devil of hot desire; but ... as I stood on this hillside, I foresaw that ... I would become acquainted with a flabby, pretending, weak-eyed devil of a rapacious and pitiless folly. How insidious he could be, too ...'

28 | A heinous plot

‘European opulence is literally a scandal for it was built on the backs of slaves, it fed on the blood of slaves, and owes its very existence to the soil and subsoil of the underdeveloped world. Europe’s well-being and progress were built with the sweat and corpses of blacks, Arabs, Indians, and Asians. This we are determined never to forget.’

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

Greed makes for strange bedfellows – and stranger acts of desperation. Those who had the most to lose as majority rule appeared inevitable in South Africa were the government with all its secrets, the contagion of Big Business which had stripped the land with slaving abandon and Hani’s ANC rivals who would have benefited from his removal.

After the United Nations declared apartheid a crime against humanity, Hani was among those who called for its perpetrators to be hauled before Nuremburg-style courts to answer for their crimes. Such a prospect struck terror in the hearts of the state’s power-brokers and their secretive organisations. They understood fully that the immutable truth of apartheid’s atrocities would damn them in the eyes of the world forever.

Similarly, the huge corporations also were in a state of fear. Not only would their golden goose be snatched away in terms of the Freedom Charter, but they would have to answer as to the whereabouts of the obscene wealth they had stashed away and perhaps be forced to return a goodly portion. So, they pooled their considerable resources and set about ensuring the train smash ahead of them would be averted.

To ascertain who was behind Chris Hani’s killing we continue investigating who would have had a motive to remove him from the scene. In the 1980s, many Nationalist politicians and industry barons concluded that a non-racial election in South Africa was inevitable, given the internal uprisings and the external threats against the apartheid regime. As African voters constituted more than 85% of the population there was no way that the whites would win such an election and retain power. If an ANC victory was inescapable, the person they feared most at the helm of a new government was Chris Hani. Those under threat would want to remove Hani to clear the deck for a more moderate black leader.

Two scenarios kept the architects and beneficiaries of apartheid awake at night. Firstly, the prospect of Nuremberg-type trials and secondly, the ANC’s commitment to fulfil the Freedom Charter promises by nationalising assets the

whites had hoarded over the years. So desperate were the right-wing whites to retain power and wealth that they would consider any solution to avoid these two consequences. Some extremists went as far as looking for ways that the black majority could be reduced, short of a Nazi-style mass extermination strategy. The arrival of the deadly AIDS virus in the early 1980s gave hope to these white supremacists that nature might achieve their goal for them. A decade later, it was clear that AIDS was taking its toll globally and deaths in South Africa would soon dwarf those in the rest of Africa and the world.

A report by the Actuarial Society of South Africa, the Medical Research Council and the University of Cape Town's Centre for Actuarial Research found that 1.8 million South Africans had died of AIDS by 2006 and this total would reach 6 million in 2014. By 2021, UNAIDS concluded that 79.3 million people in the world had become infected with HIV since the start of the epidemic and one in every five HIV-positive people lived in South Africa. Of the 36.3 million people who had died from AIDS-related illnesses since the start of the epidemic, it is likely that at least 20 million died in Africa, mostly in southern Africa. While the long-delayed roll-out of antiretroviral treatment eventually reduced the death rate in South Africa, at least 6 million people probably died over the 40 years.

Cynical and apocalyptic as it may sound, it is worth investigating whether nature achieved this diabolical result unaided or whether there were fanatics intent on causing an African Holocaust. Faced with the prospect of black majority rule, was this Plan A? And should such a demonic scheme fail, was making sure that a radical such as Hani was not in charge of the country Plan B?

On 4 February 2000, President Mbeki addressed parliament with his State of the Nation Address. He quoted an intercepted email from a state employee which stated that he or she 'would like to summarise what the K*****s have done to stuff up the country and that AIDS isn't working fast enough' to kill them off. Mbeki quoted this email to show that racism was alive and well and he quoted from German playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht that 'the bitch is in heat again'.¹ By this he meant that racism was not dead and was likely to be reborn in the new South Africa.

In this climate, was there any evidence of human agency behind the AIDS pandemic? *Designated Survivor* is a very popular American television series, starring Kiefer Sutherland as Thomas Kirkman, who suddenly ascends to President of the US, after an explosion kills everyone ahead of him in the presidential line of succession. In season 3 a character known as Hannah Wells, a former FBI agent, investigates a possible threat of bioterrorism for the CIA, ultimately leading to her death. Dr Eli Mays, a geneticist, works closely with Hannah and in episode 4, they visit an apartment block, where they notice that only people with darker skin were getting sick. They conclude

that the virus was engineered to target those who produced more melanin. After certain discussions with others, they believed the virus was created by a believer in eugenics.

Hannah asks if the doctor is aware of eugenics and the answer is, 'Yes, Hitler and Nazi Germany. And Long Island and an American doctor Charles Davenport. He studied heredity – madly. He is the father of a scientific movement that floated the idea of racial genetic superiority that was popular at the time. Fans included Madison Grant, Dr John Kellogg. Hitler used Davenport's work as a blueprint. And its proudest export and one of our more enduring takes – apartheid South Africa. Project Coast, the bioweapons programme.' Hannah says she was assigned to the team to monitor Project Coast. 'They were researching ways to genetically target Black South Africans with lethal diseases.' Asked if the project succeeded Hannah says 'No, thank God. But their work, like Davenport's, continues to inspire.'

The doctors mentioned in the programme, Charles Davenport and John Harvey Kellogg, both lived from the mid-nineteenth century in the US. Kellogg was also a nutritionist, best remembered for inventing 'Corn Flakes'. He was a noted eugenicist, who believed that eugenic methods would help save the white race. Kellogg was passionate about race degeneracy and believed that the white race was threatened both by racial mixing and mental defectives. Eugenics and euthenics were ideological approaches that presented an answer to disease and degeneracy, as well as racial hygiene. Kellogg hoped that so-called well born people would be instructed on how to maintain their heritage and pass it on to the next generation, and that eugenic legislation would be introduced across the country.

Kellogg also proposed creating a eugenic registry that could be used to create a pedigree of proper breeding between people. Prospective parents who met strict standards of racial hygiene would receive pedigrees and awards based on their heritable characteristics. The idea of a eugenics registry was first raised by Kellogg during the First National Race Betterment Conference in 1914 and established in San Francisco in 1915. The purpose of the registry was, firstly, to make an inventory of the socially important hereditary traits of the individual. In the second place, it was to point out the conditions under which these traits may express themselves in succeeding generations. Thirdly, it was to contribute to the spread of our knowledge of natural inheritance in man. Finally, it was to assist in the increase of natural endowments and to combat race decay.

The board members included pioneering eugenicists Kellogg and Davenport. The registry collected information on thousands of families during its years of operation until 1935. For all these reasons Kellogg enthusiastically embraced racial segregation. He made many shocking statements on race including the following. 'Long before the race reaches the state of

universal incompetency, the impending danger will be appreciated, the cause sought for and eliminated, and, through eugenics and euthenics, the mental soundness of the race will be saved.' The talk of race dangers being eliminated was frightening and must have had an immense impact on Adolf Hitler and his attempt to exterminate the Jews.

Davenport was also a eugenicist who studied human heredity and in 1911 his book, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, was used as a college textbook for many years. The year after it was published Davenport was elected to the National Academy of Sciences. His book *Race Crossing in Jamaica* (1929) attempted to provide statistical evidence for biological degradation following interbreeding between white and black populations. Today it is totally debunked and regarded as a work of scientific racism.

Davenport believed that people of races deemed 'undesirable' should not be allowed into the country as they would negatively impact the nation's genetic pool. Domestically, he also supported the prevention of 'negative eugenics' through sterilization and sexual segregation of people who were considered genetically inferior. Those that Davenport considered to be genetically inferior included Black people and south-eastern Europeans. After Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany, Davenport maintained connections with various Nazi institutions, both before and during World War II. He held editorial positions at two influential German journals, both of which were founded in 1935. In 1939 he wrote a contribution to the *Festschrift* (commemorative publication) for Otto Reche, who became an important figure in the plan to 'remove' those populations considered 'inferior' in eastern Germany.

Among his most shocking racist statements were the following. 'I am the trustee of the germ plasm that has been passed on through thousands of generations; and that I betray the trust if (that germ plasm being good) I so act as to jeopardize it, with its excellent possibilities, or, from motives of personal convenience, to unduly limit offspring.'

'In our choice in marriage we should seek to have 4 to 6 children in order that our carefully selected germ plasm shall be reproduced in adequate degree and not be swamped by that less carefully selected.'

'I believe in such a selection of immigrants as shall not tend to adulterate our national germ plasm with socially unfit traits.'

In his book on South African politics², JG Scholte, a high-ranking security branch policeman from the apartheid era, writing under the pseudonym Gunter Schickelgruber, explained that during his military service in the South African Defence Force, he was on a Counter Insurgency course (COIN) in Namibia in 1983.³ He spoke to a soldier in his platoon who mentioned three things that shocked him intensely.

Firstly, he was told that South Africa had nuclear weapons and was prepared to use them should the war against SWAPO and the Cubans turn

nasty. Secondly, South African forces were busy developing an attack helicopter which would help deal with the SWAPO threat in a less drastic fashion. The third most sinister strategy of all was, and his precise words are quoted, 'South Africa is busy doing research, developing a method of curbing blacks from multiplying. The plan is to make it look natural so the world wouldn't suspect anything. One of the aspects was to make it a sexually transmittable disease because of the blacks' hyperactive sexual tendency and having multiple sexual partners.'

Anyone living in South Africa would have heard of a medical man who earned the epithet 'Dr Death' and seemed to enjoy that fact. In a most controversial trial, Dr Wouter Basson was charged with numerous counts arising out of a sinister chemical and biological warfare programme entitled Project Coast, which had as its aim destruction of the forces trying to bring the apartheid government to an end.

Scholte said, 'Various people are speculating about Wouter Basson's involvement in such a project. It wouldn't surprise the author if South Africa was actually involved in developing the HIV virus and that other Western countries actually co-operated. Logically, from a Western perspective, it would make sense because they will save substantial amounts in foreign aid.' With hindsight Basson would seem to be the most obvious candidate for such a gruesome project, given his stewardship of those sinister laboratories outside Pretoria. Scholte claimed that when the ANC exiles returned, the CCB ran a major operation in the "transit camps" by making available HIV-positive women to the men. In the chapters ahead we probe further what the CCB was trying to achieve and see if Janusz Waluś was linked to it. Wild as these allegations might seem, they come from a person who was fairly senior in the apartheid intelligence structure and would have been privy to such a discussion.

Hani himself highlighted the threat posed by HIV when he addressed a meeting of the ANC in Maputo in 1990. 'Those of us in exile are especially in the unfortunate situation of being in the areas where the incidence of this disease is high. We cannot afford to allow the AIDS epidemic to ruin the realization of our dreams. Existing statistics indicate that we are still at the beginning of the AIDS epidemic in our country. Unattended, however, this will result in untold damage and suffering by the end of the century.'⁴

Thabo Mbeki's AIDS denialism hinged on scepticism about causality. Given the lengths to which the apartheid state was prepared to go to keep power and its racist ideology, conspiracy theories about the origins of HIV would easily take hold. ANC intellectual Jabulani Nxumalo, known as Mzala, died in 1991 in an ANC camp at the age of 35 after a long unspecified illness. Mark Gevisser wrote, 'Is it coincidence that Mzala was the ANC's first public AIDS-sceptic, writing in Sechaba just over two years before his death that

the theory of the African origin of AIDS was “yet another justification for ... racist prejudice”, that Africans were being deliberately misdiagnosed, and that there was evidence that HIV might have been invented in the “laboratories of the military-industrial complex” of the West?⁵

It is not difficult to imagine that the ANC activists were in areas where the incidence of AIDS was high because the apartheid government through its killing machine the CCB was causing it. Scholte also wrote specifically of the plans to kill Hani. ‘Chris Hani would have become the next President, but he was too radical for the National Party and knew too much about the contaminated group, so the [Enlightened Action Group] EAG, with the knowledge of Mbeki, eliminated Hani. According to the latest information the command to assassinate Hani came from Tito Maleka, head of security at Shell House and close confidant of Thabo Mbeki.’

According to Scholte, the EAG had a ‘benign’ plan based on what Joseph achieved in the Bible’s Book of Genesis to save the country’s economy. Joseph, it will be recalled, stored up corn during plentiful years to cater for lean times. He said, ‘The EAG met on a regular basis and ... was established during middle to late 80s when it became apparent that apartheid’s days were numbered. With British power still in the back of their minds the so-called Super Afrikaner (EAG) started formulating a plan to again get into power by the year 2004.’

He said the EAG consisted of about 38 white South Africans from the apartheid era. They included former politicians/government officials, economists, generals (police and defence force) and intelligence operatives. Politicians/Government officials were Pik Botha, Neil van Heerden, Roelf Meyer, FW de Klerk and Rusty Evans. Economists were Barend du Plessis, Chris Stals, Chris Ball, Anton Rupert, Meyer Khan and Danie Cronje. Generals were Magnus Malan, Tienie Groenewald, Basie Smit and Mike Geldenhuys. And Intelligence operatives were Dr Neil Barnard and Sean Cleary.

‘The names mentioned here are those of EAG members and don’t include the people that co-operate with them. The plan has different dimensions and includes: Identifying ANC leaders as well as the ANC alliance leaders for recruitment and/or contamination for manipulation purposes by the EAG ... (The actual work was done by the apartheid Intelligence apparatus); gaining control over the economy. If you control the economy you control the government; manipulation of Intelligence (Police, Military, South African Secret Service [SASS] (external) and National Intelligence Agency (NIA), (internal); destabilising actions through escalation ...’

Those identified for recruitment and contamination included Thabo Mbeki, Tokyo Sexwale and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, while others were named as spies. It is inherent in this categorisation that they would be central

to making sure the economic redistribution demands of the Freedom Charter were not applied nor that Nuremberg-style trials be instituted against the apartheid killers.

Regarding the issue of AIDS, it is as well to consider the book *Sell-Out! – The Truth behind the history of South African politics*⁶ written in 1996 by PJ Pretorius, another Afrikaner intelligence officer. Pretorius discussed the last half of the 20th century in South Africa and the clamour for democracy. The author quoted renowned journalist and editor Allister Sparks⁷ who said ‘The Broederbond had accepted by 1984 – a full year before Minister of Justice Kobie Coetzee’s first meeting with Mandela – that black South Africans would have to be given the vote and that Afrikaners would have to be prepared for this seismic change. This resolve had been gaining momentum since 1985 when certain Broederbond members felt that Mandela should be released. AIDS was seen as the dominant factor to curb black domination, and the fear that Mandela might die in prison caused the Afrikaner Broederbond to take the final step to the left.’⁸

In a footnote Pretorius said, and we must bear in mind that he was writing in 1996 before life-saving antiretrovirals had been made available, ‘One should keep in mind that people do not die of AIDS as such, but because of common illnesses such as tuberculosis, other lung diseases, cancer etc resulting from the breakdown of the human immunity system by the AIDS or HIV virus. The extent of AIDS infection in South Africa at this moment [the mid-1990s] is uncertain since only hospital cases are reported.’

He commented in a further footnote, ‘According to a German scientific study, South Africa will once again be characterised by white domination by the year 2010. The National Intelligence Service procured this report abroad on the instructions of the Head of Intelligence Dr Neil Barnard, and it was translated by persons within the service. This in itself was enough justification for the Afrikaner Broederbond to turn its face to the left-wing political spectrum. In the meantime, South Africa will have to walk the road to liberalism.’⁹

‘In the 1980s, as the South African government became more aware of the magnitude of the impending AIDS epidemic, the SADF started testing thousands of SADF soldiers for HIV. The secret right-wing Afrikaner organization, the Broederbond, also acknowledged they had completed population projections during the mid-1980s. They suggested whites would be in majority in the future due to the devastating effects that AIDS was projected to have on the black population of South Africa.’

In his book, *Confessions of a Stratcom Hitman*, published in late 2021, former apartheid-era cop Paul Erasmus detailed the dirty tricks of the apartheid government. Nothing was excluded, from chemicals to nullify contraception to a request for HIV-infected blood. After documenting his

involvement in numerous unspeakable acts, Erasmus said, 'In a world gone mad ... it could only become crazier ... I was approached with a request to obtain a "usable" quantity of HIV-infected blood, via my contacts at the South African Medical Research Laboratory. A savage period of retribution appeared to be under way using the Vlakplaas askaris, some of whom were HIV-positive. My understanding was that some were being dispatched to have unprotected sex with women identified as lefties. Attempting to spread a virus which, at that time had no treatment, was believed to be yet another means of harming the enemy.'

We should question whether Erasmus was being truthful in his mention of the South African Medical Research Laboratory. There is a National Health Laboratory Service in South Africa, but this was only formed in 2001. It was created by the merger of the South African Institute for Medical Research (SAIMR), which had been established in 1912, the National Institute for Virology and the National Centre for Occupational Health.

That a security branch cop who headed the 'dirty tricks' department would have contacts there seemed most improbable. Unless of course he was referring to the South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR), an organisation with the same acronym as the highly respected South African Institute for Medical Research (SAIMR).. The former, of course, was the mysterious body that Janusz Waluś had applied to join. We recall that the EIR report referred to him as a very enthusiastic member. Erasmus claimed he was not willing to carry out this request. 'I had wreaked indescribable havoc and brought untold despair, but I wanted no part of this evil madness.'

Academic Robin Jakob wrote a dissertation on Mbeki's AIDS denialism for his BSc Econ degree in international politics at Aberystwyth University in 2011.¹⁰ In investigating his study, Jakob dealt with the causes of the pandemic. 'After the end of apartheid evidence also emerged that the state had tried to develop HIV as biological weapon. During the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) evidence emerged on Roodeplaas Research Laboratories, apparently a front for the regime's biological weapons programme. One project sought to turn HIV into a sterility agent that could be administered to black women, reducing birth rates and opposition to apartheid ...'

He also noted that, in a different TRC hearing, policemen admitted to using HIV positive men to infect sex workers that worked in brothels near mining camps. 'The thinking behind this was that these sex workers would infect the men working in the mines and that they in turn would infect their wives and any future children ...' His damning conclusion was that the apartheid state attempted to deliberately spread HIV to kill blacks and their children and in this way weaken opposition and strengthen apartheid.¹¹

Another academic, Jeremy Youde, has written a well researched book on

AIDS in which he examined its political implications.¹² He accepted that apartheid with its migrant labour systems and disruption of traditional norms and cultural systems provided almost ideal social conditions for fostering the AIDS epidemic. He explained that given the disease's spread among the black population, politicians quickly found an ideological basis for talking about the disease in strictly racial terms. In a debate in Parliament in 1990, Dr FH Pauw, a Conservative Party member, alleged that members of the ruling National Party were telling white South Africans that they need not worry about majority rule because AIDS would be responsible for the large-scale elimination of the black population, to such an extent that blacks would in reality become a minority in South Africa within five years.¹³

Dr EH Venter, the Minister of National Health and Population Development, denied these accusations and said that it was actually the Conservative Party that was at fault. She quoted Conservative Party Member of Parliament Clive Derby-Lewis, who stated, 'If AIDS stops black population growth, it would be like Father Christmas.'¹⁴ This, of course, was the very same man who arranged Chris Hani's killing.

Apart from wishing that AIDS would solve their political problems, did the Nats and other right-wingers do anything else to assist the deadly virus to spread among the African population? Youde seemed to think so. 'After the first multi-racial elections in South Africa in 1994, the government established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to uncover the horrors of the apartheid era and explain some of the atrocities that took place by all sides. During the commission's hearings, one man testified about his work for Roodeplaat Research Laboratories (RRL). RRL was a front for the government's secret biological weapons programme.

'One of RRL's projects focused on developing an infectious agent that would induce sterility among African women. High levels of sterility would lead to declining African birth rates, with the hopes that this would reduce the domestic resistance to apartheid. This man reported that RRL spent a great deal of time and money on utilizing HIV as this agent, though the effort ultimately failed.'

Fingering who was behind these diabolical plans, Youde said that this resonated with rumours that spread among Zulu-speaking communities in the 1980s and early 1990s. These rumours talked about a white 'doctor of death' who unleashed a poison, widely assumed to be AIDS, on blacks. Youde said, 'Shockingly, many of these rumours specifically mentioned one man by name – Wouter Basson. Basson was the head of RRL and directed the sterility-inducing programme.'

Youde provided a highly sinister concrete example of the deliberate spread of AIDS when two former security officers claimed in another TRC hearing that they took HIV-positive men to two hotels in Hillbrow, instructing them

to infect the hotels' sex workers with HIV to spread the disease more widely throughout the population. CCB operative Willie Nortje supported this statement to the TRC,¹⁵ saying they acted on Eugene de Kock's instructions in May 1990.

One member of the Military Intelligence Department (MID), who had worked on Project Coast, 'Gert', told author Tom Mangold that 'there was some HIV tampering ... I mean all you have to do is get one covert guy, he's HIV positive ... You get him to infiltrate the whole town, screw the whole lot ... get him out and shoot him.'¹⁶

Youde described this bizarre campaign. 'The hope was to slowly infect large swaths of the country's African population with HIV, again with the ultimate aim of weakening domestic opposition to apartheid ... Thus, accusations suggest that the apartheid-era government in South Africa may have attempted to deliberately spread AIDS among the black population with the goal of wiping it out and enabling the continued functioning of apartheid ... Many segments of the black population blamed the apartheid government for perpetrating a plague to advance genocidal aims.'¹⁷

When Mbeki was involved in his determined fight to stop antiretrovirals, the only support he received outside the ANC was from the right-wing racist Boerestaat Party, which applauded his efforts to 'investigate the biggest hoax [the effectiveness of antiretrovirals] in the 20th century'.¹⁸ If one stopped the antiretrovirals then the carnage would continue.

Like a prologue to a Greek tragedy, Chris Hani must have been contemplating a horrendous circumstance when he addressed that meeting in Maputo in 1990 as Umkhonto we Sizwe leader. A campaign mentioned above that involved selectively killing ANC leaders with the multifarious methods was one thing, but was there a strategy to commit genocide? At the risk of repetition, we must never forget his words: 'We cannot afford to allow the AIDS epidemic to ruin the realization of our dreams.'

His warning should have raised the spectre of a biological war against blacks who were looking forward to liberation after so many years of bloody oppression. 'Existing statistics indicate that we are still at the beginning of the AIDS epidemic in our country. Unattended, however, this will result in untold damage and suffering by the end of the century.'¹⁹ Hindsight has shown millions would later die mostly in Southern Africa.

'Unattended' is the kindest epithet to the tragic AIDS policy of Mbeki, the second president of a non-racial South Africa. But was his prologue and the sanguine expectations of the white supremacists a hint that the AIDS pandemic had a diabolical human causation that would result in the 'untold damage and suffering'?

In Brügger's book on Maxwell he described²⁰ the probable origins of the chemical warfare. He said, 'In his book *The Poisoners* (Umuzi, 2021),

Imraan Coovadia describes how, in the late 1970s, the whites of Rhodesia waged a war against blacks using biological and chemical weapons, and how the South African regime actively helped them to do so. Later, when the Salisbury regime fell, many veterans of the Rhodesian war were integrated into the South African armed forces. This Rhodesian experience probably inspired Dr Wouter Basson's "Project Coast" biological and chemical weapons programme.'

29 | The most diabolical aspect of apartheid

‘The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones.’

William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*

The impact of AIDS on the world has been devastating and in the 1990s and early 2000s South Africa was the epicentre. In her book *Mortal Combat – Aids Denialism and the Struggle for Antiretrovirals in South Africa*, Nicoli Nattrass said that by the end of 2005, there were 5.5 million people living with HIV in South Africa, and almost 1,000 AIDS deaths occurring every day.¹ As stated in the previous chapter, almost one in five adults were infected.

In many other countries with antiretroviral drug treatment, HIV-positive people were able to maintain their health, but few people in South Africa had access to the drugs at that time. Studies revealed that almost half of all deaths in South Africa, and a staggering 71% of deaths among those aged between 15 and 49, were caused by AIDS. Apart from the personal tragedies, cemeteries were running out of space for the dead. One study found more than twice as many people had attended funerals in one month than celebrating the laughter and joy of a wedding. During that period average life expectancy in South Africa had dropped by 10 years to 54 years. Over half of 15-year-olds were not expected to reach the age of 60. Causes of the panic suggested poverty, sexual promiscuity, social instability and a lack of government action. But we are of the opinion there was a more sinister explanation.

The horrifying story of the apartheid government’s chemical and biological programme is well documented.² South African cardiologist Dr Wouter Basson was head of the country’s ultra-secret chemical and biological warfare project, Project Coast. Archbishop Desmond Tutu called this programme ‘the most diabolical aspect of apartheid’. Writing in *The New Yorker* in an article entitled ‘The Poison Keeper’, William Finnegan³ said, ‘This theological metaphor gets closer to the truth about Wouter Basson, who, in his smooth impenitence and incorrigibility, seems at times like an Afrikaner Mephistopheles.’

A man of great excesses, Basson set up four secret front companies to distance the military from the project officially. He bought properties and seemed to have scammed the South African Nationalist Government while carrying out its orders. Jan Lourens, a Project Coast worker, said, ‘Flying on

the Concorde was not Basson's only indulgence. Wouter had an issue about strip joints, pornography, and so on.'

Project Coast secretly researched chemical and biological warfare in violation of the international Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction (usually referred to as the BTWC). This convention commits the 183 states which are party to it to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of biological and toxic weapons.

It all started in 1981 when Basson was working as a personal physician to State President PW Botha. On Botha's orders, the country's surgeon-general hired Basson to form 7 Medical Battalion Group, a specialist unit of the South African Military Health Service. His job was to collect information about other countries' chemical and biological warfare capabilities under the name Project Coast, a name very close to a South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR) project. After his preliminary report, Basson became head project officer and began to work on the country's chemical and biological weapons capability. He recruited about 200 researchers from around the world and received annual funds equivalent to \$10 million.

In evaluating Basson's AIDS work, it is important to assess whether it was benign or malevolent. A few factors need to be discussed. Firstly, the rest of Basson's work was aimed at aggressive chemical and biological warfare meant for apartheid's enemies. So it would be out of character for Basson to be spending time and effort saving black lives when his career was dedicated to destroying political enemies of the apartheid state. Secondly, this work was being done secretly, which would be odd if it was an honest endeavour to save lives. If the aim was benevolent, doubtless there would have been maximum publicity afforded to the programme to show the Nationalist Government had black people's interests at heart. Thirdly, personal ambition would not have been absent; success in the fight against the pandemic would mean Nobel prizes or other awards and a guaranteed career in medicine, apart from the gratitude of right-thinking people throughout the world.

If the intention of Basson's bosses was to reduce the black population, as some have stated, the AIDS epidemic was a heaven-sent opportunity. It could not be blamed on anyone and would achieve white domination in a future election. That said, it did not mean everyone working on AIDS in Basson's outfit would know if it was aimed at killing black people or saving them.

Dr Daan Goosen, a scientist who founded the biological warfare facility and front company Roodeplaat Research Laboratory (RRL) in 1983⁴, worked with Basson. He qualified as a veterinarian in 1975 and obtained an Honours degree three years later in clinical pathology, toxicology and pharmacology. Goosen said in the Basson trial that, at a meeting which he, Basson and the then-surgeon general Nico Nieuwoudt attended, the decision was made that

the facility would operate clandestinely. This would allow the scientists freer access to the international scientific community and would allow RRL to draw top scientists to its payroll, since military remuneration would not be sufficiently attractive.

Goosen was involved in medical research at the university but became more involved with some covert projects. Basson approached him to see if he would be willing to assist in biological agents for warfare. He was clear that the programme would be defensive and offensive and, in addition, attacks and assassinations against individual members of anti-apartheid movements were planned.

Then Basson asked if Goosen could assist in supplying him with toxins or poisons coming from bacteria, saying that they had specific targets in mind, and questioning what his feeling would be about this. He knew that 'terrorists' and political figures were the targets on the ANC side. Goosen realised he would be involved in helping Basson in a biological warfare programme that would be used to kill people. It was spelled out that it would be a biological chemical weapons programme and that it would be offensive. He said there wasn't much of a difference if you used a gun to kill someone or if you used a more refined product to do the job.

Goosen said they were supposed to establish a complete biological and chemical weapons capacity for the South African Government. On the offensive side, they were supposed to cover the whole range of developing chemical and biological products. 'The programme was to design new biological projects in two categories – one was for more sophisticated mass destruction weapons and the other one was what we called a 'dirty tricks' sort of programme, where products could be supplied for individual assassinations. These were composed out of toxins in chemical and in plant and in biological nature.'

The materials Goosen worked with were mostly standard toxins for the dirty tricks operations to take out individuals. These were anthrax, cholera and food poisoning bacteria including salmonella and tetanus. On the biological side they worked on individual organisms producing specific toxins. An example is the food poisoning-type drug such as the deadly botulism. These were tested on non-human primates, but also laboratory rodents.

Goosen was the first of the scientists to testify against Basson on 22 May 2000. He told the court about work done at RRL on organophosphates saying the objective was to develop the ultimate murder weapon – a lethal poison that could not be traced during an autopsy or, if traced, could not be traced back to RRL and hence the SADF. RRL was single-minded in this objective. Surgeon-General Knobel was aware of this project. Goosen thought he should either get a medal for the work he did for the Republic of South Africa or be compared to the hated Nazi geneticist and death camp

killer Dr Josef Mengele. (The name of Mengele recurs in a notebook kept by Dagmar Feil's mother. Feil was murdered while working for SAIMR.)

According to Goosen, Basson had hidden agendas and was very hard on people, discarding them when he had finished with them. The discussion on targets related to the ANC leadership at that time, and included someone to take Mandela out. Goosen expressed personal moral repugnance about what he was doing, but the politicians of the time had created the climate in South Africa of the total onslaught and take-over by communism. He said the development of biological weapons was a new field, being developed by all countries. Basson and his colleagues knew they were doing it and he had contact with all the work and the weapons that were developed.

Regarded as the most secret project of the then government, Goosen believed it was a successful, efficient and sophisticated biological warfare programme with the ability to do genetic engineering. The need-to-know principle was applied at all levels, and lower down it was diluted so much that people did not have the broader picture. He said Basson deserved the nom de guerre Dr Death and he would not have had any scruples about killing anyone. He was allegedly protected after the so-called dismantling of the programme 'even by the new government of the new South Africa'.

Surgeon-General Knobel denied the programme's existence for many years, Goosen said. Dr Andre Immelman led evidence about these projects and questioned the operation's legitimacy. Basson reassured Goosen that all the projects had State Security Council approval⁵ – meaning President PW Botha, with all the leading cabinet ministers, including FW de Klerk, Magnus Malan and Pik Botha, plus leading military and police officers.

Chandre Gould and Marlene Burger rebutted Malan's plea of innocence saying, 'The Basson trial proved that Malan himself authorised the structure of the covert unit [the CCB] that embarked on a campaign of mass murder of Swapo prisoners of war within two months of it being set up in May 1979.'⁶ The authors said it was a top-secret Military Intelligence unit which placed General Tienie Groenewald in charge. We will hear more about him.

Although it was alleged that the programme was defensive and designed to protect South African troops from enemy chemical and biological weapons, little was done in this direction. In fact, the concentration was on offensive weapons. Goosen said there was no doubt in his mind that Project Coast was about the weapon development – and that during the 1980s, South Africa was a world leader in some aspects of biological research. Of the 203 project files police found in Basson's trunks, 177 dealt with chemical and biological warfare (CBW) weapons. The rest related to 'soft' or commercial projects. Of the 177 CBW files, 34 dealt with antidotes and treatment for biological agents and of these, only three were final reports.

As Gould and Burger said, 'By contrast, the offensive component of the

programme moved ahead fairly rapidly. Construction of the two production facilities – Delta G Scientific and RRL – was approved in 1982, but it was not until 1985 that Delta G began turning out chemicals at its state-of-the-art plant in Midrand, halfway between Pretoria and Johannesburg.⁷ Their cover story was that of a contract research facility in the pharmacological, agricultural, biological, veterinary and medical fields and some private projects.

We must focus on the name Delta G, as one of the units in SAIMR was also called Delta. In his book *Death Flight: Apartheid's secret doctrine of disappearance*, Michael Schmidt⁸ showed how over 200 black activists were murdered and then dropped into the ocean by secret security forces. His book examines the 'pivotal role played by Delta 40, the ultra-secret South African Special Forces unit with elements of Rhodesia's famous Selous Scouts embedded in its DNA. Delta 40 would soon become Project Barnacle, before later morphing into the feared Civil Cooperation Bureau.'⁹

Schmidt explained the origins of the appellation 'delta'. He said that Algeria also saw the use of pseudo-gangs of civilians and security forces organised by the far-right Secret Army Organisation (OAS) as 'Delta Commandos under Foreign Legion defector Lieutenant Roger Degueldre to commit perhaps 2,000 insurgent killings'. He then concluded that 'the Delta designation would later find a deadly echo in South Africa's own counter-insurgency war'.

How this form of attack, recognised worldwide as a war crime, came to South Africa was explained by Schmidt. He said that the French counter-insurgency doctrine was codified by General André Beaufre, whose 'total strategy' would one day have a profound influence on South Africa's military, including Magnus Malan. Beaufre advocated a holistic or even totalitarian battlespace, which involved dissolving the boundaries between military and civilian life. This ingenious strategy meant that the military omnisciently co-ordinated social, economic, civil, psychological and propaganda aspects of a 'total' war against the insurgency. So, we should not be surprised when we learn from Schmidt that, in the 1950s, a young officer in the South African Defence Force named Magnus Malan visited Beaufre as a military observer and learned total strategy at his knee.¹⁰

When we consider the likelihood of Malan embarking on the truly horrific AIDS programme, we should not forget the man's personal life. In their book *The Lost Boys of Bird Island*¹¹, authors Mark Minnie and Chris Steyn deal with the sexual depredations Malan and other senior Nats, including Minister John Wiley and David Allen, performed on young boys on Bird Island, just outside Port Elizabeth. Drugging them with date-rape substances, they performed rapes and sado-masochistic acts on the youngsters, causing many of them life-long trauma. One victim nearly died, after being hospitalised, when a pistol was forced up his anus and then discharged.

What General Malan, later minister of defence, learned about 'delta forces' quickly entered the army lexicon and in 1967 Commandant Jan Breytenbach started a special operations team of himself and 11 men – the 'Dirty Dozen'.

When we seek to draw links between the South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR), the CCB, British Intelligence and AIDS and the chemical and biological warfare programme, aptly called Project Coast, we could do worse than note the nomenclature. SAIMR was founded following the growth of British naval power around the world. Michael Schmidt in his book on the death flights said, 'The CCB's front company was known – rather chillingly, given Operation Dual's continuing death flights over the seas – as Ocean Tech.'

So, the maritime appellations permeate the secret organisations. To show the hierarchy from CEO to South African President PW Botha, Schmidt explained how the alleged civil company Ocean Tech was run. Onwards and upwards ran the chain of command to 'Chief of the Army Lieutenant General Kat Liebenberg, thence to Chief of the Defence Force General Jannie Geldenhuys, then to Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and finally to State President PW Botha'.

PW Botha and those on the State Security Council, including FW de Klerk and Pik Botha, all knew about the chemical and biological warfare. Going down the pecking order, Schmidt explained how the chain of command reached to the CCB and 'Region 5 was Europe and International under Johan Niemoller, who was replaced in 1987 by Lieutenant Colonel Eeben Barlow'. The last-mentioned was alleged to be involved in the Pan Am bombing, which ended the life of Bernt Carlsson.¹²

Once the new South Africa beckoned and non-racial elections were in the offing, with a strong possibility of the ANC in power, the Nat offenders took measures to protect themselves. If these serious charges were brought, it would be likely that the criminals, who put in place the chemical and biological warfare, would be sentenced to death or given life sentences.

Secrecy was paramount in the CCB and the staff went to great lengths to hide state involvement. There was an inner and outer circle, the former being in charge. Two researchers concluded that there 'was a direct operational line of command from the Commanding Officer of Special Forces to the Project Officer of the CBW programme, which would suggest that there was a direct line of command from the CCB to Wouter Basson'.¹³

Although FW de Klerk always maintained he knew nothing of these matters, the CBW programme reported to the State Security Council (SSC). His later claims of cleaning up the operation are not entirely true. Schmidt wrote, 'In January 1990, CCB boss Joe Verster was informed by General Jannie Geldenhuys that President FW de Klerk, South Africa's reform-minded new leader, had assured him there would be no witchhunt against the

CCB. Nonetheless, in mid-January, Verster and the new GOC Special Forces Major-General Eddie Webb, who had taken over on the first of the month, appear to have arranged for the “disappearance” of the bulk of the CCB’s financial and operational records from storage in a strong room at Speskop.”¹⁴

The Harms Commission covered up much of the happenings at the time. Schmidt explained that Joe Verster was arrested on 2 March 1990, but was released on ministerial orders, allegedly so that he could testify before the Harms Commission. ‘But the Commission proved to be unequal to the task: with Harms, who was openly hostile to allegations against the security establishment, as the sole commissioner, it was easily led astray by Verster. An SAP/Harms Commission investigations team that seized CCB documents from both Theunis Kruger’s smallholding and the old Renosterspruit D40/Barnacle HQ simply returned the documents to the CCB without sharing relevant files as promised with fellow policemen.’¹⁵

The Delta G plant was soon manufacturing deadly toxins in its horror chamber. According to authors Stephen Burgess and Helen Purkitt, by the end of 1984, Project Coast and RRL had tested a range of CBW toxins and had developed countermeasures to ricin and botulinum. The list included anthrax, plague, cholera, *E. coli*, staph, necrotising fasciitis, ricin, botulinum, gas gangrene, anti-matter bacteria, Ebola, Marburg and Rift Valley viruses. It was even claimed that Project Coast developed pathogens that had never before been seen. Burgess said, ‘In 1994, the South Africans surprised the Americans by revealing that they had the [necrotising fasciitis] bacteria and then gave it to the US.’¹⁶

In November 1983, Basson was allegedly involved in the use of CBW against regime opponents in Dukuduku in KwaZulu-Natal. He instructed South African agents to tie their intended victims to trees and smear a gel-like ointment on their bodies. When that failed to kill them, they were allegedly injected with an anaesthetic drug and then a muscle relaxant. After they had died, their bodies were thrown into the ocean.

In 1985, four SWAPO detainees held at Reconnaissance Regiment headquarters were allegedly given a sleeping drug in soft drinks, taken to Lanseria airport outside Johannesburg and injected with three toxic substances supplied by Basson. Their bodies were flown across the country and thrown into the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁷

CCB operative Petrus Jacobus Botes, who claimed to have also directed bureau operations in Mozambique and Swaziland, said he was ordered in May 1989 to contaminate the water supply at Dobra, a refugee camp located in Namibia, with cholera and yellow fever organisms. In late August 1989, he led an attempt to do this but failed because of the high chlorine content in the treated water at the camp.

There were many individual attacks, but one example suffices. This was

the use of a deadly poison paraoxon against secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches and an outspoken opponent of apartheid, Frank Chikane, in April 1989. Dr Andre Immelman later read in a newspaper about the poisoning of Chikane and asked Basson directly if paraoxon had been used. Basson replied that no one knew, 'not even the Americans'.¹⁸ The evidence before the TRC showed that this was the CCB's work. According to RRL scientist Schalk van Rensburg's testimony to the TRC, the men who tried to kill Chikane used too little poison and though Chikane was very sick, somehow he survived.

In an article on South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme,¹⁹ Burgess and Purkitt said, 'In response to the ANC/MK and other perceived threats, the CCB started operations in 1988. According to the Steyn Report and a number of interviews, Basson worked with the CCB, had offices in the same building, and supplied them with CBW poisons for assassination purposes. The Steyn Report also found that Basson and the CCB were receiving instructions from Malan and other superiors. However, Basson and the CCB interpreted the instructions as they saw fit.'

In Mads Brügger's book about SAIMR entitled *Doctor Maxwell, I presume?*, which we have discussed before, he stated in paragraph 65, 'Alexander Jones claims to have obtained HIV vaccines from Roodeplaat, the former South African army research laboratory near Pretoria. According to Jones, the vaccines were packaged in small pink containers.' Jones knew the layout of the laboratories there, which fortifies that he was speaking the truth in this regard.

Against this backdrop of crimes against humanity, the world grew large and still, bloated with unspeakable atrocities. Meanwhile, the tyrants and murderers thrashed and writhed – preparing to use any means to perpetuate white supremacy.

30 | Project Coast's chamber of horrors

'Emotional detachment from the plight of others – easily achieved by simply looking the other way – always favoured the perpetrators rather than the victims who were reduced to being inconsequential nonentities ...'

William Hanna, *The Grim Reaper*

In an effort to stave off black majority rule, desperate white supremacists began to use their considerable resources to plan genocide – led by the notorious Dr Death. Project Coast is proof of one attempt to reduce the black population. Scientist Dr Daan Goosen told the BBC in a public broadcast that a project to achieve infertility in the black population was Project Coast's major objective. Its aim was to develop a contraceptive to administer secretly to black people. The TRC heard that researchers were also considering birth control substances in water supplies.

Goosen was unequivocal about the racist agenda, stating that it was very important to bring the black birth rate under control. Both Wouter Basson and the surgeon general tasked them with this project.¹ He alleged that Project Coast was far advanced in finding a vaccine that would not affect whites but selectively target the black majority.

Fear of voter dominance drove the project and Goosen explained that Basson told researchers the government had lied about South Africa's census figures to keep white supporters unaware of South Africa's demographics. He told the TRC that the census office stopped counting black people after reaching 45 million. And because the government did not want to alarm the public, 'I think the figure of about 28 million was made known,' he said.

When the TRC asked about the percentage sterilisation that was sought, he merely said that those involved in Project Coast had no scruples about experimenting with black people's lives. Goosen further testified that when he asked Basson what motivated him, the latter said he was proud of his contribution in bringing down voting numbers with genocide.

Dr Schalk van Rensburg supported the sterilisation programme, referring to the urgent but 'fruitless quest for a form of birth control which would be covertly administered to the burgeoning black population of apartheid South Africa'.² Dr Jan Lourens, the head of Protechnik (another Project Coast front organisation), designed equipment for animal experiments taking place at Roodeplaat Research Laboratory (RRL). He implicated Dr Riana Borman as the scientist in charge of experiments 'to control virility and fertility'.

Van Rensburg testified that Basson approached him in 1985 to work on a fertility project in response to a request from Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

Savimbi was said to be concerned that many of his best fighters were falling pregnant; RRL was to conduct research into fertility control to assist UNITA. Of course, the scientists did not believe the cover story – Van Rensburg testified that he ‘could not think an intelligent man could think we would spend a couple of million on a project like this to control pregnancy in a few of Savimbi’s female soldiers ...’ Nonetheless, the project got under way and became central to RRL’s work.

Burgess et al said, ‘It appears that, from the start, Project Coast was not just a “defensive” programme. In the early 1980s, fears of a “black tidal wave” drove white scientists to try to develop a variety of means that could ensure the survival of white South Africa. Plans were devised to build a large-scale anthrax production facility at RRL. The anthrax could have been used either outside or inside South Africa, particularly where guerrillas were present. According to former RRL scientist, Mike Odendaal, who testified in the Basson trial, those plans were nearly put into operation in 1985.’³

‘Also, reportedly part of Project Coast was genetic engineering research, which was being conducted to produce a “black bomb”, bacteria or other biological agents that would kill or weaken blacks and not whites. The black bomb could be used to wipe out or incapacitate an entire area where an insurrection was taking place. Project Coast scientists asked Basson to obtain a peptide synthesizer outside of South Africa that would assist in genetic engineering efforts ... Many aspects of Project Coast research projects, including the country’s links with other states, have not and may never be uncovered.’ According to Dr Rocklyn Williams of the Institute for Security Studies, he debriefed an SADF sergeant in 1983 who talked about the development of a ‘black bomb’.⁴

RRL research amounted to conspiracy to commit genocide and Goosen told the commission South Africa’s then Surgeon-General Dr Niel Knobel emphasised it and defined it as ‘the most important project for the country’. Scientists and doctors working with Basson and Goosen were said to be co-operating with an unnamed European scientist, who claimed to have developed a strain of bacteria in the early 1980s capable of ‘only affecting, making sick and killing pigmented people’.

Goosen stated under oath that apart from attempting to reduce voting numbers, the government had in mind using such a weapon as a ‘negotiation back-up’ to stay in power and ‘maintain peace’ between whites and blacks. The TRC was keen to meet the unnamed European scientist, but Goosen told the Commission that previous plans to arrange a meeting were abandoned because he feared it being a trap.

In December 1982 or January 1983, an article appeared in *Resister*, a South African anti-conscription journal published in London. An insider in the SADF told the magazine that the South African military had developed and used chemical and biological weapons. 'These included morphine and scopolamine in the interrogation of Namibian detainees; nerve gas artillery shells [tentatively identified as Sarin, a nerve gas]; and carrying out research into a biological "race weapon" to which black people would be more susceptible than whites.'⁵

What fresh horrors would have emerged from Pandora's Chemical and Biological War Box? If there were plans for a 'black bomb', then it is not a far cry to imagine a plot to spread AIDS among the black population and blame it on nature or promiscuity. In their book *Secrets and Lies – Wouter Basson and South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme*⁶, Marlene Burger and Chandré Gould said, 'The AIDS research project was authorised by Project Coast's Coordinating Management Committee, according to Basson, as part of a study to determine whether AIDS alone would allow the SADF to win the war.'

The argument was that AIDS would kill so many black people that even with Nelson Mandela out of prison and universal franchise, whites could maintain political supremacy. Deliberately spreading HIV among the black population to stop them winning a non-racial election would surely constitute genocide in terms of United Nations statutes.

No doubt, any decent prosecuting authority would seriously address all these murderous acts. Article 2(d) of the United Nations Genocide Convention defines genocide as 'any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such, killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group ...' Clearly the bacteria designed to kill people of colour and the anti-fertility programmes were genocide in terms of the Geneva statute.⁷

After the TRC, Basson went on trial to face 54 charges, ranging from the possession of drugs to conspiracy to murder. When Basson gave evidence he said that in 1988 the bulk of AIDS research in South Africa was done through the Medical Research Council and he claimed that some of the researchers 'were on our clandestine payroll'.

Basson was acquitted in 2002. The NPA appealed against the acquittal but the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) upheld the judgment. In February 2005, the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) took the matter further to the highest court in the land, the Constitutional Court (ConCourt) in Johannesburg. There the not-guilty verdict of the trial court was overturned.

And yet, despite the ConCourt's watershed ruling, the NPA was prevented from pursuing any such cases due to political pressure.

In October 1998, the TRC released its report on violations of human rights and abuses of power during the apartheid era. Among the 3,500 pages of testimony gathered over the course of its three-year inquiry, there is a damning chapter dedicated to Project Coast. The TRC found that scientists, professors, doctors, dentists, veterinarians, laboratories, universities and front companies propped up the apartheid CBW programme with the support of an extensive international network. Project Coast, it judged, was 'evidence of science being subverted to cause disease and undermine the health of communities'.

Specifically, the TRC found that 'cholera, botulism, anthrax, chemical poisoning and the large-scale manufacture of drugs of abuse, allegedly for purposes of crowd-control, were among the projects of the programme' and that 'chemicals, poisons and lethal micro-organisms were produced for use against individuals and "applicators" (murder weapons) developed for their administration'. The TRC also found that Project Coast pursued 'substances to reduce the fertility and virility of people'.

Basson and his colleagues also had vitriol in store for those negotiating with the ANC in the early nineties. According to the Steyn Report to FW de Klerk, Basson was a member of the so-called 'Inner Circle'. As De Wet Potgieter wrote in his book,⁸ 'In an extremely subtle war of words, threats of a bloody rebellion regularly reached FW's ears from political platforms.'⁹ Potgieter said that early in 1992, the 'Inner Circle' had begun sending threatening letters to ministers and NP Government key figures.

One such letter read, 'Every time that you support the Codesa negotiations, you will be reminded that another circle exists. It is the Inner Circle, a well structured group of former members of the South African Defence Force, Military Intelligence, special forces, police task force, Security Police and the National Intelligence Service. As a formal covert group, we have observed your political initiatives over the past 18 months with growing concern.

'We are prepared to give you the benefit of the doubt and offer you the chance to prove your sincerity by negotiating a feasible alternative for a new South Africa. Until such time as progress has been made, under pressure from the ANC and the shameful appointment of Roelf Meyer as Minister of Defence, we will not consider utilising the considerable abilities of our resources (to which the general staff of the defence force, the police and senior management of National Intelligence can testify, having made use of them previously and continuing to do so) but, as the command cell, we have no other choice but to warn that we will not allow our families and our country to be handed over to a communist-controlled CODESA, an interim government or the ANC.'

The letter continued with the threat that if the ministers and NP Government key figures should leave the country, however briefly, the 'Inner Circle' would hunt them down. And as a grand finale said, 'In order to avoid bloodletting in the country and for the sake of both your and our good health, TURN AWAY from the path that you are currently on, or face the consequences.'

The testimony given at the TRC made clear that Basson and this 'Inner Circle' had no qualms about using the vile methods of Dr Josef Mengele to pursue similar ends as those of the Nazis in World War II.¹⁰

Helping to clarify the real nature of Project Coast's AIDS 'research', we turn to a series of unusual events. In early 2000, Pat Riley, one of the owners of a southern California biotech firm, BioFem, was injured in a shooting.¹¹ The California police took his business partner Dr Larry Ford in for questioning and, soon after, Ford committed suicide. When police searched his house they found documents that led them to dig up his backyard. The documents included statements by Juergen Jacomet, a former Swiss military intelligence agent, who worked with Dr Wouter Basson on money-laundering for Project Coast in Europe. Jacomet referred to a right-wing conspiracy that included several Americans.

Official sources hid much of what police found in Ford's yard, which leads one to suspect the worst. Among other items they removed 17 automatic and semi-automatic weapons, including machine-guns, and thousands of ammunition rounds. One canister also yielded a kilogram of dangerous C4 explosive and blasting caps, which the police said could only have come from a military facility. Even more sinister was the find in Ford's freezer of 30 baby food jars filled with deadly pathogens, including cholera, salmonella and typhoid fever germs. If this was a benign scientist searching for an AIDS cure, he sure had strange hobbies.

The American investigation revealed Ford was 'a racist who espoused right-wing survivalist beliefs and laid fraudulent claim to certain academic achievements and scientific affiliation'.¹² Further evidence emerged that 'Ford, whose public image was that of a church-going man and a devoted husband and father, had been having an extramarital affair with a BioFem laboratory assistant for more than ten years ... Valerie Kesler had helped Ford administer drugs to unwitting individuals during secret sex-sessions, and she had referred to the victims as "white chimpanzees". Authorities also looked into a number of complaints from Ford's former female patients, but were unable to conclude that their illnesses, ranging from cancer to abdominal pains, were the result of treatment he administered.'

Kesler said in an affidavit she had once accompanied Ford to Africa while he was transporting 'germ warfare products' which he was intending to exchange for 'research products' not available in the United States.

It transpired Ford was working on a form of birth control that he had patented in 1997, and which he claimed could prevent millions of people from dying of AIDS, especially in Africa. It would also, in the process, make him very rich. In fact, studies found that the chemicals in the microbicide damaged the vagina lining, making the user more susceptible to HIV infection. The police began investigating claims Ford made to his friends that he was a consultant to the SADF and had close ties with the CIA. Former South African surgeon general, Dr Niels Knobel, admitted he had met Ford at a conference in San Diego, California in the late 1980s and they had become friends.

According to Burger and Gould, despite evidence of Ford's links to Project Coast and a proposed AIDS research project to be secretly funded by the SADF, Wouter Basson refused to comment on their relationship.¹³ If Basson and Ford were engaged in laudable research to find a cure for the pandemic that was devastating the world and southern Africa in particular, it is extremely strange to keep it secret.

Historian James Sanders pointed out the friendly relations between the Bureau for State Security (BOSS) and the CIA and said CIA Director William Colby would later admit that South African intelligence agents received training in the United States. Brigadier Lothar Neethling, who was in a senior position in the chemical and biological warfare programme, visited the United States six times on business between 1972 and 1976.¹⁴

Sanders confirmed that Ford was a regular visitor to apartheid South Africa from the late 1970s. On a number of trips Ford is said to have been accompanied by an American surgeon with 'extreme views', who claimed to have worked as a 'special forces physician' in the Rhodesian war. The 'extreme views' must relate to biological warfare as the unnamed surgeon was famously quoted as saying, 'Every time I leave Africa a disease breaks out.'

South African trade attaché Gideon Bouwer told an acquaintance, who later became an FBI informant, that Ford had given Knobel a briefcase containing biological warfare materials.¹⁵

Knobel and Ford shared an interest in AIDS. Knobel conceded he had met Ford and his associates during one of their many visits to Gideon Bouwer in the 1980s. Knobel would claim, 'Our whole policy of protecting members of the defence force against HIV (educating them to use condoms) came from my relationship with Larry. We both worked toward a cure for AIDS that would be available to the vast population of Africa. There was no political agenda.' Ford told his wife he was working for the CIA but she did not believe him and the agency has denied any links.

Knobel was untruthful about when Ford visited South Africa as it was several years earlier according to Dr Scharf, the former head of Military Hospital One in Pretoria. He said Ford visited as Knobel's guest in 1984 or 1985. Knobel also ordered that Ford be given VIP treatment at the hospital's

expense. Scharf was offended by Ford's request for human placenta to use in his research on viruses and threw Ford out of his office.

Knobel confirmed he helped Ford establish protocols to test his product in South Africa. Microbiologist Mike Odendaal, researcher at SADF front company RRL, said Ford visited South Africa again in 1987, not to find ways to prevent HIV transmission but to instruct scientists working with a SADF front company on how to turn teabags, doilies and pornographic magazines into 'weapons' against the ANC by using clostridium bacteria species. Knobel supported this claim, confirming that he introduced Ford to Basson, who arranged a briefing for Ford with Project Coast scientists at Fort Klapperkop outside Pretoria in June or July 1987.

Knobel said he relied on Ford's expertise whenever he had questions about chemical or biological weapons and admitted he helped Ford and Riley gain approval for using products produced by BioFem. A new project, codenamed Project Larry, was started around the time of Ford's visit. Adriaan Botha, a Project Coast scientist who attended the briefing, reported that Ford sent them five bags of biological material they hoped to cultivate into organisms that could be used to kill apartheid enemies.

Ford claimed he parachuted into southern Africa during the apartheid era to take blood samples from dead guerrilla fighters to help the US Government determine the biological warfare agents against which the Soviets were vaccinating their allies. A friend and Ford associate, Jerry D Nilsson, claimed he and Ford travelled to Africa together. In 1988, Nilsson, Ford and other doctors planned to buy a defunct Los Angeles hospital and set up a state-of-the-art infectious disease research centre, the Lake View Terrace Institute.

The web extended widely and Nilsson told the *Los Angeles Times* the facility was to be 'one cog in a complex, far-reaching project' with facilities in Africa, Germany, Italy and Britain. It all came to nought when research groups smelled a rat and denied they were backing the venture.

Police raided Nilsson's house and storage lockers. They seized considerable material but, as with the Ford raid, clammed up when asked what it was. Information leaked out from Nilsson's friends, who claimed he and Ford stashed chemicals and germs at several locations in southern California. Although the American police said the evidence strongly suggested both were deeply involved in a conspiracy, the authorities largely covered it up.

A long-time associate of Ford claimed only about one per cent of the story of Ford's activities in Africa had been disclosed. In July 2000, an Orange County, California, grand jury heard evidence that suggested Ford's links to the former South African regime were part of a larger network including officials of the former government and perhaps rogue elements.

The FBI opened an international investigation to determine whether any crimes under US law had occurred in South Africa. Ford claimed to have

served as a consultant to the South African Government, lecturing scientists on biological topics relevant for biological warfare, a violation of US laws, which prevented such contacts during apartheid. Mysteriously, the authorities have refused to make public the results of a closed grand jury investigation into the Ford case.

What seems probable is that the discovery of biological agents and toxins in Ford's possession shows Basson called upon former associates to conceal biological agents, poisons and drugs overseas. The evidence at the Basson trial failed to explain where tons of drugs and smaller quantities of deadly toxins, whose production Basson oversaw before his retirement from the military in 1993, went and why so many drugs were produced in the first place.

The collaboration of foreigners is clear from personal correspondence between Basson and individuals in Switzerland, the United Kingdom and other countries. Letters from England and elsewhere described emergency exit plans should Basson land in trouble. Authors Stephen Burgess and Helen Purkitt said, 'The death of Dr Ford and revelations of his South African involvement, and his failed effort to establish the Lake View Terrace Institute raised again the possibility of a right-wing international network, united by a vision of a South Africa once again ruled by whites.'

Although these authors found no direct proof of murder of black South Africans through deliberate HIV infection, they said that recent revelations since Ford's death had been consistent with reports that the former South African Government was already concerned about the future impact of the AIDS epidemic by the mid-1980s.

If there was a deliberate campaign to infect black people in this way, there would have to be clinics set up to administer the infection. Prosecutors in the Basson trial introduced into the court documents found in the possession of a witness, named only as Webster, which indicated that a group of South African doctors started a group called WPW in the early 1980s. According to these documents, southern African health authorities tasked them to set up clinics in various African countries.

On 24 May 2000, a former RRL bacteriologist told the Pretoria High Court that he had freeze-dried HIV-infected blood for Basson 'for use against a political enemy'. Dr Mike Odendaal testified that at the time HIV was starting to rear its head, he had received a small bottle with HIV-infected blood from RRL MD Dr Andre Immelman. Odendaal said Immelman told him Basson requested the blood from a patient at One Military Hospital in Pretoria who had died of AIDS to be freeze-dried and that it would be given to a political opponent.

31 | SAIMR and the HeLa cells

‘Hear no evil, speak no evil, see no evil, but then also do no evil.’

Amit Abraham

Throughout this book thus far, we have mentioned the malevolent South African Institute for Maritime Research. Journalist De Wet Potgieter exposed SAIMR’s role in the Seychelles fiasco (Chapter 10). We were also apprised of a medical case in the USA involving Henrietta Lacks, who had a liver-coloured tumour on her cervix. While other cells died after a few hours, Lacks’s cancerous cells multiplied at such a rate that researchers began to use them in numerous projects and HeLa cells became a critical resource in science and teaching.

The HeLa cells played a pivotal role in the AIDS epidemic that overwhelmed South Africa. ‘Dr’ Keith Maxwell must have studied the science behind HeLa cells closely. These cells were the first human cells cloned successfully in 1955. They were mailed to scientists around the globe for research into cancer, AIDS, the effects of radiation and toxic substances, gene mapping, and to test human sensitivity to glue, cosmetics and other products. But following the discovery that HeLa cells could contaminate and overgrow other cell lines, there was controversy in the medical world about interpreting the results of many research studies.

Maxwell read about the discovery that HeLa cells could contaminate other cell cultures and thought it might further his own reprehensible ends. The presence of a certain enzyme, G6PD Type A, was among techniques used to identify cell line contamination. This was found at an increased frequency in the African American population and Maxwell’s interest in HeLa cells and contamination stemmed from his sinister and ill-informed concern. He wrote, ‘Researchers began tightening up on controls where the cells had been used but still, enzyme G6PD type A, an enzyme found in Black people, kept turning up in cells that had been cultured from White people meaning that yet another experimental project had to be scrapped through HeLa contamination.’

He seemed to believe this enzyme could act as a Trojan Horse for white supremacists to kill black people. Did he plan to find something toxic that would link up with an enzyme and use it to target and kill black people?

Maxwell had wanted to become a doctor but was recruited into SAIMR by Commodore Wagner (who we know was involved in Operation Celeste, as

well as Hammarskjöld and Patrice Lumumba's murders). Wagner promised Maxwell a job 'related to medicine' and promptly dispatched him to work as a mercenary in the Congo.

He was taken to a US-run clinic and laboratory at Aruvimi in the far north 'carved out of the thick jungle'. There he was met by Dr Cassidy, whom he describes as 'short, thick set... with a face like a paratrooper or commando' and a manner 'quite acceptable in a mercenary or a member of South Africa's Recce commando or Britain's SAS'. Men in combat gear guarded the clinic. Inside, it was more like a high-class hotel, with imported wines and steaks.

Maxwell was shown through 'surprisingly modern laboratories, treatment rooms and in another building, wards containing rows of patients in beds with crosses, circles or triangles on the walls behind them'. These represented different classes of disorder or therapy. Cassidy told Maxwell, 'The people being treated here belong to a couple of tribes who, although Simba supporters, are very insular and have practically no intercourse, sexual or social, with the surrounding tribes. For this reason, we're researching them as their very isolation makes their situation unique, disease-wise.'

He was acutely aware that he was in a secret clinic, creating biological and chemical weapons of the most terrible kind. Because of the contagious nature of some of the diseases, he was told to stay out of the labs and treatment rooms, unless invited by Dr Cassidy.

When Maxwell eventually is invited to a treatment room, he witnesses a horrifying incident illustrating the harm and dangers involved in the chemical experiments. 'One day, he [Maxwell] was doing ward rounds with a couple of the doctors at the clinic led by Prof Cassidy when Dr Kerns prepared a hypo syringe for one of the patients. The doctor jabbed the needle into the patient's arm with surprising results. The patient jumped as though burned and the syringe spun into the air. Kerns, not thinking, grabbed at it and it stuck into his hand where it swayed from side to side.'

According to Maxwell, Kerns paled visibly and shook his hand – sending the syringe flying across room shouting, 'Jesus, damn it I'm hit!' This medical research was conducted only on black people and clearly with dangerous viruses or other agents. Maxwell expressed no concerns about the 'patients' but reflected that 'this and other incidents, the care taken with waste disposal, the gloves, masks and seemingly excessive precautions taken when dealing with the patients made me wonder if I was just too crude and reckless to think about a medical career'.

Maxwell was told, 'In this part of the world, just about everything that flies, crawls or buzzes is potentially lethal, we're dealing with the unknown and trying to learn something – just stick to your job and leave the rest to the experts, ok?'

He discovered there were restricted areas at Aruvimi, 'labs where no-one

except blue-tagged staff were allowed'. He was warned not to trespass but, searching for Dr Cassidy one day, he stumbled on a large laboratory with shelves on which stood thousands of ampoules filled with yellowish milky liquid. When Dr Cassidy found him there, there was hell to pay. Cassidy raged 'that years of research had been endangered by your blundering about in the lab, that some of the ampoules and petri dishes held dangerous pathogens, which, if allowed loose, could cause diseases to spread through the whole area, and that his thoughtless action had placed himself and all his colleagues at risk'. That was the end of his time studying fatal pathogens in a US military lab and he was sent home to Johannesburg to 'a somewhat unfriendly reception from Commodore Wagner'.

Following the progress of medical research into HeLa cells, Maxwell wrote about what happened in 1975 when 'Walter Nelson-Rees [head of the Oakland cell culture laboratory in California] was sceptical about a batch of cancer cells handed to him for safe-keeping. Taking a sample of cells which purportedly came from a monkey, he began testing them.' He found the results disturbing: the cells all contained enzyme G6PD Type A, an enzyme common to African Americans, not monkeys. He knew then what he had been given were HeLa cells.

Maxwell was on top of his research about Walter Nelson-Rees, who was born in 1929 and died in 2009. He was a cell culture worker and cytogeneticist who helped expose the problem of cell line cross-contamination. Using chromosome banding, he could show that many immortal cell lines, previously thought to be unique, were HeLa cell lines. So powerful were the HeLa cells that they had contaminated and overgrown the other cell lines.

According to Maxwell, Nelson-Reese tried to inform the scientific press and community of his findings but the liberal heads of journals decided that he was probably a secret Ku Klux Klansman or John Birchler trying to upset their new-found Russian friends and therefore suppressed the information.

Maxwell wrote about a researcher called Bassin of the US National Cancer Institute, who was at first insulted by Nelson-Reese's suggestion that his precious cell collections might be contaminated by HeLa cells. Later, he agreed that Nelson-Reese could examine them. The results were alarming – HeLa had taken over all the lines.

Maxwell concluded that Bassin finally accepted the truth of Nelson-Reese's statements and wrote to several journals. 'Later that year, the prestigious *Journal of the National Cancer Institute* published the reports and all hell broke loose – scientists worldwide interrupted their research to have cultures re-examined – it was like Wall Street's Black Monday, thousands of projects were abandoned. HeLa had turned against her masters.'

What Maxwell was saying was that the HeLa cells were dominating all cell lines. For white racists such a biological 'superiority' was unthinkable.

In South Africa, scientists working for Dr Wouter Basson at Project Coast were trying to find an enzyme that was only found in black people, not to contribute to medical knowledge but for genocidal purposes, such as the 'black bomb' and infertility drugs.

In 1966, rebels ransacked and burned Dr Cassidy's clinic. According to Maxwell, as mentioned earlier, the pilot airlifting the doctors out of the area saw Cassidy turn to one of the doctors and say bitterly, 'We were so damned close, just one more year and we'd have hit it!'

In the light of the information at this stage it is still difficult to speculate as to what Cassidy and his covert team nearly achieved. One suggestion was that they had nearly found a virus that only attacked black people. The mention of flying insects and Maxwell's comments also strongly suggest that this enzyme was to be attached to an insect for mass distribution and death.

In an earlier chapter we mentioned Dr Charles Davenport's work on eugenics, as well as Dr John Kellogg and Adolf Hitler, who used Davenport's work as a blueprint. We also mentioned that, in the series *Designated Survivor*, one character said that this programme's 'proudest export and one of our more enduring takes – apartheid South Africa. Project Coast, the bioweapons programme.'

Another character in the television series says that she was assigned to the team to monitor Project Coast. 'They were researching ways to genetically target Black South Africans with lethal diseases.' We know that the project did not succeed completely as there is a large population of Africans in South Africa to this day.

We have no concrete evidence that what Maxwell observed was a continuation of Davenport and Kellogg's work, but the probabilities are overwhelming that scientists, working in the same field, would have searched all the available literature. Their predecessors believed that eugenic methods would help save the white race. Kellogg was passionate about race degeneracy and believed that the white race was threatened both by racial mixing and mental defectives.

Wouter Basson was charged with numerous counts arising out of Project Coast. There is evidence of the existence of a secret laboratory in the Congo from Basson's trial. He testified that by 1980, a year before the official launch of Project Coast, the toxicity of lethal chemical warfare agents was already so high that there was no need to develop anything more potent. Basson said before his 1981 trip to the US he knew about such substances as nerve gases, mustard gas and organophosphates. It was only after he was appointed project officer that he began to study the philosophy of chemical and biological warfare, studying all existing literature in the libraries. He also visited Iran to find out about necrotising entero-colitis, a flesh-eating pathogen.

32 | A morbid taste for murder

‘There’s bad poison running through your veins
Evil walks behind you
Evil sleeps beside you.’

AC/DC, *Evil Walks*

After his return to South Africa, Maxwell practised as a doctor – illegally, because there is no evidence that he ever qualified to practise medicine. In Brügger’s book at paragraph 107 we learn that an article appeared in 1994 in the Adler Museum Bulletin by Dr Keith Maxwell-Annandale of the South African Institute of Maritime Research. It relates to the work of Charles-Édouard Brown-Séquard who lived from 8 April 1817–2 April 1894 and was a Mauritian physiologist and neurologist. In 1850 he became the first to describe what is now called Brown-Séquard Syndrome, a condition arising out of the hemisection of the spinal cord, which he described after observing accidental injury of the spinal cord in farmers cutting sugarcane in Mauritius. Brown-Séquard was born in Mauritius and attended the Royal College there before graduating in medicine in Paris in 1846. He spent his time in prestigious medical positions in France, the United States and Britain. Brown-Séquard was quite a controversial and eccentric figure, and is also known for claiming, at age 72, rejuvenated sexual prowess after subcutaneous injection of extracts of animal testes.

This was later debunked because, unlike the thyroid gland, the testes do not store the hormones they produce. He had other bizarre experiments, including eating the vomit of cholera patients and pumping his blood into prisoners who had their heads chopped off. He was the first scientist to work out the physiology of the spinal cord, demonstrating that the decussation of the fibres carrying pain and temperature sensation occurs in the cord itself. Of particular importance is the fact that Maxwell’s article makes reference to the work of Jonas Salk on the polio vaccine. In later years, when his activities meant his life was in danger, he handed a huge cache of documents to journalist De Wet Potgieter as recorded in Chapter 10.

One of those documents dealt with Germany and showed Maxwell’s true colours. In the early eighties, South Africa was in the grip of one of the most repressive racist regimes in the world. Maxwell slammed Germany for giving sanctuary to ‘persons who are involved in subversive activities’. He continued, ‘It also funds leftist extra-parliamentary organizations, while imposing

sanctions and visa conditions on South Africans for committing the “crime” of reforming policies that even during the 1950s were milder than the policies of South Africa’s neighbours, most of whom have tried to emulate the Nazis by decimating the Matabele, the Ibos and, in Uganda, just about everybody.’

While condemning Germany, Maxwell was plotting his own atrocities: ‘During this time [the early eighties], an interesting disease was being discovered among homosexuals in the USA. It was thought to be caused by a retrovirus of the type discovered by Robert Gallo, of the National Cancer Institute. Named HTLV (Human T Cell Leukaemia Virus but later changed to Human T Cell Lymphotropic Virus) – the causal organism was the matter of some debate but the disease seemed to attack the body’s immune system. So, for want of a better name it was simply called Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome or AIDS.’

Studies on AIDS in Africa revealed that the pandemic spread mainly through heterosexual transmission among young and middle-aged people.¹ It was also transmitted through blood transfusions, from mother to infant and needlestick injuries. If some diabolical force was hell-bent on spreading the disease to a targeted population grouping, then exposing them to infected blood and unsterilised needles in a segregated ‘clinic’ might have seemed an obvious method.

The onset of AIDS in Africa was relatively undramatic. By the end of 1986, 85 countries had reported 38,401 AIDS cases to the WHO. Of these, Africa accounted for only 2,323, while the Americas contributed the vast majority with 31,741. Asia had a mere 84 cases, Europe 3,858 and Oceania 395.²

Medical scientists were already hard at work researching suitable treatment and, in March 1987, the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) gave its stamp of approval to AZT, the first AIDS antiretroviral treatment. To address the risk of infection from blood transfusions and unsterilised needles, blood was screened, and syringe exchange schemes were expanded to prevent HIV transmission through drug use.³

AIDS had not yet made a great impact in Africa, but President Kaunda of Zambia gave the sad news his son had died after contracting the virus and appealed to the international community to treat AIDS as an urgent and worldwide problem. In Uganda, case numbers increased, and 16 HIV-positive volunteers formed a community organisation TASO.

By December 1987, 71,751 AIDS cases had been reported to the WHO. The US still accounted for the majority (47,022). Uganda (2,369) and Tanzania (1,608) joined the handful of countries reporting more than 1,000 cases. By this time, the WHO estimated that 5 to 10 million people were infected with HIV worldwide, with 150,000 AIDS cases expected to develop in the following 12 months and up to 3 million within the next five years.⁴



William Campbell Douglass II

On 1 March 1989, 145 countries had reported 142,000 cases but the WHO regarded this as under-reporting and estimated the actual number of people with AIDS around the world to be more than 400,000.⁵

While the world focused on preventing HIV transmission and AIDS-related deaths, an eccentric doctor, William Campbell-Douglass II, engaged in some very suspicious work. Maxwell mentioned him in an undated manuscript dealing with the possibilities of biological warfare. 'The scenario of a massive assault on a target population was described by Dr William Campbell-Douglass.'

Campbell-Douglass wrote to Maxwell on 12 January 1990, saying, 'Pardon the long delay in corresponding with you but I had a tragedy in my life after returning to the US. I had a minor injury to my right hand which developed into a reflex sympathetic dystrophy – a disease you would not want to give to your worst enemy (unless he happened to be Reverend Tutu).' Referring to the iconic, peace-loving Tutu as the 'worst enemy' shows the two shared extremely right-wing political views.

The letter revealed that Campbell-Douglass was engaged in quack-type medical treatments in Africa for AIDS. 'The clinic in Uganda is going quite well and we are having some quite remarkable results with the combination of hydrogen peroxide intravenously and the photoluminescence which we discussed.'

He appeared to be spending his own money to provide health services. From the rest of the letter it can be assumed that Douglass had met Maxwell in South Africa. He planned to return every 90 days.

William Campbell-Douglass II, MD died in 2015 at the age of 89. He came from a distinguished family of physicians and was the fourth generation to practise medicine. His son is also a physician. Campbell-Douglass II was a graduate of the Miami School of Medicine, and of the Naval School of Aviation and Space Medicine. He did so well he was the National Health Federation 'Doctor of the Year'. Also, he worked alongside scientists at the Pasteur Institute in Russia for a year and set up and operated an AIDS clinic

in Uganda. It is said that many terminal stage AIDS patients made full recoveries using his ultraviolet blood irradiation (UBI) protocol.

There is another view of Campbell-Douglass which portrayed him as an alternative medicine promoter, and as being anti-vaccinations. For some he was a conspiracy theorist who believed the WHO developed AIDS as part of the New World Order's odious plan to take over the world by depopulating the Earth. He also believed, among other things, that a little tobacco smoking was good, exercise was overrated, vegetarianism was bad and raw milk was good. If that was not enough, he believed sunlight did not cause melanoma, but prevented it. Although he was an eccentric medic, he nevertheless was opposed to biological warfare.

To return to Maxwell, he shared some of these beliefs and one article that was to grab his attention was Campbell-Douglass's 'AIDS as a Weapon of War' published on the internet in 1988. It began, 'The great powers renounced chemical and biological warfare 20 years ago – but kept right on experimenting.'

Douglass wrote, 'The AIDS virus was created in a laboratory by combining lethal animal "retroviruses" in human cancer (HeLa) cell cultures. These viruses have never before caused infection in man. The "species barrier" has always been nature's way of keeping a deadly virus from wiping out the entire animal kingdom, including man.' He then proffered a solution, 'A short virology lesson will help you understand that AIDS is indeed an animal virus and that it was laboratory-made as a weapon of biological warfare against the free world.' This amazing statement clearly placed the perpetrator as an enemy of Western civilisation.

As for the AIDS virus he said it 'couldn't have come from animal viruses and is almost certainly a recombinant virus from fusing a cattle virus, bovine leukaemia virus with sheep Visna virus.' This, he claimed, was carried out by Russian scientists. He maintained it had worked because AIDS had killed millions in the United States and elsewhere.

Following his intense study of Douglass's work, Maxwell produced a report on the possibilities of biological warfare. He started by summarising what he understood Dr Douglass to be saying, 'The scenario of a massive assault on a target population was described by Dr William Campbell-Douglass, and could possibly have taken place in the following manner ...' Note the use of the words 'target population', which could only have meant black people.

According to Maxwell, HeLa cells would be used 'as a vehicle, containing the enzyme G6PD Type A, and a number of organisms could be manufactured having an affinity for the enzyme'. He concluded that if the HeLa cells were used with an enzyme that only occurred in black people, AIDS would be restricted to them and whites would emerge unscathed.

He envisaged that a process of gene splicing, eliminating end products that would be compatible with other enzyme types, namely, those occurring in non-target groups, could then begin. ('Non-target' groups are white people and their offspring). Following the work of Douglass, he believed 'a bovine virus and a retrovirus implanted in HeLa cells to create a new mutation would be possible'. This document was to be sent to persons not as yet identified. Maxwell had said his orders came from England and South Africa. He wrote all these documents using SAIMR letterheads.

Earlier we mentioned how in the months after World War II, SAIMR was set up by F Malan, and Bob Wagner was sent to train in the US using the cover of an Anglo American metallurgist. We cannot forget how SAIMR took part in the killings of Lumumba and Hammarskjöld to protect Belgian and Tanks investments, with Harry Oppenheimer as a director. The connivance of British and US intelligence was clear in Operation Celeste as per Chapter 12.

To make sure that his thesis was understood, Maxwell clarified how important it was that blacks specifically were targeted, without spreading to whites. 'The splicing would need to be undertaken with the following factors in mind, the mode of transmission, the incubation period, the possibility of an antidote or vaccine and finally the possibility of a spread of the product beyond the target group.'

Maxwell sketched what he called a scenario as his plan for the war on black people, starting in 1972 with inoculating a few viruses (Marburg, Lassa etc) into a control group. He said the results would have been unsatisfactory as the organisms were non-discriminating and would rapidly spread beyond the target population. 'Transmission would be uncertain, and incubation times would be short, making it possible to isolate infected persons. Nor are the effects always fatal.'

'Around 1975, the introduction of Hepatitis B could have met with more success, if first used in an isolated location, and being allowed to spread outward into more populous areas.' He said the asymptomatic period would be sufficiently protracted to exclude early disease identification, and that the target's life expectancy would be reduced to between 20 and 30 years.

Racial selection featured prominently in the added steps he envisaged. 'Once the process was well enough advanced, a new factor HTLV1 [the AIDS virus] could be set in place in the same manner as was Hepatitis B, this new factor superimposed on the earlier one would have great selectivity, having that affinity for G6PD Type A, as well as compromised immune systems. This factor would have more advantages than the first, *it would spread rapidly among the targets, slowly through other groups*. The difficulty of diagnosis as well as the expense and the expertise required to identify the disorder would allow a wide spread of the problem before it was recognised.'

Maxwell thought carefully about the social circumstances that would facilitate the effectiveness of his biological holocaust, saying that to accelerate transmission, certain events would be necessary. He enumerated a state of unrest to obstruct health services and render disease detection uneconomical, and rapid, uncontrolled urbanisation of people from lightly affected areas to heavily infected cities.

Finally, Maxwell probably dug into the knowledge he acquired at the Aruvimi jungle laboratory to finish off his victims. 'By 1995 the process would be far enough advanced to allow the introduction of the final factors, *Klebsiella* 1 and 2 as well as *Salmonella*. These last two organisms, while causing some discomfort in a healthy subject, would prove to be rapidly fatal in a person not possessed of a viable immune system or the ability to afford the expensive antibiotics to combat the recurrent infections.'

In the 27 November 1987 *Boksburg Advertiser* article about SAIMR that we discussed in Chapter 9, Commodore Keith Maxwell is quoted, 'The world has only one hope, and that is AIDS. Without AIDS, things look pretty bleak.'

What sort of monster would see AIDS, which at that time was killing hundreds of thousands and infecting millions, as a source of hope? Maxwell's interview contradicts the stated interests of SAIMR and the purpose of Debbie Campbell's work (Chapter 9).

Maxwell told the newspaper, 'Now, the South African Institute for Maritime Research devotes itself to a more pressing, but just as esoteric, concern: predicting the future. A recent report, which failed to meet over-bearing acclaim from others in the field, was an investigation into the implications and consequences of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, or AIDS. Using a chain of mostly trade-based contacts in central and southern Africa, such as cobalt-traders in Zaire, the Institute came up with the startling conclusion that the entire population of central Africa would be wiped out by the early 1990s. This would happen, the report said, 'even if a vaccine were to be found as it is already too late to save all these people'.

Maxwell said the report claimed that AIDS was spread by the Congo Black Fly and not, as the medical world held, by sexual contact. He believed that the resulting 'deaths of millions of people would actually be a good thing for humanity as a whole'.

'Nature has no great love for humanity,' said the chain-smoking Maxwell. 'Our only means of survival is for AIDS to wipe the population back to where it was in the 1950s. Then, financially and politically, the world was a stable place.' As the journalist interviewing Maxwell pointed out, the world was only stable, 'If one excludes the Hungarian Uprising, the Korean War, the Suez Crisis, Stalin's reign of terror, widespread riots in Berlin and Poland, revolutions in Iraq and Egypt and coups in Iran and Cuba.'

Once AIDS had devastated central Africa, Maxwell predicted, the

apartheid regime in South Africa would take military steps so that by the early 1990s, South Africa would invade and colonise the frontline states. 'This will be relatively easy to achieve as the population of these countries will have been ravaged by AIDS.'

One could dismiss Maxwell as delusional but what started out as a 'gentleman's drinking club' had expanded, he claimed, to have centres in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Bergvlei near Sandton. It was said to employ 50 people directly and 100 indirectly. It had units such as 'Sea and Sea-Life', 'Intelligence', 'Propaganda' and a 'Delta Unit', which apparently dealt with para-psychology. (Dr Wouter Basson started a Delta G laboratory as part of Project Coast). As the Intelligence Unit's head, it was Maxwell's task to uncover trends and spectres which threaten to destroy the world and its ecological system – and this means anything from oil pollution to AIDS.

SAIMR was said to be funded by such means as the recovery of gold and treasure off two shipwrecks (The Sussex and The Bassas da India, both found off the Madagascan coast). While we know that those funding sources were bogus, SAIMR was resourced at a level affordable only for a large company or government. In another interview with Potgieter, Maxwell said SAIMR's funding and orders came from South Africa and England.

When discussing the role of Anglo American in helping Bob Wagner with his training in the US, we mentioned reports and correspondence emanating from Johannesburg with regard to Hammarskjöld and Lumumba. This correspondence referred to intelligence agencies in Britain and the United States.

In addition to AIDS wiping out 40% of humanity, Maxwell predicted that abortion would 'lead to commonly-accepted euthanasia and then to Nazi-style death camps for the sick and infirm'. He saw his greatest foe – communism – triumphing in the world and said, 'Everybody, as the Institute advised in its 1979 report entitled "The State of the World", should learn Russian as soon as possible ...'

The question remains, if Maxwell saw AIDS as 'a good thing' what sort of work was Debbie Campbell really doing on behalf of SAIMR? Much of the above information has been acquired as a result of the efforts of a South African version of Agatha Christie's Mrs Marple, Mrs Dorothy B Johnston, who lived at 14 Cumberland Rd, Witfield, Boksburg and cited her phone number as 011-8261707. We know little about Mrs Johnston but she appears to be a professional person who must have been employed at some stage in the medical field. Her efforts to expose Dr Keith Maxwell show her to be not only highly intelligent but also dauntless and tenacious.

On 27 August 1989 she picked up the South African *Sunday Times Magazine* and read the article on Debbie Campbell, entitled 'Fighting for a clean tomorrow'. She was so incensed about the contents that she phoned the editor of the magazine section, Wynter Murdoch, and complained, 'It is

composed entirely of false statements.' Murdoch replied that if she provided sufficient proof for her allegations that the article was deceitful, he would contact Dr Maxwell and, if her claims were correct, he would publish the true facts.

Johnston compiled a letter to Murdoch and included the article about SAIMR, appearing on 27 November 1987 in *The Boksburg Advertiser* entitled 'Laughing Stock'. She said the article consisted, 'not of scientific appraisal, but of sick political comment' and that Maxwell used an acronym – SAIMR – which is the same as that of the prestigious South African Institute for Medical Research.

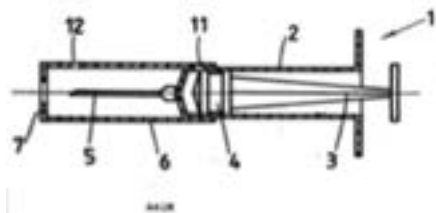
Furthermore, she said that Maxwell appeared in the phone directory as a 'biotherapist' at 2 Jeewa Centre in the industrial area of Wynberg, adjacent to Alexandra township. He also appeared in the East Rand directory with the same description – 'biotherapist' – at 412 Rawat St, Actonville. Johnston pointed out that Actonville was an Indian group area. She said that Maxwell had a non-white practice but was not listed as a 'medical practitioner' in either directory.

Johnston challenged the claim that SAIMR could have existed for 200 years as the name South Africa only arose in 1910, after the Act of Union when the four provinces were amalgamated. She went to great trouble investigating any organisation working in the field of ecology and the salvation of the seas. Her meticulous endeavours showed there were many institutions doing such maritime work but found no mention of SAIMR. The institutions she found were all linked to universities and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in South Africa. She found nothing about SAIMR.

Like a true detective Johnston went further. Searching the literature, including research papers written on maritime matters, she found none produced by SAIMR. She also successfully showed how the scientific apparatus being used for the purposes alleged in the pollution article was totally inappropriate and could not have had any meaningful results. Plus, she provided proof that neither Debbie Campbell nor SAIMR could have been doing the work the article mentioned. Finally, Johnston challenged the rank of Debbie Campbell as an ensign being a high rank and named all the ranks between it and commodore. In fact, ensign was the lowest commissioned rank in the navy.

Johnston went on to report on further activities of Maxwell. She clipped an article from *The Boksburg Advertiser* of 13 October 1989 in which Maxwell's Delta Environmental Protection Organization (DEPO) claimed to have made a major breakthrough in the fight against AIDS. The article said, 'DEPO's team of researchers has invented a syringe that drastically reduces the chances of medical personnel pricking themselves after administering treatment.'

He provided a diagram to show how his syringe worked.



John & Kernick		REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA PATENTS ACT, 1979 PUBLICATION PARTICULARS AND ABSTRACT Section 32(3)(a) - Regulations 20(1)(g) & 31	
FORM PB		P 10976 2A	
21	91	22	47
Official application No. 965008		Lodging date 9th November, 1990	Acceptance Date 21st September, 1989
31	International Classification A61K		Not for Publication. Classified By:
71	Full name(s) of applicant(s) KEITH MAXWELL ANHANDALE		
72	Full name(s) of inventor(s) Keith Maxwell ANHANDALE.		
31	Country ZA	Number 89/7200	Date 21st September, 1989
34	Title of Invention SYRINGE.		
37	Abstract	Number 164	

It appears that the team were injecting contaminated blood samples and suffering from infected needle pricks. The article continued, ‘It has a sheath that covers the needle and automatically locks it inside the casing once the injection has been given. If the needle is forced out, a safety mechanism breaks the syringe, rendering it useless.’

Maxwell, who was called the ‘spokesman for DEPO’, told the paper that ‘the idea of making a syringe of this type was born when the team worked at a breakdown of the causes of AIDS. His team began working on the prototype



A sign reads 'Dokotela Maxwell' on the side of the form post office in Putfontein. Photograph: Emma Graham-Harrison/The Observer

in July last year [1988] and the completed design was patented about three weeks ago.'

Maxwell claimed that several South African medical companies had shown interest in the syringe and confirmed that a syringe sample and explanatory information had been sent to companies in the US and Japan. He even applied for a patent on his invention as the document above shows.

Johnston did her own investigations and believed Maxwell was a fraud and con artist. She said, 'I have consulted the factory manager of a local manufacturer of plastic syringes. He said his turnover is 220 million syringes a year. Preliminary trials, investigations and tooling up would take one year or more. His moulds are made in Switzerland and cost R1 million or more. His firm is working on a better method of dealing with used syringes and needles than sheathing the needle. His firm has recently been approached by a person who thought that a model syringe, stuck together with adhesive, that he brought in, could be produced by the company within a week or two of his putting in an order.'

Johnston then commented on Potgieter's article in the *Sunday Times* of 11 November 1990, 'There is a tremendous difference in the subject-matter of the articles that I have previously seen and the matter you dealt with last Sunday. With respect to the article under the heading "Mercenaries for Africa" I refer to the name "South African Institute for Maritime Research". Research Institutes usually publish. I have been unable to find any publications emanating from this Institute. I would also like to remark that "Commodore" is a naval rank, not a military one. Other than the remark that the "special force" would protect "ecological interests" and the reference to "protecting the continent's marine life" the Institute's interests seem bellicose. It seems



A rare photo of Keith Maxwell,
by De Wet Potgieter

strange that the material I obtained deals more with ecological issues than yours does.'

Johnston contrasted Potgieter's article on 'Treasure Hunters' which mentioned the Marine Research Unit being a front, while the article on the 'Mad bomber' referred to the Institute's ostensible purpose to preserve the ecology of the seas. She was referring to Potgieter's exposé of SAIMR's adventures trying to overthrow Albert René's government in the Seychelles.

She said, 'I would like to know what on earth Keith Maxwell was doing in Boksburg; were all the goings-on I have reported to you supposed to convince the international press, that these activities on the East Rand were the main activities of the SAIMR? There seems to be a major discrepancy between the dramatic activities described in your articles [the invasion of the Seychelles etc] and the piddling little adventures of Keith Maxwell in Boksburg and Benoni.'

Johnston explained that the new 1990/1991 East Rand telephone directory still listed Dr Maxwell at two addresses on the East Rand. She said 'Dr' was only used legitimately by qualified medical men who hold a degree of MB or its equivalent, or by those who hold the PhD degree or a true doctorate. Maxwell called himself in the phone book a 'homeopath' or 'biotherapist' and she queried why he used the title 'Dr' if he was not entitled to it.

'We must conclude that SAIMR was not a body doing environmental work relating to the ocean and must have been a front for some other activity.' For unknown reasons Johnston did not send the letter. If only the largest paper in South Africa had followed up, how many lives might have been saved? We again remind readers that Janusz Waluś, the murderer of Chris Hani, joined SAIMR and yet nothing in his character showed that he had any interest in naval or maritime activities.

In Mads Brügger's movie about Dag Hammarskjöld killing, Potgieter was interviewed and said he met SAIMR Commodore Keith Maxwell, also known as Annandale. The latter described himself as the head of SAIMR's military unit Delta.

According to Potgieter, Maxwell set up clinics equipped with strange machines 'making beeping noises'. The clinics catered for only black people and Potgieter related how Maxwell treated black women who were lying on beds – experimenting on them as part of his 'AIDS research'. He discovered that Maxwell had more than one surgery for his AIDS work. There seems to be overwhelming proof that Maxwell did illegally practise as a doctor and ran the clinics described.

In his film, Brügger interviewed several Muslim traders who remembered Maxwell well and they took the film maker to view a surgery with Maxwell's name on it. In small type beneath the word 'Dokotela', Zulu for doctor, appeared the words 'Dr Maxwell'.

The traders interviewed had a low opinion of Maxwell – one called him a 'chancer' and a quack who made money out of the innocent African people who visited his clinic. So far did the deception go that Maxwell told the patients he could see inside them. He even put them in a drum – doubtless an ECG machine replica, reminiscent of the slowly rotating drums used to manufacture cells during the process that owes so much to the life of Henrietta Lacks.

The traders said Maxwell gave the 'patients' what they called 'false injections'. There was a violent side to the 'doctor' and the traders described him as a sharpshooter who resorted to violence when necessary. One incident was described in which criminals came to rob him – he did not hesitate for a moment and shot one or two dead. The traders informed the film makers that Maxwell was a gun expert and mercenary, who had gone to the Congo and other African countries. All these accounts support the role he played as per his memoirs.

By the time of Potgieter's interview in the film, Maxwell had died – in 2006 and probably in Namibia. The film makers spoke to Maxwell's wife, Diane, who said he set up SAIMR although a large number of persons were undoubtedly involved in its creation.

Two young women, who were both murdered, play a tragic part in the AIDS catastrophe, Dagmar Feil and Debbie Campbell. The article in the South African *Sunday Times Magazine* of 27 August 1989 entitled 'Fighting for a clean tomorrow' highlighted how Campbell was recruited as a 13-year-old and was 'depolluting' the world and creating more awareness about AIDS. She seems to have vanished from the face of the earth. The quest by the film makers to track her down failed, and the journalist claimed to have forgotten all about having written the article or ever meeting Debbie Campbell.

The documents Maxwell gave Potgieter included mention of a Dr Claude

Newbury, an anti-abortion campaigner. He was interviewed for the film and confirmed that he befriended Maxwell, whom he called a very pleasant person who made lots of jokes. Newbury recalled an occasion when he and his wife were invited for dinner and Maxwell asked him if he wanted to become a SAIMR member. On asking Maxwell what it was, he was told it involved research into and finding sunken treasure.

There was much of the theatre about his host that strange evening. Maxwell was dressed like an admiral from the British navy from about 250 years before with a tricorn hat, cutlass and a shiny naval uniform with lots of buttons. Newbury had a discussion with him about an abortion group which had a dramatic result. He confirmed that Maxwell was involved in violence as he forced a doctor who was performing abortions to leave the country. 'He ... visited this Dutch abortionist and said to him, you are not welcome here, and killing of babies is an unacceptable pastime, and for the sake of your health I advise you go back to the Netherlands. Which apparently the chap did.'

Newbury then asked Maxwell what he thought about the AIDS virus and his host said he thought AIDS was the product of biological warfare. The voice-over on the film said Maxwell was obsessed with AIDS and wrote extensively about how SAIMR was doing research into the virus and the possibility of using the virus as a weapon to kill black people.

One document dated 25 June 1987, from the Strategic Research Unit, under the SAIMR logo, dealt with the strategic implications of AIDS. This tortured analysis purported to be a report to some person or institution. General Tienie Groenewald of South African military Intelligence, some large corporation and the British and US intelligence agencies would be logical recipients.

Maxwell's assessment of what he called 'AIDS and the Global Situation' made clear that the research at the secret jungle laboratory bore fruit. 'The spread of the infection is far more rapid than is generally realised. "Experts" claim insects cannot spread the disease, that sexual contact is the only way, apart from contaminated blood and hypodermic needles. This organization's [SAIMR] research gives a different picture of the spread of AIDS with insects also playing a part. Professor Ricardo Veronesi at Sao Paulo University and Robert Gallo of the United States National Cancer Institute have also been widely reported in this regard. The Congo black fly should be examined as a possible carrier, not only mosquitoes.'

'The strategic and political implications are significant and without stringent controls being imposed, a figure of infection over the next five years could be somewhere around 50% in Central and Southern Africa, north of the Limpopo, by which time the rate of infection curve could begin to flatten out as the death rate of infected victims rises ...'

Maxwell said these figures had been arrived at by taking the number of

AIDS carriers being picked up by the blood transfusion service in Harare, working out the probability of unchecked spread of the disease then halving the result to be conservative (if, as *Time Magazine* suggests, the percentage of carriers in central Africa is about 7%, and each carrier infects only one other person a year during the 5 years or so of his sexually active life remaining, then a 50% infection could result within 3 years). 'The OC of 5th Brigade, Zimbabwe, thinks that as many as 90,000 persons in his area may be infected.'

In a separate message marked 'confidential' on 14 March 1990 from the Delta Intelligence Unit, Maxwell set out the progression of AIDS infections in Zimbabwe. The table started at June 1987 with 150,000 HIV positive patients. In three and a half years, that is by January 1991, the table showed 9,600,000 as being HIV-positive. There is independent support that Zimbabwe did suffer devastating AIDS infections and deaths. It had one of the highest HIV infection rates in Africa. In 2001, it was estimated that AIDS had orphaned 1 million children and 25% of Zimbabwe's 12 million population were HIV-positive.⁶

We have mentioned the cooperation with American doctors on the AIDS pandemic. Maxwell was in regular contact with another American referred to as 'Walt'. In a fax dated 1 February 1989 to Walt, Maxwell said, 'Having followed court proceedings against your Colonel North we have decided that it would be unwise to hire staff in USA. We will be using South Africans.' Some two weeks later, on 16 February 1989, Maxwell again addressed Walt with a paragraph headed, 'Aids situation in Africa: No of victims is doubling every 5.5 months in Soweto. The incidence was 1 in 2,100 in June 1987. The figure is now 1 in 350 among the Black population (0.28%).' His diabolical plan was working.

He painted an apocalyptic vision of catastrophe and collapse. His predictions did not come to pass although South Africa and the rest of the region did suffer devastating HIV infection rates and AIDS-related deaths. Maxwell sought to take credit for this. This abominable character revelled in the prospect of social and economic breakdown, racial conflict, possibly global confrontation. He believed this would herald the end of liberalism and a new colonisation, expecting South Africa to see a 'white majority by the year 2000 AD'.

Maxwell's genocidal dreams were ultimately dashed. There is no way of knowing the extent of the suffering and loss of life his 'research' and his efforts to use HIV/AIDS as a biological weapon might have caused. What is evident is that he and SAIMR were able to secure resources from international government and corporate sources who shared their interests in perpetuating white minority rule and control over Africa's resources.

Was Maxwell utterly delusional or a mass-murdering psychopath? Who knows? He never had his day in court as well he should have.

33 | SAIMR unmasked

‘Never open the door to a lesser evil, for other and greater ones invariably slink in after it.’

Baltasar Gracian, *The Art of Worldly Wisdom: A Pocket Oracle*

Film maker Mads Brügger found a list of people who responded to the advertisement Maxwell placed in 1989 on behalf of the South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR) when he was recruiting mercenaries for military operations in Africa. Those he found were reluctant to speak. One refused to discuss SAIMR because it was too dangerous; another denied its existence, and then said he was not at liberty to talk about it; others were hostile.

Eventually, one man who underwent training with SAIMR agreed to speak. Identified as Clive Jansen van Vuuren, he remembered wearing white navy-style clothes. He showed the film makers a certificate headed by SAIMR’s Cutty Sark figurehead logo, which identified him as a petty officer. But he said he never went on operations. Instead, he spent two or three months training with the group. ‘I know it’s linked to the intelligence bureau of South Africa, but we were never given specifics,’ he said.

Asked about others in the organisation, he recalled a member from NIS (the intelligence bureau) and an American guy with curly black hair and a moustache. The latter turned out to be Robert Cedars, an American lieutenant living in South Africa, whose life reads like a script for Rambo. He was a Green Beret ex-mercenary, who worked for the Anglo American Mining Corporation and the King of Afghanistan. His listed interests included para-psychology and he remembered working for SAIMR as an instructor at the farm outside Johannesburg in the early 90s. He admitted meeting Maxwell a few times.

Hoare mentioned Cedars to other mercenaries in the group about to participate in the Seychelles coup. The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* established that Cedars was well known in American security circles. In Brügger’s book on Maxwell he mentioned¹ a crime and justice newsletter entitled *Criminal*, dated July–August 1993. ‘The American Vietnam veteran, Robert Cedars (43), will lead twenty former South African special forces soldiers as instructors for the army in Sierra Leone. The mercenaries are to prepare the army for combat against Charles Taylor, who leads a rebel movement in Liberia. The mercenaries were recruited through the South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR).’

The film makers finally found a witness who was prepared to spill the beans about this hellish outfit: Alexander Jones, a former South African soldier who SAIMR employed in a paramilitary capacity. Apart from giving information to the Brügger film team, Jones gave several facts to the United Nations investigator Othman corroborating his recruitment and activities with SAIMR. In the interview, Jones stated that he had always wanted to be a soldier and entered the South African military in the intelligence service at age 16 or 17. When leaving high school around 1989 or 1990, he saw an advertisement recruiting people for military operations in *The Citizen* newspaper. 'It was his opinion that there was no future in the South African Defence Force, so he was interested in the advertisement for financial reasons.'

We have mentioned that advocate George Bizos questioned Chris Hani's killer Janusz Waluś about this advertisement and whether Waluś had joined SAIMR – which he denied. We know that the EIR report stigmatised him as a fanatical member of the sinister organization. Jones explained that after responding to the advert, he and a few friends were invited to a meeting in central Johannesburg in the old Carlton Centre, which at that time was a hotel. At the meeting sometime in 1990, he was told the organisation was called SAIMR. He noted its naval traditions and learned that it used a satellite naval base linked to the South African Navy at Wemmer Pan in Johannesburg as an operational base.²

Applicants were introduced to two individuals: Keith Maxwell, who appeared to be in his late 40s or 50s was introduced as the Commodore, and an unnamed junior person. They displayed SAIMR 'propaganda', including three large photographs that the applicants were told showed the most successful SAIMR operations. The latter involved the assassination of a high-ranking person. 'Neither the operation nor the high-ranking person was further described at that time.'

Jones understood that the photographs were displayed to explain SAIMR's ideology to recruits as an operational paramilitary organisation, with which recruits would get to see action and make money.³ When shown the second half of Maxwell's life story – some parts handwritten and others typed – Jones identified the handwriting and confirmed that Maxwell had an old typewriter. So secretive were the organisation's deeds that when Maxwell was having a conversation about SAIMR and his wife entered the room, he would clam up immediately, Jones said.

In the manuscript copy he gave to Dagmar's mother, Maxwell laid out the context in which Operation Celeste occurred. Jones was asked why Dag Hammarskjöld had an ace of spades in his pocket when his body was found, and he explained this was well known in security circles as a sign of death, intended to instil fear – it was the way the CIA worked. Jones had encountered the ace of spades being used during his career.

Questioned about SAIMR's nature, he defined it as a clandestine mercenary organisation for hire, financed by foreign powers. Its purposes were to destabilise certain countries. He described himself and others as soldiers. Admitting to meeting Commodore Wagner (Wagman in Maxwell's memoir) of Operation Celeste notoriety, who by that stage was frail, Jones only knew that he was a businessman with interests in the medical field. Although he thought it was highly dangerous for him to talk to the film makers for fear of a backlash from his own people, Jones said it was about time there was closure as he also needed this from a personal perspective. His world view had changed radically⁴ and he had married a coloured woman with whom he had a son (who was present when he faced the cameras with his explosive exposé).

Jones confessed that he joined because he was fanatically racist and a white supremacist. He would parachute into African countries and kill people, either personally, or through other black soldiers. Most of his victims were blacks. He even killed a white doctor from Portugal in an African country. When he left the organisation, he destroyed all proof of his existence at SAIMR (except of course he was still on the list on which Walus also appeared). The film makers contracted eminent British barrister Prash Naik, who British investigative television channel, Channel 4, uses for checking the veracity of their interviews. Naik found no reason to disbelieve Jones.

Continuing, Jones said, 'Anyone who resisted any white form of manipulation on the African continent, SAIMR was prepared to go and quell those people for a price. That was something Dag Hammarskjöld was totally against. He wanted every country for the people of that country. And obviously when you have got investments, where there are minerals, gold, diamonds, oil and stuff, and we all know which countries do, he was a threat. He was killed because he was going to change the way Africa dealt with the rest of the world financially.'

Asked who was behind SAIMR Jones said 'Who has got the most to lose? Corporate business worldwide. People are greedy. People want what others have got and they don't want to pay for it. That is why they come to Africa because Africa seems to be easy and Third World. And now Africa is starting to fight back and I think it would have happened 30 or 40 years ago if Dag Hammarskjöld had his way. Africa would have been a completely different continent today if Dag Hammarskjöld was allowed to live and follow through on his mandate.'

The film maker explained that Maxwell gave many documents, including the second part of his life story, to Dagmar Feil's mother just before leaving the country. Why would he have done this other than to help her find the murderer of her daughter?

It is some time since we considered the facts around the death of Dagmar Feil. In Brügger's book⁵ the author says he found a book *Disillusioned*

Millionaire, self-published in 2006 by a South African, who lives in the US, who writes under the pseudonym of S John Gault. This name is an obvious play on one of the heroes of the books by Ayn Rand. We learn later that his real name is Stephen Botes. In the book the advertisement in April 1991 in *The Citizen* appears, in which there is a call for witnesses to come forward to assist with the investigation of the murder of Dagmar Feil. Botes was involved in a love relationship with Dagmar for thirteen years and he tells us something about her. According to him, she attended the University of Witwatersrand, and only later became involved in the activities of SAIMR. She was involved in secret projects and went into the wilderness from time to time and also received training in weapons. When Botes returns to South Africa, he finds she has been murdered.

Botes hires a private detective, one Ockie Fourie, who used to work for the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), the sinister apartheid department, responsible for many of its murderous campaigns, to try to ascertain who her murderers were. He gets nowhere in his investigation, because all the files have disappeared. He learns, from Fourie, that the people who caused Dagmar's death are very anxious to hide all evidence of the case and want the matter 'dead and buried'. If Fourie does not halt his investigations, he and Botes will be the next victims. Botes says he was then convinced that her murder was a politically ordered kill.

Dagmar's father Emil has also conducted his own enquiry and found an intelligence report of the Delta Investigation Unit of SAIMR, which states that ten of the lieutenants, working for SAIMR, have been murdered in a three-month period. Botes then concludes that 'Dagmar had obviously made a lot of trips to neighbouring countries, but he is uncertain what the purpose of these ventures was'.

Dagmar's life changed radically when she met Mark, a racist and terrible military man, who persuaded her to join SAIMR. They went into neighbouring territories for extended periods, though Botes did not know what she did there. She had spent a lot of time in Mozambique. She was officially employed doing administrative work, but this clashed with her laboratory work, where she was researching AIDS. When she said other members of her unit had been killed, her brother Karl asked what the unit was, but she had not answered. Mark was an adventurous person, what with mock military games and quad bike sorties. He was a very good friend of Alexander Jones and part of his very elite unit in SAIMR. Mark was very upset to learn about Dagmar's murder and was sure that SAIMR was behind it. Jones helped the film makers to find Mark but he was very unwilling to engage on any level whatsoever.⁶

Botes has never forgotten her and she is clearly a great loss to him. He even remembers her birthday – 20 March – and often thinks of her.

He remembers with particular vividness travelling with Dagmar between Johannesburg and Pretoria, when she pointed out a place hidden amongst dense trees, where she worked at SAIMR but she was very secretive about what she was actually doing there. He sends Brügger two photos of a smiling, triumphant Dagmar at her graduation and at Kyalami Race Track. Botes has found her passport with many entries for the frontline states, which corroborates the notion that she was spreading her fatal vaccines far and wide.

Of further interest is the fact⁷ that Dagmar's brother Karl was found by the film makers, working for a golf club outside Cape Town. He was severely distressed when he received the call and he was in tears when they spoke to him. Clearly, he had been waiting many years for the moment when he would be confronted with the circumstances surrounding his sister's death. Between sobs and long silences, Karl described the anguish and torments his parents have been through since Dagmar's death. Inevitably, the stress and hardship had led to a divorce, and his father had subsequently died. His mother also succumbed to the trauma, and a few months before the call from Brügger she also died.

It transpires that⁸ in the time after Dagmar's death her parents came into contact with a man from SAIMR, and the obvious implication is that it was Keith Maxwell. The last mentioned had handed over a huge cache of papers, which had a bearing on the work of SAIMR and its connection with Dagmar's death. Amongst the papers in Karl's possession is the hand-written second half of Maxwell's autobiography⁹, while the first half, as we know, is lodged in the South African History Archive. Karl took over all her papers, which included the advert, asking for witnesses to come forward to assist with the solving of her murder. Given that SAIMR were the alleged culprits for the murders, Jones was asked why the sinister organization would appear to be trying to bring the perpetrators to justice. With a wry smile, Jones gave two reasons for this strange response. In the first place, he said that witnesses were sought so that they could be eliminated by SAIMR, in the same way that Dagmar and her colleagues in her unit were dealt with. Secondly, Jones added, it would do no harm to lay a false trail, pretending to be very zealous in seeking the killers.

The handwritten part describes, in very considerable and convincing detail, the part played by SAIMR in the hit on Hammar skjöld. Of even greater significance is the considerable attention Maxwell devotes to his destruction of many of the SAIMR records, commencing with 1961, the year of Hammar skjöld's murder. This material includes very incriminating documents and photographic film from miniature cameras. We learn something of the location of these highly secretive documents, when Maxwell describes how he has gone, clandestinely late at night, to the back room of an antique shop in Randburg, and loaded them up. Clearly Maxwell is worried about the implications for himself and others if the authorities discover them and put

together the whole sordid and explosive story. With smug satisfaction he puts them in a large drum and burns them, while enjoying a glass of the best Cape wine. When Jones is told this story he says, 'That is typical Maxwell.'

As set out in Chapters 5 and 11, Christelle Terreblanche, who was investigating Chris Hani's murder, had been given a file about SAIMR's role in the killing of Hammarskjöld and Lumumba. This is of paramount importance as it provides a link between these victims and Hani. It indicates that all these murders were closely connected through the agency of SAIMR. The intelligence officer who purged the file on Hani did not think SAIMR had anything to do with his death. Little did he realise that there was an undeniable connection.

Brügger tells us very movingly how Mrs Feil dealt with the tragedy of her daughter's death. We know that she approached the TRC, hoping that they would help find the killers of her daughter. In the South African History Archive Brügger found a memo from a TRC employee named Lavina Brown, which was sent to her superior Dumisa Ntsebeza. The memo is dated 6 October 2003, just as the TRC was winding up its affairs, after long years of research and investigation. Lavina Brown writes that she has spoken on the phone with Mrs Feil, but she is paranoid about the police and would rather not have anything written down on paper. Despite these justified fears, Lavina Brown notes that Mrs Feil has sent her a fax, which she attaches to the memo.

The fax is an astounding and explosive account of her trauma and reads as follows, 'My daughter Dagmar Feil was murdered on the 21 November 1990. She belonged to an organization called South African Institute of Maritime Research (SAIMR). She was asked to conduct AIDS research in various countries, which she did. Five of her colleagues were murdered before her, all with SAIMR.'

The fax continues with details of the perpetrators. 'I have been told that these killings were ordered by Tienie Groenewald. My daughter was in Mozambique, a few weeks before her death, and the report she was supposed to bring back, was supposedly the most important. The week before she was killed, she came to me and told me that she had come home quite late at night, and that there were two black men on her balcony. She shouted at them and they ran away. She was clearly aware that her colleagues had been killed.'

Dagmar was clearly very apprehensive of the danger she was in as the fax reveals. 'She [Dagmar] then came to me three days before her death and told me she was "very afraid", which was very unlike her. I gave her a stainless 38 Police Special, the only one of its kind in South Africa. On the night she was murdered, I spoke to her at work (Banbury Cross) at about 10.30 pm: she had been transferred from her job and was working part-time. She was murdered when she returned home.'

We know that Mrs Feil had been doing her own investigations, as we learn

further in the fax. 'According to the neighbours, the two black men had been hanging around the building, since about noon that day. When she stopped to open the gate, her throat was slashed and her bag disappeared. SAIMR offered a reward for anyone assisting in the solving of the murder solved. This is no everyday murder. The policeman who was appointed to investigate the matter was suddenly transferred to Natal and we learned nothing further from anyone.'

Mrs Feil's fax tells a terrifying tale. 'Had she been the only one who belonged to this organization, I could accept it, but she was one of five. The first was a woman named Levy, who had her throat slit in a Rosebank shop and from here it was just a matter of picking them off, one by one. Every time we asked questions, we hit a blank wall. I was told it was dangerous for me to be asking all these questions. I was told that the AWB [Afrikaanse Weerstand-Beweging – a right-wing militant movement] is involved in it. What the truth is, I don't know but I do know that this runs deeper than meets the eye.'

We can ask the obvious questions about what happened to the very important report about AIDS in Mozambique and where is that very special firearm? The attitude of the police means that we will never have any satisfactory answers to these crucial questions.

There is corroboration for Brügger's account, mentioned earlier in this chapter. Terreblanche learned more from Dagmar's mother, 'who had submitted a very late human rights grievance claim in connection with her daughter, which landed on Christelle's desk by default'. In her book on Hammar skjöld, Susan Williams explained: 'The daughter [Dagmar Feil] had been working in the late 1980s on AIDS research in Mozambique for the very organization that appeared to have produced the Hammar skjöld documents – the South African Institute for Maritime Research. She had told her mother that the group sent by SAIMR to do AIDS work had, she believed, been smuggling contaminated vaccines into Angola and Mozambique. She was planning to come and see her mother, to tell her the rest of the story.'¹⁰

Before she could do so, Dagmar was stabbed and left to die in front of the gated townhouse where she lived. The two men who attacked her in her car were never identified. Susan Williams said Dagmar Feil's 'mother's story appeared even more disturbing in the light of interviews Terreblanche had carried out some months earlier, with two Afrikaans women living in poor white neighbourhoods, in connection with the Hani investigation'.

Williams said the two Afrikaans women 'had mercenary boyfriends and told strange stories about guns being delivered to airports. Christelle was chilled to learn from Dagmar's mother that one of these women had worked with her daughter. Then a colleague told Christelle he had recently bumped into someone he had known in Harare, when they were both in exile during

apartheid. This man, who had been suspected of being a double agent when in exile, told him that he was now working for SAIMR.'

We have noted that the film makers found Dagmar's brother Karl who told them: 'My sister came to me and said she needed to confide in me, she needed to sit with me. And [Karl breaks down and sobs] I have a lot of guilt about it because she came to me and said they are going to kill her. She did not know but she thought they were after her. And she said they had already killed three or four people in the team she was part of.'

Clearly those threatened by what she was going to disclose did not want survivors to tell the authorities. When her brother asked her what team she was working with, she said she could not tell him. Karl asked what she wanted him to do? She said Karl must keep an eye on her and if she got into trouble she would let him know. Dagmar said she needed to go to church with Karl as she needed to 'make right with God', and she fully expected to be dead in the next couple of weeks.

Asked by Brügger if his sister had been recruited into SAIMR, her brother Karl showed no hesitation. He confirmed she was a marine biologist. A home movie clip shows her talking to her father and celebrating that she had passed her university studies. Karl says, 'She did mention in no particular detail that what she had studied was particularly helpful in the work she was doing there. Her research in marine biology was useful in her work. She had a regular job in administration and was doing all this work behind the scenes.'

She never told Karl what her work was and the impression was that it was highly secretive. The little she did reveal was that she was working in a laboratory and doing clinical research. She did not tell Karl where she was doing her work. Karl said, 'The topic of AIDS research came up several times quite loosely in conversation but I never put two and two together.'

The documentary shows that Dagmar became a white supremacist. However, she travelled to Mozambique and other southern African countries to bring vaccines to people, and when she discovered these vaccines from SAIMR were contaminated she wanted to leave the organisation and tell the authorities what was going on. Before she managed to do so she was murdered.

We must remind ourselves about how devastating the AIDS pandemic was in southern Africa to calculate how effective SAIMR's campaign was. Although SAIMR cannot be incriminated for all the deaths, its activities were so widespread that huge numbers are involved.

By 2021, UNAIDS concluded that 79.3 million people in the world had become infected with HIV since the start of the epidemic, and 1 in every 5 HIV positive people live in South Africa. Of these, 36.3 million people had died from AIDS-related illnesses since the start of the epidemic. We can assume that at least half of those deaths had occurred in southern Africa given



Dagmar Feil with her father

the high incidence in that region. Which amounts to some 20 million deaths. Even assuming the antiretroviral rollout would have cut down on deaths in South Africa, at least 6 million have probably died over the 40 years.

After news of Dagmar's attack Karl dashed across Johannesburg, got to her apartment and found her white VW Beetle parked in front of the security gates of her flat. He found her lying in the street. [In the movie Karl breaks down again at this point in tears.] He says although her murder took place a long time ago, November 1990, it is still a shock. Karl says the police did not investigate the murder and had no interest in pursuing the case at all, for reasons Karl could not say.

Jones explained in Brügger's movie that he was a member of SAIMR's Delta Unit, the Special Forces Division. 'SAIMR was not a Mickey Mouse organisation ... It was a living breathing body. My role was in the operational front line, involved in hand-to-hand combat, in other words leading operations, and I killed people in the course of my work.'

Taking Brügger on a tour of SAIMR's Wemmer Pan headquarters, Jones pointed out the barracks. He said the organisation employed upwards of 5,000 people. 'They operated on the cell system. A holding body with the substructures. We could be sitting in the same room. You could belong to the medical division and I would not know you from a bar of soap.'

To explain how the organisation fitted into the South African security force structures, Jones described it as a 'parallel military structure, working on an underground level, next to SA Police, SA Armed Forces and SA Intelligence'. In other words, these South African institutions knew all about it but preferred to keep it secret. He described Keith Maxwell as very intelligent, manipulative, charismatic and commanding respect. Beneath that outward appearance lurked a dangerous man who would kill you himself if you crossed him.

Jones and other soldiers were involved in coups for SAIMR. They provided military support to UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in Angola and during all these operations many people were killed. There is further substantiation for Jones's version in documents De Wet Potgieter lodged in the South African History Archive. Papers with the SAIMR logo list Jones on three documents as part of Operation Albatross and his job description is given as overseeing 'intelligence'.

Jones's most dramatic contribution to the movie was his mention of projects in Mozambique to spread the AIDS virus through medical applications. He said there was a clinic at XaiXai, and even drew a plan of the buildings.¹¹ The detailed map showed the clinic in the vicinity of the beach, with a police station nearby and a small lake. Also shown were the staff quarters, ablution blocks and a camping area. The journalists verified the facts shown on the rough map. Selecting XaiXai as the site for the clinics was vital. Formerly João Belo, the settlement was developed in the early 1900s under Portuguese rule as a companion port to Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), though its economic significance was never on par with Mozambique's largest city. In 1970, the city had 63,949 inhabitants.

In search of further proof of Alexander Jones's allegations, the indefatigable Brügger visited XaiXai to verify whether there had been a clinic from which the contaminated vaccines were administered.¹² This also happened to be the centre at which Dagmar Feil effected SAIMR's pernicious campaign. Jones informed Brügger that a man called Leon who would put him in touch with ex-South African Frans Nel, who at that time owned a hotel called Go Wild. Brügger found Nel and they shared a meal at his Ocean Star restaurant. When shown Jones's map he quickly identified and verified all the places and sites depicted. Brügger sent photos of the various buildings and Jones verified that he had found the actual place where the clinic was situated.

Ever on the search for witnesses to the horrors of those times, Brügger met an elderly nurse called Joana Tavita who remembered Dagmar Feil from the photographs shown. She said Dagmar dispensed the vaccines with another white man. (This was on the occasions that Alexander Jones visited the vaccination team.) An older man, Mabote, remembered that white South African doctors administered the vaccine programme. Sebastião Mondlane, another grizzled man, confirmed this.

There can be no doubt that such a programme was conducted there and two further witnesses fortified this view. A Portuguese man named Artur Bartolomeu remembered the vaccine team led by white South African doctors, whose voices he recognised because of their strong accents.¹³ The leading medical expert of the entire programme was virologist Dr Ferris, who hailed from Cape Town. He visited on three occasions with Jones, on two of which Maxwell was also present. In addition, Dr Ferris accompanied Jones

'Commodore' Keith Maxwell in his naval uniform. Note the sophisticated radio equipment in the background. Photo courtesy of Mads Brügger from the collection of Dagmar Feil's mother



on trips to other countries, which tends to corroborate that the contaminated vaccines were distributed in the frontline states.

Particularly notable was the information two local residents, Victor and Luis, gave that XaiXai was a reception centre for refugees during the civil war between Renamo and Frelimo. Thus, the town became the centre for fleeing women and children, as well as a labour pool for South Africa. Many of the inhabitants either spoke or could understand Zulu, and many of the men went south for jobs at the mines or in the rural areas.

Brügger explained how perfect XaiXai¹⁴ was if, as Maxwell had planned, you wanted to spread AIDS among South African agricultural and mining workers. In addition, it would help with the ultimate objective of reducing black voter numbers, so that whites would outnumber them in any non-racial election. Jones said this campaign was conducted through a SAIMR unit which went into African countries pretending to give inoculations and vaccines, but intent on killing black people, even to the extent of eradicating them. He explained that at the time, AIDS was an incurable killer, so that was the quick, non-militarist approach to eliminate black people. What is more, he was certain that AIDS was being spread to other African countries.

Learned support, about Mozambique's importance, as a focal point for establishing AIDS contamination points, comes from the work of Danish academic Bent Olsen. He wrote a thesis in which he explored the extent to which AIDS had penetrated that country.¹⁵ In 2005, some 40.3 million people were estimated to be infected with HIV and/or suffered from AIDS worldwide. Of these, a staggering 25.8 million (64%) were in sub-Saharan Africa. Of all HIV-infected people, an estimated 1.5 million (5.8%) resided in Mozambique.

He identified essential factors which played pivotal roles in fostering Mozambique's HIV/AIDS pandemic, including the merciless RENAMO violence and the ensuing civil war – sponsored by apartheid, with the silent acquiescence of Western powers, particularly the US and UK. Of great interest to us are two factors he named: injections and infusions with HIV-infected blood and using unsterilised medical equipment.

Jones identified the areas within South Africa where this deadly campaign was carried out as Alexandra, Thokoza and the West Rand. According to his statement, these were fake research facilities, pretending to be curing, but in fact killing patients. Maxwell only treated black people and did not charge for his services, he said. There was no shortage of patients because under apartheid, blacks had no rights and little access to medical treatment.

Jones visited the Alexandra 'clinic', where there was a research facility equipped with all sorts of tubes and monitors, something he called a 'proper freaky scientist's lab ...' He also confirmed that the base for similar operations in neighbouring countries was Mozambique, where Dagmar Feil was employed. There was no doubt in his mind that she knew what was going on in Maxwell's labs. She was recruited to do medical research at his Alex operations, then she progressed and became part of the inner circle. Promotion led her to Mozambique to fulfil her obligations of spreading the deadly virus further.

In Brügger's book¹⁶ on Maxwell, he gave information on the source of Jones's tainted HIV blood. 'Alexander Jones claims to have obtained HIV vaccines from Roodeplaat, the former South African army research laboratory near Pretoria ... the vaccines were packaged in small pink containers.' Jones took the film producers to Roodeplaat and he clearly was familiar with the premises – additional proof that he had collected the contaminated vials there. These facts establish a rock-solid link between Basson's work and SAIMR.

Jones said word went around that Feil had decided to inform the authorities of the AIDS plot and SAIMR's role, and she was willing to testify in court if necessary. 'It was well known in our circles that SAIMR took her out.' The film makers attempted to interview Debbie Campbell; the teenager Maxwell recruited. Efforts to find her were fruitless. Jones reckoned she was murdered because she realised what was what in the operation.

Keith Maxwell's fate is not certain. Apparently, he died on 15 March 2006. Some said he committed suicide but his death certificate recorded a stroke and death by natural causes. Given the machinations of the dark forces at work in his world, few would give that diagnosis any credibility. We learned that in his later years, he had succumbed to the ravages of alcohol and that had taken its toll on his mental and physical well-being. Knowing the fates of Debbie Campbell and Dagmar Feil, the odds favour a more sinister end to his brutal career.

Brügger's book mentioned that various newspapers tried to verify Alexander Jones's explosive allegations. For example, he said that his sister had also belonged to SAIMR. So, the prestigious English newspaper *The Observer* sent their ace investigative journalist, Emma Graham-Harrison, to verify these claims. Jones and his sister had parted ways with much animosity, so there was no reason she would lie for him. On being questioned about her role, she backed up his allegations that she worked for SAIMR and remembered the successive Commodores, Robert Wagner and Keith Maxwell. She recalled vividly their penchant for dressing up as British naval officers of the time of Admiral Nelson.¹⁷

So, what has happened to Alexander Jones? According to Brügger, Jones has an obvious and paranoid fear for his life: firstly, there is a target on his back, placed by his vengeful SAIMR superiors and operatives for having blown the whistle on their industrial-scale murders; secondly, the blacks whose families had in their midst the victims of his own criminal acts and those of his organisation would not want him to see another day.

We cannot condone Jones's acts of carnage, but we may need to give him some mitigation for his courage in telling this most horrific tale. Thanks to the British-South African Bertha Foundation, he has gone into hiding in a safe haven. He is now the victim of testimonial injustice, which Miranda Fricker claims happens to someone who has knowledge of a crime, that no one wants to believe, and no one wants to know about.¹⁸

34 | Julian Ogilvie Thompson and the ‘octopus’

‘I believe the vulpine greed of the corporate world is cut from the same cloth as the tyrant of history.’

Adam Nevill

Dagmar Feil’s mother relentlessly continued to investigate her daughter’s murder. As recorded in Chapter 33, when meeting her daughter’s employer Keith Maxwell, he handed her a batch of documents. And as per Dagmar’s brother Karl, Maxwell subsequently gave her a telephone number to find out what she needed to know.

Karl shared this number with film maker Mads Brügger. In one of the latter’s movie scenes he phoned the number. A receptionist or private secretary answered and said, ‘Do you want to speak to Julian Ogilvie Thompson?’ The head of Anglo American Corporation no less!

To provide some perspective on who we are dealing with, here is some background on both Ogilvie Thompson and the powerful empire he steered.

Julian Ogilvie Thompson was a South African businessman and former chairman of De Beers and the Anglo American mining company. He was born in 1934 in Cape Town and educated at Diocesan College, Bishops, in Cape Town and the University of Oxford. In 1957 he was appointed personal assistant to Anglo supremo Harry Oppenheimer and four years later, he joined the Anglo American finance division, eventually heading this division and joining the De Beers board in 1966.

In 1971, Ogilvie Thompson was appointed an executive director of Anglo American and six years later vice-chairman of Barclays National Bank (later First National Bank). He succeeded Oppenheimer as Minorco chairman in 1982 and as De Beers chairman three years later. He succeeded Gavin Relly as Anglo American chairman in 1990 and retired as De Beers chairman in 1997 to become non-executive deputy chairman. After leading the 1999 merger of Anglo American and Minorco, Ogilvie Thompson became its chairman and CEO. Tony Trahar succeeded him in 2000, but Ogilvie Thompson continued as non-executive chairman.

Married to The Honourable Tessa Mary Brand – daughter of Thomas Brand, 3rd Viscount Hampden – Julian Ogilvie Thompson’s pursuits were those of the landed gentry, what with fishing in English trout streams, which

he told the press are 'his favourite fishing ground rather than the rougher and harsher environments from which his diamonds are hewn.'¹ Not that he was restricted to foreign climes as 'six or seven times a year, his associates say, the tall, bespectacled and white-haired Mr Ogilvie Thompson will head for his private, 3,000-acre game ranch in the scenic Eastern Transvaal, to fish for trout and shoot birds'.

An article in *The Times* of 3 March 1985 spoke of his progress through the De Beers and Anglo American corporate hierarchy, 'When Julian Ogilvie Thompson discusses his new role as chairman of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd, one of the world's most secretive and successful cartels, he lards the conversation with notions like stability, continuity and order.' While noting that his appointment broke the dynastic tradition of direct Oppenheimer family stewardship, it said Ogilvie Thompson was 'a product of the closed world of the Oppenheimer family. Its elder statesman, 76-year-old Harry Oppenheimer, last month relinquished the chairmanship of De Beers to Mr Ogilvie Thompson, two years after stepping down at the umbilically linked Anglo American Corporation. De Beers, which controls four-fifths of the world's diamond trade through its subsidiary, the London-based Central Selling Organization, had been founded by his father, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer.'

Ogilvie Thompson gave an interview in which he said, 'One felt that one was participating in something that was moving things in the right direction.' The journalist remarked, 'That was a reference to what has become the central creed of the Oppenheimer legacy: a belief that economic growth on a large scale will do more to change South Africa's racial profile than protests or violence because capitalist growth collides directly with those aspects of apartheid that limit the economic and geographic movement of people. In many respects, it is a conservative, anti-revolutionary position that blends business interests with a kind of liberal conscience. The conscience, however, seems to be geared to furthering the business interest.'

Ogilvie Thompson said the call of the giant corporate he was leading was for 'peaceful, evolutionary reform in a constructive sense that will lead to a federal or confederal structure and power-sharing between white and black, rather than one-man, one-vote'. This was an elaboration of the message Amery recorded of a man fearful of majority rule. *The Times* article continued that despite the company's protestations of liberalism, Anglo American did not hesitate to call in the police, with their clubs, dogs and rubber bullets, to break a legal strike by gold miners the previous year and showed little patience with black union leaders' protestations that they were persuading their members to return to work.

Fast forward to 5 July 1992 when negotiations for the new South Africa were in full swing to find out how Ogilvie Thompson responded. In

The Independent, Gail Counsell² wrote, ‘With unfortunate timing, Anglo, South Africa’s largest company, accounting for a quarter of the value of the Johannesburg stock exchange, chose this week to embark on a mission to convince Europe of its merits as a corporate investment ... At each stop the dominant issue for investors, as the relationship between the African National Congress and the South African government worsened daily, was how Anglo would cope with an antagonistic black regime or, worse, with violent anarchy ...’

Counsell said that Ogilvie Thompson was someone who would not have been out of place as a district commissioner in Kenya in the days when the map was pink, ‘but whose ability to relate to the South Africa which will emerge must be open to question ... Unlike the distinctly liberal Harry Oppenheimer, his politics are said to be right of centre. He speaks admiringly of Lady Thatcher’s economic credos: he has a strong dislike of government spending and bureaucracy ...’

Indeed, Ogilvie Thompson was able to relate successfully to the new South Africa, preserving Anglo and De Beers’ wealth and influence. As the gap between the rich and poor widens daily, there are no prizes for guessing who is one of the two South Africans that own half the country’s wealth currently: Nicky Oppenheimer.

In April 2001, the press reported that Ogilvie Thompson was set to make \$21m (£15m) if the proposed takeover of diamond group De Beers goes ahead.³ The higher echelons all did well out of the deal. ‘The news ... is bound to raise eyebrows. It is extremely rare for a chairman to propose a takeover of a company in which he has a substantial personal stake. Nicky Oppenheimer, chairman of De Beers, will also do well. His stake in De Beers will be valued at \$460m.

‘Anglo is backing a consortium led by the Oppenheimer family – of which Mr Ogilvie Thompson is a close associate – which is planning to take over De Beers.’ Ogilvie Thompson was generously remunerated. He had a 4.6% interest in a trust with nearly 11m De Beers shares and received over \$7m in cash. The share portion of the offer added to his existing holding, made his stake in Anglo worth nearly £25m. According to the 2020/21 annual report, he was paid just short of £900,000, including pension contributions.

In his 2006 book, James Sanders said, ‘The real victors of the transformation in South Africa were the rulers of the dynastic mining monarchy, the Oppenheimers. Anglo American and its sister company De Beers, have gone from strength to strength ...’⁴

Fifteen years later, *The Financial Times* assessed the company’s progress in the new South Africa in an article on 18 February 2016 headlined ‘A requiem for Anglo American, the octopus of South Africa’. ‘Anglo was not apartheid’s victim but its beneficiary, not only allowed to exploit black workers but shielded from competition. That encouraged it to behave like the old nickname for the

Oppenheimer family empire, “the octopus”. It spread tentacles throughout the South African economy, extending into Botswana through De Beers, the Oppenheimer diamond group. Anglo was not a state-owned enterprise but an enterprise that became a state – a skilled bureaucracy expert at controlling resources and wielding hegemony.’

So, this self-same Julian Ogilvie Thompson was the business mogul that the film maker reached on the phone. Brügger asked him whether he remembered Dagmar’s mother phoning and he said he did not. ‘Why should she call me?’ He also said he had no recollection of someone being murdered.

In the film, the narrator said, ‘Dagmar’s mother phoned the number and suddenly Julian Ogilvie Thompson is on the line.’ It seems Maxwell had his private number and not the main number for Anglo American.

The narrator continued, ‘Back then Ogilvie Thompson was the CEO of the giant mining corporation Anglo American. Karl says when his mother phoned, Ogilvie Thompson allowed her to speak and explain how she got the number and that she wanted to know more about what happened to her daughter. He gave her a veiled threat on the telephone. He said he knew Karl, and he knew about his stepbrother, he knew where both of them lived, and if Dagmar’s mother ever phoned again there would be serious consequences.’

Strange that the head of South Africa’s mightiest company should know the brother of someone who worked as a SAIMR marine biologist. More disquieting is that not only did he know the brother but also knew that he had a stepbrother and where they lived. There was no suggestion from Karl that he and Ogilvie Thompson had ever met. The ‘serious consequences’ threatened seem to imply that the Anglo chief knew what Dagmar Feil was doing and that she was planning to tell the police about her grim work.

If Anglo was complicit from the early days when Bob Wagner went to the US to train for his depraved SAIMR work in the 1950s, it must mean Anglo was still involved in SAIMR during the 1980s and 1990s. The probable complicity of Anglo in the deaths of Lumumba and Hammarskjöld dates the collaboration between Anglo and SAIMR to the 1960s. SAIMR letter-heads show that it was a South African organisation with an address in Johannesburg. Given its size – estimated at 5,000 personnel by Alexander Jones – a company of some substance must have been involved financially. If it was linked to international and South African intelligence services, that also might be the funding source.

Is there any other proof of Anglo and Ogilvie Thompson’s complicity in SAIMR and Dagmar Feil’s murder? Brügger and his colleagues went to a Johannesburg address where Dagmar’s mother’s belongings were stored after her death. They found an address book and the camera zooms in dramatically on the notebook. Aha, there is an entry for Julian Ogilvie Thompson and Anglo. Keith Maxwell’s name was also in the book.

Anglo and its subsidiaries have always boasted that the group is not only interested in profit. In his hard-hitting report on De Beers, Judge Thirion spelt out the state's duty to see that mineral rights were dealt with in the best interests of the people.

Lord Julian Amery – a member of secret foreign policy forum Le Cercle – recorded Julian Ogilvie Thompson's comments during his tenure as De Beers chairman. He said he was 'much impressed by how the Brazilians had retained power in white hands in a multi-racial system. He accepted that this had been possible hitherto by virtual military dictatorship.'

How did these commercial interests plan to deal with a new political order in South Africa, with the possibility of a communist such as Chris Hani in power? It will be recalled that in the *Executive Intelligence Review* article of 14 May 1993 entitled 'Did British intelligence kill Hani?', the authors indicated that British intelligence was linked to the plot to kill Hani. Furthermore, the article stated that according to South African intelligence sources, Janusz Waluś was intimately associated with SAIMR.

We must remember that according to a November 1990 article in the *Sunday Times* of London, SAIMR was named as a front for Britain's MI6. Waluś was also associated with and had even contributed money to another British intelligence front, the Stallard Foundation, one with which Derby-Lewis was intimately involved. Waluś's possible involvement with British intelligence is highlighted when, just days before the assassination, a prime figure in British intelligence, former MI6 Africa desk head Nicholas Elliott, suddenly visited South Africa.

It is crucial to remind ourselves of the precise wording of the EIR Report which, to recap, said, 'Waluś's possible involvement with British intelligence becomes highlighted also with the sudden visit to South Africa, just days before the assassination, of one of the most important figures in British intelligence, former MI-6 Africa desk head Nicholas Elliott. Despite being in his seventies, Elliott made the arduous journey to Johannesburg from London for a mere three days of meetings. According to sources in London, he met with Julian Ogilvie Thompson, head of the Anglo American Corp., the ANC's chief financial sponsor inside the country.'

We learned that Elliott was 'a former board member of Lonrho of Tiny Rowland ... [which] purchased the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters for them and is bankrolling a planned new ANC newspaper.' There is a dark side to him as he is described in the report as 'no stranger to "wet work" – terror and assassinations. He was a controller of the London-based Sikh radical Jagjit Singh Chauhan, whose associates assassinated Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984.'

We have seen a possible link between Anglo and SAIMR, plus how they helped in planning Lumumba and Hammarskjöld's elimination. Anglo's help to British MI5 agent Ritchie to get a radio transmitter to assist Tshombe also

indicates the giant corporation was closely involved with SAIMR during the Congo crisis in the early 1960s.

Anglo must have been aware of the Brügger movie screening scheduled for August 2019. During the preceding month, the company ran a series of advertisements in all South African national newspapers with the tagline, 'Real Mining. Real people. Real Difference'. The copy read, 'We only succeed when you succeed. We only thrive when you thrive. We only learn when you learn. We only go places when you go places. We only grow when you grow. We only win when you win. We only celebrate when you celebrate. Your roots are our roots. Your future is our future.'

As recently as December 2022, a sponsored article in *Daily Maverick* dealing with Anglo American and its Living with Dignity Hub continued with the same hollow sentiments espousing benefit to communities, countries and shareholders.

The film makers found another name in Dagmar's mother's address book: René Goor. His name appeared in the advert looking for Dagmar Feil's killers. When Brügger interviewed him, he admitted knowing Maxwell, claiming they had performed in plays. Alexander Jones told Brügger that Goor was destined to replace Maxwell as SAIMR's new flag commodore.

Mrs Feil had made a number of notes in her address book. There was mention of John Banks of the English SAS and his role as a mercenary recruiter. SAS is a special operations unit linked to British intelligence. Banks had been involved in many operations as a mercenary, both dodgy and otherwise. He was involved in helping Unita and Savimbi in Angola and after 1994 worked for the Scorpions in South Africa. Mining and corporate magnate Tiny Rowland was mentioned too – his unscrupulous deals and methods are well documented.

The notebook recorded what Maxwell told Mrs Feil. One note probably related to Maxwell's work on AIDS. It says, 'DTTP Type A – Enzyme Black women with cancer ...' Another note simply stated, 'Dr Mengele Angel of Death Nazi.' Is this Maxwell's confession or what Mrs Feil thought of his role and that of SAIMR? It will also be recalled that in his evidence to the TRC Dr Daan Goosen thought he should either get a medal for the work he did for the Republic of South Africa or be compared to the hated Nazi geneticist and death camp killer Dr Josef Mengele.

Josef Mengele, a German SS officer and physician during World War II, was known as the Angel of Death, mainly because of the lethal experiments he performed on prisoners at Auschwitz concentration camp. He was one of a team of doctors who both selected gas chamber victims and administered the gas. With Red Army troops sweeping through Poland, Mengele was transferred 280 kilometres away to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on 17 January 1945, just 10 days before Soviet forces arrived at Auschwitz.

Before the war, Mengele had received doctorates in anthropology and medicine, and began a career as a researcher. He joined the Nazi Party in 1937 and the SS in 1938. He was appointed a battalion medical officer at the start of World War II, transferred to the concentration camps in early 1943 and assigned to Auschwitz, where he conducted genetic research on human subjects, primarily twins, with no regard for their health or safety. After the war, Mengele fled to South America. Despite extradition requests by the West German Government and clandestine operations by Israeli intelligence agency Mossad, he eluded capture. He drowned in 1979 after suffering a stroke while swimming off the coast of Bertioga, Brazil.

Another note found in Dagmar Feil's mother's notebook includes the words 'police' and 'Groenewald'. Tienie Groenewald was the head of military intelligence and a central figure in both the AIDS debacle and Chris Hani's murder.

In his column in the *Sunday Times* of 27 August 2023 Tony Leon spoke of the death the previous week of Ogilvie Thompson. He mentioned the time in 1999 at the inauguration of Thabo Mbeki, when Ogilvie Thompson had waved a cocktail sausage menacingly at him and threatened to stop the huge support Anglo gave to the DA because he had joined the New National Party in a coalition government to run the Western Cape. He called the new partners a team with political AIDS.

35 | AIDS swamps the world

‘What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty or democracy?’

Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948)¹

It is important when considering the advance of AIDS throughout South Africa to compare the attitudes of Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani. We refer to Chapter 28 when Security Branch officer JG Scholte asserted that the CCB ran a major operation in the ANC ‘transit camps’ by ‘making available’ HIV-positive women to the men. The aim was to kill as many of the leadership as possible, including, of course, their nemesis, Chris Hani. The last-mentioned was clearly aware of this campaign and at a 1990 ANC meeting in Maputo, Hani said, ‘Those of us in exile are especially in the unfortunate situation of being in the areas where the incidence of this disease is high ... We cannot afford to allow the AIDS epidemic to ruin the realization of our dreams.’

His dream was a democratic South Africa drumming to a unified beat of health, happiness and prosperity. He recognised the potential for the AIDS pandemic to spread exponentially and was determined to deal with the disease head on.²

Initially Mbeki was sympathetic to the plight of those affected by HIV/AIDS. Given the savage onslaught the pandemic was having, it was appropriate that Africa was the host for the first time of the International Conference for People Living with HIV and AIDS in March 1995. Delegates in Cape Town heard then Deputy President Mbeki say how the impact had begun to cut deep. ‘Those affected are from the young and able-bodied workforce as well as young intellectuals.’

South Africa had no treatment programme and focused on a prevention campaign of ABC – Abstain (from sex), Be faithful and Condomise. Sadly, the HIV spread was fuelled by stigma in South Africa. Durban AIDS activist Gugu Dlamini was hacked to death by her neighbours after revealing her HIV-positive status on national television. This happened just a month after Deputy President Mbeki had passionately called for people to ‘break the silence about AIDS’ to defeat the epidemic. His comment about the murder was, ‘It is a terrible story. We have to treat people who have HIV with care and support, and not as if they have an illness that is evil.’³ In years to come people would wonder what had happened to his sympathy.

Apart from targeting South Africa, Maxwell's murderous campaign stretched far into neighbouring countries. We do not know how effective the campaign was, but while Mbeki was disputing the cause of AIDS, HIV infections in sub-Saharan Africa stood at 70%, thus leapfrogging other areas. Despite trailing behind some of its neighbours at the start of the 1990s, South Africa became one of the epicentres. One in seven new HIV infections in Africa was occurring in South Africa. In Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, between 20% and 26% of people were living with HIV or AIDS.⁴

From 1998 when Mbeki was president, he commenced a denial campaign that was to cost 330,000 lives and affect millions. He entertained AIDS deni-
alists and refused to provide state access to ARVs. In 1999 he claimed the anti-HIV drug AZT was toxic and could be a danger to health. He and his health minister, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, also said it was unaffordable and unAfrican – although MPs and government employees had access to ARVs privately.⁵

Mbeki set up a panel of experts to advise him on HIV/AIDS, and in March 2000 he consulted two American 'dissident' researchers to discuss their claim that HIV was not the cause of AIDS.⁶ In April he tried to address some of the outrage at this move with a letter to world leaders explaining his views on HIV/AIDS. He argued that since HIV is spread mostly through heterosexual contact in Africa, the continent's problems are unique. 'Accordingly, as Africans, we have to deal with this uniquely African catastrophe ... It is obvious that whatever lessons we have to and may draw from the West about the grave issue of HIV-AIDS, a simple superimposition of Western experience on African reality would be absurd and illogical.'⁷

Next door, Botswana experienced similar problems with as many as one in four adults and four of every ten pregnant women infected with HIV. Fortunately, there the president – Festus Mogae – had saner views. He announced his government would provide antiretroviral therapy to all HIV-infected pregnant women and children born with the virus, and welcomed contributions from donors, including \$50 million donated by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

In January 2000, Mbeki sent a 1,500-page volume of his collection of dissident views on AIDS to medical expert Dr Malegapuru Makgoba. The latter had endured a bruising battle with Wits University and its white establishment, and doubtless Mbeki thought he had an ally. On the contrary, Makgoba disagreed most vehemently and wrote back to Mbeki saying that the evidence that HIV existed was 'beyond dispute today' and that the dissident view was 'nothing but a critique ... based on flawed arguments that distort, misrepresent and misinterpret scientific facts'. Later Makgoba would publicly describe the material Mbeki had sent to him as 'pure rubbish' that

could result in him being judged as having ‘collaborated in one of the greatest crimes of our time’.⁸

Helen Epstein wrote, ‘Mbeki has stubbornly decided to debate AIDS on his own terms ... by denying 15 years of research on HIV and AIDS. As he does so, his pride may well destroy his own people.’⁹ At the opening of the first meeting of the presidential advisory panel on AIDS in May 2000, Mbeki again addressed the issue of why he had consulted the two American ‘dissident’ AIDS researchers. ‘We were looking for answers because all the information that has been communicated points to the reality that we are faced with a catastrophe, and you can’t respond to a catastrophe merely by saying I will do what is routine.’¹⁰

When South Africa hosted the 13th International AIDS Conference in Durban in 2000, Nkosi Johnson – an 11-year-old HIV-positive boy – called for the government to give AZT to pregnant HIV-positive women. An unrepentant Mbeki used his opening address at the conference to stress the role of poverty in explaining the problems faced by Africa and compared the campaign against AIDS with the struggle against apartheid.¹¹ ‘As I listened and heard the whole story told about our own country, it seemed to me you could not blame everything on a single virus,’ he said. This statement beggared belief and, to counter the comments made by Mbeki, more than 5,000 scientists around the world signed the ‘Durban Declaration’ affirming what was obvious to any but the most obtuse, that HIV is the cause of AIDS.¹²

There was great dismay at the conference about the failure of nonoxynol-9 studies in Africa and Thailand. Scientists were confident that nonoxynol-9 would prove to be the first effective ‘microbicide’ that could virtually eliminate the risk of HIV transmission during sex, but the findings were quite the opposite. Women at high risk of HIV infection were warned not to use the spermicide nonoxynol-9 because the studies suggested it might increase transmission risk.¹³ For some people these were not surprising findings since the toxic effects of nonoxynol-9 had been reported since 1989.¹⁴ It will be recalled that this was the work of Larry Ford who mysteriously claimed to have ‘helped’ the South Africans with their AIDS programme.

Arthur Allen wrote an article called ‘Mad Scientist’,¹⁵ in which he drew attention to further studies with the same findings. ‘Researchers were hoping that nonoxynol-9 was the answer. However, in July of 2000, microbicide researchers from UNAIDS discovered to their horror that the spermicide nonoxynol-9, a chemical found in many contraceptives, lubricants and gels worldwide, is not only ineffective against HIV, but it also actually appears to increase the chance of infection in high-risk women.’ Of 999 sex workers in Africa and Thailand, 59 women using a nonoxynol-9 contraceptive gel became infected with HIV, compared to 41 women using a placebo.¹⁶

In October 2000, Mbeki withdrew from the scientific and public debate

on the causes of AIDS after admitting he had created confusion in South Africa. This did not mean that he did not continue manipulating his minister of health to implement his strategy. Treatment activists were heartened when 39 pharmaceutical companies withdrew their case against the South African Government's efforts to lower drug prices. However, this victory was overshadowed by Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's statement that the government already offered adequate treatment to AIDS patients and that proposals to buy antiretroviral drugs were still being considered.¹⁷

When it was revealed at the Toronto International AIDS Conference that the 'adequate treatment' included garlic, beetroot and African potato, South Africa became the laughing stock of the world. The South African Government released its annual HIV/AIDS figures, estimating that 4.7 million people were infected with HIV/AIDS and that 24.5% of pregnant women were HIV-positive in 2000.¹⁸

In August 2001, AIDS activists took legal action against the South African health ministry over its continuing refusal to supply antiretrovirals to prevent mother-to-child transmission (MTCT) of HIV. In December, it was ruled that the South African Government should give pregnant women free access to the drug nevirapine. The judge ordered the government to set up a nationwide MTCT programme with a deadline for an implementation report to be handed back to the court by March 2002.¹⁹

One study by David Gisselquist suggested that more people in Africa may have been infected with HIV through medical injections and treatments than was previously thought.²⁰ It challenged the conventional hypothesis that sexual transmission was responsible for more than 90% of adult HIV infections in Africa. It cited differences in epidemic trajectories across Africa that did not correspond to differences in sexual behaviour. As was the case in developed countries, some research among African couples found low heterosexual transmission rates. Other studies reported HIV infections in African adults with no sexual exposure to HIV and in children with HIV-negative mothers. Unexplained high rates of HIV incidence were observed in African women during antenatal and postpartum periods.

The WHO and UNAIDS, however, reaffirmed that unsafe sexual practices were responsible for the vast majority of HIV infections.²¹ A University of Oxford study concluded that contaminated needles and equipment were not a major source of HIV infection in sub-Saharan Africa. It found that the prevalence of HIV and the blood-borne hepatitis C virus in South Africa did not rise in tandem, as would be expected if the viruses were transmitted in the same way. If Keith Maxwell and SAIMR had indeed succeeded more dramatically in transmitting HIV through contaminated blood than thought, then the infection through unsafe injections could have been higher than anticipated. We will never know how many deaths Maxwell and his helpers actually caused.

In August 2006, attention turned to the 16th International AIDS Conference in Toronto. One major talking point was how to accelerate antiretroviral therapy expansion worldwide, and in particular how to alleviate dire shortages of healthcare workers in the worst affected countries. The conference provided a platform for critics of the South African Government's response to AIDS. Activists protested at the country's exhibition stand, still dominated by unproven nutritional remedies, with almost no reference to effective medication.

Conference co-chair Mark Wainberg said it was unconscionable that South Africa's leaders would not talk openly about AIDS. Stephen Lewis (UN Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa) went further in his closing speech, 'South Africa is the unkindest cut of all. It is the only country in Africa ... whose government is still obtuse, dilatory and negligent about rolling out treatment. It is the only country in Africa whose government continues to propound theories more worthy of a lunatic fringe than of a concerned and compassionate state ... The government has a lot to atone for. I'm of the opinion that they can never achieve redemption.'

Shortly after the conference, more than 80 prominent international scientists wrote an open letter to Thabo Mbeki calling on him to sack health minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, whom they blamed for 'disastrous, pseudo-scientific policies' on HIV/AIDS. Instead, the South African Government set up a new inter-ministerial committee headed by the deputy president to take charge of the national AIDS response, thus seeming to side-line the controversial health minister.

In December, South Africa's Deputy Health Minister Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge decided to speak out against her own government, admitting there had been 'denial at the very highest level' over the country's AIDS crisis. She also acknowledged leaders had created confusion about treatment by appearing to promote nutrition as a viable alternative. Activists greeted these statements as a 'defining moment' in the country's response to HIV and AIDS. By 2018 South Africa had both the biggest HIV epidemic in the world (with some 7.7 million people living with HIV) and the world's largest ART programme. According to UNAIDS, South Africa accounted for a third of all new HIV infections in southern Africa.

Gilles Van Cutsem, senior HIV and TB adviser with Médecins Sans Frontières' Southern African Medical Unit, wrote an article in 2020 about why AIDS was still killing large numbers of people in South Africa.²² He explained how Mbeki's denialism delayed and slowed ARV roll-out. 'Antiretroviral coverage of people with HIV in South Africa has increased from 0% in 2000 to 71% in 2019, and the South African antiretroviral programme is now the largest in the world with more than five million people on treatment and increasing.'

The global focus shift to Covid-19 hit people with AIDS in Africa hard. In an article²³ entitled 'HIV is a forgotten pandemic during Covid-19' era in the *Cape Argus* on 12 October 2021, Vimbai Chibango, a post-doctoral fellow in Gender Justice, Health and Human Development at DUT, found that the Covid-19 pandemic had taken centre-stage and HIV services were generally overlooked.

She maintained that the hard lockdown measures were meant to ensure that the coronavirus was contained to reduce and prevent the spread, but this had adverse effects on HIV service provision. 'The number of people infected by Covid-19 and those living with HIV in South Africa is alarming. The National Institute for Communicable Diseases states that there are 2,829,435 confirmed Covid-19 cases and about 83,899 Covid-19 related deaths. In terms of HIV, the report from Statistics South Africa states that approximately 8.2 million people were living with HIV in 2020, approximately 13.7% of the population.' Chibango emphasised that the link between HIV and Covid-19 was concerning. 'A report from UNAIDS states that people living with HIV experience more severe outcomes and have higher co-morbidities from Covid-19 than those not infected.'

In a *Daily Maverick* article on 4 January 2022 headlined 'Thabo Mbeki, Big Pharma and the Lessons of the Past', Daniel Herwitz wrote, 'Science has shown that those who suffer the indignity of untreated HIV/Aids or related tuberculosis and malnutrition are living petri dishes for viral mutation. Hence the omicron variant [of Covid-19] ... But in case history has forgotten, there is another half to this story in which Thabo Mbeki does not come out well. If one asks why so many are living in southern Africa with untreated HIV/Aids today, the answer has to devolve in significant part to Mbeki again, this time horrendously. Were his HIV/Aids denialist policies of 1998–2002 not in place during the tenure of his presidency, there would likely have been no equivalent explosion of Aids and likely far fewer suffering human petri dishes (that is, ill human beings) out there to allow for viral mutation. He too carries blame. And those in the African National Congress who supported him.'

How do we link all these disparate strands together? The murderous machinations of Keith Maxwell, SAIMR and the tragic policies of Mbeki and others? In Brügger's book at paragraph 70 the author said, 'Let us imagine a racist, fatally wounded and desperate regime that knows its days are numbered in a demographic sense. A regime that will do anything to survive, and then AIDS appears on the radar. Doesn't it seem like an obvious possibility, that this regime is thinking, "If we can get that ball rolling a little faster it will solve all our problems".'

He goes on to say, 'And if we assume that is exactly what the Apartheid Regime thought it would do, for the sake of plausible deniability and optics, it would have acted through a third party, such as, for example a

private underground militia, with which it was already cooperating, namely, SAIMR. If we go a step further and accept that the regime put this plan into action, wouldn't they, knowing that they were committing a crime against humanity, try to cover all their tracks, like for example liquidating Dagmar Feil and her colleagues?'

The argument from the author continues, 'The final, ultimate and most uncomfortable question is, of course, whether the Apartheid Regime deliberately chose to hand over power to the ANC in 1994, because they thought that time was now working in their favour. The AIDS epidemic was raging in South Africa, black people were dying in droves, and unless it became possible to cure the disease, Commodore Keith Maxwell might end up having his dream come true, a white majority in the year 2000.'

Brügger²⁴ concluded, 'In reality it can be boiled down to a simple question; now that we know that the Apartheid Regime experimented with a vaccine to sterilise blacks, is it completely preposterous to imagine, that the same regime also carried out a vaccine to give blacks AIDS? I don't think it is ...'

We have set out all the damning evidence that his question should be answered in the affirmative. There are further reports about the use of genetically targeted weapons, which implicate the apartheid regime.

In October 2004 the frightening idea that rogue scientists could develop bioweapons, designed to target certain ethnic groups, based on their genetic differences, was ventilated in a report by the British Medical Association (BMA).²⁵ The report, *Biotechnology, Weapons and Humanity II*, did not mince matters, saying that construction of genetic weapons 'is now approaching reality'. It continued that such 'genetic bombs' could contain anthrax or bubonic plague, designed specially to activate only when genes indicated the infected person was from a particular group. The science is there, says the report, 'as the combination of human genome studies, the development of vectors capable of introducing harmful material to cells and new ways to disrupt genes should raise concerns about potential misuse'.

The professor behind the report, Malcolm Dando, at Bradford University, said, 'The problem is that the same technology being developed to create new vaccines and find cures for Alzheimer's and other debilitating diseases could also be used for malign purposes.'

The BMA relied on the work of a German group called the Sunshine Project, which investigated how mutations in our genome called single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) differ between specific ethnic groups. It determined that 'Genome data in public databases revealed that hundreds, possibly thousands, of target sequences for ethnic specific weapons do exist. It appears that ethnic specific biological weapons may indeed become possible in the near future.' The Sunshine project cautioned that weapons based on RNA interference could shut down vital genes. If the sequence of the target

gene varies between two different populations, the technique could be used to interrupt key body functions in one population and not the other.

The origins of some of the research were revealed in a two-part story in *The Washington Post* on 20 and 21 April 2003. The revelations showed conclusively that biological agents developed by the apartheid South African Government, have fallen into private hands. We should not be surprised to read that unique, race-specific strains of biotoxins were available on the world market—for the right price or the right ideology.²⁶ ‘Dr Death’, Wouter Basson, told federal officials about ‘global shopping sprees for pathogens and equipment, of plans for epidemics to be sown in black communities and of cigarettes and letters that were laced with anthrax’. *The Post* said Basson ‘revealed the development of a novel anthrax strain unknown to the U.S. officials, a kind of stealth anthrax that Basson claimed could fool tests used to detect the disease’.

The overseas press summarised much of what has been revealed in this book. ‘The top-secret program that Basson directed was called Project Coast, and it lasted from 1981 to 1993. The South African National Defence Force created it at a time when the white-minority regime was under increasing threat by indigenous black South Africans. Daan Goosen, the former director of Project Coast’s biological research division, told the *Post* he was ordered by Basson to develop ways “to suppress population growth among blacks” and to “search for a ‘black bomb,’ a biological weapon that would select targets based on skin color”.’

The Washington Post showed its concern, ‘Goosen says many scientists kept copies of organisms and documents in order to continue work on dual-use projects with commercial as well as military applications.’ Other prestigious newspapers also confirmed the horrifying research. In May 2002 a story on Project Coast in the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Goosen said he has been ‘visited by scores of people looking for stuff to kill the blacks’. One article stated, ‘Race-specific weapons naturally are in hot demand among racists, so it’s no surprise that South Africa’s race-specific research is highly coveted.’

In 1998 a story in the London *Sunday Times* alleged that Israel already had developed a genetically specific weapon. ‘Unnamed South African sources [say] Israeli scientists have used some of the South African research in trying to develop an ethnic bullet against Arabs.’ Mention was also made of the anthrax incidents of 2001, in which five people died and 13 were sickened, which were said to have a South African connection. *The Post* noted that officials found evidence in a Frederick, Maryland, pond that explains how the perpetrators of the deadly attacks used water to handle the lethal toxin without infecting themselves or losing the anthrax spores.

There are more South African connections. *The Post* said the water theory, according to the FBI, implicated Steven J Hatfill, a medical doctor and

bioterrorism expert, who was formerly employed by the US Army, and has South African diplomas in diving and underwater medicine on his résumé. Hatfill's roots go deep into racist territory. In June 2002 an article appeared in the *Hartford Courant* that Hatfill also worked with a guerrilla unit of the white-supremacist Rhodesian army from 1978 to 1980. No prizes for what eventuated – 'an anthrax outbreak killed hundreds and sickened thousands of villagers'. After the fall of Rhodesia he went south and lived in South Africa, 'where he completed various military-medical assignments'.

It all makes sense when we recall that in his book *The Poisoners*, Imraan Coovadia describes how, in the late 1970s, the whites of Rhodesia waged a war against blacks using biological and chemical weapons, and how the South African regime actively helped them to do so. Later, when the Salisbury regime fell, many veterans of the Rhodesian war were integrated into the South African armed forces.

As recently as August 2019 *The Telegraph* contained further material on the subject.²⁷ A report by the University of Cambridge warned that scientific advances allowed a host of new threats and biological weapons, which could be built to target individuals in a specific ethnic group based on their DNA. Researchers at Cambridge's Centre for the Study of Existential Risk (CSER) accused the government of failing to prepare for 'human-driven catastrophic risks' that could lead to mass deaths and societal collapse. Advances in genetic engineering and artificial intelligence (AI) had made this possible. 'More nefarious hands could (as they have before) develop pathogens and toxins to spread through air, food and water sources. And the technology is becoming increasingly sophisticated at ever cheaper prices, democratising the ability to harm more quickly and lethally. In a particularly bad case, a bio-weapon could be built to target a specific ethnic group based on its genomic profile.'

The report on Israel developing a biological weapon that would harm Arabs while leaving Jews unaffected, in *London's Sunday Times* in 1998, cited Israeli military and Western intelligence sources. Scientists were trying to identify distinctive genes carried by Arabs to create a genetically modified bacterium or virus.²⁸ What was termed an 'ethno-bomb' was Israel's response to the threat that Iraq might be developing biological weapons. The programme is based at Israel's Nes Tziyona research facility where scientists are trying to alter DNA inside living cells and attack only those cells bearing Arabic genes. The research was in the ignominious footsteps of apartheid-era research into the 'ethnic bullet'.

The press reported further that²⁹ the apartheid regime also had an advanced chemical weapons programme, which it developed in co-operation with the US, Britain, Canada, Japan and Germany and worked closely with Israel in various military and defence areas. The US and Israel worked closely together as evidenced by an El-Al cargo aircraft which crashed in Amsterdam

in October 1992 while carrying ingredients for chemical weapons, being sent from Solkatronic Chemicals Inc, a Morrisville, Pennsylvania company in the US to the Nes Tziyona research centre. The ingredient, Dimethyl methylphosphonate, is used in making the deadly poison gas, Sarin.

The Israeli work breaches numerous international laws and agreements, but has not even been raised in the United Nations or any other international forum.

Israel's secret use of biological weapons and poison against Palestinians dates back to the 1947/48 ethnic cleansing campaign, as revealed by historians Benny Morris and Benjamin Kedar.

Their article 'Cast Thy Bread: Israeli Biological Warfare during the 1948 War' was published by Middle Eastern Studies. It is based on original documents stored in the Israel State Archive, as well as other archives. The Scientific Corps, together with battlefield units, was involved in a systematic campaign to poison water wells and spread typhoid bacteria in Arab villages and cities, as well as among the invading armies of Egypt and Jordan. The objective was to frighten the Arab-Palestinian population, to force them to leave and to weaken the Arab armies. It was approved by the founder of the Israeli state and its first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion.

The use of biological weapons has been illegal since the 1925 Geneva Protocol. Although Israel, Egypt, Somalia, Eritrea and Comoros have refused to commit to the protocol, 183 other states have done so. Israel always denies using chemical weapons but was caught out with the botched attempt to assassinate Palestinian political leader Khaled Meshaal in Amman, on 25 September 1997. A six-member Mossad team arrived in Amman a week before the assassination using false Canadian passports. Two of the Mossad agents administered the toxin as planned but were captured by Meshaal's bodyguard while trying to escape. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu tried every diplomatic trick to defuse the situation, and following pressure from the US the Israelis delivered the antidote. Meshaal was saved from a very painful death with just hours to spare.³⁰

A more recent instance of chemical warfare emerged, when a suitcase that belonged to Yasser Arafat was revealed at a press conference on 7 November 2013 in Lausanne. This was the evidence relied on by Swiss scientists to conclude that Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat probably died from polonium poisoning.

During the Israeli war on Gaza, there were reported instances of the use of white phosphorus falling over the Gaza city port and Lebanon, on 11 October 2023. Human Rights Watch said that white phosphorus, as a weapon, has a significant incendiary effect that can severely burn people and set structures, fields and other civilian objects in the vicinity on fire. The use of it in Gaza, one of the most densely populated areas in the world, magnifies the

risk to civilians and violates international humanitarian law. It poses a high risk of excruciating burns and lifelong suffering, said a director at Human Rights Watch. White phosphorus ignites when exposed to atmospheric oxygen, and continues to burn until it is deprived of oxygen or exhausted. Its chemical reaction can create intense heat (about 815°C/1,500°F), light, and smoke. The report said further that ‘upon contact, white phosphorus can burn people, thermally and chemically, down to the bone as it is highly soluble in fat and therefore in human flesh’.

Human Rights Watch has documented the Israeli military’s use of white phosphorus in previous conflicts in Gaza, including in 2009. Attacks using air-delivered incendiary weapons in civilian areas are prohibited under Protocol III of the Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW). Palestine joined Protocol III on 5 January 2015, and Lebanon on 5 April 2017, while Israel has not ratified it.

We have seen the appalling record of Thabo Mbeki on the AIDS issue. His nemesis Chris Hani had a very different take on the plague that threatened to decimate the black population of South Africa. He recognised the importance of addressing HIV/AIDS as part of the quest for a healthy, safe and prosperous society. Smith and Tromp wrote that before HIV/AIDS became the next struggle, he was already urging education, treatment and support. ‘... and he warned about the lure of the gravy train’.

Had Hani not been murdered and had taken his rightful place at the top of South Africa’s political structures, perhaps the nation could have been spared this biological nightmare.

36 | Bribery in high places

‘As soon as the capitalists know – and of course they are the first to know – that their government is getting ready to decolonise, they hasten to withdraw all their capital from the colony in question. The spectacular flight of capital is one of the most constant phenomena of decolonization.’

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

The thread that weaves through this book is the extraordinary measures colonists and industry heavyweights would take to continue controlling Africa’s wealth. The pervasive and persuasive ‘carrot and stick’ motivators are employed with astonishing and horrifying results. That said, the ‘stick’ is a mild euphemism for some of the lethal actions applied. The strategy of colonial regimes and mining magnates was to fleece natural resources, keeping local populations in servitude to develop their countries and businesses. As independence became inevitable, they used efforts to delay it, manipulate the outcomes of elections and threaten or bribe leaders. Throughout this process, they removed as many assets from the country as they could, leaving little to redistribute to the black majority.

Patrice Lumumba, Dag Hammarskjöld, Olof Palme, Anton Lubowski, Bernt Carlsson and Chris Hani all died violently. We know that eliminating these idealists had the projected effect: the wealth of the countries involved did not benefit the citizenry and the corporates merrily continue pillaging to this day. Carl Martin van Zyl is among those who insisted that Hani was killed because he was incorruptible. Objective number one was ensuring continued resource access. Assassinating idealists is a last resort. The preferred method is bribery. Far better to buy compliance, offering ANC leaders incentives to betray their people for leadership status and the proverbial ‘mess of potage’ – substantial wealth.

With astonishing speed, snouts grew over the faces of some of the new leaders who had sworn to uphold the Freedom Charter tenets. Instead the trough became the new paradise and the wealth that was supposed to better the citizens’ lives vastly enriched a few. The second objective was to prevent any prosecutions in South Africa for apartheid-era crimes. And to overcome these pressures, the ANC had to be persuaded not to prosecute the ring-leaders – the cabinet and senior military and police officials – and to find a way past the nationalisation imperative of the Freedom Charter.

Revelations about the AIDS campaign, and the fact that it was ordered

from the Nationalist Government's top echelons and key business figures, meant the consequences would be dire, to say the least. Planning genocide on the black population would have meant the gallows or life imprisonment. Apart from this, there were the more than 20,000 deaths as a result of using apartheid forces and surrogate armies, such as Inkatha and sundry other Third Force agencies, in the decade after 1985.

The Arms Deal had advantages for the ANC because it allowed an opportunity for money to be siphoned off to the leaders and party. It is well known that the ANC was cash-strapped or even bankrupt before the first general election in 1994 – given that it was an exiled liberation movement for most of its life. An obvious funding source was the business sector. So Mandela summoned Mbeki to his Soweto home on 11 October 1990 to discuss the parlous state of the party's bank balance. Given his affinity for relationships with industry heavyweights, Mbeki volunteered his services, saying 'in the nature of the work we do, we make useful contacts ... Throughout the corporate world, there is goodwill that needs to be tapped.'

And because of Thabo's contacts internationally and locally, Gevisser opined that 'it was inevitable that he became one of the ANC's prime rain-makers'.¹ Presenting a financial report at the 1997 national conference, Makhenkesi Stofile, then treasurer-general of the ANC, said, 'The ANC had largely depended on friendly countries and institutions for its funds ... The 1994 elections created the perception or expectation that a ruling party had access to the country's resources.'

'Access to the country's resources' is such a perceptive remark, given what the Zondo Commission later uncovered. Terry Crawford-Browne wrote in his book *Eye on the Diamonds* that because the ANC was insolvent for many years, Tokyo Sexwale and other wealthy members met salary and other expenses. 'Then to South Africa's astonishment, Mendi Msimang announced at the ANC's congress at Polokwane in December 2007 that the party had assets worth R1.75 billion. Msimang had been South Africa's High Commissioner in London when the Arms Deal contracts were negotiated. Subsequently, and curiously, he was still included in many of the Arms Deal negotiations even after he became the ANC's treasurer.'²

In recent years the ANC has received billions of rand from companies which illegally obtained government contracts. In essence what occurred was that South African taxes were siphoned off via companies to the ANC. There are serious allegations that Joe Modise, Thabo Mbeki, Fana Hlongwane, Richard Charter and John Bredenkamp, et al. received bribes. Andrew Feinstein's book *After the Party* detailed his knowledge of the skulduggery in the Arms Deal. Feinstein sat as a ranking ANC member on a multi-party Standing Committee on Public Accounts (Scopa), which was tasked to ensure that money the government spent was in accordance with regulations and

procedures. In that capacity he was required to consider the auditor general's report on the Arms Deal.

Feinstein said, 'Bheki Jacobs, an ANC intelligence operative, claimed the Arms Deal had been plotted during the World Trade Centre negotiations in the early nineties by Tony Georgiadis, a shadowy Greek/South African businessman, and the then Foreign Minister Pik Botha. They had allegedly persuaded Joe Modise and Thabo Mbeki that the ANC could access millions of dollars from arms companies if there was sufficient contractual reward for the companies once the ANC was in government.'

The bribes were not funds from the British and German arms dealers, but diverted South African taxpayers' monies that could have built schools, hospitals and houses. Also, the Arms Deal bribery would have immense advantages for the Nats as it would implicate the ANC leaders, thus giving the Nats a hold over them. If the ANC did not perform according to the demands of Big Business and the Nats, information could be leaked to the press, causing their prosecution or even the party's downfall. Any chance of achieving economic equalisation in South Africa became null and void thanks to these arranged bribes. Archbishop Desmond Tutu's colourful take on the process summed it up, 'The gravy train stopped just long enough in South Africa for the black elite to jump on.'

If Mbeki was to be the most important rainmaker in the ANC, then he would be the very person to take on the job of securing the Arms Deal bribes. In their book on the Arms Deal, *The Devil in the Detail – How the Arms Deal Changed Everything*, authors Paul Holden and Hennie van Vuuren maintained that although Hani was murdered in 1993, long before the 1994 elections and signing off on the Arms Deal in 1999, it was well known that behind-the-scenes negotiations had begun in the early 1990s. With time, allegations emerged linking British Aerospace or BAe Systems, who partnered with the Swedes for the aircraft bought, and the German shipping companies, who provided the submarines and frigates, with huge bribes to South African politicians.

As far as BAe is concerned, we are dealing with a company owned and controlled by the British Government. Private companies in Britain could expect to be supported in all their endeavours outside Britain by the British Civil Service and the intelligence services. Therefore, it must be incontrovertible that British Government-owned BAe was backed in all its commercial endeavours by British Intelligence. English academic, intelligence expert, author and journalist James Sanders corroborated the closeness between British intelligence and the ANC. He wrote, 'The MI6 head of station in South Africa has access to Thabo Mbeki himself. And of course MI6 would have carefully created that access to the whole London ANC group – to Thabo Mbeki, the Pahads and Modise – from the early 80s ... Thabo and the

Pahads were the virtual exile leaders of the whole movement, likely to be an important part of the next government. Modise controlled the ANC military.'

Sanders was aware of the strong MI6 link to British Aerospace. 'The MI6 connection would explain why Modise was found to be so close to BAe so early on already.' He recorded how easily MI6 gained access to South African politicians. 'In 2002, a former MI6 station chief told friends in London that he had been able to secure a three-hour meeting with President Mbeki during a trip to South Africa ... At the opening of the NIA's academy in the same year, the Minister of Intelligence Lindiwe Sisulu publicly thanked the same British intelligence officer ... During the same year a MI6 wife explained that Pretoria and Nairobi were among the few MI6 outposts left in Africa.

'But the real benefits of the influence war could be detected in the British share of the R30 billion South African arms procurement deal.' He quoted the satirical magazine *Punch*, which reported in September 2001, 'MI6 spends more time and resources helping major British arms companies to secure contracts than perhaps any other business ... the main beneficiary of MI6 intelligence is British Aerospace plc (BAe) ...'³

We have seen how British intelligence was linked to the killings of Lumumba and Hammarskjöld in their collaboration with SAIMR and in commercial interests that were far more remote. BAe emerged from the massive consolidation of UK aircraft manufacturers following World War II. It was formed on 29 April 1977 by nationalising and merging British Aircraft Corporation (BAC), the Hawker Siddeley Group and Scottish Aviation. In 1980, it was converted to a public company by the British Aerospace Act. The Secretary of State for Industry held the shares.

If BAe paid bribes to South African politicians, including Modise, that might constitute the 'carrot' to abandon nationalisation and Nuremberg-style trials. Chris Hani was the principal opponent of this process. Firstly, because he opposed the Arms Deal and, secondly, because he was against corruption. In addition, if Janusz Waluś and his brother were closely connected to BAe with various contracts, there might well be a connection with the 'stick' strategy. Holden and Van Vuuren wrote of how, in 1993, Joe Modise travelled to the UK as a guest of British Government's Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO), which was acting on behalf of BAe, along with future Armscor chairman Tielman de Waal. 'It was a remarkable statement of intent, coming as it did nearly five months before negotiations between MK and the SADF were finalised and Modise was installed as Minister.'

Hani's opposition to the Arms Deal would be an important motive for killing him. Groenink wrote that after her exhaustive investigations there was definite agreement on four things. 'One, plenty of ANC members, including the vast majority of Umkhonto we Sizwe veterans, would want him to be in leadership. Two, many would strongly advocate for Chris Hani as Minister of

Defence or even Deputy President to Nelson Mandela. Three, South Africans would vote for him en masse. And four, he would have opposed the Arms Deal.⁴

Thabo Mbeki ended up deputy president to Nelson Mandela and Joe Modise as minister of defence. Dauntless and well respected ANC activist Louis Nkadameng was certain that Hani was about to threaten Modise's impending ministership. 'Chris did not want any big arms deals. He was going to prevent us from being a puppet of the same people who had sold bombs and missiles to the Boers, who had propped up apartheid. He was not going to stand for that. We needed to rebuild our country and they were going to sell out to those guys ... They had to kill him if they wanted to proceed with that.'⁵ It would be foolish to ignore such an important motive for Hani's assassination.

Evelyn Groenink said Hani was upset after Alan Guenon and his friends – Tokyo Sexwale and others – tried to involve him in another Arms Deal project, the Mirage rewiring mission in 1992, and that he had refused to have anything to do with it. According to some sources, Hani had even alerted Thabo Mbeki and Nelson Mandela to the Mirage shenanigans. But the deal went through when Hani was still alive.⁶ Indeed, businessmen tried to suck Hani into their ventures. Groenink wrote, 'In the next few weeks Ronnie Watson [ANC member] will tell me about businessmen who tried to involve both him and Chris Hani in all kinds of capitalist ventures. First among these had been John Hall, a senior executive director of mining and technology giant Barlow Rand, which had supplied the South African Defence Force with electronics and donated money to the ruling National Party under apartheid.'⁷

Watson told Groenink that John Hall and other businessmen 'were trying to move us away from our socialist ideals'. But Hani would not involve himself in any of their business projects. From the early nineties arms companies were pestering the ANC and MK for business opportunities. A contact of Groenink's, described as Nomsa, told her about the first MK conference on South African soil, held in August 1991 in Thohoyandou, capital of the former black homeland Venda.

Nomsa said, 'There were Western arms dealers there. We were shocked to see how close they were to our leadership. Modise and his friends told us their presence was very secret and that we should not ask questions ...' Nomsa understood the arms dealers were there to 'help us start new lives'. They promised those at the MK conference that they were going to give them help with businesses and careers. Nomsa said they would have to keep quiet about it, 'because these people didn't want to be seen to be helping us'. The bribers were nervous about being discovered. What she could not understand was 'why most of what they were discussing with our leadership had to be

secret from us as well. If we were the ones to be helped, why were we not allowed to know about this?’

She identified British Aerospace. ‘You know, the English – they later sold us jets for our Arms Deal. They were already talking about that with our High Command even then. They later donated a farm to our veterans’ association.’⁸ Groenink said, ‘South African businessmen had helped channel a R5 million donation by British Aerospace to the MK Veterans’ Association for a farm, meant to be an income-generating project, but it would later be revealed that the money involved had been much more than that, over a hundred million British pounds. The middlemen had been well known businessman Basil Hersov, someone called Alan Curtis and the BAe middleman who had supplied arms to both Zimbabwe and South Africa, John Bredenkamp.’

Groenink’s contact, Nomsa, said the ‘main BAe person that I met was called Guy Jackson’⁹ (not to be confused with Peter Jackson, who employed Janusz Waluś at the time he murdered Hani). Nomsa got to know Guy Jackson and the entire Jackson family as a result of some interesting circumstances. She was active in the Sebokeng township street committees in 1991 and went into hiding from Inkatha death squads in a house owned by Guy’s mother. The Jacksons were an old white communist working-class family. Guy and his girlfriend Victoria Buxton¹⁰ had become very friendly with Modise and they had parties together in Vryheid.

There are always wheels within wheels. Elmie Eksteen is Ters Ehlers’ sister-in-law. Ehlers was ex-President PW Botha’s private secretary and later headed a company led by Craig Williamson, known as GMR, a shady outfit with multiple links to people close to Chris Hani’s murder. Groenink met Elmie and learned more about the Jacksons and Joe Modise.¹¹ Elmie said that BAe agent Guy Jackson had been her neighbour in her hometown of Vryheid.

According to Elmie, the Jacksons went to London with Modise to buy home décor. Meals were on the house and the Afrikaner staple of pap and boerewors was a favourite. What was going on between this Afrikaner family and Joe Modise, leader of MK (the ANC armed wing), which was the most hated outfit in conservative South African history? Elmie was convinced all these inducements resulted in Joe Modise promising Guy Jackson the jet fighter contract as far back as 1993. There were other creepy forces at work during these turbulent times.

Modise told the Jackson family the apartheid regime ‘had a gun pointed at his head ... and that it could have it go off any time if he – Joe – didn’t do what they, the boers, wanted’.¹² Groenink speculated whether Modise was ‘not only a selfish, uncaring, luxury-loving excuse for a guerrilla commander, but an apartheid agent too?’ There seems to be an answer to her question. James Sanders wrote that on 22 October 1997, then PAC Member of Parliament Patricia de Lille said Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki had a list

of 12 ANC spies who worked with the apartheid government and she named eight. *The Sowetan* published the names and Defence Minister Joe Modise was included.¹³

The favours the Jacksons did for Modise seemed to have paid off. Elmie told Groenink that Joe Modise was signing agreements with BAe and their bank, Barclays, in 1993, together with Guy Jackson and his girlfriend Victoria Buxton. The latter was a niece of Barclays Bank's chairman and she was also involved in the meetings with Modise to structure the loan for the R20 billion between the South African Government and BAe. Nomsa said, 'But we did know Guy was with BAe and that he wanted to sell these jets. He was always inviting us to see weapons systems, to look at plans, to consider this and that.'

As for Hani, Nomsa exploded with rage at the notion that he would have been in favour of the Arms Deal. 'Oh no. Remember, he had left MK. He never wanted to do anything like that at all. He had been in the military because it was necessary. Not because he liked weapons. If Chris had lived, there wouldn't have been an Arms Deal. He wanted to spend money on houses, schools, hospitals.' Of course, the real movers behind the Arms Deal, Groenink pointed out, were Hani's arch enemies, Mbeki and Modise. She quoted a close aide of Mbeki who said, 'Mbeki wanted to cement relationships with Western powers, especially with the Brits. Maybe you could get cheaper weapons from Spain. But a very strong argument was how we needed a strategic alliance with London.' The links were ever so close with the British whom Thabo loved.¹⁴

Later cabinet minister and Mbeki's close ally, Aziz Pahad, told Groenink, 'They had had tea with MI6 in the Oxford Hotel. Mbeki with his pipe and his quoting of Shakespeare and Keats, had disliked the French.' Mbeki had once warned Tokyo Sexwale to 'stay away from the French' and had gone so far as having a British expert from the military Sandhurst academy advising the ANC during the Codesa negotiations. There were strong suggestions that the difficulties the French had in securing a bid for the combat suites had arisen once Mbeki's preference strayed..

Groenink recorded that the UK Serious Fraud Office identified payments totalling 100 million sterling by BAe to individuals in South Africa in 2007. Among these were close associates of Mbeki and Modise. Because Hani's opposition to the Arms Deal probably was a major motive for his elimination, we should check who was in favour of the Arms Deal and who received the bribes. Is it a coincidence that BAe had close links with Janusz Waluś and his brother Witold? Groenink brilliantly summed up Hani's position in relation to Joe Modise. Chris Hani '... was known to be brave and, above all, honest. Upon his return from exile, he had not accepted any black empowerment business offers; he had not moved to a rich suburb. He had stayed in the East Rand townships, wrecked by third force-fuelled fights and massacres.

‘He had helped communities to defend themselves, scolded boys who turned to gratuitous violence and gangsterism, emphasized education and negotiations where he could, and armed disciplined street committees where it was necessary. He scolded the ‘Wa Benzi’, those who deserted the struggle for a new democratic and just South Africa for the sake of a Mercedes Benz. It is an understatement to say that the vast majority of people loved Chris Hani. He was adored. Modise would, if put to the vote, not have stood a chance against him. But Hani was killed and Modise became Minister of Defence.’

Essentially the bribe allegations came from two sources: the British bribes to Modise through his pal Fana Hlongwane, and the German bribes to Mbeki and Tony Georgiadis. The British bribes came from British Government-owned and controlled BAe and must have been facilitated by British Intelligence. We know Tony Blair was a willing salesman of the BAe hardware, and when the Queen of England visited South Africa, the planes were cached in the royal yacht’s hold. Margaret Thatcher called the ‘commissions’ – read British euphemism for bribes – ‘batting for Britain’. If British intelligence and industry were linked to SAIMR, then that was a further link, especially if Waluś had in fact joined SAIMR. We have discussed the horrors of this organisation at length in Chapters 31–33. And if BAe was linked to Janus Waluś there was a further link to Hani’s murder.

Central to this enquiry is Tony Georgiadis. He has strong Greek links and is to play a highly important role in the unfolding events in South Africa from the mid-eighties onwards. With time, he would be exposed as having made three donations of half a million rand each to the Nelson Mandela Children’s Fund and two other projects linked to the Mandela family. Georgiadis was exposed in February 2007 by the German magazine *Der Spiegel* which produced an article with a startling account. This exposé revealed that the prosecutors in Düsseldorf were looking into a so-called ‘commission’ (actually bribe) of \$22 million (about R150 million) to a mysterious company in Liberia. The press soon sniffed out the identity of the corporation involved: Mallar Incorporated, a secretive letterbox company with Tony Georgiadis as its driving force.¹⁵

FW de Klerk, who took over as president from an ailing PW Botha, had a glittering career in Nationalist politics. He explained in his book that he and his then wife Marike met the Georgiadis couple in May 1989 after a meeting in London arranged by Dr Dawie de Villiers, the Springbok rugby scrumhalf and captain.¹⁶ Tony had substantial business interests all over Africa and particularly in South Africa. He and his wife Elita had been visiting South Africa since the early 1980s but never managed to meet the de Klerks before that occasion.¹⁷ It seemed a strong bond developed between the de Klerks and the Georgiadises and they socialised, played golf and entertained together.

The events of 2 February 1990, when FW de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and PAC, and commencement of negotiations for a new South Africa, are well known and Tony and Elita were there to witness them.¹⁸ In a later chapter we meet head of South African military intelligence General Tienie Groenewald and discuss his possible role in Chris Hani's killing. Groenewald's input into that famous speech had a major impact on the Afrikaner right wing, uncovering the secretive cabal behind Hani's murder.

The Georgiadises also formed close friendships with a number of the ANC leaders. Among these were Thabo Mbeki and his wife Zanele.¹⁹ Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk were joint winners of the coveted Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo and Elita and Tony were delighted to be chosen to accompany FW to receive the honour. Elita and Tony also were present when Mandela was inaugurated as president in April 1994. After a love affair between de Klerk and Elita became known, the two subsequently divorced their spouses and tied the knot. The joint Government of National Unity (GNU) between the ANC and Nats had many tensions and Elita resented the attacks Mandela made on FW. However, the attitude towards Mbeki was very different. In her book on Elita, Martie Meiring quoted Elita, 'FW appreciated the sophisticated approach and attitude of Thabo Mbeki, his fellow deputy, and he would continue to have a high regard for him. Even when he was critical of Mbeki's actions, he always felt proud that there was somebody of his calibre in African politics.'²⁰

But there are people who will do anything in this world to make a profit and these included businessmen who helped the apartheid regime. Tony Georgiadis was one such man. According to Afrikaans South African newspaper *Beeld*, 'a connection developed with the National Party during the eighties through oil matters ... Mr Georgiadis was a campaigner against sanctions abroad and was regarded as a friend of South Africa.' It seems likely that FW would have either met Tony before or heard of his good work helping the apartheid regime to prolong its existence. In 1978 he was appointed minister of posts and telecommunications and social welfare and pensions by Prime Minister Vorster. Under Prime Minister and later State President PW Botha, he held a succession of ministerial posts.

There are suggestions that Georgiadis had close ties with Richard Charter, some-time corporate manager of BMW, and an enthusiastic recipient of Arms Deal bribes, until his untimely canoeing accident or murder. Georgiadis shipped oil to South Africa in contravention of sanctions and developed close relations with members of the previous government. To distribute money freely, Georgiadis opened a bank account in Liberia for Mallar Incorporated and Georgiadis's father-in-law, Lanaras, once served as director of the shipping firm Alandis, which was central in shipping oil to South Africa.

What were FW's problems and how did Tony help to solve them? Elita

said shortly after becoming president in 1989 he faced the first one. 'For FW there were more difficult problems. He would receive the first of a series of shocking reports regarding covert security operations in certain government departments, of which he had until then been totally unaware. Violence perpetrated in these clandestine operations would later have dramatic consequences.'²¹

FW de Klerk had sat on the State Security Council that authorised the killings of thousands of activists. It has been calculated that more than 20,000 persons died in the decade after 1985, either at the hand of the Nationalist Government or its surrogate forces, such as the Witdoeke and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha forces. The TRC was to uncover many other atrocities and most were linked to the State Security Council which unleashed the forces of evil to counter the unstoppable march to universal suffrage.

When the German corruption authorities investigated the German companies' bribes they sent a request for assistance, including a search warrant from the South African NPA. Every search warrant sets out the basis for the search, and the German one tells the history of Georgiadis's relationship with Thyssen and one of its senior executives, Jurgen Koopmann. Apparently Georgiadis met members of the Thyssen consortium as early as 1994 and the '1st Mallar Inc agreement' was signed on 26 April 1995. Two more agreements with Mallar were signed at the end of May 1996. Little is said about these agreements but they must have appointed Georgiadis in the most appropriate legal language to secure the contract for them.²² Under the rubric 're Koopmann kickback enquiry' the warrant hints at Koopmann getting a kickback from Georgiadis through his multifarious companies.²³

So de Klerk's good friend Georgiadis was carrying out his work to secure the contract for the Germans but what was FW doing to help? Between January and November 2001 the South African Parliament's Joint Investigation Taskteam (JIT) conducted a wide-ranging investigation into the Arms Deal. One of those interviewed by investigators was Admiral 'Chubby' Howell who recalled that he met then deputy president, FW de Klerk, in 1995. Howell said, 'When we went in May 1995 to the Cabinet for the British and the Spanish bids, recommending the Spanish one ... we did a presentation ... to Mr de Klerk. And from the questions that Mr de Klerk asked us, it was obvious that somebody else had got to him. One of the competitors, because he was saying, why are you going to build a Spanish ship with inferior steel? And we said ... but what do you mean? It is all going to be with Iscor steel ... we had to tell the politicians don't listen to other people.'²⁴

Bheki Jacobs is a fascinating character who has revealed some fascinating details of what went on. Until his very suspicious death in September 2008, his life was dominated by a passion for politics and an aversion to corruption. His early life as a student activist, his exile abroad, his return to advise Mbeki and

his final moments were all rich with evidence of his views. For two years, from 1992, he attended Moscow State University, studying for a master's thesis under the guidance of Professor Appollon Davidson in the Institute of Asian and African Studies. Apart from his academic work, he helped the ANC save 'sensitive' ANC and SACP records and assisted South African trainees and operatives to return home. He was anxious about returning to South Africa – not so much because of the apartheid security forces – but returning to a place 'where he feared he might be killed by his enemies in the ANC'.²⁵

Back in SA in late 1994 Jacobs was housed at the ANC guest house in Yeoville and worked at Shell House, the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg. From the beginning, his close association with Mbeki was manifest and he was deployed in the Department of International Affairs headed by Mbeki. He assembled a group of exiles that later established an agency Congress Consultants, which identified a new saviour: Mbeki. He was the man who had brought the apartheid war to an end and who was not associated with the barbarism of the camps and other corruption.²⁶

There was a jovial and convivial dimension to all this serious political analysis; his intelligence reports for Thabo Mbeki ensured that he shared many a bottle of single malt with the man destined to be Deputy President and later President Mbeki. Clearly at some stage Jacobs felt sufficiently disillusioned by Mbeki's actions to expose the cesspit of the Arms Deal to Patricia de Lille. The dossier deals with the bids and looks at the Spanish corvette deal, which included an economic offset that would benefit the fishing community. Mention is made of the German bids that eventually ousted the Spanish bid. Thabo Mbeki was the chairman of the cabinet committee that had a crucial say in the success of the bids. 'Initially this German bid was not shortlisted in 1995. The re-entrance on to the shortlist followed a visit by the then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to Germany. Suddenly the British and Spanish were ousted from the shortlist and the Germans were included.'

It is a thesis of this book that the Arms Deal was a way of bribing the ANC to reject nationalisation and Nuremberg-style trials. Central to this is the role played by Joe Modise and his sidekick Fana Hlongwane. The manner in which Hlongwane was paid, involving money laundering of the most intricate kind, sets the pattern for all the others. Fana Hlongwane apparently hails from KwaZulu-Natal and appears to have been born in about 1959. He and Siphiwe Nyanda, later head of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and a minister in the cabinet of President Zuma, went into exile after leaving fairly well off families in the 1970s to join the ANC resistance army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). They were later elevated to its High Command. Hlongwane had always wanted to be a lawyer and attended studies to obtain a law degree in the former Soviet Union.²⁷

After his years in the struggle, he came back in the early nineties and

was prominent at Codesa on defence matters. He seemed to be recognised as the real brains and power employed by Joe Modise in his later schemes.²⁸ Hlongwane was the most important member of a team, which included defence acquisitions chief Shamim (Chippy) Shaik, of the so-called Ministry of Defence Acquisition (Modac) work group. These movers and shakers looked at and then manipulated the preferred supplier scores arrived at by Armscor and Defence officials, operating as the Strategic Offers Committee (Sofcom).²⁹

Following a series of financial scandals in London in the 1970s, the British Government established the Fraud Trials Committee in 1983. The committee's report resulted in a new, unified organisation responsible for detecting, investigating and prosecuting serious fraud cases known as the Serious Fraud Office (SFO). It will be recalled that British government-controlled BAe was one of the contractors that won the bid for the Gripen and Hawk fighter planes sold to the South African Government. We have outlined the probable links between British intelligence and BAe to promote the latter's profits.

The comments of various politicians – such as the Amery family – about the importance of African resources, cannot be overlooked. If bribing South African politicians keeps such resources within the ambit of Anglo British influence, so much the better. Redistribution among the African population would be a disaster they could not contemplate.

The various deviations from proper tender procedure and irregularities with regard to many features of the Arms Deal are set out in a number of books, including those by Paul Holden, Andrew Feinstein and Hennie van Vuuren. On 14 July 2004, the SFO opened an investigation into a deal in which BAe sold planes to Saudi Arabia. We must remember that BAe's machinations were largely carried out by the British secret service MI6. When the SFO officers, including fraud office investigator Gary Murphy, raided BAe they found intriguing information.

BAe was really worried about being caught for bribery and it is interesting to see into the mind of a huge multinational company planning its shameful activities. The route finally chosen was to create the company Joe Bloggs Ltd in some tax haven 'with sufficient expert directors to be credible'. They devised a scheme to deal with the levies to be paid to the 'advisers' – read bribe recipients. In April 1999 they determined the final solution to hide the extensive bribery by creating an offshore front company known as Red Diamond. All this was discovered when BAe fell foul of US state department agents, who drafted a charge sheet in the case against them.

The US indictment stated that Red Diamond made more than 1,000 covert payments during the nine-year period from 1998 to 2007. The memos spoke about cowboys and crooks but used the euphemisms so typical of corporate corruption. In 1995 the so-called 'marketing advisers' consisted of

225 'brass-plate advisers' (the cowboys) who were paid £25 million (R275 million) and 74 'confidential advisers' (the crooks) another £21 million (R230 million). The US probe flowed from contraventions of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act and BAe ended up paying a massive \$400 million (R2.8 billion) fine.

Other countries were involved in the bribery scandals. Such huge sums could have been used for far better ends, such as building hospitals, schools and providing succour to the hungry and poor. BAe pleaded guilty to unreported broker payments to supply Gripens to the Czech Republic and Hungary. The US officials also reported, '[BAe] or its representative, Red Diamond, made payments to brokers involved in securing sales to South Africa. BAe failed to disclose payments as required.'

It was not long before the documents found by SFO revealed that after Red Diamond was created in 1998, it would be used for greasing palms in South Africa as well. The press called these 'explosive new allegations of dirty money and influence-buying', stating that SFO wanted help in terms of international cooperative agreements in tracking down the recipients of more than R1.55 billion in 'commissions' BAe paid on the South African deal.

Gary Murphy of SFO said while the Red Diamond system was in operation, over £103 million was paid to 'covert' advisers under the South African Hawk/Gripen campaign from the Red Diamond UK accounts. He explained the £103 million was paid to eight legal personae pursuant to 'consultancy agreements' dating, in one case, as far back as 1992. This is decidedly significant as it shows that even while Hani was still alive, the bribery was in full swing. The SFO then set out the companies and legal bodies that received the bribes or so-called commissions. They consist of: Hlongwane Consulting, Arstow Commercial Corporation and Commercial International Corporation (CIC), linked to Hlongwane; Brookland Management, Huderfield Enterprises and Kayswell Services, linked to John Bredenkamp; and FTNSA Consulting, owned by former Anglovaal and First National Bank chairman Basil Hersov.

Hlongwane was paid 'commissions' of more than R280 million for his part in securing the sale of military aircraft to the South African Government. SFO said that 'between 2000 and 2005, South African agents received over £70 million through Red Diamond and over £6 million and \$4 million through HQ Marketing accounts'. It added that 'hardly any funds were paid to bank accounts within South Africa; the vast majority of payments being made to offshore accounts'. Red Diamond's records were kept in Switzerland.

So where did the money go and what efforts were made by the independent National Prosecuting Authority, constitutionally enjoined to prosecute without fear and favour, to bring these criminals to book? Murphy and his fellow police officers also believed the clandestine nature of the transactions was to hide rewards for influencing then Minister of Defence Joe

Modise. Hlongwane got R280 million from BAe through four companies, two of which were above-board – BAe itself and Sanip, plus two highly secretive companies, Arstow Commercial Corporation, registered in the British Virgin Islands, and Commercial International Corporation (CIC), registered in Jersey.³⁰

Having discovered that the bribes were paid to these entities, the SFO wanted the NPA to raid the homes and places of business to find the documents that proved the money was received into the accounts. Hlongwane was tipped off and four box-loads of evidence were spirited away just hours before the raids early in December 2008.

There are laws in South Africa which entitle a court to preserve the assets of a suspected criminal which are the proceeds of crime, pending the conclusion of the trial. Billy Downer SC of the NPA sought a preservation order against Hlongwane in the High Court in April 2010. The affidavits used to support this case revealed that Guido Meier, an attorney admitted to practise in Liechtenstein, set up the Red Diamond bribing system for BAe to pay Hlongwane. On 28 October 2008, the Liechtenstein Court compelled Meier to answer questions regarding the founding of Red Diamond. Johannes Matt was the managing director of Tremaco Trust and he set up the complex daisy chain entities to launder the bribes from BAe to Hlongwane and the other bribe recipients.

To hide the illicit transactions even further, Matt set up the Meltec Foundation (owned by Hlongwane), which owned all the shares in Hlongwane's company Westunity in Liechtenstein. Liechtenstein, Jersey and the British Virgin Islands are the boltholes for the wealth of the world. In *Treasure Islands: Tax Havens and the Men who Stole the World* by Nicholas Shaxson, the author explained how the rich and criminal hide their wealth in tax havens. He said, 'In January 2009, US law enforcement fined Lloyds TSB \$350 million after it admitted secretly channelling Iranian and Sudanese money into the US banking system. Tax havens are the most important single reason why poor people and poor countries stay poor. They lie at the very heart of the global economy, with over half the world trade processed through them.'

The request to freeze Hlongwane's account gives great detail of the manner in which the money was laundered through lawyers, accountants, tax specialists and investment advisors. So complex is the skulduggery that diagrams and flowcharts are needed to illustrate the path of the money from BAe to Hlongwane. The money was finally laundered through a Hong Kong bank before being sent to his South African account. Matt was told the reason for the transfer was that Hlongwane urgently required money to finance his Johannesburg house.

Modise and Hlongwane have enjoyed a lucrative relationship for

many years. Hlongwane was always at Modise's side giving legal and other advice. Hlongwane now lives the life of Riley, corruption having netted him many material and other benefits.³¹ Cars are one of his loves and these include a R4million Lamborghini Murciélago, a R6million Bentley Azure, a R1.6million Porsche Cayenne Turbo FL, a R2million Ferrari Spider, an R800,000 Mercedes-Benz convertible and a low-key R500,000 BMW 3 Series. This fleet alone is estimated to be worth R15 million.

He owns many residences, including one in Johannesburg's Hyde Park, dubbed the Playboy Mansion. It is said to have been built on a 4,000m² property purchased in 2000 by Tsebe Properties, founded by a former BAe Systems chairperson. No expense has been spared in the design and the house includes a cinema and 'a bedroom the size of a medium house'. He hammers out a tune or two on his grand piano and speaks about his roses in the style of the avant garde of the northern suburbs. Another home is situated at millionaires' playground Zimbali Lodge in KwaZulu-Natal. In 2006, this home was installed with a cigar room and gym, and he redid the patio and main bedroom for R1.1 million. The press reckoned these two homes are worth more than R100 million. Wild parties at his houses elevate his carefully cultivated playboy image, as do his fashionable designer clothes.

If the ANC were to be bribed to avoid Nuremberg-type trials and implementing the socialist agenda in the Freedom Charter – which was Chris Hani's aim – then Basil Hersov would be a key figure to achieve such an outcome. As a giant on the South African corporate scene and chairman of First National Bank, he would be centrally placed to fulfil the wishes of Big Business in the land.

The small island of Nevis achieved independence from the United Kingdom in September 1983 and falls into an island group popularly known as the West Indies. There is a darker commercial side to the sparkling blue waters and creamy white beaches as the island is a tax haven that thrives on off-shore accounts. The easy, secretive incorporation of thousands of companies, international insurance and reinsurance, as well as several international banks, trust companies and asset management firms, have ensured a safe haven for funds that clients wish to hide. In 1998, 17,500 international banking companies were registered in Nevis. In 1999 these entities' registration and annual filing fees amounted to more than 10% of Nevis's revenues.

During April 1992, FTNSA Consulting registered in Nevis. The principal was Basil Hersov. After school, he studied at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he read chemistry, metallurgy, mineralogy and geology. In 1949 Hersov graduated with a BAHons and later an MA. He had been an air force pilot in World War II. His professional career was meteoric. In 1949 he joined the Anglovaal family firm – a South African industrial, mining and financial company founded in 1933 by Bob Hersov and Slip Menell. His first

position was a learner official on Rand Leases gold mine, after which he was promoted to numerous senior executive positions within the group's industrial and mining sectors, before being appointed managing director in 1967. Three years later he became Anglovaal deputy chairman and then chairman in January 1973. He was a major player on the South African corporate scene as chairman of Hartebeesfontein, The Associated Manganese Mines and First National Bank Holdings, as well as a director of Anglo American.

It was obvious BAe had identified probable ANC Minister of Defence Joe Modise as a key person to help secure the contract for the Hawk jets. So, enter the burly ambitious man who was Chris Hani's nemesis. In the early nineties, significant people entertained Modise royally.³² Two whites who warrant some consideration are Ron Haywood and Llew Swan. Swan got to know Modise when he was with defence company Reunert. He became known for soliciting the custom of the black elite at soccer functions where he wined and dined the future industry big names in Soweto. Swan admitted as much, saying, 'In the early nineties – I am talking prior to 1996 – we, at Reunert, operated a soccer box at FNB stadium and we entertained ANC people and some of the other customers.'³³

Modise was introduced to Ron Haywood, a former pilot and enthusiastic participant in the Citizen Force Council (CFC), a volunteer division of the Defence Force. In the early nineties, Haywood and other flyers in CFC, plus chairperson, Ian Deetlefs, curried favour with Modise. Haywood told the press this was simply 'to get to know these people who had been our enemies. One day we were going to want to sell these guys stuff and we don't even know them ... it was a kind of BEE thing'.³⁴

Modise rewarded Haywood's attentions with an appointment at a crucial time in 1995 as Armscor chairperson, while Deetlefs headed up Denel. Haywood was a Hersov intimate though he feigns to disavow any knowledge of Hersov and BAe. Swan and Reunert parted company, so Modise appointed him to head Armscor in August 1998. Swan has now settled in Australia.

Hersov was the founder of the Airborne Trust, chaired by Richard Charter. Airborne Trust concluded a memorandum of understanding with the MK Military Veterans' Association on 25 March 1998, eight months before BAe was selected to supply Hawk and Gripen aircraft. BAe pledged to donate R4.5 million to the trust to fund a project to train and reintegrate ex-MK combatants, but the project went nowhere and Hersov admitted only a few hundred thousand rands had been disbursed.

The UK-based Campaign Against Arms Trade described the South African Arms Deal in a 2003 report as an 'opportunity for BAe and others to gain effective control over the South African arms industry'. Gary Murphy's SFO raids have been labelled as the creation of the Red Diamond bribe distribution scheme. A key SFO document said, 'Documentation disclosed by BAe

has revealed that ... FTNSA was incorporated in Nevis in the West Indies in April 1992, and two months later entered into a consultancy agreement with BAe in relation to procurement of the Hawk aircraft in South Africa.' The document continued, 'FTNSA was under the control of Basil Hersov. He was according to BAe a man "with considerable influence" and agreements with him "allow access to the very top".'

At the time, in 1992, the South African Government was still led by the National Party with FW de Klerk as president. Apparently, BAe expected that FTNSA/Hersov's influence would help secure the desired Hawk contract after the elections and the installation of an ANC Government in 1994. Hersov was important and strategic no doubt as chairperson of FNB with very good connections with the head of the cabinet committee deciding the Arms Deal and was also on Mbeki's economic advisory panel.³⁵

According to the SFO papers, after the planes were sent between 2000 and 2005, FTNSA received in total a sum of £5.5 million (R77 million). Contacted by the press after the bribe revelations, Hersov was 'slightly evasive' when questioned about his relationship with BAe. He claimed not to recognise the company FTNSA Consulting, which allegedly received R77 million. He conceded having had an early representative arrangement with BAe in South Africa, which he claimed was later stolen by the late Richard Charter of Osprey Aerospace. He admitted being paid by BAe in recognition of that agreement, but claimed the figure of R77 million was too high. He said the payment was properly disclosed to the authorities, including the South African Reserve Bank.

On the matter of the sum BAe pledged to donate – R4.5 million to the trust to fund training and reintegrating ex-combatants from MK – Hersov admitted only a few hundred thousand rands had been disbursed. He declined to answer further questions about his role in support of BAe, citing another engagement. The newspapers reported that Hersov still played the occasional round of golf with former Anglo American boss Julian Ogilvie Thompson. We have mentioned Ogilvie Thompson and his comments about democracy in Chapter 11. He is also connected to SAIMR and the AIDS campaign (Chapter 34).

There has been much speculation that since its purchase by First National Bank in 1992, Ansbacher Bank has been used to siphon money off-shore, including payments from the Arms Deal.³⁶ In a court case, lists of Ansbacher clients have been provided, including Richard Charter, South African agent for British arms suppliers who received commissions totalling hundreds of millions of rand.³⁷

When he drowned in mysterious circumstances while canoeing on the Orange River in 2004, he had a R20 million unsecured overdraft with the private bank.³⁸ British and German investigators of bribes paid in the

Arms Deal revealed the 'slush' funds flowed via Ansbacher offshore accounts. Another local Ansbacher client of long standing, Basil Hersov, is named as also having distributed arms-deal 'commissions' to unidentified persons.³⁹

The British investigators have estimated that BAe's representatives in South Africa, Charter and Hersov, were involved in laundering an estimated R1.8 billion in 'commissions' within weeks of the aircraft deals being signed in 1999.⁴⁰

We met Guy Jackson and Victoria Buxton when they were courting Joe Modise to bribe him to secure the Arms Deal for BAe. We noted Buxton's links with FNB. The Arms Deal was financed with loans of up to R48 billion which were negotiated with several foreign banks. The largest of the loans of about \$3 billion is from a consortium led by Barclays Bank of the UK, which was to finance the purchase of Hawk jet trainers and Gripen fighter aircraft. One can imagine the fees that were forthcoming from such a deal. All this money was South African taxpayers' funds that should have been used to uplift communities.

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‘Quid pro quo has an interesting history. It’s originally a contract law term, not a criminal bribery term.’

Zephyr Teachout

Fifty-four-year-old Richard Charter went canoeing on the Orange River near his luxury farm Glen Lyon, also known as the Kalahari Nature Reserve, on Sunday 25 January 2004¹ for a lazy day on the water with his son and friends. Tragically, he drowned.

As required by law in the case of an unnatural death, Magistrate OS Mazwi held an inquest and various people who witnessed the drowning gave affidavits. It was found that no-one was to blame for his death. Many did not agree. Terry Crawford-Browne said in his book *Eye on the Diamonds*, [Charter] ‘died mysteriously in what was described as a heart attack during a canoeing accident in the Orange River. Other reports indicate that he was hit over the head with a paddle, and that his head was then held under water until he drowned.’² Terry said two sources close to the family told him this.

When I asked him about the identity of these sources, he said he could put their lives at risk just putting their names on email ‘and one of them I know is already paranoid’. Of more concern to a sensationalist press was Janet Charter’s assertion that her husband’s death was no accident.³

From as early as 1996 British Aerospace used Charter as a lobbyist, a man who would later be accused of being a key recipient and potential distributor of corrupt funds from BAe to various South African politicians. Evidently, in the apartheid arms embargo years, Charter represented BAe in Johannesburg and he made boatloads of money as Osprey Aviation.⁴

After the non-racial elections he was back in harness with BAe Systems SA. *Nosetweek* maintained that for months British arms dealers had a team of agents in SA working on a bid to supply naval craft. But early in the new year of 1999, BAe’s naval ambitions were snuffed out and they had a warning from somebody ‘very, very high up’ to get out of the country.

Speaking to *Nosetweek*, Charter said, ‘We were told late in December 1998 that if we didn’t withdraw from the naval bid, we stood a good chance of losing the promised aircraft deal as well.’ This seemed to point to a done deal in the sense that the successful contractors had already been decided.

When asked why BAe was so convinced they would be named the best bidder in the plane deal, Charter’s reply was unequivocal, ‘That was settled in a

smoky-room deal between [then UK prime minister] John Major and Thabo Mbeki already in 1995.' So, the corvettes and submarines were destined for the Germans and the aircraft for the British.

Early on Charter realised that he would have to do serious political spade-work to be named the successful contractor. Consequently, he established ANC connections to discuss potentially 'charitable' donations to the organisation or its allies. In 1996 he hatched the idea of helping the ANC set up a scholarship fund in conjunction with the ANC's archives at Fort Hare University. Although the high-profile arrangement only kicked off in 1998, Charter's hard grind meant he was assured of a personal meeting with Thabo Mbeki.⁵

As secrecy was paramount in all negotiations and transactions relating to the bribes it is difficult to know what transpired. One thing is certain: all these efforts must have hit pay dirt. Huderfield Enterprises was registered as a company in 1997 in the British Virgin Islands. The SFO found that Charter was the driving force behind Huderfield. Again, huge sums are involved and the SFO said Huderfield was paid almost £25 million (R350 million) between 1999 and 2005, plus a 'final settlement' of £5.5 million.

Journalist Evelien Groenink mentioned Osprey in connection with Janus Waluś. Apparently the hangar, aircraft finance and helicopter contacts in Janusz Waluś's address book indicated that his employer Peter Jackson's business activities went beyond transporting chemicals by truck, extending to the private aviation industry. She said, 'An important section of that South African industry was controlled by British Aerospace agents Osprey, and Osprey Air Engines was a subsidiary of fellow British mining and technologies multinational Lonrho – represented in South Africa by Peter Jackson's chemicals companies' associate, Terence Kelly. Were Jackson and Kelly involved in chemicals, minerals and aircraft trade on behalf of the big UK multinationals ICI, Lonrho and British Aerospace?' We must not forget that the car Janus drove when he killed Hani was owned by his employer Peter Jackson.

Obviously Charter also channelled other funds to South African politicians and officials as British investigators believed he was laundering an estimated R1.8 billion in 'commissions' from BAe to the ANC and/or its senior members within weeks of the deals being signed in 1999. Justifying their application to seize documents, the Scorpions said that in view of the millions involved, it was clear that Bredenkamp and Charter bribed Fana Hlongwane and other officials involved to get the arms deal contracts.

In considering who might have a motive to kill Richard Charter, other circumstances need to be explored. What became a topic of great speculation was the romantic relationship that developed after Richard Charter's death between his widow Janet and John Bredenkamp who, at 68, was 20 years her senior. For personal reasons Bredenkamp declined to divulge how he and

Janet Charter became romantically involved, and said he had encountered Richard Charter only three times before the latter's death in 2004. Fact is though, Bredenkamp also added Janet's son Andrew to his payroll.⁶ Was this to silence him about some dark secret?

The press speculated that the romantic tie-up between Janet Charter and Bredenkamp might have arisen out of their mutual fears for their personal security. Family members had intimated that Janet was worried about her own safety and also had deep-seated anxieties for Bredenkamp. Richard Charter admitted being the South African agent for BAe Systems. But for a long time, Bredenkamp's role in the arms deal was a matter of speculation and conjecture. There was some debate in the press about how BAe had divided its operations and largesse between Charter's Osprey Aviation and Bredenkamp's Aviation Consultancy Services.

At the time of his death Richard Charter was cooperating with the police and thought nothing he had done was unlawful. The press discovered that Charter was to consult with his lawyer the following Monday after the Scorpions requested him to submit to interrogation under oath before a magistrate regarding the arms deal.

Usually, Charter was a phlegmatic sort of person but just before he died he was unusually worried,⁷ expressing concerns that he might be the fall guy, especially as he was not supported by the late Defence Minister Joe Modise's highly controversial former adviser, Fana Hlongwane. As we have noted, the latter was rolling in moolah. We have paid attention to British Government-controlled BAe because of the alleged bribes to Joe Modise through Fana Hlongwane. And British intelligence entanglements took centre stage earlier on with Lumumba and Hammarskjöld.

Now we briefly need to discuss alleged bribes to John Bredenkamp. He had a chequered career. On 18 February 2000, the press mentioned a classified report to the US secretary of defence about secret arms shipments from Bredenkamp to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Another report dated 16 October 2002 to the UN Security Council by a panel of experts investigating exploitation of raw materials in the DRC cited Bredenkamp's role as an arms broker 'who has a history of clandestine military procurement, and has an investment in Aviation Consultancy Services Company (ACS) ... this company represents British Aerospace, Dornier of France and Agusta of Italy in Africa'.

There is no doubt that Bredenkamp became seriously rich and rumours placed him 33rd on Britain's rich list in 2007 – higher than Sir Paul McCartney! Some reckon his fortune was worth £700 million. He has lived in several countries. Bredenkamp supported Ian Smith but later flipped sides and joined Robert Mugabe. *Nosetweek*⁸ said, 'One of Uncle Bob's close friends is, of course, John Bredenkamp, notorious Rhodesian arms dealer now resident in

Berkshire and said to be worth R4.4 billion ... Mugabe and Bredenkamp are deeply involved in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in return for which they have claimed their share in the DRC's fabulous mineral wealth.'

Bredenkamp's interests also involved sanctions-busting for South Africa. He purchased oil and military equipment for the apartheid government in the 1980s. He agreed to purchase 20,000 flamethrowers for the South African Defence Force at the request of state arms procurement agency Armscor, whose officials referred to him by the codename 'Peptic'. Given his worldwide interest in the arms business, it seems inevitable that Bredenkamp would find the South African Arms Deal too tempting to resist involvement.

Bredenkamp was also involved in the illegal smuggling of oil to apartheid South Africa. We have mentioned the minutes of the Strategic Fuel Fund for 13 March 1989 carrying a note stating, 'John Bredenkamp, who has acted confidentially for SA govt before, offers oil [Casalee].' Also assisting South Africa with illegal oil imports at that time were Tony Georgiadis and Marc Rich. At the time the minister in charge of energy supplies was FW de Klerk. Why are we not surprised that the same names keep cropping up?

Regarding the South African arms deal, Gary Murphy of the British SFO calculated that BAe paid about £40 million (R600 million) to Kayswell Services, which is based in the Virgin Isles. Bredenkamp tried to deny any involvement in Kayswell but ex-BAe senior manager McDonald told investigators Bredenkamp was 'the boss' of Kayswell and he regularly updated BAe director Mike Turner. Bredenkamp was behind Aviation Consultancy Services (ACS), which represented aircraft manufacturers globally, as well as BAe. ACS acted for Augusta, which was selected for the helicopter contract.⁹ The press later obtained documents disclosing a \$5-million payment to ACS by Italian company Augusta as commission on helicopter sales to South Africa.

Despite Bredenkamp's protestations of innocence, a former associate told the press that Bredenkamp had interacted with South African Defence Minister Joe Modise on at least one occasion in South Africa during the time the arms companies were vying for contracts. So, this then was the link to BAe being given the arms contracts. According to an associate, Bredenkamp knew Richard Evans, the former chair and chief executive of BAe, a prime bribe suspect. SFO's Gary Murphy also tells us ex-BAe senior man McDonald was £5 million richer from the deal. McDonald told SFO that Bredenkamp suggested identifying the key decision-makers, with a view to 'financially incentivising' them to make the right decision about the Hawk/Gripen contract. There is solid evidence that the monies were destined for South African politicians and Modise in particular.

On occasion the police raided Bredenkamp. In October 2006 SFO members swooped on the Berkshire premises of Aviation Consultancy

Services (ACS).¹⁰ Early in 2008 *Africa Confidential* revealed that internal company documentation showed BAe paid £26 million to Kayswell between June 2003 and September 2005, and about £10 million had been transferred for the benefit of Bredenkamp.

Finally, we deal with Hani's great political nemesis – Thabo Mbeki. How was he involved in the arms deal largesse?

Between 10 and 11 pm on the bitterly cold night of 21 August 2007, 47-year-old Mhleli Paul Madaka was travelling to his Centurion home in the Golf RS32 he had bought recently.¹¹ At high speed, he approached the Brakfontein offramp from the N1. Instead of making the turn, the Golf maintained a straight trajectory, ploughing through the fence surrounding the MAN Truck and Bus premises on the corner. The Golf mounted the embankment before turning over on its roof. By the time the ambulance arrived, he was dead.¹² Police alerted Paul's relatives and they came to look at the vehicle the next day. They could not understand how the accident had happened as the car had just been serviced. There was speculation that the mechanics had not done their job properly. Some thought there was a plan to kill him.

Madaka was still a boy – not even 20 – when he left South Africa to join the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He completed his training abroad before returning to fight the Boers, as they were known to the activists. During his years in exile he had stayed in Angola and East Germany. After returning home, he was caught in the Transkei and charged with trying to overthrow the apartheid government. He was close to another prominent activist, Vusi Mavimbela, as they were both students at the University of Natal in the early 1990s. In the Transkei case, Madaka was acquitted on the grounds of insufficient evidence. At the time of his death he was doing consultancy work, mostly of an intelligence nature, and also conducting investigations for the mining industry.

What baffled relatives and reporters present at the funeral a week or so later were the veiled references to rifts in the relationship between Madaka and South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki. At his funeral his erstwhile varsity pal Vusi Mavimbela reflected movingly on his long friendship with Madaka and spoke metaphorically about criticisms he and Madaka had raised with the ruling ANC Government and the disappointing responses they received.

After his return to the new South Africa and his acquittal, Madaka became part of the intelligence community and joined the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) in 1995. He was probably in possession of more secrets than anyone else in the country. After three years of service in the NIA he co-founded and was heading the agency's anti-corruption unit as manager. Prior to the consulting business, Madaka had worked for the Public Service Commission in 2000, one associate told the press.¹³ He had headed

the investigations unit of the Commission until 2005 and probed many matters, mostly relating to corruption. Apparently one such investigation had featured alleged procurement and appointment irregularities at the National Prosecuting Authority.

The inquest of Paul Madaka heard that Dr Lorraine Prinsloo of the Pretoria medico-legal laboratories did the post mortem and found Madaka's stomach full of dark fluid and the bladder full of clear urine. The disturbing part was that he had 0.33g per 100ml of alcohol in his blood. At levels 0.30–0.39, international standards report stupor, loss of understanding, impaired sensations, falling unconscious, memory blackout and even death. Inspector Etienne van Zyl, a qualified vehicle examiner of ten years' standing, filed an affidavit with the inquest magistrate stating the foot brake and hand brake were totally defective. The brake fluid cylinder and plug were defective as were the pipes channelling the brake fluid. On 26 September 2008, Pretoria magistrate NCJ Mncube found no-one had been responsible for the death in question.

Depression and distress about the way President Mbeki sidelined people had overcome Madaka before his death. He had complained to an associate that they had been together fighting to regain the country from the whites but were now fighting each other. What interested the press was what the associate told them Madaka had said before his unusual death. He had experienced an attempt on his life.¹⁴ His friends thought he had nothing to fear as his relatives would surely protect him from harm, especially his brother-in-law, Minister of Trade and Industry Mandisi Mphahlela.

Why would a previous spy for South Africa fear for his life? Despite attempts by President Thabo Mbeki's officials to undermine the story's credibility, the *Sunday Times* published allegations that a German shipbuilding company paid bribes to Mbeki to the sum of R30 million to guarantee it would receive a submarine contract in South Africa's multibillion-rand Arms Deal.¹⁵ The information came from a report compiled in 2007 by international detective agency Kroll.

At the relevant times Mbeki was chairman of the cabinet committee that oversaw the arms acquisition process. MAN Ferrostaal won the contract to sell three submarines to the SA Navy for more than R6 billion.¹⁶ Mbeki's spokesperson Mukoni Ratshitanga urged anyone with evidence to go to the police and said, 'Anyone can write a document and claim it is authentic.' The newspaper quoted from a section of the report that alleged 'a former South African official, who had access to such information, informed us in confidence that Ferrostaal paid R30 million to current President Thabo Mbeki to gain the arms contract in the first place. When questioned by investigators in South Africa, Mbeki claimed R2 million was given to his former deputy president, Jacob Zuma, and the rest went to the ANC.'

Although these were startling revelations, little would be done about them because, as the report said, 'Mbeki maintains a tight rein on the National Prosecuting Authority where this matter would be dealt with.' The report maintained the South African intelligence services also were aware and had proof of the bribe. After the *Sunday Times* revelations, the *Mail & Guardian* established it was Madaka that spoke to Kroll in early 2006. The facts were revealed to a South African businessman in late July 2006. Madaka died less than a month later on 21 August 2006.¹⁷ Friends and associates were sceptical about the way he had died, saying he had acquired sensational facts from an NIA probe into the Arms Deal.

The *Mail & Guardian* backed up these shocking allegations with an 'information note', written at the time Madaka spoke out. 'A private risk analyst's information note from early last year records Madaka telling him that the "first payment" made by Ferrostaal was to "Mbeki personally". The information note says Madaka claimed both the NIA and the Scorpions had "proof" Mbeki received R30 million from Ferrostaal. Madaka added when confronted by investigators, Mbeki maintained that R28 million had been passed to the ANC and the rest to Jacob Zuma, then ANC president. Madaka claimed there was no proof of such on-payments [to Zuma and the ANC].'

Madaka suggested the Scorpions would not make any progress presumably for the same reasons that they were controlled by Mbeki. A close associate of Madaka, who did not want to be named as he obviously feared for his life, told the paper the very same story. He said Madaka told him that everyone knew Mbeki took money from the Germans. 'Paul Madaka told me it was in cash, which was brought back on the presidential jet.'

The irony of it all was that this friend said Madaka told him he had submitted a report on the matter to Mbeki, and had told Mbeki not to pursue Zuma for corruption, as it would 'backfire'. Mbeki then avoided Madaka whenever circumstances required that they would meet. The friend also told the press that Madaka was depressed, embittered and 'terribly disillusioned' before his death.

Both Mbeki and MAN Ferrostaal threatened legal action for defamation but nothing ever came of it. When Ngcuka was defamed by being called a spy, Mbeki appointed conservative Judge Joos Hefer to a commission of enquiry which cost the taxpayer hundreds of millions of rands.

Speaking to Willie Esterhuysen at negotiations for the new South Africa between 17 and 19 December 1988 at Flitwick in Bedfordshire, England, Mbeki was talking the talk, 'South Africa must avoid this at all costs once the country is free: self-enrichment and corruption will be a betrayal of what the ANC has struggled for. But how are we going to redistribute wealth in a democratic state and progressively eliminate the gaps created by apartheid?'

Thabo Mbeki, who succeeded to the positions many predicted should

have been Hani's, as deputy president to Mandela and later his successor, was head of the final cabinet committee deciding who should get the Arms Deal contracts. So, he was definitely one who would have to be 'incentivised' to use John Bredenkamp's vivid phrase. In a moment of great candour, we recall, Richard Charter explained to *Noseweek*, 'We were told late in December 1998 that if we didn't withdraw from the naval bid, we stood a good chance of losing the promised aircraft deal as well.' And who did he say decided this deal? It was decided, we remember, in a smoky-room deal between UK Prime Minister John Major and Thabo Mbeki in 1995.

Are there other allegations of bribes being paid to Mbeki? Nassau in the Bahamas is the pleasure resort of the rich. As yet another tax haven, it attracted many scoundrels, among them a man with a tan, scanning the shore for his rich chums through his expensive designer sunglasses. This is Nick Achterberg, owner of the MV Integrity. He first visited the Eastern Cape as part of a group of 80 German businessmen in November 1996 in a twinning agreement between the province and the German state of Baden-Wurttemberg.¹⁸

Achterberg was behind a company known as Spring Consultants and promised he and other German companies would uplift the Eastern Cape in a scheme like the Marshall Plan after World War II. As Mbeki came from this area, it is especially close to his heart. For years it had been desperately poor, mainly dependent on agriculture. Achterberg and his company proposed a daring industrial project to the Eastern Cape Government that would bring up to 3,000 qualified German technicians into the country on three-year contracts.

Later Achterberg became embroiled in the strange Union Mines affair. His German Spring Consultants bought sufficient shares in Union Mines to take it over and then told the investing public it had a contract to sell cobalt to giant arms company Thyssen. Such a juicy deal meant huge investments were made in Union Mines and shares changed hands freely. Within six months, Achterberg realised the deal with Thyssen was not happening and by July 2000 it was cancelled. The shares, which had made many rich, crashed and fortunes were lost.

Achterberg was furious about the deal's failure and Thyssen France's refusal to continue with the cobalt contract with his South African company International Metal Processing. He sent a fax on 12 July 2001 to Thyssen Materials in France saying he had received some devastating news from Phillipe Mueller, head of a Thyssen subsidiary in South Africa, who told him Sven Moeller paid President Thabo Mbeki a bribe of 40 million German marks (about \$7 million) to buy corvettes from the German suppliers.

After the fax, Achterberg sent an email to the German prosecutors giving them the same information, saying the money was 'transported from

Düsseldorf to Geneva by executive jet' for deposit in 'an account held by Thabo Mbeki'. He said Phillipe Mueller had explained the bribe as standard Thyssen practice in 'jungle-bunny countries'. Remember, Patricia de Lille handed a dossier to parliament that mentioned Georgiadis and Mbeki being involved in helping the German bid.

Georgiadis made headlines in February 2007 after the German magazine *Der Spiegel* produced a shocking article. As mentioned before, this exposé revealed that prosecutors in Düsseldorf were looking into so-called 'commission' (bribes) to a mysterious Liberian company called Mallar Incorporated, headed by Tony Georgiadis.¹⁹ Following the German probe, the German Embassy in Pretoria sent a request for legal assistance to the Department of Foreign Affairs on 28 September 2007. This was a formal application for South African help to investigate evidence held by the Düsseldorf prosecutors into the sale of four naval corvettes. The request mentioned 10 accused persons, Georgiadis prominently among them, and stated that contraventions of German anti-bribery legislation, fraud and attempted tax evasion were being investigated.

These must be the same people listed in a search warrant issued for Georgiadis's London company Alandis, which the UK's Serious Fraud Office raided in November 2007.²⁰ That warrant sought any documentation from a list of South African politicians and officials, including President Mbeki, Deputy President Jacob Zuma, the ANC, Trevor Manuel, former Parliamentary Defence Committee Chair Ntsiki Mashimbiye, former Defence Minister Joe Modise, J Naidoo, Mandela and the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, the Shaik brothers, Armscor and its former chairperson Llew Swan, Mac Maharaj and Tony Yengeni.²¹

In summary, the German police alleged they had evidence that Georgiadis siphoned millions of dollars in Arms Deal bribes to 'South African officials and Cabinet members'. The application for legal assistance was squashed, as was a similar one from Britain in 2007, also mentioning prominent people. The request also listed nine other accused from the German consortium who were chosen to supply the four corvettes in November 1998. The deal was signed and sealed in December 1999.²²

In February 2008, President Mbeki evaded questions about his relations with Georgiadis and nothing was forthcoming from him or his spokesperson Mukoni Ratshitanga. 'I am advised that Mr Anthony Georgiadis has been in contact with the African National Congress since the early 1990s. Your questions should therefore be directed to the ANC.'²³

Apart from Achterberg's report, there had been speculation as to how the Germans first tumbled onto bribes paid to the South African officials and cabinet ministers. The explanation seems to be that Thyssen wanted to deduct commission payments from tax as 'business expenses' despite the fact that as from 1999, the German Income Tax Act made such an action a criminal

offence. The German police legal request alleged that Thyssen ‘falsely declared that these payments had been made for the bid ... as early as 1998 and that in the end they did not know who was the recipient of these monies’.²⁴

Back in 1995, when all was doom and gloom for the Germans, who had not made the shortlist for orders under the Arms Deal, one official by the name of Hoenings revealed that Mbeki had made his presence felt and put the Germans back in the running for the contracts. The German request of 28 September 2007 asked for help in executing ‘search and confiscation warrants’ issued by a Düsseldorf judge in June 2007. Searches were not limited to South Africa but were to be carried out in Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Jersey and Monaco. No doubt these were the secret offshore accounts chosen by the bribe recipients. There are international agreements that oblige countries to assist in helping stamp out serious crime. The request was simple enough and it forced the Scorpions, who were tasked with investigating the Arms Deal in terms of an official order, to execute what the warrants said.²⁵ The request said they should go to the houses and offices of Mbeki and others on the list and look for information about the ‘flow of bribe payments’ and ‘agreements between the participants’. Nothing appears to have been done about it.

It is amazing how memories fade and history is rewritten. Speaking at the memorial of party stalwart Rita Ndzanga in late August 2022,²⁶ Mbeki said some of the leaders of the ANC had complained about his reluctance to steal from the public. He said, ‘You know one of our comrades ... says to me after talking to some of the leadership of the ANC ... that some are not happy with me. I asked why and he says they say you don’t know the value of money and he says ... “I want to take a little bit from public funds ... What is wrong with Mbeki is that he does not agree with that”.’

What a contrast there is between those ANC pilferers and Chris Hani. The latter said, ‘What I fear is that the liberators emerge as elitists who drive around in Mercs and use the resources of this country to live in palaces and gather riches.’

38 | Ducking and dodging prosecutions

‘... Impunity becomes the very foundation upon which systems of corruption are built. And if impunity is not demolished, all efforts to bring an end to corruption are in vain.’

Rigoberta Menchú, Nobel Prize laureate

During the mid- to late-1980s while the fear and guns remained, through the grief and through the waiting for years, the abused masses were rising up in anger, protest songs were resounding, sanctions were biting and desperation lay ahead for the Nationalist Government and the corporate vultures. The writing was on the wall and they could not prevent the inevitable universal suffrage for all South Africans regardless of colour.

Once that happened it was obvious that the black voters – comprising 85% plus of the population – would ensure triumph at the polls for a party they trusted to bring equality and economic freedom. As already discussed, the Nats and their business buddies feared Nuremberg-style trials for apartheid’s atrocities and implementation of the Freedom Charter’s nationalisation imperative.

Taking the middle road, South Africa created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to establish a public record of the human rights atrocities through a unique combination of criminal accountability and amnesty proceedings. ‘Amnesty for political crimes of the past was only granted subject to conditions and in exchange for full disclosure on the particulars of the deeds in question.’¹

The TRC concluded its work in May 2001 and recommended in its final report that where amnesty had not been sought or had been denied, prosecution should be considered where evidence existed that an individual had committed a gross human rights violation. ‘Particular attention should be given to police atrocities. Attorneys-general must pay rigorous attention to the prosecution of members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) who are found to have assaulted, tortured and/or killed persons in their care.’ The TRC warned that to avoid a culture of impunity and to entrench the rule of law granting general amnesty ‘in whatever guise should be resisted’.²

President Mandela categorically told parliament in February 1999 that accountability needed to be established and where evidence existed of a serious crime, prosecution should be instituted within a fixed time frame.

In his book *Post-TRC Prosecutions in South Africa – Accountability for Political Crimes after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Amnesty Process*,³

Ole Bubenzer surmised there were potentially hundreds of amnesty applications from rank and file officers but a dearth from high-ranking politicians and security force commanders of the apartheid state. However, in 1998 the TRC handed a list to prosecution authorities which it considered worthy of further criminal investigation. It contained about 300 references to names and cases resulting from the various TRC hearings.

In the decade before the first democratic elections, more than 20,000 South Africans, mostly black, died in political violence. Much of it can be attributed to the Nat politicians who fomented and used surrogate forces such as Inkatha and the Witdoeke to stymie the ANC, UDF and other forces. These conspiracies were exposed during the TRC. As the facts leaked out, then president, FW de Klerk, appointed High Court Judge Louis Harms in 1990 to investigate the murders. His investigation was a whitewash and showed how a judge can influence a crucially important commission.

Apart from the efforts to fan the flames of widespread political conflict, which probably led to most of the deaths, apartheid forces killed individual political opponents too. The TRC's progress in seeking accountability was fraught with difficulties.⁴ As could be expected during the negotiations that began in 1990, the National Party argued strongly for a general amnesty. In his book *Total Onslaught: Apartheid's Dirty Tricks Exposed*, De Wet Potgieter devoted a chapter to the mad scramble by the Nationalist politicians to secure immunity from prosecution. Potgieter maintained that the job of achieving this was left to former Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and he really let down the security forces. 'What went awry in Kobie Coetsee's later life that would cause him to leave the former security forces scandalously in the lurch no one will ever know, since he died without explaining his actions.'⁵

Barring Thabo Mbeki, the ANC resisted a blanket amnesty and argued strongly that immunity should be left up to the new government and a truth commission. In April 1994, an attempt was made to slip through indemnity for ex-ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, plus 3,500 security force members. The High Court set this aside.⁶

After fierce negotiations, the ANC conceded some sort of amnesty should be available, and a clause was added to the interim constitution that took effect at the April 1994 elections that, to advance reconciliation and reconstruction, 'amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past'. In May 1995, an Act was passed to set up the TRC with a mandate to grant amnesty in respect of 'acts associated with political objectives'. The new law provided for a circumscribed process of individual applications in which those seeking prosecution immunity had to show both that their crime was political in motive and make full disclosure of the acts for which they were seeking amnesty.

The small fry in the security services applied for amnesty. The TRC concluded, 'In reviewing its efforts to uncover the deeper truth behind the violations of the apartheid era, it frankly acknowledges that much of its success is due to the fact that large numbers of Security Police members grasped at the possibility of amnesty in exchange for full disclosure.'

Some must have felt compelled to do so when one of the scapegoats and head of hit squad farm Vlakplaas, Eugene de Kock, 'broke the code of silence' after he was prosecuted successfully for a large number of serious crimes. Military members seemed to be immune from the process and Amnesty International felt that 'the military may also have felt concerned that disclosures relating to crimes committed during the country's occupation of and attacks on neighbouring states would not have been covered by the TRC amnesty process'.

Following a trial that lasted 18 months, De Kock was found guilty in August 1996 of six murders and 83 other crimes. In his plea in mitigation before sentencing, De Kock implicated senior members of the former regime in 'dirty tricks' activities against anti-apartheid activists and in promoting political violence by covertly supplying weapons and using other means. Among those named were former presidents, PW Botha and FW de Klerk, plus a number of army generals and senior police officers.

On 29 October 1998, the TRC presented a five-volume report to then president, Nelson Mandela. It found that apartheid was a crime against humanity and that the previous government and its security forces were responsible for most of the human rights violations during the period 1960 to 1994. The commission also found the ANC and other liberation movements had committed gross human rights abuses during the armed struggle. The new ANC Government was entitled to prosecute those who had not applied for and received amnesty.

In 1998 when President Mandela ordered criminal trials to start, he emphasised that these would be handled by the Office of the National Director of Public Prosecutions (NDPP). 'We are not contemplating a general amnesty under any guise. Such an approach would go against the grain of the very process that we all agreed upon; it would undermine the culture of accountability that we seek to engender.'

Once Mandela had left there was a sea change in attitude. Bubenzer said then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had already indicated in early 1999 that a new amnesty could nevertheless be considered. In a parliamentary address, his dismissive view about prosecutions was clearly on the side of the perpetrators of the atrocities. He said many people in KwaZulu-Natal did not apply for amnesty and with the level of violence that took place in that province 'if you dig and dig and dig, you are going to have to arrest a lot of people. That can't be right. A number of generals in the SA Defence Force are very keen

that this matter be dealt with, because their own sense is that there may very well be significant numbers of people in the former SADF who didn't apply, and again, with regards to them, it would not be right week after week to charge people with something that happened in 1987.'

In the last week of July 1992 Mbeki travelled to the Union Buildings in Pretoria for a secret meeting between erstwhile US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Pik Botha. Gevisser said they met for five hours and developed a plan that would grant amnesty both to the ANC political prisoners and exiles, and members of the South African security forces. The plan was later aborted but it does show the sort of thinking that was prevalent.⁷

As far as liberation movements were concerned, in May 2002, Mbeki, as president, freed 33 prisoners linked to the ANC and PAC. Most of them were in jail for politically related offences and two thirds had either been denied amnesty or had not applied. On tabling the TRC Report in parliament in April 2003, Mbeki said there would be no general amnesty. 'Any such approach, whether applied to specific categories of people or regions of the country, would fly in the face of the TRC process and subtract from the principle of accountability which is vital not only in dealing with the past, but also in the creation of a new ethos within our society.'

Time would show how little respect Mbeki had for that commitment. He said the government was convinced the matter could not be resolved by setting up yet another amnesty process. He also pronounced, correctly according to the law and the Constitution, that it was for the NDPP to pursue any cases that deserved prosecution and could be prosecuted.

In a televised interview on 26 December 2021, Mbeki was asked whether de Klerk should have been prosecuted. He said, 'I think that the decision was correct ... the decision that the country took ... it would not help us to say let's take the Nuremberg route, let those who were responsible for the apartheid crimes be charged. We were avoiding a situation where we had a perpetuation of the conflict. If you said to the apartheid generals, to the police and FW de Klerk that what democracy needs is that you are going to be charged and sent to jail, why would they have accepted to have a democratic South Africa? They would have resisted. They would have fought back. So we said we need democracy, we need justice, we need reconciliation.' He confirmed that the Truth and Reconciliation route was the correct one.

In 2002 the media speculated about secret meetings between former SADF generals and the government. Bubenzer wrote that the South African Government and ANC did indeed engage in secret talks and consultations with representatives of the SADF and the Security Police over a long period from the end of the TRC in 1998 until about early 2004. '... Details of the secret meetings were never disclosed to the public ... the common

denominator of the talks was that a legislative solution should be reached on how to avoid prosecutions in the wake of the TRC.'

We might ponder why there was so much secrecy and why any resultant decisions were never disclosed to the public. There can only be one reason, that these schemes would be so unpalatable they would cause the ANC untold harm. Unpalatable because the great compromise was that there would be no Nuremberg trials; anyone who approached the TRC and told the whole truth about crimes with a political motive would be pardoned. Anyone who did not would face trial. So the solution to find a way of avoiding prosecutions was in flagrant breach of the law.

Often, consultations with the Security Police and the army generals were held separately. A right-wing organisation composed of mostly security policemen and their legal advisors, known as the Foundation for Equality before the Law (FEL) had some meetings after the TRC completed its business in 1998. Given the track record of FEL members in opposing black political rights so viciously under apartheid, the name is ironic. We should not be surprised by the main participants. Bubenzer said former president, FW de Klerk, assumed a central role in the consultations and often consulted directly with President Mbeki or other high-ranking government members.

De Klerk as a minister and State Security Council member had been implicated in many of the atrocities – from using surrogate forces such as Inkatha and the Witdoeke to ordering the murder of the Cradock Four, detailed in my book *Permanent Removal*.

The closest these talks came to a solution was a proposal that an amnesty application would be made to a judge for political offences without requiring full details.

As Bubenzer said, 'The proposal was quite similar to the indemnity laws of the early 1990s. It was proposed that a full disclosure in terms of the TRC Act should not be required since the amnesty proceedings had shown that there were still many uncertainties as to when a full disclosure was in fact made.' If they were both singing from the same hymn sheet what was the problem? Fancy footwork was necessary to achieve hidden agendas as will become apparent.

The army had not seen fit to seek amnesty for any of the atrocities it perpetrated in the townships or neighbouring states. Consultations were held with the generals roughly at the same time, initiated by Jacob Zuma and then held with a group of former SADF generals under the umbrella of Kontak Buro, which had much the same objectives as FEL. From 1998 until 2004 these parties met with a similar objective to find a mutual solution as to how to avoid trials after the TRC through new indemnity mechanisms, Bubenzer said. He indicated that the talks were mediated and facilitated by Johannesburg businessman Jürgen Kögl, who was closely connected to leading

ANC members, especially Jacob Zuma. Mbeki was sometimes present as vice-president and later as president.

Kögl met Mbeki in 1990 after the latter had been living in Carlton Court at Anglo American's expense. Introduced by Kögl's financial partner and erstwhile opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Mbeki moved into Kögl's furnished Hillbrow flat and was invited to stay as long as needed. In his biography on Mbeki, Mark Gevisser described Kögl as 'diminutive, hyperactive and highly intelligent' and a very successful stockbroker, who would become one of Mbeki's 'most important confidants'. If there was to be no socialism and nationalisation, then there had to be a façade of black empowerment which would deceive the poor into thinking there had been real change. Kögl helped Mbeki by setting up black businessmen with equity on the stock exchange. He created African Renaissance Holdings with some key Mbeki insiders in a new black empowerment company.

We do not know what Chris Hani would have done about confessing his role in the struggle against apartheid at the TRC. He spoke about his participation in various campaigns so he was clearly not ashamed of what he did. Given his grit and honesty he probably would have had no compunction about seeking amnesty. It is overwhelmingly probable he would have been granted amnesty for these actions during the struggle against apartheid.

Before detailing Kögl's role in stopping any prosecutions, we should relate his role in the Arms Deal itself. In a *Mail & Guardian* article 'The kept politician: Zuma's willing benefactors' on 7 December 2012, the authors listed the persons who funded Zuma, beginning with Schabir Shaik, the sum involved being R4,072,500. The article confirmed that arms company Thomson was courting South African politicians to find the right BEE partner. Among them was Reuel Khoza's CNI group, perceived to be more favoured by then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. Zuma was a better option the article opined as he was 'Shaik's trump card and ... shamelessly used his proximity to Zuma to cajole or bully his way into deals'.

The article mentioned that Jürgen Kögl paid Zuma more than a million rand, R1,075,091 to be exact. Described as an 'enigmatic broker and investor originally from Namibia, Jürgen Kögl counted a number of politicians as close friends'. They included Mbeki and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert. In the same way as Shaik, Kögl has been described as a 'financial adviser' to Zuma.

He admitted paying money to Zuma but justified sponsoring politicians saying there was nothing sinister about these relationships. '... You provide support and find ways of making sure these guys are able to get on with negotiations or with governing the country.' The article further stated, 'The single biggest payment – R600,000 into the bond account of a Killarney, Johannesburg, flat owned by Zuma – raised much interest from KPMG and

Scorpions investigators, who appear to have suspected it was disguised bribe money from French arms company Thomson-CSF.’

Obviously Kögl was channelling funds from elsewhere. He would not have paid more than a million out of his own pocket. If there was no loan agreement, and South Africa’s ambassador to France, Barbara Masekela, said he was the Thomson agent, then it seems the money came from Thomson.

It is not surprising to learn then that Jürgen Kögl, as well as bribing ANC politicians, was central to the talks about letting the scoundrels off the hook. Michael Schmidt, author of the book on the death flights, called this process ‘truly earth-shattering’.⁸ He spoke to Deputy Chief of the Army Major-General Dirk R Marais and the Convenor of the SADF Contact Bureau, which acted as a focal point for serving and former military officers, co-ordinating their response to the TRC. Marais told him, ‘My counterpart on the ANC (government) side was Mr Jürgen Kögl.’

Schmidt quoted a letter Marais wrote to then deputy president, Jacob Zuma, in early 2004 for the former SADF chiefs’ signatures, recalling the initiation of a lengthy series of secret, high-level talks. ‘A process of communicating between the ANC initially and the government lately with the former chiefs of the SA Defence Force was initiated by the Deputy President of South Africa Mr T Mbeki when he approached General Constand Viljoen. General Viljoen after consultation with the former Chiefs of the Defence Force within the structure of the SADF Contact Bureau conveyed our preparedness to communicate with Mr Mbeki in his capacity as Deputy President and President of the NEC of the ANC. A convenor, Mr J Kögl, apparently empowered by Mr Mbeki, arranged for a meeting at his house in Johannesburg.’

The letter said after the discussions, Kögl hosted a dinner attended by Mbeki, various ministers, Premier of Mpumalanga Mathews Phosa – the leader of an ANC lobby arguing that its members be protected from prosecution – and the former SADF chiefs. ‘There was enthusiastic agreement the talks should be continued and that more meetings should follow. We, the former Chiefs of the SADF, being aware of the Deputy President’s tight work schedule, suggested that he appoint one of his ministers to represent the ANC in future deliberations. Mr Mbeki expressed, however, the opinion that the process of communication that was mutually agreed to was so important to him he preferred to remain the prime representative of the ANC in further deliberations.’

So Mbeki was really behind the moves towards a broad amnesty, aided and abetted by the apartheid police and army who had committed the atrocities. Schmidt said the real objective was that Mbeki, both as deputy president of the country and ANC president, and Kögl ‘wanted a quid pro quo’.

In Marais’ words, ‘They don’t want us to be charged – and they don’t

want them to be charged’ – or, as Marais later claimed were Mbeki’s words, ‘I don’t want my President to be charged in court.’ He explained that Mbeki had not meant this in the specific, as in President Nelson Mandela, but rather in the generic, in that he did not want to see any ANC State President facing charges. In other words, Mbeki was afraid that his political career would be blighted as the ANC’s group application for amnesty had been refused. So the plot was clear: no prosecution of Mbeki, the ANC leaders and apartheid criminals, and rewards for the ANC via the Arms Deal.

Marais told Schmidt that former Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, former Chiefs of the Defence Force Generals Viljoen and Geldenhuys, former Chief of the Army General Kat Liebenberg, and sometimes others, such as former Surgeon-General Niël Knobel, and one of the former chiefs of the Air Force, were involved in the talks. Although Marais said no specific offences were ever discussed, it is likely that Liebenberg was monitoring any implications for Special Forces’ black ops such as Operation Dual, unknown to the ANC. Knobel’s occasional presence was linked to the Project Coast chemical and biological warfare programme.

The meetings took place ‘every few months at Kögl’s house, a few times at the Presidency, once in Mbeki’s house, and ... at other locations’. According to Marais’ letter to Zuma, ‘When Mr Mbeki could not attend, he authorised someone, usually a minister, and later when he became president in 1999, Deputy President Jacob Zuma represented him. In the execution of the mutual decisions, much effort was put in by the Contact Bureau and some ministers to prepare papers and submissions for acceptance by the Deputy President and later on the President.’ None of the parties named responded to Schmidt’s invitation to comment. Kögl refused point blank to be interviewed about this.

The illegal agreement that the apartheid offenders and ANC leadership would not be prosecuted was confirmed in the statement issued by the FW de Klerk Foundation in July 2021 that ‘because of an informal agreement between the ANC leadership and former operatives of the pre-1994 government, the NPA suspended its prosecutions of apartheid era crimes’.

So, we know that a secret process agreed that no prosecution of apartheid atrocities would occur, despite the law requiring it. How did the NPA go about ensuring that no prosecutions took place? The process of suppressing any prosecution of the TRC cases involving apartheid killers is best illustrated by activist Ahmed Timol’s death. In October 1971, the police arrested Timol. During the inquest in 1972 his friend Salim Essop testified that he saw two Security Branch officers dragging a severely injured Timol. Essop told the inquest about his own torture which included electric shocks, and assumed Timol suffered the same fate, if not worse.

On 27 October 1971 the police announced that Timol had committed

suicide by jumping from the 10th floor of John Vorster Square. However, the inquest magistrate found that no person was responsible for his death. Timol's family was unhappy with the finding and a second inquest was held before Judge Mothle in 2017. The latter held that Timol's death was caused by being pushed from John Vorster Square's 10th floor with the necessary intent to kill. He found that Security Branch policeman Joao Rodrigues helped conceal the murder and should be prosecuted.

Rodrigues then brought an application alleging he was entitled to a permanent stay of prosecution, but the court refused the application on 3 June 2019.⁹ Dealing with the TRC process, the full bench of three judges noted that none of the accused sought amnesty. Although the TRC found a number of policemen responsible for Timol's murder, the court found that what should have followed the TRC process was that the state should have prosecuted those who had not applied for amnesty. 'There was however no bold prosecutions policy rather what can only be described as a timid retreat.'

The court went further and held that from about 2003 until 2017, all investigations into TRC cases ... 'were stopped as a result of an executive decision taken at a high level that purported to interfere with the National Prosecuting Authority's prosecutorial decision-making.'

Given the autocratic control Mbeki had over the government it must have been his decision. The NDPP's pathetic defence was that the delay in prosecuting Rodrigues was not because of the National Director's own doing or malice – 'it was as a result of the political interference and the "severe political constraints" to which the National Director was subjected'.

The judges concluded that there was high-level executive interference with the investigating and prosecuting of the apartheid atrocities. They then referred to an affidavit former NDPP advocate Vusi Pikoli had filed, describing an assumption on the part of the then minister of justice, that TRC matters would not be prosecuted. He saw this as 'unwarranted interference in my constitutional duty to prosecute without fear, favour or prejudice'.

Pikoli prepared a memorandum saying that such interference impinged upon his conscience and oath of office. It was dated 15 February 2007 and in September that same year, Advocate Pikoli was suspended from office.

The court then said, 'The NPA cannot, as it seeks to do, portray itself purely as a victim of the political machinations of the time. Whatever form the political interference took, the NPA was enjoined in terms of both its constitutional and legal responsibilities to act on behalf of society and protect the public interest.' The judges quoted the law concerning the prohibition of interference with prosecution and the maximum 10 years' prison sentence for a breach thereof.

Furthermore, the judges relied on the Constitutional Court's statement that a well functioning criminal justice system was central to any functioning

constitutional democracy. ‘... The office of the NDPP is located at the core of delivering criminal justice. If you subvert the criminal justice system, you subvert the rule of law and constitutional democracy itself ... Of course, it may well be asked, what was the NPA required to do in the face of high level political interference? Rather than simply succumb to it, it was incumbent upon the NPA to have brought this interference into the open ...’

The judges called for the prosecution of those who interfered – the politicians and the prosecutors. In the appeal to the Supreme Court of Appeal all the judges agreed with those sentiments. Prosecutions send a message, in a way nothing else can, that we have an effective criminal justice system. Needless to say and scandalously so, it is pie in the sky that the NPA would prosecute these persons, despite what the SCA told them to do.

39 | Palm-greasing the black elite

‘No person ever saw a flock of birds, of which two or three were swimming in grease, and the others all skin and bone.’

Henry George

With Chris Hani’s essential authenticity, he might have fought off the capitalists. But at the dawn of the ‘new’ rainbow nation in the early nineties, other plans were afoot to let money do the talking in ensuring that no Nuremberg-style trials were in the offing and to safeguard resources against nationalisation.

Let us look at whether the black elite was bribed or co-opted to join their white cohorts in continuing to rip off South Africa. Political analyst Moeletsi Mbeki, brother of ex-President Thabo Mbeki, gave a talk to the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, London on 9 September 2009. He said, ‘Unlike Afrikaner landowners, black nationalists owned no wealth. Big Business however, had anticipated this and came up with its solution. It would transfer just a small part of its wealth to individual leaders of the ANC, and thus co-opt them. These leaders found the offer of instant wealth hard to resist and were easily co-opted – and thus corrupted.’

In a speech ‘What is transformation? The White Roots of BEE’ given at Wits University on 26 April 2006,¹ Moeletsi said, ‘The private sector offered up BEE during the negotiations process as a way of avoiding the more radical option of nationalisation: BEE thus became a sop to the new political elite, a voluntary wealth redistribution resulting in the emergence of a new class of unproductive, rich black politicians and ex-politicians who have become the key political allies of the economic oligarchy in preserving the [status quo].’

Tom Burgis’s book *The Looting Machine* cited the example of Nchakha Moloi who started his career as a geologist. He suffered no racism while a geologist in the field but when he went to De Beers head office to make his reports, Moloi ‘was subjected to the indignities apartheid imposed on black South Africans’.² After serving on several ANC committees dealing with mining rights, a decade later Moloi founded Motjoli Resources and sought ‘to do to a mining industry still predominantly in white hands what the ANC has done to politics – wrest control from the minority and enfranchise the black majority. But as Moloi discovered, looting machines are not so easily supplanted.’³

Generally, BEE has not benefited blacks in South Africa and Moloi noted that 'black ownership of the mining industry has been miniscule'. BEE beneficiaries became involved with existing mines and not new ones. So, the stage was set before blacks were allowed on to it. The white mining barons had, he said, 'clung to the choicest cuts ... the resources, the best of the best had been carved up. Whatever was left that was good, they kept for themselves. The world-class deposits are kept by the historical owners, and they have created conditions of entry for black people. They said blacks could come in at 26% and they would determine the cost of finance. In terms of world-class deposits in South Africa, there's no chance of black people getting in – just the remnants.'⁴

Burgis emphasised how the black elite took the swag and betrayed their countrymen. 'Handing a slice of the mining industry to [Cyril] Ramaphosa, [Tokyo] Sexwale, and the rest helped to create a class of black South African tycoons ... But Black Economic Empowerment does nothing to change the fundamental structure of the mining industry, one that channels rents narrowly to those who control it, whatever the level of melanin in their skin. Conditions for the average mine worker remained grim while the new black moguls dreamed, as Tokyo Sexwale told his aides, of becoming "the first black Oppenheimer".'⁵

Many have become inordinately wealthy. Burgis mentioned current President Cyril Ramaphosa, Patrice Motsepe, Tokyo Sexwale and others by name. The richest black men in South Africa are Patrice Motsepe with R33.9 billion, followed by Cyril Ramaphosa with R6.4 billion.

Behind them are Tokyo Sexwale with R2.14 billion; Siphso Nkosi with R1.7 billion; Phuthuma Nhleko with R1.4 billion; Vincent Mnthambo with R1.01 billion; Leonard Sowazi with R726 million; Mike Teke, R682 million; Saki Macozoma, R565 million; and Dalikhaya Zihlangu, R533 million.

Ray Hartley explained that there was a need to remove structural constraints so as to establish successful black-owned enterprises. To solve the problem of access to capital and respond to mounting transformation pressure, a wily plan was hatched. 'The conglomerates would sell off parts of their businesses to black investors, willing to gamble on the escalating value of shareholdings and on the payment of dividends, being sufficient to pay off debt.' This is a crucial part of whole cunning scheme. The new black owners would need no capital to access the shares, as loans would be made available and the repayments made with dividends.

According to Hartley, these stakes would be sold off at a substantial discount to their market value, annoying many of the existing shareholders. The latter would be justifiably miffed that, while they had paid value for their shares, the new owners received them, often at grossly reduced valuations. The dawn of the new black empowerment era would permanently reshape

the business landscape. These lucky recipients had received a cornucopia of wealth, while their countrymen still wallowed in poverty.

The wheeling and dealing arranged by business tycoons and Nat politicians destroyed the chance to achieve economic equality in South Africa or realise the Freedom Charter's economic promises. In her exhaustive study of BEE entitled *Trick or Treat – Rethinking Black Economic Empowerment*,⁶ Jenny Cargill said, 'The perception is one of a generally parasitic system in which enrichment, rent-seeking and corruption emerged. A wide spectrum of the population see something undeserving in a black elite becoming excessively enriched without being productive.'

'This is what rent-seeking is about – merely redistributive activity that absorbs resources and results in rent, a profit exacted and unrelated to any productive activity. It is not necessarily illegal but, against the backdrop of widespread poverty and joblessness, it appears ethically indefensible.'⁷

Cargill may be unduly charitable in saying that such activities are not illegal, as making shares available at below their market value to buy off the black elite to betray the cause of equality and a 'better life for all', might well constitute corruption.

Sadly, while Hani was holding out for justice, others had been negotiating secretly with industry moguls and the Nat politicians. I am sure Hani knew little of these intrigues. Few outside the higher echelons of the ANC know about the letter Nelson Mandela wrote to apartheid President PW Botha in early 1989 on behalf of the ANC. Economist and political commentator Dale McKinley described the trade-offs the liberation movement was prepared to make to access political power by compromising on the basic economic issues contained in the Freedom Charter.

'... It was the ANC that was most desperate for formal negotiations to get under way.' Mandela had admitted, 'The Nationalist government is not yet ready for negotiation and for the sharing of political power with blacks.'⁸

The 1989 Harare Declaration had already set out the ANC's desire for a negotiated end to the apartheid regime that would leave the capitalist economic side of apartheid largely intact, McKinley explained. We have to acknowledge duplicity of the highest order as, after being released from prison, Mandela had publicly declared on behalf of the ANC that nationalisation of the mines, the financial institutions and monopoly industries was the ANC's fundamental policy 'and it is inconceivable that we will ever change this policy'.

When Nelson Mandela, on behalf of the ANC, secured an \$850-million loan from the IMF in 1993, the die was cast. Embedded in the loan were a plethora of corporate-friendly macro-economic policies. Foolishly, nay tragically, the ANC took on the huge apartheid debt and there was no going back. Even Mbeki's key ally through thick and thin, Ronnie Kasrils, saw through

that. He said, 'We took an IMF loan on the eve of our first democratic election and had already imperceptibly succumbed to the guile and subtle threats of the corporate world which had been chipping away at revolutionary resolve for some years ... We walked into that in the misguided belief that there was no other option. Doubt at that time had come to reign supreme: doubt that there was no other way ...

'Perhaps more inexcusable for us than that, was losing faith in the ability of our own revolutionary masses to overcome in united action, with correct theory and reliable leadership, all obstacles. With the masses, we would arguably have had the means and the resources to press home the huge advantages the revolution was gaining at the time. Moving to control the heights of the economy would have placed us in a position to truly turn things around ... To lose nerve, go belly-up, was neither necessary nor inevitable ... instead we chickened out.'

Nobody could have recognised the dangers of this policy more than its mastermind, Thabo Mbeki, who was in power long enough to see it through. In a secret document, Mbeki's views are highlighted. McKinley said this document, entitled *From Resistance to Reconstruction*, was presented at the ANC conference in December 1994. He said Mbeki was worried that there was opposition from Cosatu and the SACP, which was aimed at destroying the ANC from within. This opposition would project the ANC leadership as 'inclined to over-compromise with ... bourgeois reformism' and wanting to 'appease the domestic and international business world and multilateral financial institutions'.

All this sounds less like a warning than a confession of how far the ANC under his leadership cosied up to Big Business and sold out the masses.¹⁰ Mbeki continued to explain how this 'opposition' would then encourage launching a major and sustained mass campaign, which, while addressing various legitimate worker demands, would simultaneously pose the spectre of ungovernability. Such mass action would counter Mbeki's neoliberal sell-out of the workers and the excluded majority. McKinley put it in a nutshell, 'Given such a conspiratorial approach to important questions of political opposition and debate, it is a short step to then seeing those that might hold opposing ideological perspectives as potential enemies of not only the ANC, but also the new democratic state.'

Mbeki took that short step and went even further by declaring that 'we must understand the new democracy cannot allow for hostile surveillance of the democratic process and the participants in this process'. This was a shot across the bows for any potential uprising that would be judged as traitorous against the marriage between the new ANC elite and white business.¹¹

According to McKinley, South Africa is still governed on the principles of GEAR, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy that replaced

the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and which has been disastrous for the working class. Without any discussion, Trevor Manuel and Mandela declared GEAR as 'non-negotiable'.

Yet as McKinley wrote, firstly, it meant tax breaks and holidays for the capitalists and tightening the belt for workers and the poor. Secondly, private capital could invest in financial markets to maintain profit margins, while not thinking about the majority. Thirdly, industrial development was tied to foreign investment, which made the country hidebound to follow the dictates of big foreign capital. Fourthly, workers must accept minimal labour protection, no centralised bargaining and low wages while middle management and owners scored big time. Finally, an emphasis on exports with free trade and no tariffs, and with internal labour being capital-intensive, it would lead to high unemployment.

The notion that benefits would trickle down to the workers and the poor was illusory and aptly illustrated by the picture of a horse being fed lots of grain and sparrows reaping food from the droppings. This sordid picture was exacerbated by tax evasion on a grand scale, continuing to this day.

Jenny Cargill expertly analysed the phenomenon when quoting FirstRand Group's Laurie Dippenaar, 'BEE is trying to be something of a miracle worker. How do you transfer large financial assets to those who have no money? We've been trying to build a building from the 5th floor.'¹²

The Freedom Charter advocated nationalisation to empower the masses. This was the self-same device the Nationalists used after ascending to power in 1948 when they nationalised key sections of the economy to empower white capital and the Afrikaner hoi polloi.

With democracy looming, the apartheid system was in a morass and launched a desultory de-nationalisation process to re-empower white capital while depriving an incoming black state from using those nationalised assets and capital – a counter-empowerment of blacks as it were.¹³

It is interesting that chief prosecutor in the Zuma case, Billy Downer, named his prosecution team Bumiputera and they were involved in Project Bob. The Bumiputera concept emanated from Malaysia, where Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad introduced an affirmative action policy with 30% for native Malays. As Cargill sets out, the Malaysian problem arose when, instead of a national 30% average, there was insistence for 30% in each company. She believed this was a mistake the South Africans would repeat. At micro level this meant forcing affirmative action could not work. The only way was to conduct the full nationalisation policy honestly, fairly and without corruption.

The first efforts after 1994 were to sell non-core businesses to black 'investors'. McKinley said, 'Since there were very few black "investors" around, the ANC would need to select the candidates, thus guaranteeing that they would be politically loyal and accessible to the organisation for future financial

backing. In turn, the chosen “investors” would be assisted by linked financial institutions, most of whom came from the ranks of private white-owned capital ...’¹⁴

Those closest to the ANC’s political leadership quickly concluded deals with corporate capital. The most publicly noticed were New Africa Investments Ltd – NAIL (involving Sanlam’s Metlife) and the National Empowerment Corporation/Consortium – NEC (involving Anglo American’s Johnnic). So, the pretence was neatly packaged.

‘Overnight new black millionaires were created. They publicly paraded their newfound riches and loudly claimed that this was the start of a new dawn in which all black South Africans could share ... then deputy minister of trade and industry, Phumzile Mlambo-Nguka publicly opined that black businessmen should not be shy to say they wanted to become ‘filthy rich’. After all, if whites had got filthy rich under apartheid then surely it was the “turn” of blacks to do the same now that political freedom had been won and the ANC is in power,’ McKinley said.¹⁵

The Utopian dreams of those who gathered in Kliptown and crafted the Freedom Charter were to be deferred indefinitely.

Of course, the politicians could not stay away from the sweetened pot. Eventually sleuths found a secret *Ministerial Handbook* that revealed the benefits and privileges the politicians from every level receive. McKinley summarised them, ‘Besides multi-million rand salaries for almost everyone (noting that the South African president gets paid more every year than the prime minister of the United Kingdom), all salaries are effectively tax-free since there is an “inclusive remuneration package” which includes top-up provisions for all tax liabilities. Then there are virtually free state-owned houses if desired, with housing privileges including free water and electricity, all cleaning/domestic services, gardening, security, internet/phone, as well as insurance and removal expenses. As if all this was not enough, there are also huge allowances for vehicle purchases, free air travel and a retirement “benefit ... equal to 92.5% of pensionable salary”.’

So, should anybody be surprised that the World Bank says the gap between rich and poor has increased since 1994? They should know as they sowed the seeds.

40 | Hani's explosive memo

'The true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love.'

Che Guevara

We have travelled a long distance on our journey to find those behind Chris Hani's murder. To arrive at our conclusions, we must continue the narrative where we left Hani, outraged after the Wankie campaign, and writing to the leaders of the ANC about his and his colleagues' grievances.

With regard to the 1969 Hani memorandum, we need to emphasise the characterisation of Hani and Mbeki as ideological opposites. Authors Smith and Tromp summed up their take on its central message, 'While Hani went to war in Wankie, Mbeki was studying at the University of Sussex, funded by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), the white liberal student organisation. It felt as if there was clear nepotism going on.'

In his biography¹, Gevisser dispelled the myth that Mbeki was keen to sign up and join MK and not to continue his studies at Sussex University. 'Philippa Ingram recalls that the only time she saw Mbeki devastated to the point of loss of control was when he was told, in his final undergraduate year, that the time had now come for him to join the army.' Mbeki wrote to the ANC requesting to stay on for another year and permission was granted.² Frantz Fanon seemed prophetic in his *The Wretched of the Earth*, when he spoke of 'The unpreparedness of the educated classes ... and ... their cowardice [which] at the decisive moment of the struggle will give rise to tragic mishaps'.

It would be interesting to see if the chasm between Hani and Mbeki continued through to the 1990s. Hani was only too keenly aware of his brave comrades' fate in the Wankie campaign. As the authors wrote, 'A hangman's noose had ended the life of MK cadre Vuyisile Mini, while Wankie hero Basil February had died in a gun battle with Rhodesian police. Countless others had been killed, sacrificed to the greater good. Meanwhile, some of the children of the ANC leadership were studying in Europe. Hani and others believed they would enjoy the comforts abroad and return home only once the battle was won. For this, he detested them. Quietly plotting in the Mqotsi home, the eight men resolved to demand a truly representative conference between the ANC's leadership and MK.'³

Hani and the other signatories to the memorandum began with a general broadside, 'The ANC in exile is in a deep crisis as a result of which a rot has

set in. From informal discussions with the revolutionary members of MK we have inferred that they have lost all confidence in the ANC leadership abroad.'

He attacked Joe Modise under his nom de guerre – Thabo More – in connection with certain businesses that were established. 'These comprise the opening of mysterious business enterprises which to our knowledge have never been discussed by the membership of the organisation. For instance, in Lusaka a furniture industry is being run by the ANC. In Livingstone a bone factory, whose original purpose was to provide cover for underground work in Botswana, is now being used as a purely commercial undertaking. As a result of these enterprises more and more MK men are being diverted to them.'

The memo went on to stigmatise certain leaders. 'And some of the people in charge of these enterprises are dubious characters with shady political backgrounds. We are therefore compelled to conclude that there is no serious drive to return home and carry on the struggle. This is disturbing because the very comrade, Thabo More [Joe Modise], who is supposed to be planning, directing and leading the struggle in South Africa, is fully involved in these enterprises. Now he has assumed complete responsibility for the running of these enterprises in collaboration with others and it is extremely doubtful that with his attention so divided, he can do justice to the armed struggle in South Africa which should be his primary and absolute concern. The leadership of the ANC can't but be blamed for this state of affairs.'⁴

Hani exploded about the proximity of certain cadres to dangerous organisations. 'In Morogoro, Joseph Cotton, Shadrack Tladi and Boy Otto are openly flirting with the Peace Corps, an internationally known CIA front, a counter-revolutionary and espionage organisation. The first two handle vital information as they are connected with the radio transmission service relaying organisational material. Boy Otto is moving between Zambia and Tanzania transporting MK personnel and war material.'

There seemed to be little response to the concerns because the memo continued, 'Most disturbing is that a comrade raised this matter with the Secretary-General and Chief of Security of the ANC, Duma Nokwe, who agreed that the matter of the above comrades flirting with the Peace Corps was true and that it should be furnished in writing, but no action was taken. This is very disturbing and discouraging to serious revolutionaries who know fully well that these three comrades are close to the leading figures of the ANC and MK.

'For instance, Joseph Cotton is the son of Moses Kotane, the Treasurer-General of the ANC and Secretary-General of the SACP. Shadrack Tladi is a relative of Thabo More [Joe Modise], who is the C-in-C of MK and member of the National Executive of the ANC abroad. This has made us and many other comrades conclude that there is nepotism in the ANC.'⁵

The allegation of nepotism was repeated. 'The leadership uses its positions

to promote their kith and kin and put them in positions where they will not be in any physical confrontation with the enemy. The sending of virtually all the sons of the leaders to universities in Europe is a sign that these people are being groomed for leadership positions after the MK cadres have overthrown the fascists.'

Hani complained that the soldiers, who actually fought on the ground, were neglected and ignored whereas the leaders were pampered. 'These men are heroes who have performed their revolutionary tasks gallantly without flinching. How can we possibly keep quiet about these valorous sons of South Africa? Is this not an indication of callousness and irresponsibility on the part of the leadership? The behaviour of the Secretary-General and Chief of Security of the ANC D Nokwe and his attitude towards Comrade J Mlenze, when we petitioned for a meeting, disturbed us greatly ... We are perturbed by the fact that certain members of the MK are receiving payments from the External Mission, e.g. the C-in-C [Modise] and the CPO who as a matter of fact are getting allowances and the fact the C-in-C has a posh and militarily irrelevant car at his disposal.'⁶

Moving on to Mbeki, he said, 'We consider the youth in MK as the most revolutionary. We strongly feel that we should be consulted on matters affecting the youth. For instance, we must be informed about the revolutionary international youth gatherings and we should be given priority in the sending of delegates. The farce of the Bulgaria ANC Youth delegation should never be repeated and those responsible should acknowledge the mistake they made. The youth of South Africa is not located in London or in any European capital. We therefore take particular exception to the appointment of certain students as leaders of the ANC Youth. Thabo Mbeki, who went to London on a scholarship sponsored by NUSAS, is the leader of a bogus ANC Youth Organisation.'

With almost uncanny prescience, Hani said, 'We have no doubt that these people will wait in Europe and will just come home when everything has been made secure and comfortable for them playing the typical role of the Bandas and others. As opposed to the treatment of the students, we find complete indifference and apathy to the heroes and martyrs of our revolution who have fallen both in South Africa and Zimbabwe. We have in mind the gallant sons of our country, who without doubt lay down their lives in the struggle against imperialism.'

There were many more telling blows. 'We are convinced that the ANC leadership in exile is according better treatment and attention to the students. This attitude and practice has had a disastrous effect of diverting many would-be revolutionaries into the academic field.'⁷ He said it was high time that MK personnel should be given the best treatment since they were offering their lives in a 'supreme sacrifice' for the revolution.

He named many who died trying to topple apartheid, including those in the campaign with him. He concluded with a justifiable request, 'We demand that a serious and genuine effort should be made toward the intensification of ways and means of going home. This should be one actively involving the most dedicated members of MK and it should be on the basis of a correct strategy. In conclusion, all these problems must be resolved by a conference between the ANC leadership and members of MK, and not just handpicked individuals.'⁸

Several of the ANC leadership members were incensed by the memorandum, not only because of its veracity but also its exposure of those living comfortably in Gucci-style exile. Repercussions were swift. After the memo was delivered, there was a knock in the middle of the night and Hani's friend Mqotsi, anxious to save his life, lied about Hani's presence. Obviously, a group of men had come to execute Hani.⁹ On a separate occasion, Mzwai Piliso, head of the ANC's feared security department Mbokodo, also arrived at midnight begging Mqotsi to persuade Hani to apologise to the ANC leadership.

It will be recalled that juxtaposed against the Stalinists in the EIR report were their opponents in the so-called Leninist faction, including Mbeki and Piliso. Furthermore, the report said that in the early 1980s ANC security forces obtained documentation that Mbeki and Piliso had been recruited as agents of MI6, which the report concluded 'may explain why they both reportedly travel on British passports'.

As Smith and Tromp said, 'To this day, there are rumours that dire punishment, and even the death sentence, was mooted. Dungeons were said to have been dug, perhaps upon the orders of Modise, or even Nokwe, but an upset Tambo ordered that these be closed. He wanted the matter to be discussed again, and insisted a meeting be convened for this purpose.'¹⁰

Former Home Affairs Director-General Mavuso Msimang said, 'Modise was the commander of MK, and of course wanted these people to be treated in a military fashion.'

The authors continued the tale, 'Eventually, a military tribunal consisting of NEC members Mzwai Piliso, Jonas Matlou and former PAC member Sipho Mthembu was convened in Livingstone, and a majority voted for the execution of the signatories.' But wiser counsels prevailed and Hani was spared the firing squad. Despite the proceedings being confirmed at the Morogoro Conference in late April 1969, the NEC decided to alter the tribunal's verdict. Hani and his co-signatories were suspended from the organisation, but very relevant issues had been raised.¹¹

Hani explained how their conduct had forced the ANC to go back to its most important task. He told Wolfie Kodesh, 'Our detractors would not say that we had contributed, but if we had not spoken out, in my own view, there would have been no Morogoro Conference. Our criticism created a

crisis within the movement which jolted them. And again prompted a clear definition of the objectives of the ANC. The ANC began to say the working class is the backbone of our struggle.'

Mbeki was a passionate opponent of the Wankie campaign and warned against such matters. 'We shall not repeat the Wankie-type operation, the force we have is a force of political educators and military trainers and cannot therefore be used as a striking force.'¹² While his cynicism about the practicality of the venture may be open to debate, one must wonder if the hero status this gave his arch-rival Hani might have been the source of much rancour.

In the aftermath of the Hani memo in the late 1970s, Gevisser said Mbeki discovered that 'our intelligence had classified me [Mbeki] as a CIA agent, and they were watching me'. Mbeki denied this CIA connection and maintained it was due to the sensitive work he was doing for Tambo.¹³ That sensitive work involved seeking a political dispensation through negotiation, which often could be misinterpreted as the easy way out.

Years later, MK veteran Louis Nkadimeng was very emotional about how Modise sold out MK. In the late 1990s, when huge bribes were being siphoned to ANC leaders by the British and German arms dealers, Modise was guzzling at the trough. Nkadimeng mentioned his suspicions to journalist and writer Evelyn Groenink, who wrote an interesting book on who she suspected killed Hani, Dulcie September and Anton Lubowski. Nkadimeng said Modise had meetings with British arms dealer BAe, who 'had their hooks into us in a big way ... And money was all JM [Joe Modise] wanted'.

Hani and Modise were poles apart; Hani was loved and Modise was hated or disliked. Nkadimeng went on to say that Modise 'was accused of having sent young freedom fighters on dangerous missions inside apartheid South Africa for little other reason than to buy shoes for him in up-market shops. He was never seen in the forward areas, where the war was actually going on, but resided in Lusaka and, more often, London.' Hani on the other hand was always at the front and 'knew what it was to undergo a dangerous mission'. Not only did Hani 'feel a strong bond with his soldiers, talking to them, making them feel good about the struggle and themselves', but he was also, they say, 'the person who made things happen at MK headquarters' while Modise 'sat back'.

There were reports of Modise's cruelty at the ANC's Quatro camp. One person interrogated described his ordeal, 'Modise used to assist with interrogations. He would arrive in a Land Rover, sometimes with trucks escorting him. And when he came, we knew we had drama. They would demand we write confessions, sometimes they would say they would write them for us and all we had to do was sign. The aim was for us to confess to being collaborators

and enemy agents, but my position was always the same, they could beat me with sticks, they could do what they wanted, but I would never sign. I told the other men in my cell the same thing. We had no water, no toilets except plastic containers where the top was cut off and we had to use this for 16 of us. The cell should have fitted about four. Remember, we were near the equator, so it was incredibly hot in there.”¹⁴

Nkadameng had harsh words about Modise’s attitude. ‘Modise had appeared, to those around him, not even to care, when young fighters were killed, trying to cross the border into South Africa. When it was pointed out to him, that there were areas, where the apartheid police and army had laid traps, he would not authorise a change of route, tracks or tactics. Deaths of MK fighters, as a result of strategic mistakes, were usually not officially investigated; the movement had other things on its mind. But some politico-military commanders had questioned why Joe Modise, seemingly did not even want to know, why so many young men and women had been arrested, tortured, killed; and appeared not to want to learn.’

Nkadameng provided more details of the perfidy. ‘On set important movement days – like June 16th, Soweto Day, and December 16th, Heroes Day – MK fighters were ordered to go into the country and commit attacks “to celebrate”, one such commander would later note, “even though it was known the SADF knew of those days, and would be patrolling the border relentlessly, catching all those who tried to jump the fence in the two, three days before an important day. They were waiting for us. Year after year after year this happened.’ The MK veterans even suspected him of ‘working for the Boers’.

During 1993, Modise was instrumental in negotiating the integration of officials of the South African Defence Force (SADF) and those of the liberation armies. Modise also served on the defence sub-council of the Transitional Executive Council from December 1993 to April 1994. After the first democratic elections in April 1994, President Mandela appointed him as minister of defence.

Modise advised the weekly *Mail & Guardian* newspaper in May 1994 of his intention to seek an interdict to restrain the publication of further material on the SADF’s former Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC). Modise came under fire for this action from within his own ranks as the ANC’s policy was to encourage transparency around former covert action. He was forced to withdraw the interdict.

In 1992, he suffered a mild stroke. He continued with his work and was re-elected to the ANC’s National Executive Committee (NEC) at its December 1994 conference in Bloemfontein. Later Modise contracted cancer. His contribution to overthrowing apartheid and establishing a new democracy was recognised when on 22 November 2001, President Thabo Mbeki awarded

him the Order of the Star of South Africa (non-Military), Class 1: Grand Cross (Gold). He died at his Pretoria home on 27 November 2001.

Hani's exploits in the Zimbabwean War of Liberation, in joint operations between MK and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army in the late 1960s, had earned him a formidable reputation and led to his later adulation as a leader. He had moved to Lesotho where he organised guerrilla operations of MK in South Africa. In the mid-1980s he was singled out as the target of at least two assassination attempts and eventually moved to the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia. The unbanning of the ANC and SACP meant Hani could return to South Africa permanently in 1990, where he took over from Joe Slovo as head of the South African Communist Party on 8 December 1991. He supported the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle in favour of negotiations.

In Smith and Tromp's book *Hani: A Life Too Short*, the authors explained Hani's moral legacy. 'It was late November 2007, and the rivalry between Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma dominated the headlines after months of brazen animosity. The two were about to face off at the ANC's 52nd national conference, to be held at the University of Limpopo in Polokwane, and neither man could afford to lose. The meeting became the nastiest dust-up in ANC history. For the first time in nearly 40 years, the ANC was challenged from within by clashing egos and, to a lesser extent, ideology. Mbeki, not so much an ideologue as a man with a formidable ego.'¹⁵

There were echoes of the colossal ego from a much more intimate source. Interviewed on the Tim Modise Show on radio on Women's Day 2000, the host asked Mbeki's mother Epainette what advice she would give her son. 'Offhand, he should forget about himself. He should have self-respect, but he should forget about the ego. That's point number one. Point number two, he should be prepared to listen to the next man, no matter whether he agrees or disagrees.'¹⁶

Smith and Tromp said that Chris Hani's name consistently came up in the run-up to Polokwane. 'And the reason his name kept coming up in 2007 was because the ideals of the assassinated SACP leader and former MK commander so readily transcended the savage fights being managed between Luthuli House and the Union Buildings. Quite simply, Hani believed that liberation should free the poor from hunger and landlessness. He cherished non-racialism. He rejected personal power. Surely these had always constituted the shared vision of the movement? So, as preparations for the conference in Limpopo heated up, the faithful kept asking: what would Hani have done?'

That is the tragic question often asked after the death of political martyrs. Irish author SM Sigerson, author of *The Assassination of Michael Collins: What Happened at Béal na mBláth?*, said it better than most. 'What if he had lived? is a key question at the heart of every assassination. Who profits from political

murders? What kind of government, what kind of society has proceeded from them? Is it too painful, too fearful, to consider precisely what we've lost by assassins' bullets, what we were left with in its place, or how lasting the damage has proved?

So, we know what Hani's principles were and we must conclude that his enemies could be counted as those who opposed such ideas, and were keen that they should not be fulfilled. The authors then recounted Hani's only attempt at seeking promotion in the ANC. 'He had only once attempted to challenge for high office within the party – the position of deputy president. That had been at the first conference back home in 1991 after FW de Klerk had unbanned the liberation movements a year earlier. But both Hani and Thabo Mbeki, his rival for that post, were persuaded to step back in favour of the revered Robben Islander and confidant of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu. At that time, the ANC was determined to present a united front.'

The authors harked back more than two decades to the Hani memorandum, which had created deep distress within the liberation movement. 'The gloves were off by the time Polokwane rolled around. No Hani. No OR [Tambo]. No niceties. But certainly many parallels. Indeed, what would Hani have done, where would he have been, had he not been murdered by Polish right-winger Janus Waluś on 10 April 1993?'

That question – What would Hani have done? – is central to this book, as it also helps to answer the key question of who was really behind his murder. Nelson Mandela made a speech on being awarded the Chris Hani Award on 1 July 1998, 'As a brave and dedicated fighter for liberation, Comrade Chris pursued the mission of our organisation, which at all moments he participated in defining. He did this as an ordinary cadre and soldier; as political leader; as Chief of Staff of our military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. At each turn he executed his duties with the discipline and foresight that is expected of a cadre of our movement.'

Hani's reputation in MK earned him many enemies in the white conservative establishment. So the masterminds of his killing might well have lurked in the ranks of the Nationalist Government and its ill-boding agencies: the Security Police and the Bureau of State Security (BOSS). They would certainly be prime suspects. But Hani then embraced the negotiations, so his role as a soldier was over and he was now a negotiator for the new dispensation.

In the same speech, Mandela said, 'And when the moment arrived, he participated with the same energy and discipline in negotiations for a peaceful settlement in our country. This is a lesson for all of us to live our lives by; that the ways in which we will achieve our goals are bound by context, changing with circumstances even while remaining steadfast in our commitment to our vision. That was Chris Hani.'

'And it was because of that very vision, that passion to achieve in reality

the ideal of equity and justice, that the enemies of change demonised Chris to the end, helping to create the climate in which our nation was robbed of one of its giants ...¹⁷

That was the man. But who were these 'enemies of change' who demonised Hani to the end? The importance of finding them is emphasised because this was not the death of an ordinary mortal. This was 'one of South Africa's giants' who could have made a spectacular difference to how things played out.

The enemies of change would include Hani's political and military foes in the apartheid regime, who resented his long career of planning and executing military excursions into South Africa, with the ensuing military and civilian casualties. The second group would be industry fat cats who dreaded the prospect of equality and socialism. And the third group is Hani's rivals within the ANC who were jostling for the right to inherit the mantle from the ageing patriarch. For all these reasons, Mandela spoke of how that fateful day was indelibly etched on the hearts of all freedom-loving people and how no-one would be satisfied 'until the truth about his death is known'.

Mandela reminded the huge crowd of applauding listeners that Hani had been the most courageous of the ANC leaders in standing by the utopian ideals of the Freedom Charter. He was huge, he was fearless and in his heart and bones stood by his principles of serving the people.

Other waverers had already shown that adherence to the principles of the Charter were merely an occasion to pay lip service to a historical document, and that the true objective was to find status and wealth in the new South Africa. Some had even been assured that there was no shame in accumulating wealth.

It would be an understatement to say there is a hunger in South Africa to learn the true facts about Hani's death. That is the purpose of this book.

41 | General Tienie Groenewald – the spy who said ‘never’

‘The daggers of silence last longer than anything ever spoken.’

Shannon L Alder

Tienie Groenewald was a top figure in Military Intelligence who famously sought to ensure that the transition to an ANC Government would ‘never’ happen.

After Dagmar Feil was murdered, subsequent to threatening exposure of the campaign to spread AIDS among black South Africans, Keith Maxwell handed her mother a notebook. We have discussed several names mentioned there, but there was a puzzling entry relating to General Tienie Groenewald. This helps to solve the convoluted skein that is the Hani murder.

When interviewed by Mads Brügger, Groenewald said he could not see ‘this organization [SAIMR] as really playing a significant part. If they did, I would have known about it.’ However, he had SAIMR’s commander, Keith Maxwell’s name in his diary. He admitted to meeting Maxwell on two occasions, recalling him as someone in authority – neatly dressed and well spoken. In Brügger’s movie, Groenewald explained how on one occasion, before the end of apartheid, Maxwell had come to see him. Maxwell asked Groenewald if he wanted weapons for the whites to fight against black people in a civil war, as he, Maxwell, had the resources to provide them. Groenewald told him his constituency – and we must assume these are informal right-wing white supremacists – did not need weapons. Or, of course, the apartheid police and military forces. As per his version, they never met again.

Groenewald was secretive about his dealings with Maxwell. He admitted that he realised Maxwell represented some foreign intelligence agency and was convinced he was financed and directed by the British Intelligence unit MI6. We must remember that Maxwell told De Wet Potgieter that SAIMR orders came from England and South Africa. Groenewald said on film that he had spent three and a half years in Britain and got to know some of the names in the intelligence field. Maxwell must have mentioned some names from British Intelligence that led Groenewald to conclude that MI6 was funding Maxwell.

Alexander Jones – whose name appeared on the SAIMR member list – said Groenewald was lying (Chapter 33) when he said he had never heard of

SAIMR. This seems odd to say the least, given all the publicity about SAIMR in the press in the 1990s, which appears in the documents De Wet Potgieter received. According to press reports, SAIMR – represented by Maxwell and René Goor – had talks with many right-wing groups and the ANC.

Several press clippings indicate that Groenewald was spinning a yarn. During the early 1990s, negotiations with the ANC about a new political dispensation in South Africa were anathema to some right-wing groups, who said they were preparing for war. One report in *Die Transvaler* of 7 May 1992 was headed, 'It's a front for the Government, complains this right-wing group'. In it, Boerestaatparty leader Robert van Tonder questioned who SAIMR was. The paper had approached Maxwell but he refused to divulge who SAIMR's executive committee was, nor would he disclose the Delta unit members' identities. He simply said Delta was a 'facilitator' of the negotiation process.

The newspaper said, 'Concerning SAIMR Maxwell would only say it represented different interests, but was not directly involved in the negotiations. The interests were business organizations and concerns from the private sector, who were worried about political developments in the country.' This is further evidence of the private sector's complicity. It had started when Anglo helped with Bob Wagner's training and its assistance in recruiting mercenaries for the Congo. In Chapter 34, we dealt with Julian Ogilvie Thompson, the head of Anglo, and his association with the AIDS controversy.

Additional evidence in press reports also shows that Groenewald was lying when he said he did not know about SAIMR. We learn from one press release that the ANC and SAIMR made contact on 23 March 1992. It referred to a peace process known as Operation Dove with the following objectives '(1) To establish channels of communication between the ANC and certain right-wing organizations through the medium of SAIMR. (2) To discuss the possibility of establishing a "Volkstaat" within a federal system. (3) To attempt to bring about a state of peace in South Africa.'

SAIMR released another document which spoke of the organisations involved in the negotiations, as of 9 April 1992. Among those mentioned was: 'General Tienie Groenewald – Unity 25 (a coalition of 25 right-wing groups.)' A further note stated, 'General Groenewald is to inform all of those parties of our plans tomorrow, 10 April.' (A year later, to the day, Chris Hani would be gunned down in front of his house.)

Groenewald plays such a pivotal role in this drama that we should examine his career. Historian James Sanders explained how close the ties with Britain were despite arms embargoes from the 1960s. 'In 1999 former MID official General Tienie Groenewald, told me that the exchange of military information and designs for weapons systems with the British armed forces was a long-standing tradition. He said in his experience, a party would be organised at a British military base and, at a certain point during the evening,

the British officers would withdraw, leaving the South Africans alone with the photocopying machine and whichever documents or plans they required. In that way, the British officers would not, technically, have given their South African friends the information.¹ Groenewald also claimed that during the Falklands War, South Africa supplied Argentina with Exocet missiles, and long-range fuel tanks to the British air force.²

In his book *Sell-Out! – The truth behind the history of South African politics*, former National Intelligence agent Advocate PJ Pretorius described Groenewald as ‘one of the most influential persons in South Africa’ and detailed how he was ‘used by the CIA ...’³ Pretorius also said, ‘In August 1972 he was transferred from Air Force headquarters to the Information Department. At the time of his transfer he had no CIA connections. Eschel Rhoodie taught him how to operate intelligence through the concept of front organizations.’ Pretorius claimed Rhoodie and Groenewald became firm friends and the former persuaded Groenewald to join the Freemasons.

During the eighties the apartheid government placed heavy emphasis on the military and Groenewald played a crucial role heading Military Intelligence (MI) in the mid-1980s under President PW Botha. He was a former air attaché for three and a half years at the South African Embassy in London. As we have learned, air attaché is a euphemism for a spy. During his time in London, he would have had contact with Sir Patrick Wall and the conservative groups there. That would make the probabilities that he was linked to SAIMR compelling.

During the Carter presidency, official US policy was one of non-cooperation with South African intelligence agencies but there was informal contact by the CIA, especially about Soviet activities. In fact, the relationship was not seriously hidden as intelligence supremo Hendrick van den Bergh publicly boasted that he regularly lunched with someone high up in the CIA.

Groenewald was central to many planning and propaganda duties. In the late 1970s and 80s, avowed right-wing spy and journalist Aida Parker, who worshipped the architect of apartheid, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, wrote extensively about her views and swapped information with BOSS, the CIA and MI6. She claimed that her handler in the Military Intelligence Department was General Tienie Groenewald.⁴

There seem to have been substantial links between Parker, Maxwell and Groenewald. We recall from an earlier chapter that former mercenary Robert W Brown had written a book entitled *Special Forces Operator*. When Brown expressed doubts about Maxwell, Parker told him that she was vouching for Maxwell. In the Steyn Report to President FW de Klerk it was found that Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk ‘arranged a clandestine visit of a foreign journalist via RSA to discredit [the] ANC but referred him to Gen-Maj Tienie Groenewald’.

After the civil uprisings of the mid-1990s, the State Security Council was reinvigorated with the National Security Management System (NSMS) and its 'total strategy' to combat the enemy's perceived 'total onslaught'. The NSMS comprised 500 regional, district and local Joint Management Committees which ran the country in total secrecy. All this resulted in 34 organisations being banned and more than 30,000 persons being arrested and detained. Among the malefic figures driving this was Tienie Groenewald, who headed the department of planning and research at the Department of Information.⁵

The TRC reported that 'the extent of the challenge faced by the internal unrest and the ANC can be gauged by a special meeting convened by the Coordinated Intelligence Committee in October 1985 to discuss whether it was possible to avoid a settlement with the ANC. Attended by top level generals and intelligence personnel ... the consensus was that any negotiations should take place from a position of strength, not weakness and a settlement should be avoided until the balance of power could be shifted.' The TRC then quoted the words of General Groenewald, 'This is the stage when one can negotiate from a position of strength and can afford to accommodate the other party, given that it has largely been eliminated as a threat.'⁶

Groenewald was in close contact with KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The latter asked the government for assistance in training a paramilitary force and Groenewald noted that Buthelezi said, 'The ANC must realise that if it uses violence against KwaZulu, the Zulus are also in [a] position to take violent steps against the ANC.' Groenewald documented Buthelezi's desire 'to take the struggle to the ANC in Lusaka'. So secret was the memo that it included a burn-after-reading note.⁷ But errors are made and telling documents survive.

Major-General Jac Buchner who, as already mentioned, had a pair of the bloodiest hands in the KwaZulu-Natal killings, illustrated the connivance with British and American intelligence agencies. He told an American journalist, 'Our training was mostly from you guys (CIA), and the Brits. By that I mean American techniques ... it's a brotherhood – we in the police and the various intelligence offices overseas, including ones in Washington.' Groenewald added that no one should underestimate the 'involvement of foreign intelligence in Third Force operations: MI6, the CIA ... South Africa was a pawn in the struggle between the big powers'.⁸

We learn more about Groenewald from Michael Schultz's book on the death flights, where more than 200 blacks (SWAPO prisoners from Namibia) were injected with chemicals and then dropped in the ocean to prevent their discovery. Schmidt explained how the successor to Delta 40, Barnacle, acquired a counter-intelligence officer – Captain Danie Phaal – from Special Forces to support the Senior Staff Officer Counter-Intelligence,

Colonel Johan Theron in 1983. Theron was personally responsible for flying many of the detainees to their watery deaths. Phaal had the right credentials as he had been part of 'the Special Air Task Force – a discrete unit of 20–30 airmen, under Major-General Tienie Groenewald. They were specially trained in aerial reconnaissance, which involved tracking unidentified aircraft, the recovery of downed aircrews in enemy territory, and the demolition of their crashed aircraft.'⁹

Groenewald was the brains behind the 'total onslaught' and 'total strategy' concept of the 1980s, often credited to PW Botha and General Magnus Malan. We have seen how General André Beaufre brought the secret Delta operations to Malan's attention. Pretorius said, 'In March 1976 he [Groenewald] was back with the Air Force Intelligence Service. He would patiently wait for the opportunity to submit all his secret projects at some later stage.'

Groenewald had been regarded as among the six most powerful people in South Africa at that time. His tasks included orchestrating covert schemes to assist UNITA and Renamo insurgents in Angola and Mozambique. It will be recalled that Alexander Jones, who was an important SAIMR intelligence officer, spoke about SAIMR's help to UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi (Chapter 33). During this time too, MI identified Buthelezi's Inkatha movement as a useful tool to promote division and violent instability within black communities. The aim was to stop the ANC from taking power, to derail what was described as a Moscow-orchestrated communist 'total onslaught'.

Over the years Groenewald had close contacts with foreign intelligence services, including the American CIA and British MI6. He visited the United States in 1987 and spoke to a closed meeting of the American Conservative Caucus.¹⁰ Given the alleged public opposition of the American Government to apartheid, many would have wondered how Groenewald managed to obtain a visa given his status as a leading apartheid mandarin. He told his audience they could use South Africa as a hiding place and laundry for their 'hot' money. South Africa had become a major money laundering centre for foreign tax evaders and a destination for illegal proceeds from the international drugs and arms trade. South Africa's currency authorities asked no uncomfortable questions and this was an additional indication of how compliant the Reserve Bank was during those dark years.

Chairman Howard Phillips, a former director of Richard Nixon's Office of Economic Opportunity, hosted Groenewald. Phillips had his own political aspirations and appeared as the presidential candidate of the US Taxpayers Party on 21 state ballots in 1992. As a right-wing fanatic, he opposed any moves to majority rule in South Africa. His rancour manifested in 1990 when he denounced 'wily' Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for stage-managing the situation so that South Africa 'conferred legitimacy, honour and international prestige on a gang of communist criminals, the African National Congress'.

Groenewald was addressing some of the most conservative political and military men in the US. Some had been seduced to defend apartheid with funds from the Information Department, including former Republican Youth League president and International Freedom Foundation founder, Jack Abramoff, later a Washington lobbyist and a close friend of Republican Speaker of the US Senate, Newt Gingrich.

At the meeting, Phillips referred to Groenewald as his 'good friend' and the latter reciprocated, recalling Phillips's previous visit to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Groenewald said, 'During his previous visit, I happened to address an American group ... in the Union Buildings, a beautiful building in Pretoria. And at that stage, the debate on the supply of ground-to-air missile systems, the Stingers, to UNITA was high on the agenda.'

According to Groenewald, not long before this particular meeting, the CIA had informed him that the missiles would not be supplied to UNITA. 'I mentioned this fact to the group visiting Pretoria, and immediately Howard climbed onto our communications system – the telephone lines. And, let me say when I saw Mr Bill Casey, Head of the CIA, a few weeks later, he confirmed the missiles would be supplied to UNITA, primarily because of the way in which Howard Phillips had handled the situation.'

We learn much about Groenewald's role from the writings of academic and right-wing fanatic Mike du Toit. His qualifications included a BA (Ed), BAHons (History), BAHons (Philosophy) and MPhil cum laude, and he was a history lecturer at Vista University and part-time lecturer in archaeology at the University of Pretoria. Apart from his scholastic work he was a man of subversive action, who tried to stop the irresistible tide of liberation in South Africa.

Du Toit was a leader of the 'Boeremag' (Afrikaans for Boer Force). On 30 October 2002, nine bomb blasts shook Johannesburg's Soweto township in the early hours of the morning, killing a woman and injuring her husband. The bombings were said to be aimed at creating instability and panic to allow the Boeremag to unseat the ruling ANC. Du Toit and 19 other right-wingers were accused of murder, high treason, terrorism and possession of weapons and explosives. Some of the evidence illustrated the accused's warped mindset. On 7 September 2008, Strijdom Square shooter Barend Strydom was called to the stand, in defence of one of the accused, Adriaan 'Ar' van Wyk. He told the Boeremag treason trial that he still believed black people were not human.

Judge Eben Jordaen gave judgment in the Pretoria High Court on 23 July 2012 and Du Toit was convicted of high treason after a nine-year trial. The court found that the group plotted to kill Nelson Mandela, the first democratically-elected president. Du Toit was also found to be the mastermind behind the bombings in Soweto in 2002. Judge Jordaen said Du Toit had

developed a blueprint to overthrow the ANC-led government, and wanted to chase black people from South Africa, while killing whites who opposed his vision for a 'racially pure' country.

On 29 October 2012, Boeremag leader Tom Vorster and five members of its bomb squad, which blew up numerous targets in 2002, were sentenced to an effective 25 years' imprisonment. Mike du Toit, Dirk Hanekom and the Pretorius brothers' father, Dr Lets Pretorius, were each sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment, of which 10 years were conditionally suspended for five years. Others received lesser sentences.

In an article on the *Gelofteland* website of Christian Nationalist Afrikaners, entitled 'The Treason of Tienie Groenewald', the author drew attention to establishing a new white supremacist organisation, the Volkseenheidskomitee (VEKOM) and Groenewald's role in it. Mike du Toit's book *Die Strewe en Stryd van ons Volk 1902–1994* (The Struggle and Battles of our People 1902–1994) was mentioned. I will quote much of the extract.

'VEKOM consisted of a number of academics, theologians and professionals who strove for a 'volkstaat' [people's state] outside parliamentary politics. General Tienie Groenewald took part and quickly assumed a leading role. He was previously involved with Military Intelligence but was later seconded to a civilian position as second-in-command of the Bureau of Information.

'During a fundraising dinner at the Pretoria CVO School held at Monument Golf Club, Groenewald admitted he wrote, or at least helped to write, De Klerk's speech of 2 February 1990, which led to the unbanning of the ANC and SACP. In January 1994 he addressed the Direktoraat Aksiekomitee (DAKOM) [Directorate of the action committee] of the AVF and repeated the admission. After Groenewald left government service he established the Institute for Strategic Studies. This organization gave out one review of the South African situation and was never heard of again.'

The passage concluded by saying while Groenewald was VEKOM's highest executive officer he regularly liaised with Conservative Party leaders and developed a two-prong strategy to establish a Volkstaat – firstly by negotiation and, secondly, 'if a Volkstaat was not established, a resort would be had to violence'. Groenewald was also 'the person who made it financially possible to advocate for the concept of a Volkstaat on 14% of South African territory'.

The piece had one revelation that helps to unravel the whole sordid saga as to who was in charge of SAIMR. Mike du Toit said, 'While Groenewald was still employed at Military Information, he brought into being the SA [Institute] of Maritime Research (SAIMR), which was believed to consist of 49 right wing nationalist organizations.'

So, the treason of General Tienie Groenewald was that someone who headed SAIMR, and was at the helm of its murderous AIDS campaign in

South Africa, should never have helped FW de Klerk to write the seminal speech that would usher in the new South Africa.

It suddenly all fits into place. Groenewald was lying when he told the film makers that he had never heard of SAIMR. He was in charge of the organisation that aimed to kill millions of Africans by spreading AIDS. All the above-mentioned reports emanating from Keith Maxwell were certainly directed at Groenewald of Military Intelligence and probably, in addition, other captains of industry. Once Dagmar Feil resolved to reveal all about SAIMR, she had to be eliminated. She also confided in her brother Karl that three or four of her colleagues in the AIDS campaign had been murdered.

Is there further proof that Groenewald, who seemed to be the head of SAIMR in South Africa, was connected with Dagmar Feil's murder? Earlier in this book we detail the fax Dagmar Feil's mother sent to the TRC investigators: 'My daughter Dagmar Feil was murdered on the 21 November 1990. She belonged to an organization called SAIMR ... I have been told that these killings were ordered by Tienie Groenewald. Had she been the only one who belonged to this organization, I could accept it, but she was one of five. The first was a woman named Levy, who had her throat slit in a Rosebank shop and from here it was just a matter of picking them off, one by one.'

Corroboration for this fax can be found in another note found in Mrs Feil's notebook. It is manifestly clear that she wrote down what she was told by Maxwell. The notebook included the words 'police' and 'Groenewald' and said, 'Tienie Groenewald ordered Dagmar's murder plus four others.'

One more note she received was just as chilling and appeared to have been written as a confession by Maxwell. 'We have followed our mercenary calling. Collected our wages and are dead. Youre [sic] so right Dagmar and the rest are dead. SAIMR.' Yet another note admitted who had penned the murderous message 'written by Comm "K" Maxwell'. We must just remind readers that Alexander Jones thought young ensign Debbie Campbell was also murdered. As was the case with the others, she simply knew too much.

The intriguing question remains: was Tienie Groenewald also involved in Chris Hani's murder? The curious would have to wait for disclosures his acknowledged killer Janus Walus made during a marathon all-night interrogation, four days after his arrest.

42 | Negotiation frenzy

‘By fighting you never get enough, but by yielding you get more than you expected.’

Dale Carnegie

World pressure and internal unrest bloated with volume forced the Nationalist Government to the negotiating table. And so, from the mid- to late-1980s various liberation movement representatives, the Nats, the CEOs of greed, progressive organisations and other interested bodies met mostly in utmost secrecy to map out South Africa’s future.

Driven by the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the first covert meetings between the South African Government and Nelson Mandela¹ were designed to develop an understanding about whether there was sufficient common ground for future peace talks.

The first less-tentative meeting between Mandela and the National Party Government took place during PW Botha’s tenure as state president when Minister Kobie Coetzee met Mandela while the latter was in hospital for prostate surgery in November 1985. At the same time, Harry Oppenheimer was telling the American Chamber of Commerce that businessmen should offer neither moral support nor material help to the ANC since they wanted ‘an economic system that would destroy everything that we in this room stand for’.²

Oliver Tambo was not sure whether the time was ripe to meet the South African businessmen, but Mbeki twisted his arm and an ANC delegation which included Mbeki and Hani arrived at Mfuwe Game Reserve in Zambia. Smith and Tromp said, ‘Tambo selected Mbeki and Hani almost as twin political brothers, destined to take divergent paths. There have always been those who extol Mbeki’s assiduous nature, insisting he was Tambo’s diplomatic equal – a man who could burnish the ANC’s reputation by building tactical relationships. His detractors say he was a sell-out, which, they suggest, is partly explained by a remark he made in the late 1980s. Asked when he thought the ANC and the National Party Government would begin to seek some sort of accommodation, Mbeki said two years. When Hani was asked the same question at about the same time, he said 10 years.’

Tambo’s dilemma reflected two camps in the ANC, according to Smith and Tromp. ‘The issue of whether or not the SACP should predominate within the liberation movement, and, in fact, the true nature of the communism practised by the South African left, had started to alienate Mbeki, and his response annoyed and upset Slovo ... Mbeki’s decision to resign from the

SACP in the late 1980s – his apparent impatience with the Stalinism that was occasionally present in the SACP [being] another reason to go – was in keeping with his efforts to engage white capital.³

Hani's view was diametrically opposed and he espoused communism with a worker-centric, more collective leadership. He told historian Charles Villa-Vicencio he was disenchanted that Tambo was allowing himself to be influenced by Mbeki – who was swayed to a large extent by Britain's liberals and social democrats.

Over the next four years, a series of meetings took place, laying the groundwork for further contact and future negotiations, but little real progress was made and the meetings remained secret until several years later.

Smith and Tromp said Hani was especially concerned so-called reformist solutions would in fact leave salient aspects of the apartheid system intact. They said he was angry and at odds with Mbeki's intentions and thus did not join the ANC's delegation to meet the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (IDASA) in Dakar, Senegal in 1987, or at subsequent meetings in Paris.

'The difference in Mbeki's and Hani's perspectives reflects the profound disjuncture in the ANC through the 1980s. The movement has since 1985 accepted the desirability – if not quite the inevitability – of negotiations but had nonetheless continued advocating a "seizure of power". Its propaganda would undergo extraordinary contortions to assert that the two were equally balanced "pillars of struggle". But neither the "doves" around Mbeki nor the "hawks" around Hani really believed this to be true ...'⁴

Was there perhaps a rebirth of the ancient Greek dichotomy between Apollo and Dionysus, the former the god of order and negotiation and the latter the god of passion and conquest? In the early 1990s, we see the elegantly suited Mbeki wooing business moguls with promises of shared futures, while Hani with Winnie Mandela in camouflage uniforms harangued the masses to fight for an equal share of the pie.

Despite not being part of the delegation, Hani met IDASA founder Alex Boraine outside of the meetings and they chatted informally. Boraine said Hani was a 'hardline Marxist and we talked mainly about economic justice in South Africa. Certainly, at that juncture, he was deeply committed to a socialist structure for the economy.' Boraine thought Hani was a highly intelligent, serious man 'who would certainly have been a strong rival to Mbeki and others for the presidency of South Africa'.⁵

As the secret talks bore fruit and political engagement started to take place, the NIS withdrew from centre stage, and moved to a new phase of operational support work. This new phase was designed to test public opinion about a negotiated solution. Central to this was an initiative that became known in Security Force circles as the Dakar Safari, which saw a number

of prominent Afrikaner opinion makers engage with the ANC in Dakar, Senegal and in Leverkusen, Germany. Others took place in England under the auspices of various mining groups, including Consgold.

When FW de Klerk became president in 1989, he was able to build on the previous secret negotiations with the imprisoned Mandela. The first significant steps towards formal negotiations took place in February 1990 when de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, and the release of Mandela after 27 years in prison.

Stellenbosch academic Professor Willie Esterhuyse took part in a number of the negotiations. He wrote about his experiences, describing his early views of Thabo Mbeki's philosophy, 'The Freedom Charter was undoubtedly Mbeki's political and intellectual point of reference, his primary text and fundamental vision for the future ... Naturally, the Freedom Charter's emphasis on the idea of nationalization was a source of inspiration in these circles.'⁶

Mining house Consgold and others sponsored the meetings, and the economic dispensation that the ANC sought was obviously crucial to protecting their interests. Esterhuyse detailed some of the discussions. Of particular interest are those that took place from 17 to 19 December 1988 at Flitwick in Bedfordshire, England. He said Thabo Mbeki had two dreams; the first being that negotiations would take place between the ANC and Afrikaner regime⁷ and the second was that they would cooperate with each other to build a new South Africa and eradicate poverty.

Mbeki told the group that poverty and inequality were the main obstacles on the path to lasting reconciliation. 'The contrast is the real problem. If we don't address that in an acceptable way in future, black people, once they have political power, will find any way whatsoever to gain access to wealth too.'⁸ As mentioned earlier, he spoke sagaciously about the corruption threat after liberation from dictatorship. 'People who have been oppressed and disadvantaged economically argue that they lost a great deal in the past. Hence they believe they are entitled to "make up for it".'

Mbeki saw how post-independence elites in other African states had enriched themselves at the expense of the poor. Esterhuyse said Mbeki spoke with great passion, arguing, 'South Africa must avoid this at all costs once the country is free: self-enrichment and corruption will be a betrayal of what the ANC has struggled for. But how are we going to redistribute wealth in a democratic state and progressively eliminate the gaps created by apartheid?'

A further negotiation meeting had been planned at Mells Park in England for 9 to 11 February 1990 – just a week after FW de Klerk's groundbreaking speech unbanning the ANC and other parties. It was indeed fortuitous given the new environment.

At that meeting Esterhuyse again recorded Mbeki as saying that the political process, that is the transition to an inclusive democracy, should not

be too difficult. The problem would be how the disparity in socio-economic circumstances and access to resources and land would be addressed. Esterhuysen said Mbeki made much of this.

Mbeki stressed how the business sector would have to play a big role. 'Socioeconomic rights, access to the economy and a share in South Africa's natural resources, including land, will be the real issue. You can't eat the right to vote. You can use it, however, to achieve socioeconomic rights. Afrikaners, given their history, ought to understand that.'⁹ (He was referring to the manner in which English capital relinquished some of its great wealth to the Afrikaners in the 1960s and 1970s after pressure from the Nationalist Government.)

Consigold again convened the 1990 meeting and Esterhuysen said the businessmen were sharply focused on what affected their business interests most profoundly: sanctions and nationalisation. 'When Nelson Mandela would be released was almost an afterthought.'¹⁰

Esterhuysen must have reported back that a radical economic rearrangement was to be the bottom line for the ANC and the highest sources confirmed this.

In his book *Elite Transition*, Patrick Bond emphasised that while serving his last month in prison, Mandela insisted that Freedom Charter demands for the nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries were ANC policy and it was 'inconceivable' this could change.¹¹ This had an unsettling effect on negotiations.

As *Business Day* glumly put it the next day, the statement would 'set back the hopes of those moving towards acceptance of majority rule in the belief that free enterprise and individual property rights would still be possible.'¹² Bond mentioned a period of up to six years before there would be any certainty as to the economic order which was to govern the country.

Mandela returned to the theme in September 1991, reasserting that the mines and other financial institutions would be nationalised 'because the majority of the population do not have access to South Africa's resources'. He said while the ANC had 'no ideological attachment' to nationalisation, this was the only way to address the imbalances in the economy.¹³

That the battle lines were firmly drawn was always clear and the industry top brass did not mince words when they replied. Anglo spokesman Michael Spicer said Mandela had displayed 'the kind of archaic and bankrupt thinking which we had hoped the ANC had abandoned in favour of joining the real world of the 1990s'.¹⁴

Rembrandt Group's Executive Vice-Chairman Johann Rupert urged businessmen to 'stop pandering and listening to the nonsense dished up' by trade unions and the ANC. He told the Cape Town Afrikaanse Sakekamer the ANC leadership had to stop leading its supporters up the garden path

with their rhetoric and 'say openly what they are saying behind closed doors on the economy and the country's future'.¹⁵

Speaking in Taipei in November 1991, de Klerk said his government would not agree to any new constitution that would permit the introduction of 'obsolete and rejected ideologies that have failed so dramatically elsewhere in the world'.¹⁶

Another problem besetting de Klerk concerned the horrific excesses of the security forces during apartheid. There were skeletons by the thousands in various cupboards and the hitherto successful cover-up was under threat. The new government would be composed of the victims of oppression, many of whom had bitter experience of torture or the deaths of friends and relatives. So the stakes were high.

It is not known how much Hani learned of the negotiation details though he must have known they were taking place. His socialist vision endured and there is further evidence in the SACP Statement that Hani presented to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) at the World Trade Centre on 20 December 1991. Among the things he said were, 'Peace must be based on a secure foundation, on a lasting constitution enjoying overwhelming support of the majority of our people. Such a new constitution must also provide the framework within which this society can be transformed from a paradise for a small minority and misery for most others, to one where all enjoy peace and social justice.

'It is important to note that while this Convention primarily addresses itself to constitutional questions, it takes place amid a social and economic crisis of unprecedented proportions. The level of unemployment and the scale of poverty is a source of great alarm to us. The economic policies pursued by successive apartheid regimes have resulted in a distorted and stagnant economy. We need a democratically elected government in place as soon as possible, a government with a mandate to deal with the social and economic issues that are fundamental to any real transformation.'

He always had a special place in his heart for the black workers and said, 'Of all sectors of our society, it is the black working people who have suffered most from the racism and exploitation. It is above all their aspirations that will have to be addressed.'¹⁷ There needs to be a new growth path which creates wealth more efficiently than the present economic policies, but also ensures that such wealth is used to better the lives not only of a few, but of all.'

Hani was the arch enemy of corruption. Interviewed by historian and author Luli Callinicos shortly before his death, he said the new enemy was corruption. In the extensive interview, he asserted that struggle leaders should now make freedom and democracy 'worthwhile' to all the people and they should resist moving onto 'the gravy train of using power and government positions to enrich individuals'.¹⁸

43 | Links that stink

‘When exposing a crime is treated as committing a crime, you are being ruled by criminals.’

Edward Snowden

We have quoted intrepid journalist Evelyn Groenink extensively in this book. She published a book in Dutch entitled *Dulcie*, linking the assassinations of Dulcie September in Paris, Anton Lubowski in Windhoek and Chris Hani in Boksburg. When Jacana publishers in South Africa attempted to bring out an English edition, they were threatened with costly pre-publication litigation by a range of arms trade personalities. Witold Waluś, Janus’s brother, actually unsuccessfully sued Jacana. So, the English publication was aborted. It has now been published as *Incorruptible: The Story of the Murders of Dulcie September, Anton Lubowski and Chris Hani*.

Whether Groenink’s wider conspiracy theory linking the three different assassinations is well grounded or not is an open question. She certainly unearthed important additional information on the Hani assassination, not previously known to the South African public. Groenink believes that Waluś, and particularly Derby-Lewis, were puppets and the trial diverted attention from the intelligence, military and arms dealer networks behind the murder.

Like any detective worth his/her salt, Groenink explored many angles in the quest to find the persons behind the two convicted accused Derby-Lewis and Waluś. The house in which Chris Hani and his family lived, and the scene of his murder, was part of a row of modest houses in formerly whites-only Dawn Park, Boksburg, on the Gauteng East Rand. Hani lived in the middle of Hakea Crescent and, from 1993, there were rumours that intelligence people lived in this area. The suspicion was that, given Hani’s high-profile position, they spied on him.

Hakea Crescent was not the only address probed, but as Groenink discovered, Dawn Park had somehow become the destination for many ANC exiles and former Robben Island prisoners in the early 90s on their return to South Africa. The talk was that these former activists and hotheads were lured into an area controlled by the apartheid secret service. Groenink probed further and found the Dawn Park houses had been constructed by a company known as Park President, listed at a postal address in Johannesburg, PO Box 613 – the same official address as GMR Financial Holdings.

Was that a coincidence or were the hot political activists being corralled

into a manageable area? Groenink said PO Box 613 was shared by an interesting group of personalities, plus companies involved in shipping minerals, petrol and technologies. In addition, that box number was also the address of arms trader Ters Ehlers, who has a curious history and was Elmie Eksteen's brother-in-law. We met her in Chapter 38 when we discussed how Guy Jackson and Victoria Buxton persuaded Joe Modise with various bribes to buy aeroplanes from BAe.

PO Box 613 is owned by accounting firm Freedman Scher. They are known to have worked for GMR, Ehlers and others in that small circle of sensitive trading. The physical address is also significant. It is GMR Financial Enterprises' official site at 196 Louis Botha Avenue in Orange Grove, Johannesburg.

It will be recalled that during her research, Groenink had sight of the police file in Chris Hani's murder case. Janusz Waluś kept a diary which mentioned a company called 'Transport Brokers' – located at the address of GMR Financial Enterprises at 196 Louis Botha Avenue.

Groenink would have made an excellent sleuth. No detail escapes her attention. She interviewed all the witnesses she could, viewed all the documents and searched every avenue for information. An early indication of her brilliant research involved the 7 August 1929 birthday of a mysterious personality, Giovanni Mario Ricci. But she noted that it was beyond strange, that hundreds of foreigners, named as import-export business directors in the South African company registry, had the exact same birthday. (We know this because in South Africa identification numbers are based on birth dates plus seven more digits and with these mysterious figures the birth dates were identical.)

Giovanni Mario Ricci's GMR empire lists many companies with his initials GMR as part of their names. They are mostly situated at GMR's head office at 367 Oak Avenue in Ferndale with the PO Box 613. Groenink consulted an intelligence operative who explained that 'the secret services produce entire batches of IDs starting with the same birthdate and then dish them out to whoever needs one – mostly foreigners. It's much easier than to generate an entire new ID number from scratch.'¹

Groenink concluded this meant '... all these people are linked to the secret services and to the military and minerals trade, and somewhere in the spider web, some computer program knows all of them, I cannot pinpoint who knows who, or how'. Scores of laws are broken in this process, including contraventions of the Companies Act, laws relating to falsification of documents and fraud.

The links get closer because the Hani house in Hakea Crescent was registered there in the name of a company, Summerwood, whose head office also was listed at 196 Louis Botha Avenue, Orange Grove, Johannesburg – GMR

Financial Enterprises' headquarters. Groenink explained that the houses and businesses of several of Chris Hani's then neighbours were also registered there. She spent considerable time investigating the murder of ANC member Dulcie September who was killed in Paris. Somehow or other the French secret services also had cordoned off the ANC in Paris in a secure and discrete neighbourhood in similar fashion.

To explore who or what GMR was and what relevance it has to resolving Chris Hani's murder it is necessary to cross the Indian Ocean and visit the Seychelles. In a fascinating 1996 article by Stephen Ellis in *African Affairs*, the author sketches the relationship between South Africa and those lovely islands.²

We highlighted the abortive Seychelles coup in Chapter 10. Ellis said that after independence in 1976, the people elected President Mancham who was 'staunchly pro-Western in his foreign policy and seems to have envisaged attracting Middle Eastern petro-dollars for the economic development of his country, most notably through his highly public friendship with the Saudi businessman and arms dealer Adnan Kashoggi'.

According to Ellis, on 4–5 June 1977, Mancham was overthrown in a coup by his prime minister, France Albert René. The Government of Tanzania aided René's coup and the new president soon took Seychelles into the left-wing camp in African politics as a one-party state.

Ellis explained the genesis of the relationship with an Italian businessman. 'Beset by the attention of foreign secret services and by plots from within, President René turned for help to a friend, Giovanni Mario Ricci, an Italian businessman who had been living in Seychelles since shortly before independence ... Mario Ricci was born near Lucca, Italy, in 1929. Convicted of fraud in Italy in 1958, he had gone to seek his fortune abroad. He was convicted a second time in Switzerland, this time for possessing counterfeit currency. Ricci lived in Mexico and Haiti before making his way to Somalia where he set up a business exporting grapefruit. He was expelled from Somalia for reasons unknown around 1974, moving to settle in Seychelles.

'In 1978 he set up the Seychelles Trust Company, in a joint venture with the Seychelles Government. The government granted to the Seychelles Trust Company sole rights to incorporate off-shore companies and to act as resident agent for foreign companies and foundations registered in Seychelles, which could operate free of tax. The granting of this right to a private company was unique in that it made the Seychelles Trust Company the only private offshore business registration company in the world, and, in effect, Seychelles became the world's first socialist tax haven.'

Ricci expanded his operations by becoming a roving ambassador for René and swelling his commercial universe. Ellis said Giovanni Mario Ricci increasingly used one of his many GMR companies, as mentioned, named after

his initials, as a flagship for various interests. According to GMR's company brochure, it was 'a conglomerate of companies which operates throughout the world' and was 'managed from the operational headquarters in the Republic of Seychelles'. We learn that at various times 'GMR's management, consisting mostly of Ricci and members of his and his wife's families, claimed to control companies in as many as 24 countries, including several in southern and eastern Africa as well as in more conventional business locations such as Britain and Switzerland, and tax havens including Panama, Liechtenstein and Luxembourg'.

We recall from earlier chapters how in 2011, Oxford scholar Dr Susan Williams published a book *Who Killed Hammarskjöld?* and updated it four years later. She described the documents as revealing that 'at least one member of the ill-fated invasion of the Seychelles by the "Frothblowers" belonged to SAIMR – the mercenary Kenneth Hugh Dalgleish, who was a veteran of the Rhodesian Special Branch'.

Mention has been made of how the 'Frothblowers' were caught easily because they carried their weapons in their baggage as they flew into the Seychelles. De Wet Potgieter's papers revealed that Dalgleish and Maxwell, along with former South African intelligence service agent Martin Dolincheck, alias Anton Lubeck, had set up an alternative method of getting arms to the islands before the invasion – creating a diversion by running a search for the treasure-laden vessel Santiago which would allow the arms to be taken by sea.³ In his capacity as SAIMR Commodore, Keith Maxwell arranged the arms delivery.

History records that the arms did not arrive and Jerry Puren, who, incidentally, was at Ndola the night Hammarskjöld was murdered, wrote how disastrous this was for the whole coup attempt. It was not a matter of surprise then that President René, alarmed by the succession of coup attempts against him, asked his good friend Giovanni Mario Ricci to help provide some sort of security against such coups occurring in the future. So relations were improved with South Africa and the US to the advantage of both. Enter the burly intelligence office and number two person in Section A, the foreign desk of the South African Security Police, Craig Williamson. After his cover was blown in 1985, Williamson resigned from the Security Police and publicly announced he was going into business.

What the public was not told was that he became a colonel in South African Military Intelligence. The head of Military Intelligence was General Tienie Groenewald, who became a kingpin in marshalling the dark forces that were to murder Chris Hani. As Ellis explained, 'By the mid-1980s Williamson and Ricci had developed a close relationship. In 1986, the year after Williamson's resignation from the police, Ricci's GMR company was registered to do business in South Africa and Williamson was appointed managing director

of GMR South Africa and vice-president of GMR world-wide. In GMR's own company literature, the GMR conglomerate was henceforth said to be 'controlled from the executive offices based in Switzerland and South Africa'.

Williamson admitted in so many words that GMR helped South Africa avoid UN-imposed trade sanctions. He is quoted as saying, 'I would like to assist South Africa in the economic warfare facing it ... If [GMR] is faced with anti-sanctions laws it will restructure its activities to avoid any inhibiting laws.' Ellis explained the company Williamson and GMR kept. 'GMR South Africa shared its Johannesburg office with another company controlled by Williamson, named Longreach, which acquired responsibility for government security in Seychelles after 1986. Years later, after the African National Congress had come to power, Williamson was to admit Longreach was in fact secretly owned by Military Intelligence.'

Remember, Longreach played a central role in Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's murder on the orders of the State Security Council. We have mentioned the possible complicity of Le Cercle, composed of industry titans, apartheid politicians and security officials.

Longreach pretended to be a purely commercial concern, but as Ellis pointed out, 'It in fact operated as an agent of Military Intelligence both inside and outside South Africa.' Williamson once admitted that the company had engaged a French mercenary to execute the attempted murder of Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe. This, it transpired, was part of an operation by South African Military Intelligence aimed at incorporating Ciskei into a larger new homeland.

The new South Africa, which was announced with much fanfare in early 1990, did not sever the close relationship and 'senior South African ministers continued to visit Seychelles; in April 1991 Defence Minister Magnus Malan visited the islands, following Foreign Minister Pik Botha who had also been on a visit earlier in the year'.

In the year of the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, the press wrote that South African naval officer, Commodore Willem 'Ters' Ehlers – who had taken over from Williamson as CEO of GMR in South Africa – had seriously entered the arms game after he sold the Zairean Government a huge quantity of arms.

Ellis said, 'GMR and Longreach were only two of the hundreds of companies set up or acquired by the South African security establishment in pursuit of the strategy of counter-revolution. Some of these companies were used to trade in products subject to international sanctions, including oil, but also in less legitimate products such as ivory and rhino horn ... Front companies were used to channel weapons or supplies to South African allies in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere. Some, like the network run by the main SADF death-squad, the Civil Co-operation Bureau, were used to carry

out assassinations, and others for money-laundering or for peddling political influence.'

After he returned from exile, Tokyo Sexwale became an extremely successful businessman, including ownership of Mvelaphanda Diamonds. Groenink explained that he was a close friend of Chris Hani and in the early 90s lived in the same area of Dawn Park. His first company in South Africa, a garage and hardware store called Dawn Park Motors, was registered at the GMR-linked address, 196 Louis Botha Avenue. When Groenink approached Sexwale for an interview he was astonished, and unhappy to talk about Hani. It was only when Groenink made mention of French arms trader Alain Guenon that Sexwale finally agreed to talk. Guenon, who was also linked to the death of Anton Lubowski, masqueraded as a socialist anti-apartheid supporter and became close to Sexwale in the early 90s. Guernon was a mysterious personality who was thought to have been behind the 'location' of ANC returnees in Dawn Park.⁴

Sexwale found the idea that Alain Guenon had something to do with the military to be a great shock, given his prior assessment of the man. Another strange feature was that apart from Alain Guenon, whose idea it was that the returnees settle in Dawn Park, according to Groenink, there had been an estate agent who actively helped the ANC returnees to establish themselves in the area. 'Paul Kaloti, who registered houses and even businesses, was known to Tokyo Sexwale and the other returnees as a representative of Aida estate agents, but in fact Aida management had never even heard of the man. Paul Kaloti had registered houses and businesses for Sexwale, Hani and a number of others at offices at 196 Louis Botha Avenue; though not directly with Freedman Scher, but with that company's friendly associates, the accountants Horwath Leveton Boner, also located in that building.'⁵

Groenink contacted Mr Machanik of Horwath Leveton Boner who confirmed the firm was expanded and 'now took care of all the other company's former customers. GMR's Post box 613 was maintained like a subsidiary ... including Mr Ters Ehlers'. Sexwale remained visibly shocked that Alain Guenon secretly worked with military intelligence as he seemed to be an intellectual and advisor. Sexwale admitted to Groenink that Guenon introduced him to the entire French defence industry elite in January 1991 and they, being the ANC, were not keen to do business with the French. 'They had collaborated heavily with the apartheid regime. But on the other hand, the Defence Force did have a lot of French material. We were forced to look at questions of modernisation and maintenance.'

One of the main motives for killing Chris Hani was his determined opposition to a new militarised South Africa. Unlike the other ANC leaders who were sitting comfortably at universities and other safe havens, Hani had fought bravely in battle and wanted none of the arms deals. Mbeki and Modise,

on the other hand, were knee-deep in the arms business, for subliminal power reasons and to siphon off money to the cash-strapped ANC.

The next business trip to France in connection with arms sales involved Tokyo Sexwale and Alain Guenon in September 1992, but Hani 'did not go, even though the French business partners had offered to sponsor petrol station employment projects for unemployed ex-freedom fighters'. Hani was not in favour of obtaining improvement for his fellow countrymen at that price. Another friend of Chris Hani's, former fellow ANC operative, Ronnie Watson said, 'You know what they say – if you can't corrupt one politician, you move on to the next one.' Watson introduced many remarkable businessmen to Hani once he had started his humble life in Dawn Park.

Groenink established the early partners. 'GMR's old state partner, the military intelligence elite unit, the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC), is, in 1997, still part of the web, with operatives from the apartheid era on its payroll. In whispers among researchers and journalists, the partnership of GMR and DCC is nicknamed "Murder Incorporated".'

She continued, 'Apartheid assassins still exist. Mercenaries from the former Recce commandos still liquidate people. But they don't kill for apartheid anymore; they kill for business interests. It is this that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission never contemplated or investigated, as crimes of greed don't fit within its mandate of enquiry into human rights violations as a result of apartheid.'

44 | Lies and cover-ups

‘There is not a crime, there is not a dodge, there is not a trick, there is not a swindle, there is not a vice which does not live by secrecy.’

Joseph Pulitzer

Were there one or two assassins at the Hani murder site? We might never know but there is strong evidence that while Waluś was the instrument, other shady puppeteers were pulling the strings.

When Judge Hoexter dismissed Waluś and Derby-Lewis’s appeal, he described Martin Carl van Zyl’s role in the Hani murder in the court judgment. ‘It will be remembered that next to the name and address of “Chris Hani” on the hit list there is a manuscript inscription which refers to a particular make and model of a motor car (a BMW 525i) together with what seems to be a car registration number (PWY 525T).’

We know Gaye Derby-Lewis told the police and TRC that Waluś placed the manuscript notes on the death list. This boosts the view that Clive Derby-Lewis did not write the notes, nor did Arthur Kemp. Therefore, it is key to establish with whom Waluś had links in the months before Hani’s death.

Judge Hoexter said, ‘The State witness, Mr MC Van Zyl, told the court he was the owner of a BMW 525i motor car and that it bore the registration number PWY 525T. Van Zyl further testified that on a number of occasions his car had been used (by him and others) to fetch the deceased from his home and to convey him to business meetings. The last occasion on which his car had been used for that purpose, said the witness, was about three weeks before 10 April 1993.’

Judge Hoexter found that plans for the murder of Hani were made ‘long before the date on which it was actually executed’. Part of his reasoning was that ‘he [Waluś] probably kept surveillance over the Hani residence, and observed that a certain car, which we now know had been there three weeks previously, came to the residence’.

Evelyn Groenink interviewed Van Zyl and said that he called himself ‘Chris Hani’s good friend whose death is an immense loss to all of us’. He said he was a consultant for construction company LTA and, in his own words, an ‘altruist who wanted to build houses for hungry babies’. (Owned by Anglo American since 1965, LTA is a South African construction giant.)

Van Zyl is described as a middle-aged, slender man with small metal-rimmed glasses who lived in Johannesburg’s affluent Sandton suburb. On the

face of it, he is a progressive man and this is borne out by a huge poster of Nelson Mandela in his office. Nearby is a map of the Gauteng province.

There were other indications of Van Zyl's Big Business links. A bronze plaque in his office denoted him as a 'licensed diamond dealer'. Seeing Groenink looking at the plaque he explained, 'Yes, I used to have a diamond mining company. But not anymore.' We know that De Beers and Anglo American dominate the diamond world.

Van Zyl told Groenink he was part of what he called a Businessmen-Meet-The-ANC kind of project. 'We knew that apartheid was dying, or dead already, and for the good of the country, business and the ANC had to understand each other. Ronnie Watson was part of a group of ANC people who wanted the same thing. We got on well. So I asked Ronnie to introduce me to his friend, Chris Hani.'

In 1991 he asked Chris Hani to join in discussions about a plan for low-cost housing on mine dumps. ANC stalwart Ronnie Watson introduced Van Zyl to Hani as 'the progressive manager of the respected building company LTA, which wanted to provide economic housing to the many blacks living in shacks on the East Rand'. The reason given by Van Zyl was, 'Well, if you want to win everybody over, you start with the toughest one.' He then claimed it was a joke and added, 'Chris Hani had a constituency. If you got his support for a project, everybody would follow. And we did want to do a project in the East Rand, the area where he had the support of virtually all the black people.'

Van Zyl said initially the project was for LTA, but then he confessed rather shamefacedly to Groenink, 'You've got me. Now I have to tell you that indeed, it wasn't LTA. It was Spie Batignolles – you know? The French construction company? 1992 was still a year in which sanctions against South Africa applied. The company that wanted to do the housing project was Spie Batignolles, but we were not going to get support for such a deal. The ANC would be against it, and more importantly, Chris Hani would be against it. So we got together and decided that we would set up a local company, which I would head, and call it LTA Comiat. It was in fact the South African branch of Spie. But we didn't say that, of course.'

Groenink researched Spie Batignolles and discovered this was not really their turf. She said, 'Usually, Spie's projects in Africa concern military-related ventures like airports, hangars, nuclear powerplants. Spie built South Africa's Koeberg nuclear reactor.' Otherwise they took on big projects, like the enormous dam in Lesotho, for which it was convicted of corruption. 'Spie liked paying bribes in developing countries. In Namibia, Spie had used Alain Guenon as a middleman.' Van Zyl claimed not to know Guenon. The deception is disturbing.

Van Zyl went as far as hiring Hani's wife in his office at LTA Comiat. When Hani phoned the Anglo-linked LTA wanting to speak to her, LTA

had not heard of her, which must have rung alarm bells. The plan to use Hani did not work and Van Zyl said, 'We talked to the government, we tried to get the ANC's approval through Chris. But the ANC was too slow. We lost the opportunity.' Groenink added her own comment, 'Or maybe Chris Hani did find out this was really a sanctions-busting operation led by a company with a really bad reputation?' Van Zyl reckoned Hani never really knew that he was dealing with Spie.

Van Zyl told Groenink, 'For some reason, the registration number of my car was on the hit list that Janusz Waluś had. I often visited the Hanis, so my car may have attracted his attention. It was thought that the perpetrators may have planned to kill Chris when he was with me.'

It is significant that Van Zyl was linked to the address where a number of intelligence-linked companies conducted their business under the control of brutal intelligence agent Craig Williamson. Van Zyl claimed to be a good friend of Hani and told Groenink, 'Comrade Hani and I were involved in debates over and projects for more economic community housing.'

Groenink said the court accepted Van Zyl's hypothesis that Waluś saw Van Zyl's car in the front garden of Hani's house and wrote down the number on his hit list. However, as she said, 'Nobody seemed to be keen to ask why Janusz Waluś only wrote down that number, when so many people visited the Hanis house with so many cars. Tokyo Sexwale, the bodyguards, the comrades of MK, or of the SACP (South African Communist Party), of which Hani was the chairman. Waluś did not even take down the number of Hani's own car, or that of his wife Limpho. Only Van Zyl's. There is therefore one connection between the murderers and Van Zyl.'

'Two connections if you mention the slim lines that lead to the GMR address at 196 Louis Botha Avenue. Nobody in Chris Hani's circle of friends could remember that he was interested in community housing. And even more funny, the building company LTA, whom Van Zyl told the court he represented, had never had community building plans.' When Groenink phoned LTA, a representative confirmed that the company only had concentrated on industrial projects and highways at that time, not housing. The representative who spoke to her hesitated and then said, 'It was more of a hobby of Mr Van Zyl himself. He did not really work for us, he was a sort of ... advisor.' On the LTA business website there is no mention of Martin Carl van Zyl, but he is mentioned as owner/director of a series of small building companies, all registered at the offices of GMR accountants Horwath Leveton Boner at 196 Louis Botha Avenue. The links are there.

Other matters also do not gel as to why Van Zyl's car number was on Waluś's list. One innocuous possibility is that Waluś was noting that when Van Zyl's BMW was at Hani's house, it was risky to proceed with the murder, because there would be a witness. Van Zyl's best explanation was that Waluś

might want to kill Hani when he was with Van Zyl, as on those occasions he had no security guards to protect him. That certainly would be a careless exercise with a witness in a ringside seat.

The notion that Van Zyl's car would be there at the time of the planned murder is incredible. Why would Van Zyl be collecting Hani for a business meeting or returning him home over the Easter weekend? Van Zyl lied to Hani about a number of things. Firstly, that he worked for Anglo-linked LTA whereas he worked for Spie. Secondly, that Hani's wife would be working for LTA whereas it was a Spie subsidiary.

If the 'innocent' explanation for the presence of his car number on the Waluś hit list is not a probable one, then others should be considered. One possibility is that his car would be present on the scene in some other capacity, either as backup or to help with the assassination itself.

As a member of the ANC's intelligence section Mbokodo, Ronnie Watson tried to find out who was responsible. He called the police investigation rotten, and related an interesting story about what he was told when he arrived shortly after Hani's shooting. At times Watson was described as a bodyguard for Hani and, apart from his close friendship, had his best interests at heart.

The first policeman Ronnie Watson saw at the police station told him that Hani had been shot by two people who came in two cars. Later the same officer said his superiors had told him not to say anything more.

Groenink said two other neighbours witnessed parts of Chris Hani's murder. Neither saw the entire incident as Mrs Harmse had, but what they had seen was nevertheless significant. The first neighbour was Joe K, 'an unobtrusive, modest-looking man in blue overalls, a truck driver at Lever Ponds in Boksburg and the Hanis' immediate neighbour on the left'. Groenink explained that the family with the vicious dogs had lived on the right, but were no use as witnesses since they claimed to be out that entire day. Joe 'had gone out to buy newspapers almost simultaneously with his neighbour Chris Hani on that fateful morning'.¹

It seemed to have been a fun exercise. 'Joe had been cycling and Chris had used his car. The two men had met at the shop and left together with Hani driving slowly and Joe riding his bike. They played a racing game, Hani acting as a biker's coach, driving slowly behind Joe, shouting encouragements, "Faster! Faster". Joe had often looked back at Hani and noticed that two cars were following him, a red Ford Laser and a blue Mazda 323. He had found it strange, he says, that the cars seemed to have no intention to overtake but had not thought about it much.

'Then the blue Mazda 323 disappeared at a right-hand turn close to Hakea Crescent. The red Ford Laser continued behind Hani and Joe K. Once both men had arrived at their respective front yards, Joe noticed the red car

coming to a halt. He also noticed a white car which had stopped in the street in front of the red car, but where it had come from he did not know. He heard shots. He saw the red car and the white car drive away.'

Although there may be some confusion about the colours, it is clear that the blue Mazda 323 belonged to Mrs Harmse. Nomakhwezi also gave a statement to the police and said she 'heard two cars drive away afterwards. One slowly, one fast.' The slow one had been Waluś. Other neighbours had reported seeing the red car, in which the Polish truck driver was arrested minutes later, leaving the murder scene slowly. The white car had sped away. If that had not been Mrs Harmse's car, as the police had thought, then who had been driving it?

Groenink said, 'Dudu Mkhwanazi (not her real name), a nurse with a number of happy, healthy, clean-scrubbed children living in nearby Bauhinia Street, had alighted from a taxi at Hakea Crescent on her way back from Boksburg town, when she noticed her famous neighbour, Chris Hani, returning home in his white Toyota Corolla.'

Dudu was a Dawn Park neighbour of Hani and she saw both the white and the red car following him as he returned from the shops. She pointed out Janusz Waluś from a series of pictures presented to her. She saw another man 'a dark white man. Like Italian or Portuguese or Greek, with black hair and black eyes.' Dudu said, 'There were two cars following him. First a red, then another white car. I looked at the men in the cars. I thought they were his bodyguards because they drove so closely behind him.' She identified two men: a blond man and a very big, dark, heavy and rough man. Her account was backed up by her nephew who was with her that day. The necessary consequence of their version was that the blond man was arrested but the dark, heavily built type sped away.

Ex-Security Branch Officer JG Scholte (aka Gunter Schikelgruber) appeared to have considerable inside knowledge and described Waluś as being a close friend of CCB agent Alex Kouvaris, which is important. Not only does it link him with the CCB but we know from the TRC that Alex Kouvaris was a friend and colleague of the CCB's Staal Burger. Kouvaris had helped in trying to steal a book that implicated the CCB in Anton Lubowski's death. This evidence was given at the Amnesty Hearings of Carl Casteling 'Calla' Botha on 2 October 2000 in Cape Town.

We now return to another secretive and mysterious character linked to Chris Hani's murder – Alex Vasiliades, also known as Alex V, or Alex the Greek.

Captain Meyer of the Boksburg police told the press immediately after the murder that there had been two cars. Watson overheard a policeman speaking to General Basie Smit, the head of the Security Police who had one of the deadliest pair of hands in the Third Force.

Watson said after Hani was killed, he received a phone call from a woman who said she knew that Alex Vasiliades and Walus had been plotting to commit the murder together. Alex was indeed close to Walus and they had stayed together in Walus's brother's house for a while. There were strong suggestions that two makes of bullet casings were found on the scene, indicating that two weapons were used – in all probability by two assassins.

Ronnie Watson searched far and wide to find Alex Vasiliades. The police told him that Vasiliades had left South Africa on the day of the murder for Botswana. Watson went there to find him but was unsuccessful.

We recall that within five weeks of Hani's death, a prestigious investigative team reported on the suspects involved. *Executive Intelligence Review* (EIR) is a weekly news magazine founded in 1974 in Leesburg, Virginia in the United States. It maintains offices in a number of countries, including Wiesbaden, Berlin, Copenhagen, Paris, Melbourne and Mexico City. It clearly has access to large caches of information from intelligence agencies, round the world. In the *Executive Intelligence Review* article of 14 May 1993 entitled 'Did British intelligence kill Hani?', the authors examined the background to his murder.

We are told in the report that, 'At least two eyewitnesses reported two cars involved in the assassination, one red and one white, which converged on Hani's house. But almost immediately, any mention of more than one person disappeared from all police statements, in favour of the lone assassin Walus, backed by Derby-Lewis's international network.'

Johannesburg's Greek criminal underworld is a small, tight-knit community. It seems certain that Alex Vasiliades would have known Alex Kouvaris, or Kavouras as he was sometimes known. Vasiliades lived in a grimy haunt in a bad corner of Yeoville and was a regular visitor to a karate club frequented by numerous heavies from the arms store Bentel Arms, where he worked, and other weapons companies.

Bentel Arms is administered at 196 Louis Botha Avenue, Orange Grove – the address of the cluster of companies related to Military Intelligence, Tienie Groenewald and Craig Williamson. Alex Vasiliades had rent and other debts. According to Bentel Arms employees who had been superficially interviewed by the police, Vasiliades had been fired after stealing a pistol from the company.

The police found Alex Vasiliades but never told the ANC that they had. Vasiliades told the police that Walus trusted him. He said if Walus were to tell him anything about Hani's murder, he would pass the information on to the police. The conversation took place before Walus confessed.

Vasiliades was the only one of all Walus's friends and acquaintances who had, when interviewed by the police, not expressed doubts about Walus's capacity to commit murder.

So what did the Hani family think about the presence of a second car at

the scene of his murder? His wife Limpho agreed with the theory of a second murderer. 'I have always said there were two. A cooldrink can and cigarette butts were found in our neighbours' yard, next to the wall. Somebody had been there when the neighbours were out. A stranger. I know that because the vicious dogs they had were chained that day. Usually they ran wild. Somebody chained them so that the second murderer could use their yard.'

She wanted the police to take a serious look at the can and butts for fingerprints, which was an eminently reasonable request. Limpho was unsuccessful and the police never got the results. This infuriated her. She did not trust Scotland Yard either. The latter was brought in to ensure a proper investigation.

To follow up on her observations, we can deduce that the person who smoked countless cigarettes and drank from a can was on guard, checking for a suitable time to shoot Hani. Once Hani left for the café to buy his groceries and newspaper, calls were made to set the operation in motion.

Also of interest is Van Zyl's take on who would have wanted Hani dead. What did he think of the white right-wing conspiracy? He was adamant, 'Hani was killed because he was incorruptible. Because he was, you know. He really was.' Since Hani had given up the armed struggle and was concentrating on negotiations, the most probable motives for his killing were linked to his socialist views and rivalry from within the ANC, either for his opposition to the Arms Deal, or fears of him becoming president after Mandela.

Michael Buchanan was a crucial witness in the Hani murder. He lived in Deon Street, some 25 metres away from the Hani residence, roughly west of it. It is also significant in the context of the area being set up to monitor ANC activists that he was a former policeman in his late thirties. At about 10 am he heard four shots from the Hani residence. He grabbed a firearm, went to the door and saw a red hatchback motorcar driving past. One male was behind the wheel. Hurrying over to Hani's house, he saw him lying in front of the garage. Four spent cartridges were scattered on the ground. He then cordoned off the area to prevent curious onlookers from contaminating the crime scene.

At the time, Buchanan was employed as a biomedical technician with a background in specialised rescue operations. After his police career ended, Buchanan became a director of Confined Space Rescue, a business in the field of Special Force-type activities. It cited as its specialties the use of helicopters to traverse rough terrains to get somebody out of a hole or cave.

Groenink added a further comment, 'There is one more interesting thing about FHS Secretarial Services, the agency that routinely lends its business address "Suite 200, PO Box 30500" to rather dodgy and often UK-linked companies in the fields of diamonds, aviation, arms and technology. Suite 200, PO Box 30500 is also the business address of Protea Medical Products which, in 1993, employed Chris Hani's opposite neighbour Michael Buchanan.'²

According to Groenink, he had connections in a trade that was, at the time, almost exclusively the domain of military-linked former sanctions busters. 'Being a director in a small laser technologies company himself, his accountants were business partners of quite prominent individuals in the technology and aircraft trade.' His house was one of the houses built and owned by companies who used postal addresses linked to Military Intelligence, such as GMR at Post Box 613. Buchanan had moved there in 1992, roughly the same time as the Hani family.

Journalist Jon Qwelane queried the official line on the murder in the April 1997 issue of his magazine *Tribute*, suggesting the scene may have been 'swept' after the killing. As Groenink said, 'One observer had noted that at first there had been two different types of cartridges lying around; police reports later reflected only one type. Both Limpho Hani and Ronnie Watson remembered that a first policeman had spoken of two assassins ... If that had happened, Michael Buchanan would have been the best-positioned and best-qualified person to carry out such a mission of sweeping the scene.'

There are links with GMR as Buchanan worked for a company called Protea Medical Products, which was liquidated in 1994 by Lawrence Pereira, the financial director of GMR Financial Enterprises.

Waluś used subsonic cartridges when he assassinated Hani. In an article in *Field and Stream* by Jeff Johnston on 4 April 2016 entitled 'The Pros and Cons of Subsonic Cartridges', the author said, 'Subsonic cartridges do produce less noise than full-velocity rounds ... but your rifle will still go bang. At sea level, the speed of sound is roughly 1,127 feet per second. When a moving object, such as a bullet, breaks that threshold, there is an audible shock wave that sounds like the crack of a bullwhip. Most of the noise inherent with shooting a rifle, however, comes not from the bullet breaking the sound barrier, but from expanding gases rapidly escaping the rifle's bore ... Another way is to buy a silencer ... which will greatly muffle those escaping gases. Quietest of all is to use a silencer in tandem with subsonic ammunition, which can reduce the sound of gunfire to a whimper in the rain.' All this points to a sophisticated organisation being behind Waluś and Derby-Lewis.

Buchanan was cross-examined intensively, mainly on observing the red Ford Laser and the driver's appearance. He testified that the next day he was asked to attend a parade of 10 people at the Boksburg police station. They all faced Buchanan but he was unable to make an identification. He then asked the police to view the side profiles of the men on parade. When they did so he recognised Waluś. 'He stood out like a sore thumb.' Buchanan said he had identified the car in a police pound.

While writing her manuscript, Groenink asked Buchanan questions 'about his extreme helpfulness with regard to cordoning off the crime scene in Chris Hani's front yard and whether he was aware of allegations that military

intelligence had been involved in selling houses to exiles in Dawn Park. They were not nice questions. It was clear we had a suspicion he had had something to do with Chris Hani's murder. Or at least with military intelligence.³

Buchanan refused to be interviewed by Groenink but, according to her, 'he referred to close links between himself, the Scorpions – particularly with head Scorpion Gerrie Nel – and the National Intelligence Agency, threatening Jacana publishers [who were proposing to publish Groenink's book] to "come" to them with both agencies. And to beat up people at the publishers.' One could understand a threat of civil litigation for defamation but why the Scorpions and Nel?

Born in 1961, Gerrie Nel was a prosecutor for the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) of South Africa. He was nicknamed 'Bulldog' for his tenacity in the courtroom and was regularly assigned to difficult and high-profile cases. Nel started working as a prosecutor in 1984, so he must have met Buchanan in the Derby-Lewis and Walus trial when he was a junior prosecutor. He later became famous in the Oscar Pistorius case.

There were further threats. 'Then there was former foreign minister Pik Botha, who was so upset about the claims by some sources that he had been party to the arms deals, that he kept phoning Jacana for hours at the time, explaining how only a "sick, perverse and criminal mind" could think such things. During one of these phone calls he also told Jacana's Maggie Davey sternly that "the world is a dangerous place, you know".' Jacana then declined to publish Groenink's book.

Over the phone, Buchanan told Groenink she 'got it all wrong. He was absolutely not one of these white supremacists who had murdered Hani. On the contrary, he was one of the good guys'. Buchanan said, 'I do work for intelligence. But not NIS, the old apartheid secret service. I'm with the National Intelligence Agency, NIA, the new democratic one.' A meeting was arranged but Buchanan phoned and told Groenink's publisher that he was fed-up and going to '*klap*' [hit] her.⁴

What would be exceptionally interesting would be what the new ANC National Intelligence Agency (NIA) knew about the intended killing of Chris Hani? If that organisation was in charge of Buchanan's actions, could that show that this was an inside job with the ANC involved?

45 | Hail Hani!

'Long live the example of Chris Hani! Fighter for the workers and the poor!'

Padraig O'Malley

Poised with benign significance, the morning of 28 April 1990 broke large and still in Johannesburg. The beautiful chaos at Jan Smuts Airport was positively electrifying when struggle hero and national icon Chris Hani returned to his native soil almost three decades after leaving it. ANC Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) Regional Chairperson Tokyo Sexwale, who had only recently been released from Robben Island, was in the crowd and the pair were celebrated as leaders.

Hani's partnership with Winnie Mandela stirred the media to both a positive and negative frenzy as they toured the country in military fatigues, urging the people to fight for a new South Africa. Some said they were planning to start an alternative party that would challenge the current ANC leadership, which they saw as too eager to reach agreement with the Nationalist Government. Hani made the point that the ANC elite was keen to join the white elite on the road to riches in a continuation of white corruption in the country. Hani and Winnie were fighting for justice and a fair share of the resources.

Big was the surprise – and by no means pleasantly so – when Hani learnt about negotiations between the movement, represented by Thabo Mbeki in the late 1980s, and white Afrikaners – mostly business people – in London.¹ Mbeki biographer Mark Gevisser recorded that Hani erupted about this at an ANC National Working Committee (NWC) meeting in late February 1988. Mbeki was not present because he was meeting the Afrikaners for the negotiations.

Hani said, 'On whose authority has Comrade Thabo entered into discussions? I cannot understand why the NWC and PMC were not apprised. Let the minutes record we register our extreme displeasure that Comrade Thabo has unilaterally gone to London without any ... consultation and without a mandate from the NEC [National Executive Committee].'

Undoubtedly there was a deep chasm in approach between Hani and Mbeki. Hani had retained a militant approach to his commitment, even if militarism as an ideology had been outlawed in favour of the politicisation of the whole soldier. He fervently had believed in the armed struggle until a fair resolution was found.

To evaluate the gulf between Mbeki and Hani, we have to look at the question whether majority rule was to be obtained at any price. Academic and historian Dale McKinley expressed concern that South Africa's liberation as executed by the ANC was more concentrated on getting into power, with its rewards of class positions and financial benefits, than on addressing the needs of the people and their struggle for a decent life.² He said the ANC failed the masses by seeking to be part of the economic power instead of taking on the capitalist system. All that took place was the addition of more chairs for the black elite on the capitalist ship of state. The divide between those with economic power – whites and the new black elite – and the masses has grown since apartheid ended.

McKinley said the ANC underestimated the power of the masses to drive systemic change. Consequently, 'the ANC itself and the state it has politically controlled for the last 20-odd years have become corporatised in both form and content, producing a major shift in the balance of forces away from the mass of workers and the poor'.³ The process, which bears all the hallmarks of Mbeki's ideology, had its roots in the prophetic remarks of ANC Secretary-General Dr AB Xuma in 1945, 'It is of less importance to us whether capitalism is smashed or not. It is of greater importance to us that while capitalism exists, we must fight and struggle to get our full share and benefit from the system.'

Wanting to fight for a full share and benefit for the poor and oppressed, Hani was convinced the activists had to negotiate from a position of strength and believed his comrades agreed. 'I am sure the ANC won't call off the armed struggle because it has been unbanned ... We must also teach cadres that there is a need to fight and talk, and if talks fail, we must go back and fight. I think we must struggle very hard for our comrades not to feel that sitting down with our enemy is betrayal.'⁴ This was why Hani was behind the Vula initiative, which was directed at continuing the armed struggle.⁵

His arch-enemy and probably the man who plotted his death, Tienie Groenewald, said much the same in 1985. As quoted in Chapter 41, Groenewald said, 'This is the stage when one can negotiate from a position of strength and can afford to accommodate the other party, given that it has largely been eliminated as a threat.'⁶ The real problem for the ANC of negotiating from a point of weakness was the miserable deal it would gain from such talks. History tells us that the deal was awful and the Gini coefficient – the measure of the gap between rich and poor – has worsened under ANC rule.

After President FW de Klerk's breakthrough speech, the negotiations stuttered on and 4 May 1990 saw the Nats and the ANC sign the Groote Schuur Minute. This document recorded the government and ANC's commitment to stem the violence damaging the country and some agreement on releasing political prisoners. Other issues were also addressed, such as political trials, the state of emergency and lines of communication.

The country was in turmoil. On 13 July 1990, a right-wing bomb attack occurred on the Rand, causing havoc and injuring 27 black people. This was obviously a signal that fanatical whites would not go down without securing unfair rights for themselves. The negotiations deadlocked and Hani spoke out a month later at the University of Transkei, saying the ANC might have to 'seize power' if the government did not make reasonable concessions and abandon its intransigence.

After this demand there was some movement with an agreement – the Pretoria Minute – on 6 August 1990 on releasing political prisoners on 1 September and indemnity from prosecution for actions from October 1990. The ANC announced the suspension of the armed struggle, despite the threat posed by right-wing Afrikaners.

One of the most important questions besetting the ANC was who would make up the leadership to be determined at the National Conference on 2–6 July 1991. It became clear Nelson Mandela would take over from the very ill Tambo. The position of his deputy was hotly contested. Thabo Mbeki made his availability known, prompting others to push Hani forward.

At the National Conference, Walter Sisulu announced that he was not prepared to stand on the grounds of old age. The way seemed clear for Mbeki to become deputy under Mandela. Although Hani originally did not intend to stand, he was categorical that 'I will not serve under Thabo. If he stands, I will stand against him.'⁷

By this time Hani had become a national hero with almost cult status. Smith and Tromp observed, 'In Mbeki, the ANC delegates saw a consummate diplomat who had led many of the negotiations with the apartheid state until then, and had been instrumental in rallying much of the world behind the cause of the ANC. Nonetheless, so covert were many of the negotiations undertaken by Mbeki – even if these had been sanctioned by Tambo – some in the organisation were taken aback at the pace of change, and viewed Mbeki with more than a little suspicion.'⁸

Other writers commented on this trait of Mbeki. Gevisser emphasised from early on how Mbeki had a 'reputation for opacity and backroom dealing' that would persist throughout his career.⁹ He also butted heads with his own father. As early as the 1980s Thabo jettisoned communism and embraced the anti-colonial philosophy of African Renaissance. This was to be a huge point of difference with his father Govan, who insisted that black liberation would arise as a result of class struggle and the proletarian revolution.¹⁰

In his book *Time is not the Measure – A Memoir*, Vusi Mavimbela¹¹ said Chris Hani did not present his name for nomination as deputy president initially, but changed his mind when he learnt Mbeki had been nominated. 'He made it known if Mbeki accepted the nomination, he would challenge

him. We all knew there had always been an undeclared arch-rivalry between them. Senior leaders persuaded Walter Sisulu to make himself available to head off an acrimonious personal showdown between the two. Sisulu reluctantly agreed and the contest was obviated. The incident left a bitter taste in my mouth. That it was happening at a high level of the leadership was ominous. It was also scary such a tendency was rearing its head at a point when the ANC was readying itself to govern. The fortunes of the Struggle were being subjected to personal dislikes in the leadership to which we looked for political guidance.¹²

The scene was set for a battle royale. In the vote for a new NEC, Hani edged Mbeki out of second place by 34 votes. In the elections for the National Working Committee, Hani lost out by a single vote to Mbeki. Walter Sisulu was eventually convinced to take up the position of deputy president and the other contenders agreed to take a step back, 'the young bulls returning to their pens', as Smith and Tromp put it.¹³

Mavimbela talks about how Mbeki left the SACP when he returned to South Africa in 1990. He said Mbeki did not believe in a socialist agenda for South Africa and his 'relations with some of the key individuals in the SACP had become toxic and personal. He believed some were hell-bent on thwarting his political advancement within the ANC and government. His belief had some justification. Hani's unprecedented move to checkmate him at the Durban ANC conference was a good example. In Mbeki's view, several of his SACP colleagues, including Slovo, encouraged Hani.'¹⁴

In December 1990, the ANC announced it had planned to establish defence units in African townships. MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani said he could not disclose the training strategy for the proposed units as such policies still had to be formulated. The chairman of the ANC Youth League, Peter Mokaba, subsequently said it had been decided that Self Defence Units (SDUs) were being established around the country and should be armed 'with everything available, including guns, and they should be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended'.¹⁵

In April 1991, Hani reiterated the demand for all political prisoners to be freed, following the release of 41 ANC prisoners from Robben Island. At that stage 669 prisoners had been allowed to leave the prison that was reserved for political offenders. In late 1991, Hani said the ANC would not hand over arms or disband MK 'until we have reached a situation where we are not ruled by the National Party Government'. MK would reveal its arms caches only once an interim government was in place.¹⁶

In June 1991, the South African Government received intelligence reports that the ANC had established two training bases in Transkei. The reports said that during 1990, 100 members of the Transkei Defence Force had been recruited by the ANC and trained by MK. The ANC denied the

reports. Holomisa accused the SA Government of trying to topple him and kill both Hani and him.¹⁷

Hani said in September 1991 that MK was not affected by the agreed Peace Accord. 'I can't see why MK is being dragged in. We have in all frankness not been involved in acts of violence because we are bound by the Pretoria Minute. Furthermore, even the DF Malan Accord does not say MK should be dismantled.' However, he added that MK had adhered to the Peace Accord and at its recent national conference in Venda it had reconfirmed its commitment to negotiations.¹⁸

The KwaZulu administration under the IFP barred ANC leaders, including Hani and Harry Gwala, from entering Nseleni township in northern Natal in February 1992. On arrival at the township, Hani and Gwala found a large contingent of armed IFP members, soldiers and police at the entrance. Several other IFP strongholds became no-go areas for the ANC.¹⁹ Speaking later in Empangeni, Hani said the IFP had prevented the ANC from entering townships in northern Natal. He said the ANC was unbanned everywhere but in northern Natal it was banned by Inkatha and the police.²⁰

On 21 March 1992, Sharpeville day, Hani and others addressed 10,000 supporters at Vereeniging who came to commemorate the day in 1960 when the police had gunned down 69 people. Oliver Tambo told the crowd the shootings had given real impetus to the fight against apartheid.²¹

As SACP leader, Hani was quoted as saying in June 1992, 'We are going to tackle Lucas Mangope [head of the puppet apartheid state Bophuthatswana] with peaceful marches, and protests.' In the same month, Bophuthatswana's deputy minister claimed the ANC planned to topple the administration through violence and mass actions. He said the ANC was of a mind to occupy their consulates and organise boycotts of their goods and companies.²²

In the same month, negotiators failed to reach agreement at Codesa's second plenary. Hani blamed the deadlock on FW de Klerk and accused him of clinging to the idea of 'white supremacy'. He maintained the NP's insistence on a 75% majority for drawing up a new constitution was premised on the NP getting 30% of the vote by combining its votes with Inkatha and others to block the ANC-led alliance from having a clear-cut majority.²³

Then came the Boipatong Massacre. On 17 June 1992, 45 people were killed when some 300 armed men affiliated to the IFP attacked an informal settlement. The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance withdrew from the negotiations. A month later, in July 1992, speaking at a rally in Pietermaritzburg, Hani said the withdrawal from Codesa was his happiest day since 1990 and that Codesa had been destroying the liberation movement.²⁴

He denied suggestions that the ANC and SACP were moving apart, and added that the SACP felt it could play a part in an alliance with the ANC in a post-apartheid South Africa. However, he conceded there might be a need

to separate the two organisations eventually, but added there would always be room for co-operation on a number of issues.²⁵

Hani was feverish in his zeal to secure a good deal for South Africa's people, not just the elite. His foes were lined up against him. In June 1992 the Western Goals Institute (WGI), headed by Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis, announced it was offering 'self-defence training' to white people in South Africa to enable them to 'protect themselves' from the 'ANC terrorist onslaught'. He explained that the training, under his personal direction, would be conducted by professional soldiers from the SADF, the former Rhodesian Army and Britain's Special Air Services. The WGI claimed to be devoted to protecting the 'Western way of life' and to have offices in London and Krugersdorp (West Rand).²⁶

We recall that within five weeks of Hani's death, *Executive Intelligence Review* (EIR), a weekly news magazine with intimate access to the intelligence community, quoted from *The Star* of Johannesburg of 22 April 1993, twelve days after Hani's death. The newspaper reported that 'Waluś himself was linked to "third force"-style violence as part of a film crew which would mysteriously show up in black townships just as residents were being shot by unknown gunmen ... the degree of such "third force" violence now striking South Africa would be impossible without complicity of at least sections of the National Party Government's security forces ...'

A man who was prepared to take part in these killings would certainly be the right candidate to execute Hani, who called on MK to teach black people to defend themselves, saying the government was counteracting mass action with violence. The soldier who had led his troops in the Luthuli detachment against Rhodesian forces did not shrink from his duty when confrontation with the illegitimate leader of the Ciskei was being organised. Hani marched in the front ranks when, on the morning of 7 September, close to 80,000 people marched on Bisho. Less than two hours later Ciskei Defence Force soldiers opened fire – leaving 28 people dead and more than 200 injured. Judge Goldstone, who investigated the events of that day, condemned the conduct of Ciskei's Oupa Gqoza for refusing to allow the march to go ahead, and his troops for their murderous actions that day.²⁷

Sasha Gear evaluated the strategies of the ANC and others after 1990 with regard to their militaristic endeavours.²⁸ She explained how, during the 1980s, the urban terrain became a key site of struggle. 'The state's violent suppression of protests by township residents, who rejected the imposition of illegitimate black local authorities, led protest actions to become increasingly violent and confrontational ...' Activist supporters of the ANC, known as 'comrades', were a crucial element in these protest actions and were largely unemployed township youth.

With its limited military infrastructure, the ANC encouraged township

communities to take the initiative and there was an enthusiastic response. Some employed savage methods such as necklace murders. The TRC found the leadership structures 'were unable to control the youth militia – the *amabutho* and those running the "people's courts", and sometimes came under threat themselves when they tried to do so'.²⁹

This position was confirmed with regard to Hani, wrote Smith and Tromp. 'According to activist Tsepe Motumi, youths later joined the SDUs, using them to wield power and influence. In township vernacular they were commonly referred to as 'com-tsotsis'. Hani was vocal about reverting to the original mandate of the SDUs and making them accountable to the community structures they were intended to serve. Instead, the SDUs became a tool in settling long-standing feuds between individuals, and in carving out areas of influence, along the lines of criminal gangs. This, Hani urged, could not continue.'³⁰

Smith and Tromp returned to the thrust of Hani as the lawless SDUs' enemy. 'Just days before Waluś stepped out of a red Ford Laser in Hakea Crescent and took aim at his target, Hani had delivered a final clarion call for peace. He chose the battered East Rand, where he addressed a restless, adoring crowd. His subject was one that had become something of a crusade for him: the need for discipline and a calm purpose on the part of SDUs. Hani was troubled by these structures; he had felt their incipient power in the 1980s, when the reach for ungovernability was yoked to the highest cause.'

The authors said Hani believed in accountability. 'But these structures could also be subverted and used for criminal activity, and he believed the SDUs should account to their communities. People were dying, with infighting tearing communities apart. He urged, encouraged, insisted, cajoled, and his words rang as clear as ever, even into the year after his death when the East Rand was aflame. This was the way Hani showed his leadership.'³¹

In a forthcoming chapter we will see that a Military Intelligence agent reported to his superiors that an ANC section wanted Hani dead because he opposed the SDUs' conduct.

While in Lusaka, Chris Hani had two faithful security guards, Andile Haneae and Pule Matokoane. Three weeks before his murder, Hani spoke to Haneae about improving his protection protocols. Haneae was no longer employed to protect him but Hani made him promise to join him again. Before they had the chance to work out the details Hani was dead.

Hani had told Haneae that 'if ever the *boers* arrested him, he would fight'. Sadly, Waluś gunned him down without a fighting chance.³² There was no one to protect him. Haneae and Matokoane said Hani was always protected during his exile in Lusaka in the 1980s, and former ANC leader Bantu Holomisa (who was expelled when he co-founded the United Democratic Movement), confirmed the same applied in the Transkei in the early 1990s.

Conflicting theories abounded about the absence of security guards on the day of Hani's murder. His enemies abroad said Hani was a philanthropist who let his guards off to facilitate his romantic liaisons. There was talk among his friends that the guards were withdrawn precisely to facilitate his bloody murder. Memos were allegedly circulating among apartheid operatives explaining how this came about. The EIR article said, 'Even more interesting, Hani, who had been the victim of several previous assassination attempts and whose concern for his own security was notorious, had unaccountably given his two bodyguards time off, the precise day the assassin(s) struck. The bodyguards' absence smelled of complicity from inside the ANC, and in fact Hani's factional ally Winnie Mandela charged that the ANC had killed him.'

In the period before Easter, Hani often addressed three or four rallies on a day. He took time off to relax over the holiday weekend. His most recent venture into Transkei had been a day-long visit with ANC Deputy Secretary-General Jacob Zuma to see General Bantu Holomisa.

Even the weekend before he was killed, Hani spoke about establishing a peace corps of young men and women who could spend two years in crime prevention and clean-up operations, building tolerance. He envisaged a demilitarised society. 'It is imperative,' he said in that final speech, 'that the ANC and its allies become ever bolder and more creative in building a momentum for peace.'

In that stirring speech he criticised another organisation that was causing consternation with its warlike utterances and actions. The Pan African Congress (PAC) continued its armed struggle. Hani condemned this and called for the militants to be ostracised. With an eerie prescience he told the *Sunday Times*, 'The message is being sent to the white population that Chris Hani is the devil himself. The police see me as the brains and key strategist. I have given up trying to prove that I am campaigning for peace. These guys see me as someone who is bad news. I fear there are people who have the capacity to eliminate me. I am frightened about what they are planning.'³³

On other threats his voice was clear and bold. Two issues that were to be the nemesis of his arch-rival Mbeki were articulated in a way that showed his commitment to the people. As Smith and Tromp said, 'Before HIV/AIDS became the next struggle, he [Hani] was already urging education, treatment and support. While many of those around him were contesting for influence in a future army, Hani was rallying for a stronger police force. He spoke about wanting to be part of an anti-corruption forum – and he warned about the lure of the gravy train.'³⁴

His opposition to corruption and the Arms Deal, to the SDUs' lawless behaviour and excluding South Africa's people from the country's wealth, had by now made Hani many enemies. On 10 April 1993, the day after Good Friday, a hit man, acting for one or more Hani enemies, gunned him down.

At the Hani funeral, Nelson Mandela summed up the hero's nature. 'Sabalele [Hani's birth place] is ... well known to me. Not for its beauty, but for its harshness. Yet this small, virtually unknown village produced a Chris Hani, whose life shook the whole country and impacted on the world's stage. His passion for justice, for addressing the problems that plague the rural poor, were rooted in his childhood.'

46 | Inside job?

‘We will follow the bullet trajectories backwards to the lives that occupy the shadows, actual men who moan in their dreams.’

Don DeLillo, *Libra*

Hani’s enemies were lining up against him. On one side were his ANC comrades scrambling for a seat on the gravy train and Hani was deterring them. On the other side, the wielders of capital could not tolerate a leader determined to retain the country’s wealth for its people.

Theories abound as to who was ultimately responsible for his murder. We recall that within five weeks of Hani’s death, weekly news magazine *EIR* said that ‘the bodyguards’ absence smelled of complicity from inside the ANC, and in fact Hani’s factional ally Winnie Mandela charged that the ANC had killed him’.

The article emphasised that the ANC would want to eliminate Hani because he and Winnie Mandela had announced they would form a new party, implicitly against the ANC. And according to Zimbabwean intelligence sources, they had started creating a new armed force there.

Another view was that Hani was killed to stop him exposing the role former Defence Minister Joe Modise played in the Arms Deal. Significantly, in a recent *BizNews* article on 13 December 2022 headlined ‘The Killing of Chris Hani’, RW Johnson revealed that Modise left nothing in his will because his money was stashed in several secret offshore bank accounts.

Arms Deal critic Terry Crawford-Browne gave evidence before the Seriti Commission claiming Modise didn’t die of cancer but was poisoned.¹ He said the information came from Bheki Jacobs, an ANC functionary trained in the Soviet Union as an intelligence operative. Modise was known to have many enemies and it was also known there was considerable animosity between him and Hani dating from their times in exile, according to Crawford-Browne. ‘It has been alleged Walus was ultimately employed by the British arms manufacturer BAe, perhaps by way of John Bredenkamp, the Zimbabwean who was the second-largest recipient of those BAe bribes.’ He maintained that charging Derby-Lewis for Hani’s murder was merely a red herring to blame white right-wing elements, diverting attention from the British arms industry.

Stephen Grootes wrote in *Daily Maverick*, ‘Crawford-Brown’s main claim is that Modise had been involved in corruption for some time. He also says Hani knew about this, and was about to expose him. He points out the

genesis of the Arms Deal itself lies in the days before the ANC became the government, and while it was in fact preparing to govern. He suggests Modise was being wined and dined by arms manufacturers from the late 1980s, when it was realised that South Africa under an ANC government would have to re-arm.²

‘Like so many conspiracy theories manufactured for political reasons, there is one element of truth in this. Hani and Modise were certainly not friends. And the bad blood went back literally decades. In 1969 the ANC held its famous Morogoro Conference ... one of the reasons that it was held in the first place was a document penned by Hani called the “Hani Memorandum”. In the document Hani sharply criticised some ANC leaders who lived in exile, and in luxury at the same time. He was one of many ANC soldiers, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, who were living in camps, often under terrible conditions. Other leaders, such as Modise, were not.’

He quoted a piece Nhlanhla Ndebele and Noor Nieftagodien wrote for the South African Democracy Education Trust’s Road to Democracy series. ‘[In] Hani’s document ... Joe Modise, Moses Kotane and Duma Nokwe were singled out for special criticism. Kotane, who as the treasurer general was one of the most senior members of the ANC, was chastised for prioritising exile over home. The implication was that there were leaders who had grown so accustomed to living abroad, and perhaps so enjoyed the comfort of exile, that the struggle on the home front was being neglected.’

As to the strength of this animosity, the journalist quoted former Home Affairs Director-General Mavuso Msimang, ‘Modise was the commander of MK, and of course wanted these people to be treated in a military fashion. They were soldiers, they signed the oath and if they were guilty of this type of thing, they should be brought before a court martial and shot.’

In the same article, RW Johnson opined there was strong reason to believe that Modise facilitated Hani’s assassination. In their book on the Arms Deal, *The Devil in the Detail – How the Arms Deal Changed Everything*, authors Paul Holden and Hennie van Vuuren recounted the response to Hani’s 1969 memorandum criticising MK leadership in exile which almost cost him his life, were it not for Oliver Tambo’s intervention. ‘The person most upset at the memorandum was Joe Modise, the Commander-in-Chief of MK, and who had come in for eviscerating attacks in the memo, alleging that he had a ‘posh and militarily irrelevant car at his disposal’, was receiving salary payments not given to other MK commands, was guilty of nepotism and ran MK as his own personal fiefdom.’

Many stress that Hani was murdered in 1993, long before the 1994 elections and signing off the Arms Deal in 1999, but it is widely known that backstage negotiations and intrigues had already kicked off in the early 1990s. Holden and Van Vuuren wrote that in 1993, Joe Modise and future Armscor

chairman, Tielman de Waal, travelled to the UK as guests of Britain's Defence Export Services Organisation (DESO). 'It was a remarkable statement of intent, coming as it did nearly five months before negotiations between MK and the SADF were finalised and Modise was installed as Minister.'

There are other adherents to the theory that the murder of Chris Hani was an inside job. Journalist and writer Evelyn Groenink quoted Winnie Mandela's comment at another comrade's funeral in 1996. 'Two ANC leaders know more about the murder of comrade Chris Hani.'

We noted MK veteran Louis Nkademeng's comments on how Modise sold out MK. As to Hani's killers, Nkademeng said many thought it was an inside job. 'Of course we don't have proof.' He returned to the question who outside MK would know Chris Hani's bodyguards were off that day? 'We also knew the MK top brass wanted to get rid of him.' Hani was a serious threat to Joe Modise's plans.

In February 1996 the *Mail & Guardian* reported that Directorate of Covert Communication (DCC) operative Commandant Anton Nieuwoudt had instituted a case for unfair dismissal in December 1992.³ On the eve of the 1994 elections the case was to be held *in camera* because of the ultra-sensitive revelations. Nieuwoudt attached a number of explosive documents to his papers including a Military Intelligence Department (MID) memo from September 1992.

This three-page memo discussed the conflict within the ANC between the militants (headed by Chris Hani) and the moderates (headed by Modise). The article said that Military Intelligence tried to recruit Modise nearly two years before the 1994 elections, relying on the belief that Modise was willing to smash the ANC-SACP alliance to secure his own position under a future government.

Journalist Louise Flanagan wrote that Nieuwoudt noted that the so-called 'moderates' were targeted by the apartheid police because they could be used against Hani, and that they were regarded as open to recruitment due to their own self-interest.

She continued, 'Referring back to the period just after the memo was written, he [Nieuwoudt] commented that MI already knew then which of their sources among the MK members would be appointed as generals, brigadiers and lieutenant-colonels in the new military. ... Although there is no indication whether any of the group approached were indeed recruited, at least two now hold senior positions. Modise is the minister of defence and in June 1994 Lambert Moloi [one of the so-called 'Modise moderates'] was promoted to major-general and made chief of the Service Brigade.'

The memo referred to Agent 241/222 (an ANC source and MK regional commander), who was prepared to have a secret meeting with the Defence Force along with J Modise (MK commander), L Moloi (MK

chief of operations), MK Zakes (regional commander PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal]), MK Maincheck (MK commander outside South Africa) and J Mnisi (Pretoria commander) ‘... This meeting could be instrumental in beginning to neutralise the SACP/Hani/Kasrils faction.’⁴

If we investigate future Arms Deal contracts we soon discover why these particular people were meeting with the apartheid killing machine. Groenink would later note how Modise and his family benefited from the French connection in the Arms Deal. ‘The French are also still in the picture. Minister Modise’s close associates Lambert Moloi (also Modise’s brother in law) and Tshepo Molai (his son in law) direct French-linked companies that have benefited substantially from the same Arms Deal. They are ADS, fully owned by French Thomson CSF, which has been given the lucrative corvettes to equip, and its sister company FBS, which has obtained no less than 70 contracts in the deal.’

Joe Modise denied that he had attended the meeting, but the memo from Niewoudt was explicit and said, ‘We can work with Joe Modise, but Chris Hani is a radical, and the radical faction has to be neutralised.’ We know what that euphemism meant. Less than seven months later Hani was dead.

Gevisser’s authoritative account of Mbeki’s life revealed a long, sustained friendship with Modise. At times when Thabo might have seemed to be MK’s enemy, his wife Zanele’s friendship with Modise’s wife Jackie Sedibe helped, as Gevisser put it, ‘Seal the relationship of mutual trust between Mbeki and Modise, and played a role in offsetting suspicions about Mbeki within MK.’⁵ When Mbeki assumed control of the Extended President’s Committee which plotted the ANC’s course after Tambo’s stroke, he included his closest allies, including, of course, Joe Modise.⁶

On 24 April 1993, two weeks after Hani’s death, Tambo died of a heart attack. Sometime after that Mbeki met with the Pahads, and Joe Modise was part of the innermost circle. The upshot of that meeting was that Mbeki allowed his name to go forward to replace Tambo and then set about seducing ANC and trade union leaders in his own opaque way to become Mandela’s deputy.⁷

In his 2001 book *High Treason – An Intelligence Report on South Africa*, South African Security Branch officer JG Scholte wrote of ‘The Chris Hani Assassination’. As detailed in Chapter 28, he discussed who ordered Hani’s death. ‘According to latest information the command to assassinate Hani came from Tito Maleka, head of security at Shell House and close confidant of Thabo Mbeki. Nelson Mandela also knew of the assassination, according to a member of the family of a former secretary of President Mandela. This can also be one of the reasons why Thabo Mbeki is so scared of an assassination attempt, because he knows how easily it can be arranged.’

Scholte said Eugene Riley was a NIS spy who had filed a report before

the assassination that Tito Maleka, alias Titus, had given instruction that Chris Hani should be assassinated. In these memos initials and nicknames were used to represent the parties involved for security reasons. Journalist and contributor to Botswana's weekly newspaper *Weekend Post* Benson C Saili gave his interpretation of the three memos. The documents are so explosive that it is necessary to examine them carefully to establish authenticity.

Dated 9 April 1993, 10 April 1993 and 25 May 1993, all the memos are from 'BB', identified as Eugene Riley, and are sent to two of his MI superiors, Pottie and Ivan. The dates are significant as being the day before Hani's murder, the day of it and some six weeks afterwards.

In the first memo dated 9 April 1993 which Riley addressed to his superiors at MI, the heading is 'RE: CHRIS HANI ASSASSINATION'. It is followed by a paragraph headed 'EXPLANATION' which has several paragraphs dealing with why Hani needed to be killed. The first said, 'Spoke to source "RAMON" on 1993/04/08 and received the following information ...'

So who are these two characters Eugene Riley and 'Ramon' mentioned in the memos? It later transpired Ramon's real name was Mohammed Amin Laher and his handler was Eugene Riley, an NIA/MI spy codenamed BB, who had recruited Laher when he fell foul of the law in 1987. Laher used a number of names, as is the wont of those in that dubious trade. To avoid confusion, unless the context indicates otherwise, we will refer to him as Ramon.

Elaborating on why Hani should be killed, the first memo said, 'The MK/DIS hierarchy are very angry about the remarks made by Chris Hani of the SACP regarding the SDUs – that must be disbanded and APLA – that must stop with violence.' (MK/DIS are the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and intelligence agencies and their 'hierarchy', including presumably Joe Modise, are so upset it is a reason to kill Hani. We reported Hani's critical comments of the SDUs and APLA in earlier chapters.)

Continuing with why Hani should be killed, Ramon told Riley that 'Current feeling among MK/DIS is that Hani is following his own agenda and that Hani wants to distantiate [distance] himself from MK.' This is a further sound reason why an internal faction in the ANC wants Hani out of the way.

What is to happen to Hani? The first memo said, 'The source [Ramon], who is not involved in the project, claims that a "strike unit" has been placed on standby to attack/assassinate Hani.' Ramon clearly will not be part of the killing squad. With the reasons set out, the planned action is clear-cut.

The drastic action of killing Hani is ameliorated somewhat by the next paragraph which said, 'The aim of the assassination attack is to frighten Hani – to wake him up – and for him to get the message that he, Hani, is not indispensable.' This sub-paragraph reinforced how strongly the ANC faction felt about Hani's agenda.

On the attack's timing, the memo read: 'The attack was scheduled for Sunday 11 April 1993 but was moved to Saturday 10 April because no access could be gained to Hani on 1993/04/11.' The attack did in fact occur on 10 April, which supports the memo's accuracy. It is intriguing that no access could be gained to Hani on Easter Sunday. Perhaps his security guards would be returned to him?

The next paragraph of the first memo merely emphasised how strongly the ANC faction felt about Hani's actions, repeating what Ramon told Riley. 'Source [Ramon] also asserts that "Hani's" own agenda is becoming a big headache for the MK/DIS hierarchy.'

Journalist Benson C Saili says, 'Clearly, the above memo makes a mockery of the insistence by Janus Walus and Clive Derby-Lewis that they acted alone in the murder of Hani. Hani's death was plotted by a syndicate, with Walus and Derby-Lewis utilised solely as fall guys – Lee Harvey Oswald-style.'

Saili then says that Ramon had an interview with Stefaans Brummer of *Mail & Guardian* in February 1997, and said that the death plot had been 'a conspiracy on both sides of the spectrum', that 'involved both ANC and apartheid security establishment members'.

He linked a motive to Joe Modise. 'It is significant that Ramon first tipped off Riley of the Hani killing two weeks before it actually took place. If you recall, exactly two weeks before his death, Hani had served notice on Joe Modise that if he did not own up to the ANC executive about his unmandated sale of the MK arsenal and of the proceeds which he had wholly appropriated, he, Hani, was going to do so. Clearly, the conjunction of these two events is far from a mere coincidence.'

Saili explained that Hani had other enemies, 'It is also noteworthy that Hani had rubbed the MK and DIS top brass (DIS was the ANC's Department of Intelligence and Security) the wrong way, with both wanting him out of the way. The head of MK was Joe Modise and the head of DIS was Jacob Zuma. That could explain why Mbeki, who was strongly suspected of involvement in Hani's death, was succeeded by none other than Msholozzi (Zuma). Did both these two men land the highest job in the land as a reward for the role they played (wittingly or by tactical indifference) in the Hani affair?'

Reviewing the 'mortal crimes' Hani's foes had levelled against him, Saili said, 'First, he had advocated the disbandment of the SDUs ... Hani had indeed pronounced as such and he was spot-on: SDUs had morphed into virtual criminal gangs who escalated black on black violence. They were engaged in fervid turf battles and had practically become a law unto themselves. It was therefore advisable they be disestablished.' Hani had mentioned this in his final speech, which provides further authentication of the message.

Saili wrote of Hani's other alleged 'crimes'. 'Second, he had railed against APLA (Azania People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Pan African

Congress of Azania). This was apt as even with the suspension of the armed struggle, APLA was killing whites indiscriminately in the manner of a pogrom. In fact, at the time Hani tore into it, APLA had killed four whites and injured 20 others at a golf club in King Williams Town. Hani's beef with APLA was that the struggle was against apartheid and not whites in general.' Other comments concerning APLA supports the credibility of the messages about Chris Hani's assassination. Hani had tried to staunch APLA's bellicosity and after his death it erupted again.

Was Hani an enemy of DIS and MK? Saili listed another offence, 'Thirdly, he had an agenda which was at cross purposes with that of the DIS and MK. Just how could this be, when what he was doing was wholly in the interests of the discontinuation of the armed struggle, a gesture Hani himself had not endorsed but which he had set out to unreservedly heed in responsible adhesion to the overall decision of the ANC? And by expressing outrage at Hani's alleged outlandish ways, did the DIS and MK take precedence over the body politic of the ANC? Was the ANC executive, which as a collective saw nothing untoward about Hani's conduct, subordinate to the DIS and MK? Were Jacob Zuma and Joe Modise the mandated shapers of the destiny of the ANC?'

The second memo on 10 April 1993, the day of Hani's murder, also from Riley to his MI handlers, was headed 'ASSASSINATION OF CHRIS HANI LEADER OF THE SACP', which could not be more unequivocal. Under the rubric 'EXPLANATION', Riley wrote, 'Spoke to source "Ramon" at Rosebank where the following information was received regarding the assassination attack ...' He repeated the change of timing. That is borne out by the facts of the matter.

Emphasising that 'Hani will be killed and not wounded during the attack', it also spelled out, 'Hani's MK/DIS bodyguards will be withdrawn and he will be without 4 (four) bodyguards at the time of the pre-planned assassination.' At last we can disregard the insinuations that Hani let his guards off to allow him to indulge in marital infidelity.

The next sub-paragraph explained who would score from his demise. 'Hani's death holds the following "benefits" for the DIS/MK, who according to the source, planned the above mention's death.' Note that the memo claimed categorically that DIS/MK planned Hani's death.

Moving on to the benefits, the second memo said Hani's death would mean that the 'ANC hierarchy – NEC – wake them up'. It would also 'wreck/delay the negotiations' presumably those taking place at Codesa. A further benefit would be that Hani's death 'will re-unite the cadres on the ground and mend the rift between the MK and the SACP'. So, with Hani gone it would be easier for MK to work with the SACP.

The memo anticipated that 'all prominent members, for example Jay

Naidoo and so forth will ask for bodyguards which in turn will allow DIS/MK to gain information about the doings of these people'. In this way, DIS/MK would have the opportunity to conduct surveillance with their hand-picked bodyguards on any person they distrusted. Hani's death would also sow 'total distrust in the government's negotiation team' – no doubt because the Nationalist Government would be blamed for his murder.

The final 'benefit' from Hani's death would be 'world focus on the atrocity and a possible political concession regarding the arming of SDUs with approval from the SA government'. That means MK, likely under Modise's leadership, would be able to resurrect the SDUs, something that Hani vehemently opposed.

Riley added Ramon's comments that are significant for the murder enquiry. 'Source [Ramon] confirms that there is a Polish member of the "strike unit", who will only be utilised as a driver.' If Waluś, a Pole, was not alone when the killing occurred as has been argued earlier, this further corroborates the memos and witness claims. It might well be that Waluś was initially to be employed in the role of driver, but saw his chance to carry out the assassination himself.

Riley made a rather cynical conclusion, 'Source [Ramon] asserts that top NEC members will be on their toes and will know that the murder must have been internal.' In other words, any Hani supporters in the ANC's NEC would have to be careful in future in case they were also eliminated.

A final caveat was, 'The handler [Riley] once again stresses that the source [Ramon] is sensitively placed and must under no circumstance be compromised.' Just goes to show how risky the operation was and how compromised Ramon would be if the memos and his participation were exposed.

Of the second memo, Benson Saili said the Omega Strike Unit initially did not intend to kill Hani, but merely wanted to scare him into toeing the line of venal elements within the ANC. 'Then, on the very eve of the hit, the plan changed full circle. There was to be no pinprick: Hani was to be gotten rid of once and for all. What this spur-of-the-moment development suggests is the notion of killing Hani was not unanimous: the plotters were divided between the extremists and relatively dovish voices in this diabolical coalition of what I could call "*opposames*".'

This is the first time we hear of the ANC's Omega Strike Unit. Omega is, of course, the last letter in the Greek alphabet and means the end for those targeted. We recall the Military Intelligence set-up related to Delta units and Dr Wouter Basson used Delta for one of the projects in his chemical and biological warfare campaign. These deadly Greek characters also denoted Covid variants.

Riley's third memo was addressed to Military Intelligence and dated 25 May 1993, some six weeks after Hani's death. Headed 'RE: ANC STRIKE

UNIT OMEGA', it had the following 'EXPLANATION': Riley says he 'Spoke with source "RAMON" on 1993/05/25 and received the following information ...'

This mention of an ANC strike unit is consistent with the ANC having taken part in Hani's killing. The memo also stated, 'The MK leader of the Omega strike unit that was responsible for the Hani assassination is known as HONEYBALL.' Thus far we have not heard of such a leader and obviously his real identity was a well guarded secret. We can deduce that Honeyball was an MK leader but not necessarily the person who pulled the trigger.

Benson Sali noted that this memo was for the attention of only one of Riley's two handlers at MI, the one codenamed Pottie. He asserted, 'It is obvious that the reasons for the disaffection against Hani as set out in the Riley memos were a red herring. The leader of Omega, the Strike Unit that carried out the hit on Hani, was an ex-apartheid Special Forces soldier code-named Honeyball who had joined MK. In 1997, he was tracked by the *Mail & Guardian* and while admitting he did co-operate with Eugene Riley, he was quick to point out some of the information contained in Riley's memos to the MI top brass constituted outright disinformation. So, what was the real, unstated reason for Hani's murder? It all harks back to that infamous Arms Deal.'

He quoted investigative journalist Evelyn Groenink, who, for over two decades, investigated the murders of Chris Hani, Dulcie September and Anton Lubowski (all of which she found stemmed from the politics of arms deals). 'Former comrades explained to me how Hani was an obstacle to the \$60 million Arms Deal that was being negotiated with others in the ANC leadership at the time (1988).' This means the Arms Deal was central to bribing the ANC and the solution to the Nats' strategy to block nationalisation and Nuremberg-style trials.

The third memo said, 'The above-mentioned strike unit is back in the PWV area and will be utilised by Titus to finalise 3 (three) projects.'

We are told, 'The source [Ramon] asserts that there is a short list of people that must be "sanitized", namely: Joe Slovo, Cyril Ramaphosa and Tokyo Sexwale.' There is no clarification of what is meant by 'sanitised' but even supposing it meant killed, we know that it did not happen.

In Chapter 30, we elaborated on Dr Wouter Basson, alias Dr Death, and his chemical and biological warfare laboratories at Roodeberg. Sali hinted at his participation in planning Slovo's death. 'Tokyo and Cyril would continue to draw breath but Slovo's "sanitisation" was fulfilled – by way of a biological weapon which took the guise of cancer. But the biological measure was resorted to only as a last resort in that the violent measure was nipped in the bud: a few weeks after the death of Hani, a right-wing plot to assassinate Slovo was unearthed and therefore scuppered.'

Saili's view that Slovo was poisoned is unsubstantiated. We do know these three prominent leaders of the ANC might well have been opposed to the other ANC faction led by MK leader Joe Modise. The informant Riley gave additional information about the actions to be taken against them. 'The source [Ramon] asserts that he will give a two-hour warning as regards to any action. At this stage, Slovo is top of the list because DIS/MK is of the opinion that the SACP feels that they control the NEC and ANC. The death of Slovo will also prove to the SACP that they must not get too big for their boots. According to DIS/MK, the death of Slovo will have a ripple effect and not cause irreparable damage to the negotiations.'

Slovo and Hani were very close; his death alone would not break the SACP's power. The third memo ends, 'The break between the ANC and SACP will become evident to foreigners and will have the effect that people will have to choose between the SACP and the ANC.' So, the MK leadership wanted the SACP excluded from Codesa negotiations and the future government of South Africa.

These explosive allegations need to be probed carefully to check their veracity. Exploring these allegations, Groenink explained that a fellow journalist called 'Simon' had discovered that the NIS had known before Chris Hani was killed, there was a plan to do just that. 'A NIS informant by the name of Amin Laher [Ramon], who also had acquaintances in the ANC, told his NIS handler before the murder took place about the existence of such a plan. The handler had been Eugene Riley, a close associate of fellow gangster-policeman Ferdi Barnard, who had been convicted for the murder of David Webster. The Laher information suggested "rivals" in the ANC itself planned to kill Hani.'

Ferdi Barnard was a member of the CCB which had killed Anton Lubowski. Of course the CCB was responsible for much more savagery under the control of MI and General Magnus Malan. The CCB worked at the same building as Operation Coast, Dr Basson's chemical and biological killing squad.

Although many thought the hit squads had been closed down, Michael Schmidt said in his book on the death flights that operational bases such as Vlakplaas were in fact only shut down in April 1993, while several former CCB and C10 pseudo-operators recombined with former Military Intelligence spooks to form the so-called Badger Unit. The Badger Unit included a Eugene Riley who must be the spy mentioned above.⁸

Groenink said Simon suspected a disinformation campaign, but 'if they were spreading disinformation about the murder in advance, that still means that in NIS circles, some people were aware something was going to happen that would need a cover up'. Ramon and Riley, like Riley's friend Ferdi Barnard, did 'after all fit in with that lowly secret service level of skullduggery

and disinformation'. She said Simon remained convinced that NIS and 'some in the ANC' know more about the Hani murder, but he [Simon] for lack of time off could not revisit the case.

There is more riveting evidence that the memos are authentic. In a *Mail & Guardian* article on 31 January 1997 entitled 'Riley warned me of "hit list"', Hazel Friedman wrote of an incredible conversation she had with the spy. 'Eugene Riley told me Chris Hani would be assassinated a few days before the death of this charismatic South African Communist Party leader. You mark my words. There is a hit-list of top African National Congress officials who are seen as a threat to both sides. There will be chaos in this country.'

'A threat to both sides' must refer to a joint operation to kill Hani. We have seen that other SACP members were targeted. Friedman wrote that at the time she did not take the warning seriously. It was only after Hani fell and Riley introduced her to Amin Laher, whom we know as Ramon, that she realised the full implications. On the hit list that the police found in Walus's flat, Hani's name was written beside the numeral 3.

Friedman met Ramon. 'A chubby, dapper man of dubious repute, [Ramon] was described by Riley as one of his most "reliable" sources. This much was confirmed to me by [Ramon] himself, soon after our first meeting. [Ramon], Riley confided, was not merely a respected "MK" soldier and "intelligence source" who had earned the grudging respect of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). He had also supplied Riley with invaluable information on the Hani assassination. Now [Ramon] wanted to reveal the details to me, a freelance journalist at the time.

'Soon [Ramon] offered to give me documents that would confirm the assassination had been planned by factions hostile to Hani within the ANC. But he insisted that I not investigate their veracity. I declined.' Although Friedman was not willing to accept the documents without authenticating them, they were undeniably the memos set out above.

In a *Mail & Guardian* article on 31 January 1997, headlined 'New Evidence in Hani Death Plot', there is a discussion of secret Military Intelligence reports warning of Chris Hani's impending assassination. This was the same date and issue of Hazel Friedman's revelations. These, the paper predicted, 'have raised the startling possibility of a wider plot to kill the popular South African communist party leader before the 1994 elections'. The newspaper had two documents, at least one of which appears certain to have been delivered to the old SADF's Department of Military Intelligence (MI) before the assassination. Again, at the risk of repetition, we can reliably conclude that these were the memos summarised above.

We must stress the statement in the second memo that 'Hani's MK/DIS bodyguards will be withdrawn and he will be without 4 (four) bodyguards at the time of the pre-planned assassination'. If Tito Maleka was in charge of the

bodyguards and they were to be withdrawn, any protection Hani might have had against the cowardly attack was removed. It also ends the speculation that Hani might have given them leave for the Easter weekend.

Apart from this solid evidence of the memos' validity, we have further corroboration from the person who typed them. Benson Saili said Eugene Riley's long-standing girlfriend Julie Wilken did vouch for the memos' authenticity. 'She gave a sworn statement to *Mail & Guardian* (and even passed a lie detector test) that she had personally typed the memos on behalf of Riley, which he told her were for the attention of his MI handlers.'

Saili quoted Wilken's affidavit, 'I found out Mohammed Laher [Ramon] was a member of the ANC's Department of Intelligence and Security [DIS] when I typed a number of reports over a period of several months – reports which Riley made to his handler at MI after debriefing [Ramon] ... The reports contained sensitive information on ANC matters ... [Ramon] also threatened me not to say anything about the ANC involvement in Hani's death or his own role.'

This fleshed out Ramon's role, not only in the crucial period before the attack on Hani, but for a considerable period before. Wilken's confirmation that Ramon was a member of the ANC's DIS and that she typed his reports over several months indicate, not an ad hoc conspiracy that arose shortly before Hani's death, but an ongoing relationship between a double agent and his MI handler.

Apart from information about the plot to assassinate Hani, in those previous reports over the months, there was 'sensitive information on ANC matters' from Ramon. This then accounts for the details Riley would have to pass on to his MI masters about the chasm between Modise and his pals and Hani. Clearly there was much discussion about how serious a problem the charismatic Hani was – not just idle rumour and chit-chat but serious allegations that Ramon knew would jeopardise his own life if they were ever revealed.

The threats to Wilken are consistent with the sensitive information she was privy to. Wilken told Saili that only weeks after Riley's death, Ramon disclosed to her that the plot to kill Hani had come from a small group within the DIS who had discovered that the right-wingers were planning the assassination already. 'The DIS members' role had been to facilitate the right-wing attempt.'

In the above-mentioned article, RW Johnson said, 'The fact that ANC Intelligence, which reported to Modise, both knew about the impending assassination and refused Hani's plea for extra protection is damning.' He further implicated Modise. 'The fact that Julie Wilken spent eight years in a witness protection programme for fear of being killed like Eugene Riley – but emerged from it as soon as Modise died – makes it plain who she felt the threat came from.'

That means the right-wingers and ANC were working together. The 'small group within the DIS' must have included Modise and others. Can one escape the conclusion that the plans of Derby-Lewis and Waluś and their handlers were made known to the ANC faction? 'The DIS members' role had been to facilitate the right-wing attempt ...' What better way than to rob the man of his bodyguards' protection – a matter that was made plain as day in the memos?

The document raised the question why MI, pre-warned, had done nothing to prevent Hani's death. Unless, of course, as we have seen above, MI was part of the plot.

Alleged ANC-MI double-agent codenamed 'Ramon' is the key to the mystery. According to the article, about two weeks before Hani's assassination, Ramon started giving Riley information on an assassination attempt that would be launched against an unnamed 'prominent political figure'. In follow-up meetings, Ramon expounded on the information, including that Hani would be the target. Wilken said she was present at some of the earlier meetings. In her affidavit, she recognised the two documents (the memos) in the newspaper's possession as true copies of the documents she typed.

Wilken reported that Riley said, '[Ramon] also threatened me [Riley] not to say anything about the ANC involvement in Hani's death or his own role.' All this supports the information set out above from the three memos.

Mohammed Amin Laher later gave an interview to the *Mail & Guardian* saying he was not 'Ramon', but that the documents involving him in the story had a 'shred of truth'. He said Hani's assassination was a 'conspiracy on both sides of the spectrum', with ANC security members involved in the plot to kill him. That, if it was ever necessary, puts any doubts about a twin conspiracy between the ANC and MI to murder Hani to bed.

Ramon confirmed that he had been associated with Riley in the past. Ricky Nkondo, former ANC DIS member, and later NIA division head, was also associated with Riley. Nkondo was revealed as an apartheid spy in parliament.

Wilken believed [Ramon] was a part of the ANC's DIS because of the frequent reports of ANC activities to Riley. Others were also suspicious of him. A week after the assassination, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was reported in the London *Sunday Times* to have told confidants she believed moderate ANC leaders had 'conspired' with the National Party Government to eliminate Hani. The newspaper said, 'According to her, details of Hani's movements, including critical information about when his bodyguards would be absent, were passed to government security agents, who in turn made this known to Waluś.'

In the TRC hearings relating to Waluś, evidence leader Mkotedi Mpshe referred to a newspaper report which alleged that a few days before Hani's

death, it was announced in some foreign countries that a high-ranking ANC member would be killed.

Strong evidence emerged during the investigation and trial that Walus had acted earlier than originally planned. The Snapstix letters and numerals to disguise his car's number plates were bought some weeks earlier and were found in his car but he had not taken the trouble to put them on. Could this be because the date was changed hurriedly and he forgot?

In an article entitled 'New Info on Hani's Death Vindicates Reinvestigation Call: ANC' of 4 April 1997, SAPA reported on what had appeared the previous Friday in *The New Nation*. The piece spoke of an intelligence report in the hands of the NIA that pointed to Vlakplaas involvement in the initial conspiracy stages to murder Hani. The report said claims that Hani's correspondence was intercepted would further strengthen the theory that the Vlakplaas C10 unit organised his murder, drawing up the elaborate plan in 1992. '... Several people, including a police general, well known military intelligence operatives and agents in the Boksburg traffic department are linked to the plot.' General Magnus Malan set up Vlakplaas, which was led by Dirk Coetzee and Eugene de Kock. The Nationalist Government's hit squad was quartered on the farm before emerging to implement the murders and havoc its master ordered.

We have explored journalist Arthur Kemp's involvement in Chapter 4, discussing his 'hit list', and close connections with the apartheid security establishment. The *Mail & Guardian* said he was 'a former Security Police sergeant, who claimed, at the time of his arrest, to have been an informer for the National Intelligence Service. While there is no evidence to suggest he had in fact played such a role, this gives an indication how the Derby-Lewis-Walus group could have been infiltrated and manipulated by an outside agency.'

The article stated, 'A few months before his death, Hani said in a foreign newspaper interview he was thinking of starting an outside communist/labour organisation to act as a check on the ANC in the government. No doubt this made him more enemies because of the serious threat posed to the ANC power base. For that, he had only his popularity to thank.'

We do not know much about Riley as he was a secret MI operative. There was talk that he drove the getaway car when David Webster was shot. To investigate this interesting circumstance, we have to look deeper into his life, and how he came to be involved in the murder of Chris Hani. Were there links between him and Ferdi Barnard, who was alleged to have killed Webster? This task is not straightforward.

In their book *The Lost Boys of Bird Island*, authors Mark Minnie and Chris Steyn deal with how Eugene Riley met his end.⁹ Steyn spoke to an ex-cop in April 2017, who told her how CCB members had staged his suicide. After

spiking his drink, they took off his spectacles, while he was sleeping on the couch. They used silver-tipped bullets and shot him close to his right ear. After placing the revolver in his hand, they replaced his spectacles. Although the incident was first recorded as a suicide, a detective was suspicious and started an investigation into murder. He was blackmailed into silence by being invited to a strip joint and photographed in a compromising position with a prostitute.

It was clearly not a suicide as there was no gun residue on his hand. Steyn wrote two stories in the press to this effect on 2 and 14 February 1994. She wrote in her book, 'Riley had probably signed his own death warrant by arriving – armed with a shotgun – on the smallholding of former kick-boxing champion, dragster racer, brothel boss and gangster Corrie Goosen to question him about being done out of his cut by Goosen and CCB member and gangster Ferdi Barnard in one of their criminal operations.'

47 | Double-dealing spies like us

‘Spies are, by nature and necessity, pathological liars who strive to make their endgames justify their meanness.’

Stewart Stafford

Tito Maleka (aka Titus) – head of security and the ANC’s intelligence unit at its headquarters – was in charge of a hit squad that was in the business of killing opponents of one faction of the ANC, in all probability one that gathered around Joe Modise.

In the previous chapter, we wrote that security branch officer JG Scholte fingered Maleka as the one who gave the order to assassinate Hani. Also, we were told in the third memo, ‘The above mentioned strike unit [the ANC’s Omega Strike Unit] is back in the PWV area and will be utilised by Titus to finalise 3 (three) projects.’

Security Police arrested Maleka – a former MK soldier – in 1975 while on an undercover mission to South Africa. He was tried and jailed on Robben Island. After being released from prison in 1990, the ANC employed him at Luthuli House in various jobs. In 2001, his job title was ‘researcher’ in the ANC’s publicity department, but according to one insider that was ‘only so that he can get a salary’.¹

As early as 1998 there were allegations of a plot against then Deputy President Mbeki. Those suspected of involvement included former Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, along with Cyril Ramaphosa and Tokyo Sexwale. All three leaders, who subsequently became businessmen, have long been regarded as Mbeki’s enemies. It was Minister of Safety and Security Steve Tshwete who named Phosa and set enquiries in motion in May 2001. Mbeki’s victory over Ramaphosa at the ANC Conference at Mafikeng (now Mahikeng) in 1997, and his machinations in connection with that event, might well have sown the seeds of enmity.

There were media reports about an undisclosed intelligence unit based at Luthuli House that was central in exposing this ‘plot’ against President Thabo Mbeki. The unit, which appeared to report directly to Mbeki in his capacity as ANC president, was passionately assisted by National Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi.

Constitutional questions were raised about Mbeki’s use of a party intelligence structure to investigate his opponents. It was ironic that, in May 2001, parliament’s Safety and Security Portfolio Committee held public hearings

on legislation the ANC introduced to curb private intelligence activity, such as the secret Luthuli House unit.

ANC Mpumalanga Youth League leader James Nkambule was the key information source about the plot against Mbeki. He had egg on his face and was facing fraud and theft charges for his alleged role in the 1998 Mpumalanga Parks Board scandal, when monies allegedly were diverted to the party and individual politicians. Fearing that he might face the wrath of the law could well be why he wanted to ingratiate himself with Mbeki. Nkambule said he was approached by an NIA agent in Johannesburg, who tried to prove Phosa had collaborated with apartheid-era security structures. When Nkambule told Phosa about this, Phosa vowed to have him expelled from the ANC. Nkambule then contacted ANC headquarters to speak to head of the ANC presidency, Smuts Ngonyama, about Phosa's activities.

Nkambule was soon reporting to Tito Maleka, who headed the ANC's unofficial intelligence unit in Luthuli House. A newspaper article said Maleka appeared to report directly to Mbeki and the ANC presidency and several sources confirmed this. 'Maleka, in turn, presides over a small group of internal ANC staffers involved in intelligence work, and an occasional network of freelance contributors.'² Maleka was in charge of the Omega Strike Unit, which the memo referred to being in the PWV region.

Scholte explained the significance of the private ANC intelligence unit. He said, 'Under the title DIS it is a well known fact the ANC is still actively using their old Intelligence structure DIS as a type of alternative for the formal Intelligence structures, and in the process exchanging information, leading to a situation where the formal Intelligence structures become completely ineffective. If any other political party would dare attempt to launch a similar structure, the ANC would have cried foul about that. This arrogance creates a precedent that can lead to other political parties or groupings doing the same. In the right hands Intelligence is more powerful than physical war.'

Scholte had more to say about Tito Maleka. 'While Thabo Kubu, a former DIS member and now a NIA employee, was suspended because of corruption during his time as head of the Special Investigation Unit, he had worked for the ANC Intelligence unit at Shell House. Tito Maleka is believed to have headed this unit and he himself was also in contact on a daily basis with French Intelligence operatives leading again to an Intelligence breach. It is also reported he was one of Thabo Mbeki's few confidants. Tito Maleka reportedly also made frequent visits to one of the suspected EAG [Enlightened Action Group] front companies, Northern Hemisphere. One of the people working at Northern Hemisphere mentioned they had an excellent relationship with Tito Maleka. The person also confirmed they knew exactly what was going on in Thabo Mbeki's office. This also confirms the author's stance on the link between ANC Intelligence and the Chris Hani assassination.'

Various private detectives had contact with Maleka, including Kevin Trytsman, who described himself as 'an informer to Luthuli House'. It was revealed that this Johannesburg businessman stored weapons and vehicles for the ANC in the late 1980s. He moved in sinister circles and said former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard boasted to him in 1989 about murdering Dr David Webster.

Trytsman disclosed details of his conversations with Barnard in his amnesty application to the TRC for illegal possession of weapons, vehicle theft and perjuring himself in the inquest into Webster's death. This self-styled Umkhonto we Sizwe agent was granted amnesty after the amnesty committee considered his application in chambers.

He confirmed that police arrested him in November 1990, shortly after ANC operative David Tlhomelang recruited him to store weapons and vehicles on his rented farm close to Knoppieslaagte in Gauteng. At the time he ran a company called Repro Trucking in Honeydew. He said while awaiting trial, Barnard and former MI agent Eugene Riley visited him to seek information about Tlhomelang.

'To a certain extent I became friendly with Ferdi Barnard and Eugene Riley, and they took me with them to the Marksman shooting range to shoot ... I often saw a sawn-off pump action shotgun in the boot of a Skyline 3.0l that Ferdi Barnard used at the time.' It is significant that Riley was the MI operative who reported the explosive allegations coming from Ramon to his handlers concerning the feud in the ANC between Hani and the Modise clique, and how they had planned Hani's murder.

Two weeks after Webster's murder, Barnard visited Trytsman's home. The latter had questioned the CCB operative on his involvement in the killing.

Webster, a social anthropology lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, was shot dead by gunmen in a passing car as he and his partner Maggie Friedman returned home from walking their dogs. At the time of his death, the academic had a prominent role in various anti-apartheid organisations such as the End Conscription Campaign and the Five Freedoms Forum. We mentioned that Webster lived a few kilometres from the home of marine biologist Dagmar Feil who was murdered before she could spill the beans on the murderous AIDS plot.

Trytsman said, 'At that stage there were already rumours that Ferdi Barnard was the person who shot Webster. Ferdi bragged to me and told me he in fact shot Webster. He described to me how Webster was loading things out of a motor vehicle when he shot him. He described how Webster bounced against the wall of the house before hitting the ground. He told me that Eugene Riley was the driver of the getaway car.'

Trytsman said he was called to give evidence at the inquest into Webster's death but had failed to mention his conversations with Barnard and the latter's

confession of guilt. Three days before he was due to testify at the inquest, an explosive device had been thrown against the wall of his house. Although it exploded, no-one was injured. He was terrified after these incidents and the other death threats that he had received.

He said, 'When I arrived at the Supreme Court to testify in the Webster inquest the attorney-general's (Klaus von Lieres) representative, Mr De Vries, came to me ... and said to me that I know nothing and that I must deny having any knowledge of the Webster incident.'³ What De Vries did was a clear breach of the criminal code, more especially the common law crime of defeating the ends of justice. Despite this flagrant breach of prosecutorial ethics, there was sufficient evidence and on 4 June 1998 Barnard was imprisoned for life for Webster's murder.

In the week following these revelations, Mpumalanga Premier Matthews Phosa, who headed the ANC's own investigation into the assassination, told the press, 'It is very clear that those who aided and abetted Janusz et al are now doing everything in their power to further cover their tracks. We, however, remain convinced that the truth will ultimately out. The ANC has kept its file open on this matter until such time as Janusz's principals are fully disclosed and brought to book.'

We learn more about Trytsman in the years to come. In 1999, the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism appointed him to investigate corruption in the fishing industry. A scandal erupted when details of his contract were discovered in 2000 – he charged R558,000 for 31 days' work.

Tito Maleka, nicknamed 'Titus' in the memos, plays a role here. Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Joyce Mabudafhasi justified Trytsman's appointment contract as she had been assured by Maleka in Luthuli House that there was no problem if the minister were to use the private investigator. The Public Protector then investigated the Trytsman saga and also the validity of the ANC's parallel intelligence structure.

To return for a moment to the alleged campaign against Mbeki by the three ANC politicians: Nkambule's affidavits to the ANC, Mbeki and the police alleged that Phosa attempted to have Mbeki removed as president by leaking dangerous information about him. This apparently included an allegation that Mbeki was involved in the Chris Hani assassination.

Mohammed Amien Laher, alias Ramon, was the source for many of the allegations about the plot to murder Hani. Laher was the son-in-law of Khan – a drug lord, an ANC and MI spy. The former also worked for both DIS and MI. According to Scholte, Eugene Riley recruited Laher around 1987 when Laher was arrested. Maleka was Laher's contact.

If Riley recruited Laher/Ramon when he was under arrest, he was probably vulnerable and spying against the ANC might have been an easy route to save his bacon. The links between Maleka and Ramon explain how

the latter came to be in possession of the information he passed on to Riley in the three memos.

Scholte said Trytsman, who was ex-CCB, was ‘now working for Tito Maleka’. Plus, ‘he was good friends with George “The Butcher” Darmanovich (EAG) and Ferdi Barnard (ex-CCB and DCI [Directorate of Counter-Intelligence]). Waluś was close friends with Kouvaris (CCB agent). Arthur Kemp had drawn up the so-called “hit list” with Gay Derby-Lewis and had helped with the research. Kemp again was good friends with Phillip Powell who was involved with operation Long Reach together with Craig Williamson and Riaan Stander. A month before the Hani assassination, Powell, Kemp and Hani were on the same flight.’

Independent support for this came when the press reported in 2018 that the underworld and local intelligence community were reeling following a shock fatal hit by two men on a motorbike on State Security agent George Darmanovich in New Belgrade, Serbia. ‘Known as “The Butcher” or “The Devil” to his associates in the underworld and in intelligence circles, Darmanovich was a key player and was incredibly well connected, despite living in Serbia for the past four years. He featured in Jacques Pauw’s book *The President’s Keepers* and a voice recording of a discussion he had with Cape Town security kingpin Nafiz Modack was used in his recent bail application. Darmanovich was a State Security Agency contract agent, as confirmed by an official SAPS letter in August 2017.’

ANC stalwart Ronnie Watson had told Evelyn Groenink that Alex the Greek was a friend of Janusz Waluś. He matches the description of a swarthy ‘Mediterranean type’ seen by two bystanders at the Hani shooting scene. Watson said that after Hani was killed, he received a phone call from a woman who said she knew that Alex and Waluś had been plotting to commit the murder together.

Williamson and Long Reach have featured repeatedly, including in the killing of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. Kemp also has been mentioned frequently in despatches as the hit list drafter. Scholte claimed, ‘Waluś was also involved in arms smuggling with his brother for both the apartheid regime and ANC. As the author mentioned previously, both sides had prior knowledge of, and were actually co-operating, in the assassination plan of Chris Hani and the subsequent cover-up.’

The man who organised the Hani hit, Laher – also known among other names as Ramon – seemed to profit shamelessly from his government connections. An article on 24 April 1998 headed “Double agent” with four aliases gets R5m’ in the *Mail & Guardian* reported that KwaZulu-Natal Premier Ben Ngubane’s office was making a ‘R5-million grant to an anti-crime scheme managed by controversial double agent Mohammed Amin Laher – alias Mark Todd’, despite Laher’s murky past. ‘Laher, who is under investigation for

alleged fraud, assault and misrepresenting his identity, featured prominently in *Mail & Guardian* articles a year ago which explored a wider conspiracy in the April 1993 assassination of South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani.'

Had Laher been innocent, no doubt he would have explained his role. Instead he laid low. The TRC's investigations unit fruitlessly tried to track him down for an interview about Hani's assassination.

So how did the press find him? According to the same article, the *Mail & Guardian* stumbled across Laher after they were tipped off that the operations director of the Car Watch Community Programme in Durban was under police investigation. Laher allegedly joined Durban's CR Swart Community Policing Forum's area board using a false name – Mark Todd. He told the newspaper he was changing his name to Mark Laher or Mark Laher Todd because disclosing his true identity might endanger his life. Ramon was correct – his life was at risk. Clearly, if the truth was revealed about Ramon's duplicity and role in Hani's death there would be hell to pay from both sides: Military Intelligence and the ANC's Omega Strike Unit.

The *Mail & Guardian* discovered a number of other aliases Laher used, including Joseph Khan and Dave Brunner. They reported that the ANC denied knowing Laher but former DIS operatives later confirmed the contact and name of Laher's handler: Riley. Laher told the journalist he was a double agent and gave 'sketchy details' of how he came to know in advance about the Hani assassination plot.

On 26 April 2001, *Beeld* newspaper ran an article 'Mystery of Hani's last night' which also referred to Ramon who allegedly provided sensitive information about the ANC to security forces. Reference was made to a memo sent to the TRC, compiled in July 1997 by TRC Deputy Director of Investigations Wilson Magadhla for Janusz Waluś and Clive Derby-Lewis's amnesty hearing. 'It appears that a Mohamed Amin Laher, alias Joseph Khan, alias Amid Haid [Ramon] could have information that would assist in the investigation ... Many allegations were made during their amnesty applications, including that they acted under the instruction of organisations and that there was a conspiracy.'

The article said that following rumours about the murder, 'Safety and Security Minister Steve Tshwete said in an interview on Wednesday the police were investigating whether President Thabo Mbeki possibly had something to do with the assassination. Magadhla's memorandum said various questions surrounding the police investigation and the actions of certain people had raised questions that still had not been answered.'

Probing how closely Hani was being monitored shortly before his death, the article mentioned that he spent his last night at the Johannesburg Airport Holiday Inn in the company of Transkei Airways flight attendant Cookie

Ndungane, who was never questioned. 'Shortly afterwards she started a business in Lusikisiki, Transkei.' Was she was given the money to start the business?

The article then referred to the absence of Hani's security guards which had not ever been fully explained. 'If it was at the airport after he had returned from a Transkei Airways flight, one would have expected they would have fetched him at the hotel the next morning. This did not happen, however, said the memorandum. It is also unclear why there are allegations the person who was responsible for the safety of VIPs was dismissed shortly before Hani's murder.'

According to the article, a report on the ANC's own investigation into the murder, which was also sent to the TRC, raised several unanswered questions. It referred to Ms Ndungane and a Mr Abe Fourie, who stayed in the hotel room opposite Hani and Ndungane's room. Mr Fourie apparently had 'connections with front organisations in the then security forces'. The latter statement is a serious hint that the CCB or SAIMR might have been involved. All the circumstances leading up to Hani's murder indicate the guards were deliberately withdrawn, but this information shows how closely Hani was being monitored to ensure he did not survive to lead South Africa.

And so we move inevitably to the marathon interrogation for upwards of ten hours of Janusz Waluś, four days after his arrest. In that nocturnal inquisition, immense pressure was put on him not to divulge who was behind his murderous foray on 10 April 1993. Did he act alone as, he would have it, or was he accompanied by Alex the Greek, as others have suggested.

48 | Sleazeballs

'Oh, what a tangled web we weave ... when first we practise to deceive.'

Sir Walter Scott, *Marmion*

It is time for a retrospective to enable us to understand whether Joe Modise and Thabo Mbeki are further linked to Chris Hani's killing. Janusz Waluś belonged to the shady SAIMR, headed by General Tienie Groenewald. Modise's threats to 'neutralise' Hani have been noted, as has been the long-established hatred between Hani and the Mbeki/Modise duo, following the Hani memorandum. We heard from Intelligence Officer JG Scholte that 'the EAG [Enlightened Action Group] with the knowledge of Mbeki, eliminated Hani'. If Mbeki had knowledge of the elimination it is totally reprehensible that he did nothing to warn Hani or tell the police.

According to Scholte's latest information, the command to assassinate Hani came from Mbeki's close confidant Tito Maleka. It seems abundantly clear that Scholte had no axe to grind nor any motive to gild the lily or fabricate. He even implicates his own boss, General Tienie Groenewald, which would indicate a veneration for veracity at all costs. His book is grossly defamatory of many key figures and he could be sued for substantial damages unless his allegations were true. It has been in the public domain for more than twenty years and no challenge has ever been made to its truthfulness.

If we are to probe Modise and Mbeki's involvement with Groenewald we have to explore some other rather seedy aspects of their lives, more especially their roles in drugs and corruption. This is done to juxtapose such excesses with the upstanding Hani, who seemed never to indulge in drugs or alcohol. Drug use and corruption are extremely serious offences in South African law but the main objective of this chapter is to explore just how close Mbeki and Modise were to other possible accomplices in Chris Hani's murder.

In order to pursue the links with Mbeki we have to get acquainted with Alex Kouvaris, a friend and colleague of the CCB's Staal Burger. Kouvaris was a hotelier and helped in trying to steal a book that implicated the CCB in Anton Lubowski's death. This evidence was given at the amnesty hearings of Calla Botha on 2 October 2000 in Cape Town. It is of crucial importance to recall that Scholte said that Hani killer 'Waluś was close friends with Kouvaris (CCB agent).'

If Mbeki had close contacts with Kouvaris and the latter was close friends with Waluś, then the circle starts to close. What are the grounds for linking

Kouvaris with the man who was to become South Africa's second democratic president – Thabo Mbeki? Kavouras had long been accused of bribing the police. Historian Tom Lodge observed, 'The repeal of pass laws and restrictive liquor legislation ended the two most common opportunities for police bribery and extortion. As late as 1975, according to recent trial evidence, Greek hotel owner Alex Kavouras bribed policemen to obtain a liquor licence for his associate Joe Kgasi, the leader of a well known criminal syndicate and owner of Johannesburg's first multiracial nightclub. Kavouras told the court, that he had connections with the fourth floor (senior policemen at John Vorster Square) and the Liquor Board. He organised the police to turn a blind eye.'¹

Kavouras must have fled to Zambia after his brush with the law. In 1986, Kavouras surfaced in Johannesburg after he was expelled from Zambia, where he ran the Lusaka nightclub, Moon City. While there, he had connected with the ANC in exile. Thabo Mbeki was exiled in Zambia at that time. The press reported that 'Kavouras ran the club with Panji, son of then president, Kenneth Kaunda. But he was ordered to leave Zambia after a crackdown on the drugs trade in which Panji Kaunda and others close to Kavouras were fingered.'

There is no concrete evidence that Mbeki knew Kavouras then but the probabilities are very powerful that he did. Mbeki had links with the Kaunda family from as early as November 1962, when he travelled to England to go to Sussex University on the same plane as Kenneth Kaunda.² Mbeki arrived in Lusaka with Oliver Tambo in April 1971 to take up the position of administrative secretary of the new Revolutionary Council of the ANC. Kaunda built Zambia's profile as a sanctuary for southern African freedom fighters.

Gevisser painted a picture of Thabo as a *bon vivant*. 'As we have noted, every narrative of an Mbeki seduction from this era features three elements: the bottle, the briar and the early hours of the morning ... by the time Mbeki came back to South Africa in 1990, the chattering classes were full of stories not only of the man's extraordinary political abilities and open personality, but also of his bibulous and sexual excesses.'³

Mbeki told Gevisser that Kaunda once was so concerned about his safety that he threw roadblocks all round Lusaka. The fear was that Mbeki had been kidnapped as he had not returned home and his wife Zanele was frantic with worry. As it turned out he had been attending a party with a visiting Swedish delegation. He had in fact slept over at the Swedish delegation residence and was nursing a colossal hangover! He told Gevisser he had tried to avoid seeing Kaunda and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe for a while, because of his embarrassment. Later when Mugabe met him he was warned to tell the leaders when he was not going to sleep at home.⁴

When a group of South African businessmen and editors met the ANC, including Mbeki, the venue showed the closeness of Mbeki and the Kaundas.

The talks took place at the seclusion of Kaunda's game farm in Zambia. Gevisser mentioned how humble Kaunda could be and he went so far as to personally serve the delegation from South Africa with tea and scones during one of the breaks in talks about the future of the country.

ANC leaders used Kaunda's plane for visits to the frontline states for discussion and marketing of the Harare Declaration in 1988. When Tambo was seriously ill, Kaunda approached the Swedes for assistance with his medical costs. There is a famous photograph of Thabo Mbeki and his father Govan taken in Kaunda's State House in Lusaka. Nelson Mandela even asked Kaunda for advice on his appointment of a deputy president and Kaunda gave his seal of approval to Thabo.

Much has been written in earlier chapters about the scourge of AIDS. We have learned about the attitude of Thabo Mbeki to its origins and treatment. In early October 1987 Kaunda publicly disclosed that his son, Masuzga Kaunda, had died AIDS.⁵

Kaunda had asked Mbeki, 'How can AIDS be a disease about poverty if my son died of it?' Mbeki's answer to Kaunda is recorded by Gevisser. 'Mbeki responded by telling Kaunda about the Lusaka he had encountered when he arrived in the early 1970s, only a few years after independence.' Mbeki said that 'there had been such rapid change that you suddenly had young people with a lot of money'. This led to a rash of decadence: young members of the new elite 'took pride in smashing cars', for example, because they had never really had cars before. Importantly Mbeki told Kaunda, 'They were also in and out of bed with prostitutes, it was accepted behaviour.'

Mbeki then told Kaunda, 'I absolutely would not be surprised, Mr President, if your son had sex, was part of that culture, had these STDs [sexually transmitted diseases], no proper treatment and so on, because these STDs were treated as [nothing more than] a job hazard. It's part of your lifestyle.' Mbeki told Gevisser that [Kenneth] Kaunda did not listen because he was in denial. 'I think he was deaf to what I was saying ... maybe because he didn't want to accept that these young people including his son led a lifestyle which was dangerous to [their] health.'⁶ Mbeki was of course speaking from personal experience of his observations in the 'Lusaka he had encountered ...'

In his Media Council complaint against *The Star*, Kavouras denied he had been expelled from Zambia. This denial was exposed and the council ruled that two letters Kavouras presented in his spurious defence, ostensibly from Kenneth Kaunda and the Zambian immigration service, were fake.

Kavouras continued his questionable career when he returned to Johannesburg in 1986 and started the club In the Mix. To those in the know the name was a dead giveaway. It referred to 'MX' – the abbreviation for methaqualone, better known as Mandrax. So arrogant was Kavouras that his glossy invitations even featured illustrations of Mandrax tablets. Though shame was

in relatively short supply with him, a crest-fallen Kavouras conceded that the illustrations were 'an unfortunate error'. Kavouras bought a string of iffy hotels in Hillbrow, including the Quirinale (where singer Brenda Fassie's lover died of a drug overdose), the Park Lane and the Safari International, all of which were investigated from time to time for crime. At the Park Lane, Kavouras employed senior CCB member Staal Burger as manager.

The CCB was implicated in Anton Lubowski's murder and the allegations against Eeben Barlow, regarding Bernt Carlsson and the Lockerbie bomb. 'There have been numerous allegations of CCB meetings at the Park Lane, involving Burger and other members of his cell,' the press reported. The journalist interviewed another former CCB member, Slang van Zyl, who admitted he knew Kavouras. He also made a damaging admission to having employed Kavouras informally through the CCB.

After his return to South Africa, Thabo Mbeki spent much time on a charm offensive with the corporate world. As Mark Gevisser said, the conglomerates spoke of him as 'our man in the ANC'. A profile of Mbeki at the time he became deputy president in 1994 called him 'The favoured son of the business community'. Gevisser believed Mbeki's mission was to win the corporate sector over to the ANC's vision for a future South Africa and secure funds for the movement.⁷

We have seen how after a meeting with Mandela, Mbeki became, in Gevisser's words, 'one of the ANC's prime rainmakers'.⁸ Also noted were his efforts in the Arms Deal which netted him or the ANC plenty of money. And in earlier chapters we indicated how he had helped organise dropping all charges against apartheid slayers.⁹

The ANC's official line was always based on the Freedom Charter so it was surprising it fell so quickly into the welcoming arms of business. Several events showed how the industry titans had their claws in the returning exiles. The fact that the ANC's first united meeting was as guests of Anglo American at their Vergelegen wine estate was, as Gevisser put it, 'indicative of the way the movement was exposed to the murky territory of corporate patronage from the moment of its homecoming'.

There was more to come for the compliant Mbeki, what with a holiday in December 1990 with corrupt casino mogul Sol Kerzner at Sandy Bay and a visit to Tony Bloom's home on 'Millionaire's Mile' in Plettenberg Bay. Free access to Kerzner's jet and holidays in Mauritius added to the list of financial delinquencies in a man tasked with negotiating a better deal for black South Africans. Kerzner was alleged to have given two million to the ANC coffers.

Whenever rumour-mongers speculated about ANC complicity in Chris Hani's murder, a secret killing squad within their headquarters was mentioned. The article 'Mandela's heir still stalking from the shadows' in the *Irish Times* of 29 December 1997 linked notorious Sicilian gang leader Vito Palazzolo to the

conspiracy. Palazzolo was, according to Interpol, the banker in a £1.1 billion heroin smuggling ring. He was jailed for five-and-a-half-years in Switzerland for drug-related offences, but escaped while on Christmas parole in 1986 and rocked up in South Africa on a false passport. Turning a blind eye to his criminal past, senior figures in the apartheid government allowed him in. He was deported in 1991 but, like a bad penny he returned in 1995 – and the ANC Government granted him South African citizenship.

He scored in the business world with a mineral water company serving South African Airways (SAA), a game farm in Namibia and diamonds in Angola. It was suggested that Palazzolo had a protector, one André Lincoln, a former ANC intelligence operative and head of a special police unit that appeared to report directly to the deputy president, Thabo Mbeki.

Was this unit the killing squad that many speculated about? The *Irish Times* article questioned Mbeki's dodgy associates, including controversial financier Andrew Sardanis and casino boss Sol Kerzner, who appeared at Mbeki's 50th birthday party. The shindig was funded by Paul Ekon [also referred to as Paul Econ], who subsequently left South Africa, with the police gold and diamond branch seeking his incarceration. Controversially, the Reserve Bank protected Ekon from investigation until the Supreme Court of Appeal ordered his dealings to be released. Finally, Mbeki was associated with Emanuel Shaw II – finance minister in the kleptocracy that was Liberia under Samuel Doe, and who went on to figure prominently in the South African oil industry.

According to Scholte, his police intelligence sources confirmed that Mbeki and other ANC leaders were involved with drug activities which were exposed during Operation Jericho. Another source for this was the now infamous People's Poet, Mzwakhe Mbuli, he said.

Scholte made further interesting links. 'In affidavits by Slang van Zyl and Calla Botha, they implied that Staal Burger and the CCB management were involved with Alex Kouvaris in drug trafficking between South Africa and Zambia. Other former agents the author had spoken to confirmed that Kouvaris was involved with trafficking, together with Spiros Vovos, a right-hand man of Kouvaris who was managing a mandrax factory out of Maputo in Mozambique.'

When *The Star* ran an article on Kavouras's alleged vice rackets in 1990, he took the newspaper to the Media Council. Reporter Janine Lazarus testified in the hearings 'how two of Kavouras's associates had threatened to slash her face when she tried to contact him. *The Star* won the case.' The press cited other examples of brutality including a businessman claiming Kavouras had threatened that his nightclub 'would be burnt down' if he spoke to the press.

After Kavouras was arrested in March 1997 for allegedly gunning down four of his Safari International hotel employees, another employee felt safe

enough to speak to the press, saying, 'We think he has gone out of his mind and is capable of killing us if released from police custody.' However, by the time the article appeared, 'Kavouras had already been released on a paltry R2,000 bail – even though two of the shooting victims, Maritzio Rotta and Mario Steward, were dead and another two seriously injured.'

The facts behind the extraordinary case seemed straightforward: the state alleged that on 7 March 1997 Kavouras met with six or more of his employees at his Safari International hotel. The meeting was about a wage dispute, but 'there was a disagreement over stolen disco equipment, and Kavouras opened fire'. There were several witnesses, including two who survived the shooting. The article showed that Kavouras was above the law. Apart from the fact that he was released on bail hours after the shooting, it seemed the crime scene was not investigated properly. Following an outcry over his R2,000 bail, Kavouras's case was handed to a member of the Hillbrow police internal investigations unit. They succeeded in getting bail increased to R30,000 with strict conditions, although Kavouras was still free.

There were suspicions of police involvement in Kavouras's impunity for two reasons, the first being that the investigation on the scene was not done properly and, secondly, the ludicrously low amount of bail set for such serious offences, including two murders. During Kavouras's late-night court appearance, when R2,000 bail was set, police somehow neglected to tell the court that two of Kavouras's victims were dead.

Did Kavouras also have the courts in his pocket? The press noted that in July 1997, the state applied to have Kavouras's bail revoked after he broke his bail conditions by talking to one of his employees – a state witness. Surprisingly the magistrate ruled that the contact had been innocent, and dismissed the application.

When a journalist interviewed Johannesburg's Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions Herman Broodryk, he agreed Kavouras was 'certainly notorious' but said he needed hard evidence. The witnesses had been Kavouras's employees and though none had applied for witness protection 'they are scared to testify against him. If you consider his reputation, everyone thinks he is the great Satan.' The article quoted an NIA member who said his organisation had investigated Kavouras around the time of the shooting. 'It was the issue of syndicates around [drug smuggling] and the issue of protection [enjoyed by the syndicates].'

The journalist said the NIA had probed Kavouras's alleged links to policemen. There seemed to be more than adequate proof as he was proved to have flagrantly and illegally 'communicated with the Johannesburg South African Narcotics Bureau [Sanab, the police vice and drugs squad].' As we have seen there was a history of allegations that Kavouras used threatening tactics.

On 25 July 1999, Kavouras walked out of Johannesburg High Court a free man after the state withdrew charges against him, including two of murder and two of attempted murder, because five key witnesses had disappeared. The *Mail & Guardian's* article 'Hillbrow's "Big Alex" walks free' on 30 July 1999 starts dramatically, 'Police bungling and the inexplicable disappearance of five key witnesses are behind the withdrawal of murder charges against an alleged drug lord. The name Alexander Kavouras inspires fear even on the crime-hardened streets of Hillbrow, his stomping ground. Once friendly with Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) hit men and no stranger to the underworld of drugs and prostitution, that reputation may be well earned.'

Who was this Paul Ekon who arranged Mbeki's 50th birthday bash? He was born in 1959 and was the son of Dimitri Ekon, who is alleged to have worked for Military Intelligence. Before August 1996, the public had not really taken much notice of Ekon and any links he might have to Thabo Mbeki. Axed Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa had a long feud with Sol Kerzner and exposed the huge bribes Kerzner paid to homeland leaders to establish his gaming empire. Holomisa revealed that Kerzner had sponsored Mbeki's 50th birthday celebration in 1992, and that Ekon had been the host at his Houghton mansion. Ekon claimed that he, clothing industrialist Charles Priebsch and 'ANC tailor' Yusuf Surtee – both also close to ANC leaders – had paid for the affair. Mbeki agreed and said being a surprise party, he had not been involved in arrangements.

Ekon had made connections with top ANC leaders after the organisation was unbanned in 1990 and this relationship continued until he moved to London in early 1995. Despite his devious dealings, Ekon maintained his presence in the ANC fold, and was a guest at a function in honour of President Nelson Mandela during his London state visit in July 1996. Always anxious to be seen in the right places with the right political connections, he had earlier attended ANC leader Oliver Tambo's funeral, as well as a cocktail party for singer Paul Simon, hosted by Mandela. So esteemed was Ekon, or his resources, by a cash-strapped ANC, that he even managed to secure Mandela's attendance at his 1993 wedding.

Mbeki might claim innocence about Ekon at his birthday do, but the relationship was visibly close. Those in the know maintained that Ekon acted as a 'fixer' for the ANC's Department of International Affairs, which Mbeki headed before the elections, and probably for other ANC departments. One example a source gave was, 'If they wanted to go to Zambia tonight, he'd organise it, because he had the contacts.'

Before the elections, Ekon donated cellular phones to ANC officials at the ANC's Shell House headquarters, and, in more dubious fashion, handguns. At one stage Mbeki alleged that Ramaphosa, Mathews Phosa and Tokyo Sexwale were plotting to overthrow him but that proved to be false.

Possibly one source of the rancour might have been that Mathews Phosa refused the gift of guns. He was then head of the ANC legal department and later Mpumalanga premier.

Ekon's generosity came at a price. A partner in one of the deals told the press that Ekon could have access to the ANC headquarters without let or hindrance and shamelessly exploited his contacts. 'He'd take us to Shell House, and he just entered like it was his house ... He'd walk into any office – that of Cyril Ramaphosa or anybody at any level.' Ekon played a role in trying to bring the ANC together with Kerzner, who still faced charges for his alleged R6 million gambling rights bribery to apartheid collaborators, the Matanzimas, in the former Transkei. In about 1992, Ekon tried to set up a meeting between Kerzner and Holomisa, the Transkei's military supremo. Holomisa refused to meet him – and sent him to the attorney-general in Umtata. Holomisa claimed that Kerzner paid R2 million to the ANC to prevent his prosecution.

Holomisa said Ekon boasted to have 'financially helped the organisation'. Ekon could not understand the problems between Holomisa and Mbeki over the Kerzner affair and said, 'Sol, Holomisa and Thabo are all good buddies of mine ... I tried to broker something ...' He told Holomisa, 'Don't hound the guy [Kerzner], he's your biggest source of income.' The relationship between Kerzner and Ekon soured when the latter dated Kerzner's ex-wife, Anneline Kriel, in the early 1990s.

Always on the lookout for opportunities to entice the powerful with payola, Ekon 'socialised' with ANC National Chairman Jacob Zuma and struggle icon Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. He paid her fine after she was convicted in 1991 of involvement in Stompie Moeketsi's kidnapping. A former Shell House employee told the press that the ANC was dependent on benefactors in the pre-election period.

We have dealt with certain memos concerning Hani's killing sent by Military Intelligence agent Eugene Riley to his handlers at Military Intelligence in Chapter 46. Ekon was mentioned in the fourth memo sent on 12 June 1993, just two months after Hani's assassination. The memo said that it related to 'Paul Ekon of 17 River Street, Lower Houghton' and had an explanation.

'On 1993/08/12, the handler [Eugene Riley], who is currently doing electronic monitoring on the subject [Ekon] for a client, intercepted a tape on which [Ekon] maintains that he supplied Winnie Mandela with money to pay her fine. The subject [Ekon] also mentioned the fact that he is good friends with Joe Modise, Tokyo Sekwale, etc. Tape enclosed.' Apart from confirming that Ekon paid Winnie Mandela's fine, the memo emphasised the close relationship with Hani's nemesis, Joe Modise.

Riley commented, '[Riley] is familiar with the subject [Ekon] who is

a drug smuggler. There were rumours that [Ekon] smuggled Mandrax with the PAC – after [Ekon] had his Mercedes Benz smuggled to Tanzania, for which he claimed insurance money. The PAC hierarchy are currently using the Mercedes Benz. During 1986, [Ekon – aged 27] was struggling financially but recently paid R8 million to buy a business.’

So where did Mbeki get his drugs? As per Scholte, ‘He is also still in contact with Paul Ekon; coming from another source he had received cocaine from Alex Kouvaris. Ekon was present, together with John Kipp of the CIA when Thabo Mbeki received drugs from Kouvaris.’ Scholte annexed a photograph of a flat that he maintained was used for the drug exchange. The incident must have been filmed because he said, ‘Mbeki must have sleepless nights about the videotape of this incident.’ General Tienie Groenewald also features in this drama. Scholte wrote, ‘John Kipp is a CIA operative who [had] contact with Gen Tienie Groenewald and Thabo Mbeki when Mbeki received drugs from Alex Kouvaris.’

Scholte then mentioned Tito Maleka, a man we met in Chapter 47. He said the drug exposé followed a previous scandal between Maleka and Winnie Mandela. The background to this was that Thabo Mbeki said at a National Working Committee meeting that Winnie had spread gossip about his womanising activities. Winnie was most upset about this and wrote a letter to Jacob Zuma, spelling out her unhappiness. Scholte claimed personal information in this regard, saying that Winnie had told him the day after the incident, and that her information about the womanising came from Maleka. The significance of this is that it shows that Maleka, who was in charge of ANC VIP protection, had his nose very close to the ground and was familiar with Mbeki’s moves.

There is no direct evidence that Mbeki gave any instruction to Walus to shoot Hani. What is worrying is the proximity of some of the dramatis personae of this book. Walus was close friends with Kouvaris, a CCB agent, and in the same circle moved figures like John Kipp from the CIA, and the mastermind of the whole operation, General Tienie Groenewald. Sordid as these revelations may be they are only relevant to help discover who was part of the plot to kill Chris Hani.

A pal of Mbeki’s at Sussex was the poet Adrian Mitchell, who wrote a poem entitled *Tell me lies about Vietnam* with these two lines:

*I was run over by truth one day
Ever since the accident I’ve walked this way.*

49 | The last piece in the jigsaw

‘Denouement is the rest that comes when all the disparate plot lines of a story, gnarled and taut, have been untied and an order has come about that brings a new moment of shalom.’

Dan B Allender

Ronnie Watson had been a dauntless rugby player who played non-racial games long before it was politically correct to do so. He urged the ANC to establish relationships with South African businesses to stop them leaving the country. Despite not being sweet on the big-moneyed men, he nevertheless thought that contact was necessary, so arranged for Hani to meet them. Hani considered all the suggested projects.

Watson said, ‘In the end, the only project that interested him was fund-raising for the SACP ... Remember that in 1992 Chris left MK to become the new secretary general for the SACP. He wanted to make a political fist now. Struggle for the oppressed masses.’

Evelyn Groenink wondered why the Guenons, the Van Zyls and Ronnie Watson’s friends seemed so hell-bent on linking up with, of all people, Chris Hani? ‘Why couldn’t they have left him alone? Why had they tried to involve Chris Hani in their businesses? Why had they spent so much time and energy on no less than three approaches to this man, knowing that he was not interested in money or arms? Why had there been first a French, then an Anglo-South African, and lastly an American-linked approach? Unless Martin Carl van Zyl is right and the plan was simply to corrupt Hani.’

She summarised how business tried to capture Hani’s soul. ‘In September 1992 the business approaches began. Hani was promised youth employment projects if only he would come along to look at French arms. Shortly after that, Spie Batignolles proposed its sanctions-busting housing-and-mining project to Hani without revealing its name.’ Martin van Zyl worked for Spie and had spent time wooing Hani and his wife.

‘Simultaneously, Ronnie Watson’s general businessmen’s dialogue initiative, centred around Anglo American and Barlows, had tried to draw Hani in. Shortly after that, discussions had started about a commercial wing for the SACP, helped by the American Chamber of Commerce. But Hani had not become a businessman; he had continued to dedicate his time to political work in the interests of the poor.’

Ronnie Watson thought he knew who killed Hani, recalling being

attacked in Botswana previously by a white English-speaking Special Forces operative. 'And I think it is the SO that's behind stuff like this. Special Operations. MI6. The British.' There was territorial jealousy, he said. 'Like any secret service, the English are likely to defend their country's economic and political interests. They undoubtedly fight to retain control in southern Africa, now that French companies have been moving in on what was historically their territory.'

We have mentioned numerous times that within five weeks of Hani's death *Executive Intelligence Review* (EIR), a weekly news magazine founded in 1974 in Leesburg, Virginia in the United States, gave its views as to who killed Hani. The article, dated 14 May 1993 entitled 'Did British intelligence kill Hani?', gave considerable space to the visit, just days before the assassination, of one of the most important figures in British intelligence, former MI6 Africa desk head Nicholas Elliott. He met we recall, Anglo's Julian Ogilvie Thompson. The article set out various reasons, which we have dealt with, why it concluded that 'the assassination of Chris Hani, [was] clearly orchestrated from abroad'.

Peter Jackson, who employed Janusz Waluś, was an English passport holder and businessman with links to big multinational companies. Serious questions arose as to how he came to lend his red Ford Laser to Waluś for Hani's murder, but they were not pursued and Groenink discovered the police were warned off. During the TRC amnesty applications, Waluś told the Commission he also used that vehicle when reconnoitring Nelson Mandela's house.

When Waluś was cross-examined by Advocate George Bizos at the TRC on 24 November 1997, he said that for two years before his arrest he was working as a truck driver at Peter Jackson's firm Boplaas in Bophuthatswana, which had affiliates in Pretoria and later merged with Plastic Despatch in Pretoria. Waluś confirmed unequivocally that Jackson employed him and paid him a salary. He said all his trips were taken directly on Jackson's instructions.

Groenink said, 'Janusz worked as a truck driver for Jackson and this involved numerous trips across the SA-Botswana border, ostensibly transporting chemicals and "glass-ware" from the Waluś family factory. It is hard to believe these businesses had such an active market for their products in Botswana. One possibility is Janusz was transporting military equipment to UNITA in southern Angola.'

The Hani murder investigation was nominally led by Michael Holmes of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad. Peter Jackson was, in theory, a person of interest to the investigation. However, according to Groenink, the Security Police instructed Holmes not to pursue Jackson. A letter in the police docket said, 'The investigation into Peter Jackson should be stopped.' Jackson, who used to live in then-Rhodesia on an English passport, was a local partner of

British Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI), the major shareholder in South Africa's AECl (African Explosives and Chemicals).

We know from Duncan Innes's book on Anglo American that at the time De Beers owned 42% of AECl. Jackson was allegedly in the plastics and chemicals trade. Another of his companies, Pyramid Plastics, and the three companies of which he was a director were in the notionally independent Bophuthatswana 'homeland'. From there he moved chemicals to Zimbabwe.

Jackson had linked up with the Waluś family soon after they arrived in South Africa from Poland in the early 1980s. Their venture into a glass products and glass jewellery factory in QwaQwa, another 'homeland', had been a failure. Groenink concluded that Jackson was more like a sanctions buster than a genuine manufacturer. The police found a shipping letter in Janusz Waluś's possession, which was listed in the docket, for a load of 'sugar' being moved from Durban harbour to Pyramid Plastics in Bophuthatswana. Sugar is a euphemism in the armaments trade and, according to Groenink, was habitually used by Armscor to label its shipments.

Jackson told Groenink that Waluś conducted that venture on his own. He did not relish his association with the killer and was at pains to explain why Waluś used his car on the day of the murder. He said he lent it to him as a favour to sell glassware door-to-door to pay off the R100,000 bankruptcy debt he owed Jackson. Groenink found Waluś's diary in the case docket and noted there were several reminders to 'Phone Peter' in the weeks before the murder. Suspiciously, the diary later disappeared. Fortunately, there was a photocopy – minus the page for the days before the murder.

Waluś drove several vehicles, including a 32-ton truck, a 5-ton truck and several bakkies. Asked if he drove a Mac tank transporter, he said his horse was designed to transport tanks and came from the army with a special differential for carrying heavy equipment. His brother Witold bought it in 1991 or 1992 and then sold it to Jackson. Waluś conceded his brother had contacts with the South African Defence Force from the 1980s right up to 1993, but said they were strictly administrative. 'When the army gets rid of equipment private people bought them.' Waluś said he did not know whether Jackson had any Military Intelligence contacts.

Groenink said, 'It appears from the hangar, aircraft finance and helicopter contacts in Janusz Waluś's address book that Peter Jackson's business activities went beyond chemicals transport by truck, extending to the private aviation industry. An important section of that South African industry was controlled by British Aerospace agents Osprey, and Osprey Air Engines was a subsidiary of British mining and technologies multinational Lonrho – represented in South Africa by Peter Jackson's chemicals companies' associate, Terence Kelly. Were Jackson and Kelly involved in chemicals, minerals and aircraft trade on behalf of the big UK multinationals ICI, Lonrho and British Aerospace?'

Elmie Eksteen spoke about English arms trade representatives who had 'discussed contracts' with the then future Minister of Defence Joe Modise in 1993 at a flat in Illovo. Eksteen said BAe consultant Guy Jackson was her neighbour in Vryheid. She said his mother told her there was much talk between Guy and his fiancée Victoria Buxton, a niece of Barclays Bank's chairman, about BAe securing part of the Arms Deal, with Barclays arranging the loan.

Peter Jackson's fellow directors in Imperial Chemical Industries were closely intertwined with both BAe and Barclays Bank. ICI chairman Denys Henderson was an influential Barclays board member. Jackson's other confidante, Terence Kelly, was connected to a member of the Barclays' Buxton family in Rio Tinto Zinc, the fourth English giant in South Africa.

The English intelligence community had been awfully close to the exiled ANC leadership. Groenink mentioned that Mbeki, his minister in the presidency Essop Pahad, and his brother Aziz Pahad had been groomed by English hosts during the ANC's years of exile in London and the 'London group' had been close to MI6 for years. As a consequence, the new ANC Government had brought with it its own English connection. 'There were many British intelligence connected people who had excellent relations with the ANC. Alexander Manson had spoken of MI6 tea sessions with the London ANC head office; Aziz Pahad confirmed that.'

That close relationship persisted for at least 15 years. The ANC secret service man who had investigated Peter Jackson said MI6 officers could just walk into his service's offices 'and basically get anything they want'. They often conversed at great length with chief Billy Masethla, also an ex-London man, who later fell out with Mbeki. The secret service man said, 'If you hear these English people chat in the corridors, they know everything about Billy, about Thabo, about Aziz and Essop Pahad.'

There is corroboration of this closeness from English academic, intelligence expert, author and journalist James Sanders, who said, 'The MI6 head of station in South Africa has access to Thabo Mbeki himself. And, of course MI6 would have carefully created that access to the whole London ANC group – to Thabo Mbeki, the Pahads and Modise – from the early 80s ... Thabo and the Pahads were the virtual exile leaders of the whole movement, likely to be an important part of the next government. Modise controlled the ANC military.' Sanders was aware of a 'strong MI6 link to British Aerospace' as well. 'The MI6 connection would explain why Modise was found to be so close to BAe so early on already.'

We know from previous chapters that the British Government owned BAe and that MI6 devoted some of its waking moments to selling aircraft. Groenink summarised the position, 'Janusz Walus's own brother Witold also sold BAe products Rooikat and Scout, be it that he did that second-hand ...

But all in all, a lot of people in the periphery of the Hani murder seemed to have something to do with British Aerospace.'

Links between Waluś and Military Intelligence are mentioned in his diary. Groenink said contacts for Beit Bridge police station on the Zimbabwe border, Armscor and Military Intelligence were also in the diary. She thought this might explain why Waluś was never stopped at any border post, airport or harbour.

Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis gave evidence before the TRC on 1 December 1997 and referred to a report X2 at page 5, the third paragraph. This read, 'Tinnie (sic) Groenewald and ... [indistinct] Bishoff [SADF General Koos Bischoff, a former SADF chief of operations] were occupying offices in Hatfield Pretoria at the time, where they were preparing for a war against the ANC. The assassination of political leaders was high on their agenda. Head of secret hit squad farm, Vlakplaas, Eugene De Kock had several meetings with Viljoen and also supplied 60 AK47s to Riaan van Rensburg.'

On 24 November 1997, Janusz Waluś testified before the TRC. He referred to a statement he had made on 12 April 1993, two days after the murder of Hani, in which he said he was questioned by a Sergeant Vorster about the Stallard Foundation and the AWB. Waluś said, 'Read between the lines, but don't ask me further about it because there is a lot at stake.' In other words, Waluś is suggesting there were other organisations behind the murder.

On Wednesday 14 April, Waluś was taken out of custody by a Sergeant Grimbeek and handed over to Captain Nick Deetliefs. They took him to his flat in Pretoria where Captain Deetliefs 'was looking and checking up in my flat, and took a lot of my documents and photographs and as far as I remember, one of the policemen also made photos of my flat'. This appears to be the same Grimbeek who discovered the hit list in Waluś's flat on the day of his arrest.

Waluś was also taken 'to the firm where I was working shortly before at [Peter Jackson's business at Plastic] Despatch in Pretoria'. On Thursday 15 April, in the evening just after 6pm he was taken out of the cells and returned the next day at 5.20 in the morning. During interrogation he was asked to look at a photo album and asked questions concerning the photos and documents that had been found at his workplace and home. Waluś said, 'I was asked who is who on these photos. What are my connections with those persons on the photos, who is the family, who are the friends and this type of question.'

An urgent interrogation of more than 11 hours throughout the night was totally irregular. Evidently, action was needed before the ordinary police made too many enquiries. Notes were made and Waluś said, 'Captain Deetliefs told me they are their private notes. That they had nothing to do with the matter or with the court case and ... Captain Deetliefs several times mentioned he is from Security Police and his tasks are absolutely different and that this matter

is a sort of side matter and he only wants to know for himself and for security. He wants to know some facts.'

Waluś continued, 'As I mentioned before, during those interrogations particularly with Captain Deetliefs and Sergeant Beetge, were always in the very friendly atmosphere ... we were talking about everything and nothing. Of course, I was manoeuvring not to discuss the matter of the murder of Mr Hani. I would like to add that this atmosphere was especially conducted by Mr Deetliefs, who underlined he was from the Security Police and this is a department of the police which combated terrorism and that he was always fighting with the ANC and he was interrogating detainees about all the ANC was doing, and several times he underlined to me how good it was that Mr Hani was murdered. That other policemen are feeling the same way, those policemen who are engaged in the fighting with the ANC, they feel the same way.

'Mr Deetliefs tried all the time to underline that he is on my side and during this interrogation, on that Friday evening, up to Saturday morning, I don't remember exactly the hour, but he convinced me. I can say now only that I am ashamed that I was so naive and stupid.'

So, what was Deetliefs' game? Waluś said, 'He was able to convince me he is one of the persons of General [Tienie] Groenewald, and that Sergeant Beetge is another person in this organisation. And that they consist of a group which infiltrates the Security Police.' Given that Groenewald was controlling SAIMR, according to Mike du Toit, there must be a strong probability this 'organisation' was indeed SAIMR.

Waluś explained, 'I want to mention before Mr Deetliefs convinced me, he was doing such moves before, but before he convinced me completely, I was drinking with him and with Sergeant Beetge alcohol. As far as I remember I was drinking beer, Captain Deetliefs drank brandy with Coke and I am not sure if it was just beer or it was mixed with other alcohol or even drugs, but I suspect that it was a main point which made me feel relaxed or even absent-minded that I believed in the story of Mr Deetliefs ...'

As to the allegations of drugs, there is corroboration from ex-Security Branch policeman Paul Erasmus that Waluś was interrogated by Deetliefs, who administered the torture/truth drug Scopolamine – which affects the nervous system, inducing a state of semi-consciousness.

It seems clear this bizarre 11-hour session was designed to ensure Waluś's cooperation. He said, 'Deetliefs said this group of Sergeant Holmes knows already who else is engaged in this whole matter because of the phones [phone calls] which were made to my flat ...' It seems obvious Deetliefs was worried about phone calls from Groenewald's organisation made to Waluś shortly before Hani's murder, which would unmistakably indicate who the hitman's handlers were.

Waluś said, 'If I will say to Mr Deetliefs who is engaged, then he will be able to warn him before they will arrest this person in the morning.'

Although Waluś does not say who the persons behind Hani's murder were, it is not difficult to guess from what transpired. He then explained the fears of the Groenewald group. 'Of course to convince me more that his friend, General Groenewald, whom I also knew and his brother, that General Groenewald is already prepared to engage in the fighting against the ANC and the government, he underlined to me that it is not very convenient that somebody must be arrested now from the right-wing because not everything is fixed to the last point where the armed struggle with the ANC and government is concerned.' In other words Groenewald and his cronies were fighting the war against the ANC and to incriminate them would be a big blow to the effort.

Obviously, it was pressing that Waluś should not tell Holmes who was behind the Hani assassination. 'And because of that, the time plays a big role. That is why I have to tell him now because he can go to this person who is engaged in this matter and [warn him], but he is not able to find out from Sergeant Holmes who is engaged in this matter and he can find that only from me.

'As I mentioned before, the whole week of intensive interrogation, lack of sleep, alcohol and quite possibly drugs, it might be that I was convinced and believed in all the stories Mr Deetliefs told me and because of that, I told him the name of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and also told him that in the murder of Mr Hani, it was engaged on myself and they mustn't be afraid of anything.'

That settles the fact that Deetliefs was operating on behalf of Tienie Groenewald and told Waluś 'all the stories' and 'because of that' Waluś told him it was only he and Derby-Lewis who were responsible. For that reason, Deetliefs had nothing to fear. Waluś explained, 'A little bit later the same day, Captain Deetliefs appeared with Mr Beetge. He was in a good mood and he told me that everything is under control, that I mustn't be worried about anything, that everything is secured ...'

So why would Waluś agree not to betray his real masters, a factor that resulted in him being denied amnesty and being incarcerated for 27 years? Maybe the truth slipped out when Waluś told the TRC about serious threats to his life. Deetliefs explained to Waluś that because of his commitment to hide his real controllers, he would be transferred to the Pretoria prison because 'he [Deetliefs] has some information that some members of the police in Benoni, planned to kill me [Waluś]'.

Deetliefs undermined Holmes so that he would be discouraged from seeking out the real instigators of Hani's murder. Another example was the presence of a can of mineral water at the crime scene. 'But the whole matter concerning this cold drink can, Captain Deetliefs, just to show his friendliness

towards me ... he did everything to belittle ... the role of Sergeant Holmes ...' Although Waluś said he bought a can of Fanta shortly before the murder, Holmes had not found it at the scene. 'That is why I think Captain Deetliefs wanted to make a joke, that is why he told me that the can from Fanta orange was found at the place of murder, but he didn't tell me exactly where it was found, only mentioned that it was found.' That would also incriminate Waluś alone as the murderer.

Deetliefs was pretending to help Waluś while securing his co-operation to say nothing of the complicity of Groenewald and others. Deetliefs also said that Waluś pointed out certain things to him, including his brother Witold's farm where the weapon was tested. Waluś said, 'When he asked me to show the place where I was practising shooting, he explained to me that he must find the cartridges first, because otherwise Mike Holmes will look for these cartridges to find them first.' In other words Deetliefs would find the cartridges and conceal them to protect Waluś. This was just a ploy as Waluś explained. 'The moment when he found the empty cartridges, he didn't throw them away as I asked him, then I understood that he played with me and he took advantage of my naiveté.'

Under further cross-examination from George Bizos, Waluś admitted knowing Johannes Andreas Fourie of Military Intelligence. He had known him from 1984 or 1985 and lost contact in the 1990s. From time to time, Fourie asked him whether he knew anybody in South Africa's Polish community who had any connections with Poland's then communist government.

It is also incredibly important to learn, out of his own mouth, that he knew General Groenewald, who visited their factory in QwaQwa, but he claims he was never told where the general worked. He learned later that he was head of MI. Waluś was asked if he phoned Fourie on 13 March 1993, just under a month before the Hani assassination, and he said evasively, 'I do not remember that I phoned, but I cannot exclude such a possibility, because I had his telephone number since he moved from Pretoria, and we didn't have contact to meet like before, but from time to time, one of us was phoning and asking what is going on, how is it and that is all.'

Bizos asked, 'Was it a coincidence that you telephoned him during the week of the 8 to 13 March 1993, at or about the time that you were hatching a plan to kill Mr Hani?' Waluś denied this but conceded he and Fourie 'could have talked about my brother and his business, but as far as I remember, something must have been twisted because at that time, my brother could buy two Kudu aeroplanes, I am not sure if it was Kudu and Bosbok is the same, because I am not a pilot, but for sure he didn't buy a Shackleton, but he got (indistinct) Albatross, together with somebody else'.

If Groenewald had Dagmar Feil killed to hide SAIMR's AIDS work, this tends to also link him with the organisation we have learned he headed.

When we recall that Waluś applied to join SAIMR and his name appears on a member list handed to De Wet Potgieter and later housed in the South African History Archive, it seems in all probability that Waluś carried out Hani's assassination on instructions of that evil body. It has to be remembered that when Christelle Terreblanche was given a file to investigate Chris Hani's death, it had no documents about him, but rather about the deaths of Hammarskjöld and Lumumba at the hands of SAIMR. We must conclude that all these murders were linked.

Asked further if he told Fourie that his brother had recently bought five aeroplanes, four Bosbok aeroplanes and a Shackleton, Waluś's reply was, 'We could have talked about my brother and his business.'

Fourie offered him money in 1986, but he claimed he did not take it. Given his poor financial state, he would have accepted the money gratefully in all probability. Waluś was quite friendly with Fourie and they discussed many subjects. He claimed to have lost contact in the 1990s. Although he conceded they shared common viewpoints, he said he did not trust Fourie sufficiently to tell him about the plot to kill Hani.

50 | Final reckoning

‘What raises man above the beast is not the cudgel, but an inward music: the unarmed power of truth.’

Boris Pasternak, *Dr Zhivago*

The telling of this tale was difficult and the facts were not found easily. Somehow, something told me, they had to be revealed. Silence did not seem to be an option. No doubt there will be consequences for me, but at least with this revolutionary act, the truth will shine.

And so the tangled and complex threads somehow come together. Dirty politicians, insatiably greedy businessmen, crooked arms dealers with boatloads of money, power-hungry global intelligence spooks, insane fanatics playing god and weaponising AIDS, and lawless criminals scrabbling for swag, all jerked the strings that left Chris Hani bloody and dead on the driveway of his humble Johannesburg home.

Four bullets from puppet Janusz Walus’s silenced gun changed the course of South African history. The bad guys pinpointed in this book won, freeing them to continue stealing the country blind of its profoundly immense mineral wealth.

Had Hani lived and been able to hold together the ANC and rid it of its rotten core, South Africa might have enjoyed a distinctively different outcome. Hani had proved moral, but it is a sad fact of history that his quest to share the country’s riches brought together an unholy alliance determined to exterminate anyone who so much as thought of giving back some of the treasure they had yanked from the ground and with which they paid off those who had the power to interfere with their looting.

Unfortunately, the gluttony endemic in international business, power politics, the dirty tricks departments of governments around the world and outright criminals have all conspired to pull off murders on a global scale that seem to have similar links.

We should never forget what Irish author SM Sigerson, author of the book on Michael Collins, said, ‘History repeats itself as do the methods used by those specialising in the elimination of leaders who unite people into a strong force for dignity, justice and self-determination.’

We have dealt here with six murders, spread over three decades, starting with Patrice Lumumba sometime in September 1961, Dag Hammarskjöld on 18 September 1961, then Olof Palme on 28 February 1986, Bernt Carlsson

on 21 December 1988, Anton Lubowski on 12 September 1989 and, finally, Chris Hani on 10 April 1993. Twenty-five years separated the first two murders from the rest, but thereafter the others occurred within seven years of each other.

Whether they were assassinated by gunmen on the ground or died following air crashes, there is one predominating theme: all these slain heroes were striving to take on the rich and powerful and redistribute the African continent's wealth to its citizens, more especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Namibia and South Africa. Apart from Olof Palme, the killings all took place at the time of independence. In addition, it seems the intelligence agencies were actively involved.

South Africa with its US\$2.5 trillion worth of resources¹ in the world has the worst gap between rich and poor. And the results of the machinations of the rogues identified in this book are that there has been no change in that pattern; in fact, for many, conditions have become worse.

At their broadest, the patterns and trends in southern Africa over the last half of the 20th century saw a decolonisation process taking place with Western colonial powers anxious to keep what wealth they could, even if they had to give up political power.

Apart from their interests and shareholdings in South African companies, foreign, especially American and British, companies had an important presence in this land. These corporate interests would have taken a knock financially if Chris Hani and the South African Communist Party had had their way in implementing the Freedom Charter provisions.

Evidence of this with regard to the United States of America was provided in a secret National Security Council document NSC-68 of 1950, which defined the goal of constructing a 'world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish'.²

On the British side, Leo Amery's son Julian stated explicitly how important the riches were to Britain. 'The prosperity of our people rests really on the oil in the Persian Gulf, the rubber and tin of Malaya, and the gold, copper and precious metals of South and Central Africa. As long as we have access to these; as long as we can realise the investments we have there; as long as we trade with this part of the world, we shall be prosperous. If the communists [or anyone else] were to take them over, we would lose the lot.'³

We saw how British commercial interests reacted when these untold riches were threatened by a democratic government in South Africa. Former Nationalist Government official Eschel Rhoodie said South Africa's mineral wealth was far more important to these nations than any moral or ethical considerations about ending apartheid.⁴ He divided the views of Western powers into two groups. The first was the Canadians, French, Scandinavians and Australians, who hoped to persuade the new South African Government

to continue selling the crucial minerals to the West after majority rule. The second group, consisting of the Americans, British, West Germans and most of the NATO countries, believed a popularly elected government would nationalise resources and that desperate measures would have to be applied. We have seen those 'desperate measures' and their tragic consequences.

The idealistic heroes and leaders who tried to stem this plundering tide and redistribute the wealth among the citizenry were the targets of these desperate measures. Patrice Lumumba, first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo, was murdered by SAIMR and its allies in 1961, as was United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.

Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, an avid anti-apartheid activist, was assassinated in 1986 by a hit squad sent by the Nationalist South African Government.

In December 1988, UN Deputy Secretary-General Bernt Carlsson was persuaded by mining giant De Beers to stop over in London on his way to the US. He then boarded Pan Am flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie in Scotland killing all on board. The prospect of independence and majority rule terrified the huge mining companies, who proceeded to tear the biggest alluvial diamonds from the coastal sands, whipping them out of the country. Carlsson was determined to take on the racketeers of capitalism and sue them for the wealth and resources plundered from Namibia before independence.

We know that the British Government had a large stake in Urenco, which needed Namibia's uranium. Carlsson had instituted action against Urenco and was threatening to confront other large corporations, including the De Beers cartel, when he met his demise. Pik Botha's lies and the hint that he was warned before boarding the Lockerbie flight show clearly that South African intelligence and probably other agencies were pre-warned about the bomb.

Windhoek advocate Anton Lubowski was working hard to plan the new Namibia's future, including for its mineral wealth. He was gunned down outside his home in 1989 because, it seems, there were those who could not tolerate a just future for the country. According to Judge Harold Levy's judgment, various CCB members were involved at the urging of the Nationalist Government.

The links between these deaths, including that of Hani, cannot be ignored. So let us pull together all these malignant strings. From the preceding chapters we know that Janusz Waluś was found guilty of killing Chris Hani and Clive Derby-Lewis was adjudged to be guilty as an accomplice. In South African law, an accomplice is a person who assists in the commission of the crime by aiding, counselling, commanding or encouraging the principal. It also includes procuring weapons to be used to commit the crime, which describes the role of Derby-Lewis, or serving as a lookout during the commission of the crime, which might well implicate Martin Carl van Zyl whose car number was on

the hit list. It would implicate Peter Jackson, if he knew his car would be used for the hit on Hani.

The persons must have had a common purpose, in this instance Hani's murder. In that event, each of them is liable as an accomplice for anything done by the others in the furtherance of their objective to kill him. If, for instance, members of the ANC Omega Strike Unit arranged for Hani's bodyguards to be off-duty, knowing that the purpose was to expose Hani to more danger, they would be guilty of murder as accomplices. The key element is, obviously, knowledge of the reason for which each individual act was being performed.

The fact that people were far removed from the commission of the crime does not exonerate them. A gang leader often sits at home puffing on his big cigar and sipping his single malt, while the gang carries out his reprehensible deeds. He is not only responsible, but also the ringleader and invariably punished the most severely. That is the case even in political offences, which is clear from a powerful extract of the judgment in the Adolf Eichmann case.⁵

'These crimes were committed en masse, not only in regard to the number of victims, but also in regard to the numbers of those who perpetrated the crime, and the extent to which any of the many criminals was close to or remote from the actual killer of the victim means nothing, as far as the measure of responsibility is concerned. On the contrary, in general, the degree of responsibility increases as we draw further away from the man who uses the fatal instrument with his own hands.'

Furthermore, a person who conspires or incites any other person to commit any offence is guilty of an offence. The crucial issue is whether a communication was made to another with the intention of influencing him to commit the crime of shooting Hani.

In seeking to find the people or organisations behind the murder, we might remind ourselves of our early enquiries. We asked if Plan A was to try reducing the African population so that it was not significant in all-race elections. The second motive was related to the desire of eliminating leaders with socialist agendas, such as Chris Hani.

The figure of General Tienie Groenewald looms large in both scenarios. Regarding Plan A, the AIDS plot coalesced around Keith Maxwell, SAIMR and Dr Wouter Basson, and the documents provide strong evidence. An initial project involved spreading AIDS at ANC activists' camps before 1990. Hani would have been a prime target there. We know this effort was continued at mining camps, hotels and other venues at the urging of Military Intelligence's secret killing squad, the CCB.

SAIMR played a central role. It appears to have organised and co-ordinated many of the events related. There is little doubt it had no benign objectives and was in fact a criminal syndicate. In a sense the organisation was

the secret hit squad of Big Business, along with British and US Intelligence. Cooperation between Big Business and the state, more especially the intelligence agencies, has been central to the ongoing looting. The connivance with British and American intelligence agencies was illustrated by Major-General Jac Buchner in Chapter 41 with his comments to an American journalist that their training was via the CIA and the Brits. 'By that I mean American techniques ... it's a brotherhood.' General Tienie Groenewald added that no one should underestimate the involvement of foreign intelligence in Third Force operations: 'MI6, the CIA ... South Africa was a pawn in the struggle between the big powers.'⁶

Was there an unholy alliance between big capital and the state? If there was a conspiracy to kill Hani, who did it include? We recall that within five weeks of Hani's death, *Executive Intelligence Review* (EIR) asked the question, 'Did British intelligence kill Hani?' The authors pinpointed the ANC and its possible role when his two bodyguards were given time off the precise day the assassins struck. The magazine mentioned that this 'smelled of complicity from inside the ANC, and in fact Hani's factional ally Winnie Mandela charged that the ANC had killed him.'

We learn further from the piece about *New Nation's* comment that blaming 'the lunatic right-wing fringe is a poor attempt at exonerating the more sophisticated forces from culpability'. More than one killer is mentioned.

EIR's report then addressed the central enquiry whether there were British intelligence links to the plot? The answer is affirmative. 'According to South African intelligence sources, Janusz Waluś was *intimately associated* with the South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR) ...' We are told that according to a November 1990 article in the *Sunday Times* of London, an investigation by one South African intelligence agency 'determined that SAIMR was a front for Britain's MI6'.

Also noted was Waluś's possible involvement with British intelligence when former MI6 Africa Desk head Nicholas Elliott hastily visited South Africa just days before the assassination for a meeting with Anglo head honcho Julian Ogilvie Thompson (Chapter 13).

The EIR article identified factions within the ANC and 'the assassination eliminated Hani himself, who despite his moderate statements of the weeks preceding his death, was the leader of the "Stalinist faction" of the ANC, which believed in shooting its way to power, rather than negotiating'.

Juxtaposed against the Stalinists in the EIR report were their opponents in the so-called 'Leninist faction', including inter alia Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. 'According to intelligence sources, in the early 1980s ANC security forces obtained documentation that leading Leninists Thabo Mbeki, Hani's rival as heir apparent to Nelson Mandela, and Mzwai Piliso had been recruited as agents of MI6, which may explain why they both reportedly travel

on British passports. Ramaphosa is also notorious for his connections to the Anglo American Corporation.'The article concluded that the assassination of Chris Hani was clearly orchestrated from abroad.

A simple practical example may be useful. We know the weapon came from Military Intelligence sources, the car that Waluś drove came from Peter Jackson with all his business connections, and the security guards were released from their duties of protecting Hani for the day by the ANC handlers. So, the trio of suspects is indicated – Military Intelligence, Big Business and the ANC. If we are looking for leadership and control we need look no further than SAIMR and its funders and leaders in MI and Big Business, with Tienie Groenewald at the helm.

We must conclude there was always cooperation between Big Business and the state, more especially its intelligence and security agencies. Fernand Braudel said that capitalism only triumphed when it became identified with the state, when it was the state.⁷ Economist Sampie Terreblanche said that in South Africa the political side of the dual system was never powerful enough to restrain the capitalistic side to ensure the general well-being of society.

There are examples of cooperation between state agencies and the capitalism racketeers. The best examples are when the state and Big Business combine, such as Urenco and BAe in Europe and NAMDEB and DEBSWANA in Namibia and Botswana. Another example given in previous chapters was when Anglo and De Beers attempted a hostile takeover of Gold Fields and international detective agency Kroll investigated De Beers. The financial chief and director of Gold Fields, Anthony Hitchens, told Janine Roberts that De Beers financed some MI6 operations. All this makes perfect sense when we know that MI6 was dealing with matters that affected De Beers.⁸

In investigating the partnership between the state, through its intelligence agencies, and Big Business, it was possible to identify a coalescence of interests. The meetings between politicians from the apartheid state, intelligence agencies and industry moguls obviously were ultra-secret. In most instances we were able to identify the perpetrators since the corporate interests had a strong motive to eliminate the people who were seeking to take away their ill-gotten gains and redistribute them amongst the populace. The conspiracy between companies and the Nationalist politicians and security forces was evident in the ultra-secret meetings of Le Cercle and SAIMR.

In Chapter 13 we described the Le Cercle meeting in 1984 which addressed the serious threat of 'infiltration of Socialist parties of Europe and elsewhere by Communist agents'. Mention was made of 'Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, whose political views are on the extreme left ...' Eighteen months later Palme was assassinated, with links to the South African security establishment.

It can be difficult to accept that companies commit criminal acts. Companies can be charged in criminal courts for murder and the complicit individuals are liable. The company can be a dangerous predator and we recall psychopathy expert Dr Robert Hare saying many actions of the captains of industry are psychopathic as they try to destroy competitors, or want to beat them one way or another.⁹ Businessman Robert Monks called the corporation ‘an externalizing machine, in the same way that a shark is a killing machine ...’¹⁰

Many cases are decided on circumstantial evidence, in which event the inferences drawn must be the only reasonable ones. We have explored in some detail how the law has on occasion admitted evidence of other instances of a similar nature to convict an accused. Similar facts are directed at showing the accused has acted in a similar way before and is therefore more likely to have done what is alleged against him.

Judge Levy, who heard the inquest into the murder of Anton Lubowski in Namibia, mentioned a number of murders in South Africa, including those of David Webster and activist attorneys Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, and the revelations about the death squads led by Dirk Coetzee and Eugene de Kock. He remarked that ‘the murder of Anton Lubowski was far too similar to those of the other activists merely to be a coincidence’.

Five of the six murders dealt with here – Hammar skjöld, Lumumba, Carlsson, Lubowski and Hani – were committed in the run-up to independence from colonial rule. Palme was the exception. However, he was a fiery apartheid opponent who was assembling European nations to bring an end to one of the most heinous regimes in world history.

Another common feature of the five is that global corporate vultures were stealing the countries blind and if the looting was to continue, the politicians or their allies in question had to be stopped. In the great world of finance and greed, random acts are rare. My grandfather always used to tell me, when trying to work out who committed certain acts, look to see who benefited from them.

Giving judgment on the appeal by Janusz Waluś and Clive Derby-Lewis, Appeal Judge Hoexter spoke of ‘the known facts, as far as they go ...’ leaving many puzzled as to what lay hidden. It is important to remember that Christelle Terreblanche found the documents on SAIMR and Hammar skjöld’s murder in the file that should have contained material on Chris Hani. The file had been purged of that material, but whoever sanitised it thought that the documents about SAIMR were irrelevant.

Waluś was asked if he responded to a SAIMR advert and whether he joined the organisation. He denied it, but we have good reason to disbelieve him. Keith Maxwell gave De Wet Potgieter an alphabetical list of SAIMR members, consisting of 202 names with addresses and phone numbers – including that of Janusz Waluś.

SAIMR's complicity in killing Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld is manifest from the letters, as is the cooperation between British and American Intelligence agencies. The later attempted coup in the Seychelles underscores SAIMR's malevolence, with cooperation from the US, including the CIA.

The most serious allegations relate to SAIMR's role in conspiring to kill black people by spreading the AIDS virus, a campaign masterminded by 'Dr' Keith Maxwell. If the organisation was prepared to go to those lengths to stop a black majority at the non-racial elections, to orchestrate Hani's murder would be as easy as pie.

General Tienie Groenewald is central to the whole saga. Not only was he Chief Director of Military Intelligence, which was behind virtually everything in the Hani murder, he headed SAIMR. White supremacist and convicted academic Mike du Toit said in his book, 'While Groenewald was still employed at Military Information, he brought into being the SA [Institute] of Maritime Research (SAIMR), which was believed to consist of 49 right wing nationalist organizations.'

Other facts link the general to Hani's murder. Groenewald definitely knew Waluś and had met him prior to the murder. His underling Fourie, in his Military Intelligence duties, had phoned and chatted to Waluś a month before Hani's killing. Waluś's diary, which had many entries linking him with Military Intelligence, BAe and criminal enterprises, had been purged of information relating to the crucial days before Hani's murder.

Why did they choose the Pole with the staring blue eyes? We previously quoted from The Star of Johannesburg of 22 April 1993, 12 days after Hani's death, that 'Waluś himself was linked to "third force"-style violence as part of a film crew which would mysteriously show up in black townships just as residents were being shot by unknown gunmen ... the degree of such "third force" violence now striking South Africa would be impossible without complicity of at least sections of the National Party Government's security forces ...'

Most significantly, Deetliefs and his colleague spent some 11 hours persuading Waluś not to mention Groenewald.

Many have pondered for years why Waluś did not tell the truth to the TRC and so gain amnesty. The only possible reason was that he feared for his life if he did so. The proof of this has been found in the threats to kill him uttered by his interrogators at the end of the nocturnal inquisition.

If Waluś worked for SAIMR and Groenewald was in charge of the South African side, we have to explore which organisations were behind SAIMR. The documents handed to Archbishop Tutu at the TRC hearings mentioned a secret 'Operation Celeste' and were headed with SAIMR's Johannesburg address. Keith Maxwell explained that SAIMR was revived after World War II. We saw how 'Lieutenant' Bob Wagner was sent to the US to be trained by Rear-Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, the head of an organisation that would

become the CIA (Chapter 12). Anglo American provided him with the required metallurgy accreditation and training.

In the Congolese operations concerning Lumumba and Hammarskjöld, we know Anglo's interests in Tanks, on whose board Harry Oppenheimer of De Beers and Anglo American sat. The South African Institute for Maritime Research's Johannesburg address and the very fact that it is called the 'South African Institute' suggests South African involvement. The assistance Anglo gave to British MI5 agent Ritchie to get a radio transmitter to help Tshombe in the Congo also indicates the giant corporation's close involvement with SAIMR.

When Maxwell met the murdered Dagmar Feil's mother, he told her about another connection between SAIMR and Anglo. Apart from the vast accumulation of circumstantial evidence linking the apartheid regime's chemical warfare to Maxwell and his lieutenants, we know that the AIDS campaign was linked to Dr Wouter Basson, because Jones said he received the contaminated samples from Roodeplaat laboratories in little pink vials. His knowledge of the laboratories and their layout confirms this conclusion.

We recall film maker Mads Brügger being put through on the phone to Anglo American head Julian Ogilvie Thompson. Thompson seemed to know a lot about Dagmar's family and made a veiled threat on the telephone to Dagmar's mother.

Motive is crucial when evaluating circumstantial evidence. Perhaps this is as good a stage as any to consider which companies had the most to lose from majority rule and the redistribution of wealth in South Africa. If one were to look at Anglo American Corporation in 1988, one would find a company that dominated the country's economic landscape. As journalist Summa said in an important passage of an article he wrote on the business giant, 'The ANC charter calls for nationalization of the mining and banking sectors. Anglo operations are prime targets for nationalization should a black-majority government come to power ...'

Summa saw a synchronicity in the objectives of Anglo and the apartheid state. 'While Anglo has not always rubbed apartheid officialdom the right way, both the company and the white-minority regime are keenly aware that they are on common ground in preventing a change of state power to a black majority committed to reducing the gap between the few wealthy, and always white, property owners and the majority of workers who have nothing.' These are echoes of the notion that for capitalism to flourish it must identify with the state and in fact become the state.

SAIMR was a large organisation that needed massive funds to accomplish its objectives. Maxwell said the orders came from Britain and South Africa, and so must the money. A document showing SAIMR's finances mentioned precious stones, medical clinics and a mysterious fund on the Isle of Man.

Alexander Jones, who gave an explosive account of its activities, including its murderous AIDS campaign in Brügger's movie, explained who was behind the secret organisation he had served for so long.

He said that SAIMR was prepared to quell anyone resisting a white form of manipulation on the African continent for a price. Elaborating on the general enemies of a change to democracy and wealth redistribution, Jones said, '... Where there are minerals, gold, diamonds, oil and stuff, and we all know which countries do, he [Hammar skjöld] was a threat. He was killed because he was going to change the way Africa dealt with the rest of the world financially.'

The entities with the most to lose were corporate businesses worldwide. As Jones said, the greedy wanted what others had and did not want to pay for it. 'That is why they come to Africa because Africa seems to be easy and Third World.' But it all changed when Africa started fighting back.

The evidence of SAIMR's existence is overwhelming. Apart from the documents and evidence in Brügger's movie, we have the newspaper reports about SAIMR's role in the negotiations between the ANC and right-wing parties in the 1990s. One report recorded that Maxwell 'would only say it represented ... business organizations and concerns from the private sector, who were worried about political developments in the country'. This is further evidence of the private sector's complicity, including Anglo's assistance with recruiting mercenaries for the Congo.

From the time of Lumumba and Hammar skjöld's murders, we note the complicity of the intelligence agencies of mainly Britain and the United States. This points to governments being committed to protecting the interests of their private companies doing business in foreign lands.

We have learned in this book that the intelligence agencies had secret powers to dispose of the enemies of colonialism and fight for the resources of their countries, by fair means or foul. And we know from earlier chapters that Britain and America reaped huge benefits from Africa and South Africa either by ripping out their resources or simply taking out dividends from companies doing business there. Anglo American was set up with substantial shareholders in Britain and the United States.

It is clear that the US and British intelligence agencies cooperated in killing Lumumba and Hammar skjöld. Plus, they assisted in the failed Seychelles coup. The intelligence agencies' role is also significant in the death of Olof Palme and the Lockerbie disaster, including Bernt Carlsson's murder.

Alexander Jones said intelligence agencies were behind SAIMR and General Tienie Groenewald, who falsely denied he knew anything about SAIMR, but said Maxwell had British intelligence links in the same breath. With SAIMR's 200 members and their various plots and coups, they needed tons of money. Only governments and mega corporations had that sort of money.

With the intelligence agencies, we have to consider the plethora of companies gathered around GMR and Craig Williamson. There are other relationships that confirm the partnership between business and intelligence agencies. The link between the Waluś family and British Government-owned BAe, the presence of Peter Jackson (owner of the car Waluś used), and the fact that the police were told to stay clear of Jackson.

Sanders concluded that the real benefits of the influence war could be detected in the British share of the R30 billion South African arms procurement deal. He quoted *Punch* magazine which reported in September 2001 that MI6 spent more time and resources helping major British arms companies to secure contracts than perhaps any other business. '... The main beneficiary of MI6 intelligence is British Aerospace plc (BAe) ...'¹¹

We have noted several features that point to others being involved, including the role of Arthur Kemp with his military intelligence and right-wing connections. Kemp provided the hit list to Derby-Lewis's wife Gaye and Waluś added manuscript notes, including the BMW model and its registration number. Given the definition of an accomplice as someone who assists in the commission of the crime, it is difficult to see how he avoided being charged and convicted. In the alternative, it is difficult to see how he can escape the charge of conspiring or inciting Waluś to commit the murder.

The same can be said for Martin Carl van Zyl who owned the BMW and was linked to the GMR network connected to Intelligence spook Craig Williamson. It was incredible that Van Zyl's car would be there at the time of the planned murder. We have noted all the lies he told.

After Waluś's arrest, the red Ford was kept in police custody. The police found the false number PLB 577T, the registration of another red Ford Laser motor car, inside. So meticulous were the murder preparations that the false number plates were not only designed to fool any curious witness and police investigator, but actually belonged to a similar car. The plates were purchased at a Sandton hardware shop on 2 March 1993. Sandton is where SAIMR and Keith Maxwell were based, according to all the documentation.

To find another Ford Laser, someone must have had access to computers listing vehicle details – which suggests intelligence agencies. The significance of the Snapstix was that there was timely preparation – even to the extent of finding a red Ford Laser's registration number. Had that number been affixed to the vehicle, the innocent owner of the other Red Laser would have been able to establish his own alibi, but Waluś and his handlers would have escaped identification.

Chris Hani's neighbour Michael Buchanan was first on the scene and he has connections with intelligence. We have seen Evelyn Groenink's marvellous detective work on all the shady organisations linked to Italian

tycoon Giovanni Mario Ricci's GMR addresses and post box numbers. These were also linked to Craig Williamson and Military Intelligence.

Big Business and the Nationalists were successful in preventing their mutual fears of nationalisation and Nuremberg-style trials. The quid pro quo for the ANC was access to money via ventures such as the Arms Deal. Chris Hani was vehemently opposed to the Arms Deal while Joe Modise, Mbeki and others are alleged to have received bribes, the former from BAe and the latter from the German ship-building companies.

The September 1992 Military Intelligence memo by secret hit-squad Directorate of Covert Communication (DCC) operative Commandant Anton Nieuwoudt explained that they could work with Joe Modise, 'but Chris Hani is a radical, and the radical faction has to be neutralised'.

We have examined Alex Vasiliades's role and that he might well be a co-assassin. He should not be confused with Alex Kouvaris of the Johannesburg Greek underworld who was linked to General Tienie Groenewald and, according to Scholte, supplied Thabo Mbeki with drugs.

Furthermore, we have met the murderous CCB and noted their implication in killing Anton Lubowski, plus the allegations against Eeben Barlow regarding the murder of Bernt Carlsson and other Lockerbie bomb victims. The closeness of Kouvaris with the CCB is supported by numerous allegations of CCB meetings at the *Park Lane* involving Burger and other members of his cell. Most significantly, we have reliable information that Waluś was close friends with Kouvaris, a CCB agent, and in the same circle moved figures like John Kipp from the CIA, and the mastermind of the whole operation, General Tienie Groenewald.

Scholte also linked Mbeki with Tito Maleka, in charge of the Omega Strike Unit operated by the ANC. Mbeki accused Winnie Mandela of spreading gossip about his womanising. None of this should be of importance save for one crucial factor: Winnie Mandela had spoken to Tito Maleka, who supplied this information.

The memos that passed between apartheid intelligence agent Eugene Riley and his Military Intelligence handlers revealed that the command to assassinate Hani came from Tito Maleka, Mbeki's close confidant. The journalist Benson Saili related that one of the memos referred to what double agent Ramon told him. Saili said this memo 'makes a mockery of the insistence by Janus Waluś and Clive Derby-Lewis that they acted alone in the murder of Hani. Hani's death was plotted by a syndicate, with Waluś and Derby-Lewis utilised solely as fall guys – Lee Harvey Oswald-style.'

In a sense we have the clearest summary of the whole plot to kill Hani from double agent Ramon. He was in the heart of the darkness surrounding this tragic saga. In a press interview, he pointed out that the plot to kill Hani

had been ‘a conspiracy on both sides of the spectrum’, and that ‘it involved both ANC and apartheid security establishment members’.

The result of this was a compact that saw the black elite become rich and the other blacks pitifully poor – and still South Africa has the biggest gap between rich and poor. O Africa! How blessed in its people! How cursed in its rulers! This quote (author unknown) is spot-on about how corrupt many African leaders have been after emancipation from colonial rule.

In summing up the effect of personal motives relating to Thabo Mbeki and Joe Modise: The Hani memo and the mutual hatred between them would be an additional reason for Hani to be eliminated. We have seen the ANC’s role and the fact that Hani’s security guards were withdrawn. The three messages showing the knowledge that Hani would be killed beforehand are clear. Before Hani was killed, the National Intelligence Service had known there was a plan to do just that.

NIS informant Ramon, who also had acquaintances in the ANC, had told his NIS handler before the murder took place about this plan’s existence. The handler, Eugene Riley, was a close associate of fellow gangster-policeman Ferdi Barnard, who had been convicted for David Webster’s murder. Ramon’s information suggested ‘rivals’ in the ANC itself planned to kill Hani.

Hani and Mbeki were sworn adversaries following the Hani memorandum and antagonism about Mbeki’s ‘armchair’ role at Sussex University while Hani was fighting the good fight in Rhodesia. They had diametrically opposing views on the Arms Deal and South Africa’s economic policy. Hani was a communist who wanted redistribution, whereas Mbeki was a neoliberal and the darling of British Intelligence and the capitalist classes.

The industry bigwigs must have applauded Hani’s death as it left the way clear for Mbeki to bring about the Arms Deal, secure the bribes attached to that, stop prosecutions of apartheid criminals and halt any nationalisation of the economy. The death of Hani also paved the way for Mbeki to become deputy president and, after Mandela retired, president of the Republic of South Africa.

51 | The epitome of docility

‘The world is a dangerous place to live, not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don’t do anything about it.’

Albert Einstein

In South African law, there is a form of criminal prescription, called a Statute of Limitations in US law, which provides that after a set period of time, certain crimes cannot be prosecuted any longer. For example, theft and other crimes have a prescriptive period of 18 years in South African law.

There is no prescriptive period on certain serious crimes such as murder, rape and treason. So the murderers of the six slain heroes that are the subject matter of this book, and of the thousands, if not millions, who were killed during the plot to spread AIDS, can and should be brought to book, investigated, prosecuted and if found guilty, sentenced appropriately.

Provided that the accused worked together and each performed their separate roles, they would be all guilty as accomplices, as long as they knew what the real purpose was. With Hani, it was to make sure he was eliminated. If the security forces provided the gun, if the captains of industry the car that carried Walus on the day in question, and if the ANC made sure the security guards were off-duty, then they would all be guilty of murder. Of course, SAIMR would have executed the planning, in all probability through General Tienie Groenewald.

Horrific crimes such as those described in this book have occurred in the past. We can learn much from how society dealt with the criminals involved. Perpetrators of the Jewish Holocaust were tried at Nuremberg and either hanged or given lengthy prison sentences. We can take a leaf from the book of the various law enforcement agencies who zealously hunted them down and brought them to book.

Why should it be any different with those who killed Hani and the five others, where murders were conducted to maintain the plunder of Africa?

The South African State has a huge justice budget of nearly R23 billion and many thousands of prosecutors, investigators, scientific and otherwise, who, on a daily basis, hunt down evidence and prosecute offenders, from shop-lifters to fraudsters and murderers. Over the ages, our courts have emphasised that the NPA should give attention primarily to the most serious crimes before dealing with lesser infractions.

Sadly, in many instances the rich and powerful remain beyond the reach

of our prosecuting authorities and continue to walk free. If the prosecuting authorities do not take on the powerful racketeers, then one can assume they are captured.

As far as investigations and prosecutions of the perpetrators of the six slain heroes, plus Dagmar Feil and Debbie Campbell, are concerned, one can only describe the role of prosecutors as the epitome of docility. I am not only referring to South Africa, but also Sweden, where three of the victims were domiciled, as well as the United Kingdom and United States of America, where some of the crimes were planned. Failure to prosecute the offenders in question has serious consequences for society. One of the certain signs of a failed state, said American writer Noam Chomsky, was when an important arm of government, such as the prosecuting authority, was captured in this manner.

One should never say the lives of some are worthier than others, but it certainly would be anomalous if the murder of persons who laid down their lives to make a better life for others should be left unprosecuted, whereas others are subjected to the full might of the law. We are talking about prominent personalities: Dag Hammarskjöld, United Nations secretary-general and virtual president of the world; Olof Palme, Sweden's prime minister; Bernt Carlsson, UN deputy secretary-general and commissioner general for Namibia; Anton Lubowski, advocate and probable future minister of justice in a new Namibia; and Chris Hani, probable successor as president of South Africa to Nelson Mandela.

All this illustrates how powerful the forces of corporations acting in concert with governments can be in securing their goals – covering up and preventing any investigation and prosecution of offenders with impunity. These slain men were trying to safeguard Africa's riches from the looting Western steamroller corporates.

Had Chris Hani survived all that might have been very different. Irish author SM Sigerson, author of the book on Michael Collins, asked the right question. 'What if he had lived? is a key question at the heart of every assassination. Who profits from political murders? What kind of government, what kind of society has proceeded from them? Is it too painful, too fearful, to consider precisely what we've lost by assassins' bullets, what we were left with in its place, or how lasting the damage has proved?'

If we look at what has happened many would query that there has been much change for the masses in South Africa. No one could have put it better than Frantz Fanon, author of the *Wretched of the Earth*.

'The leader ... asks the people to remember the colonial period and to look back on the long way they have come since then... The peasant who goes on scratching out a living from the soil and the unemployed man do not manage, in spite of public holidays and flags, brightly coloured though they may be, to convince themselves that anything has really changed in their lives.'

In 2013, the World Bank reported that the number of people living in extreme poverty in Africa had risen in the previous three decades from 205 million to 414 million. In 2010 fuel and mineral exports from Africa were worth \$333 billion, more than seven times the value of aid that went in the opposite direction. This is before factoring in the vast sums spirited out of the continent through corruption and tax dodges. Africa's ruling elites further drain their countries of funds, stashing huge sums in offshore bank accounts and overseas property. Small wonder then that the World Bank estimates a whopping 40% of Africa's private wealth is held offshore.

As mentioned earlier, although it is dubbed the world's 'poorest' continent, Africa has phenomenal resources. With only 2% of global GDP, it holds 15% of the planet's oil, 40% of its gold and 80% of its platinum. But its mineral deposit stash being a third of that found on earth has proved a curse instead of a blessing.

After the 1994 elections the goal was set to change all that had bedevilled the past. It could not have been clearer. 'We the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of the past ... believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it ... adopt this Constitution so as to ... improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person ...'

Now almost three decades later, this wealth has not been divided equally at all, according to the Governor of the South African Reserve Bank. In a lecture on 1 August 2018, he said that South Africa was one of the most unequal countries in the world: 10% of the population owns more than 90% of all wealth while 80% have no wealth to speak of. A country or continent is only prosperous when great general wealth is distributed evenly among the people. What could be simpler?

The predominance of multinationals in the global economy has resulted in large-scale tax evasion worldwide. In February 2020, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) revealed that every year worldwide an estimated US \$600 billion worth of tax fails to reach state coffers but ends up in secret jurisdictions. The South African Revenue Service (SARS) estimated that in 2005 South African taxpayers held more than R500 billion in overseas accounts to avoid taxation. South African economists have estimated that from 1980–2000, 37% of the value of all capital formation in South Africa was moved offshore, depriving the South African economy of an astonishing \$238 billion since 1980.

In more recent times, the position has not improved and *Business Day* of 20 December 2018 stated that conservatively, the South African fiscus lost at least R7 billion a year because of large multinationals shifting revenue to lower tax jurisdictions. The top 10% of foreign-owned firms account for 98% of the total estimated tax loss.

The new ANC Government allowed at least seven South African

conglomerates to list on overseas stock exchanges with the promise the move would increase foreign investments in the country. This has not happened and annual dividends leaving the country that averaged R2,636 million from 1994 to 1999, shot up to R34,076 million for 2001.

Given these staggering statistics it is tragic that no prosecuting authority has attempted to investigate the deaths, not only of activists trying to remedy these injustices, but also Dagmar Feil and Debbie Campbell. The only conclusion must be that the robber barons have captured the State and its institutions, including the NPA. This is the only explanation for the lack of initiative by the police and prosecution services.

Intrepid journalists undertook most of the investigations disclosed in this book. They rightly sensed that great injustices came to pass. Despite their revelations being published, in most instances, these all bore no fruit. No head of any prosecution authority in any country authorised thorough investigations. Laughably, in the Hani matter, the prosecution services in South Africa limited their search to only Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Waluś. The investigation docket even had a sinister note not to conduct any sleuth work on Peter Jackson, who owned the vehicle used by Waluś on the day of the murder.

As has been painstakingly recorded in this book, the families of these slain heroes have been robbed, not only of their loved ones, but also of justice. A case of the most odious injustice.

Let's make no mistake, failure to investigate and prosecute the criminals identified in this book is not only a flagrant iniquity, but a breach of the social contract the government has with the people of South Africa.

So, what happens when no prosecutions are instituted and the social contract is breached? In his leading work *The Social Contract*, constitutional lawyer JW Gough said, '[The social contract] defines the terms on which that society is to be governed: the people have made a contract with their ruler which determines their relations with him. They promise him obedience, while he promises his protection and good government [including prosecutions, without fear or favour]. While he keeps his part of the bargain, they must keep theirs, but if he misgoverns the contract is broken and allegiance is at an end.'

In essence, what's asked of us and what we receive establish relations of reciprocity with the government. A healthy social contract means good governance (which includes prosecutions without fear or favour) and solidarity from the citizens. One has to shudder at what will occur in this land 'when the contract is broken and allegiance is at an end'. There is a return to the 'eye for the eye' of the Old Testament and jungle justice. We go back to the world described by philosopher Thomas Hobbes as 'nasty, brutish and short'. Tempting as that might be for the families of the victims, it must not happen.

We must comfort ourselves that the facts are recorded here – on a plate

as it were for an ardent prosecutor. Alas, in South Africa we have a toothless National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), which time and again fails in its core business: prosecuting suspects. For months, public pressure to prosecute those fingered in the Zondo Commission findings has reached a deafening crescendo. Yet what has been done in the months since the final part was published on 22 June 2022? Zero ... and counting.

In a properly functioning criminal justice system, a well run and independent NPA definitely would go a long way towards preventing the corruption so endemic in our state administrations.

So, unfortunately, we have reached a point where emotion and intellect coalesce, knowing that in all probability the masterminds and paymasters of Chris Hani's abhorrent assassination will walk the earth scot-free. The only solace is knowing that these perpetrators will forever wrestle with their guilt and demons, living in a void, a death.

Chris Hani fell like a shooting star, blazing an invigorating trail on the South African landscape. With triumphant assertion, he fought for a way that was fair and equitable for our people. Chris Hani was the very definition of a true statesman. His light was snuffed out far too soon.

Afterword

‘He who does not bellow the truth, when he knows the truth, makes himself the accomplice of liars and forgers.’

Charles Pequy, a poet and essayist, whose life straddled
the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

The great German philosopher Frederick Nietzsche said he only liked books that were written with blood, because blood was spirit. The telling of this tale was difficult and the facts were not easily found. Somehow, something told me, they had to be revealed. Silence did not seem to be an option. No doubt there will be consequences for me for, as Oscar Wilde cynically observed, ‘If one tells the truth, one is sure, sooner or later, to be found out.’

I am indebted to a number of people who have participated in the production of this book. Sean Simons designed the wonderful cover. Peter Davis undertook an initial editing job on the first draft and injected some much-needed punch to the account. Deborah Ewing took up the manuscript and helped with smoothing over the drafting infelicities of the writing. Mariette Greyling helped in trimming down the length and in adding her own brand of style to the writing. Finally, words cannot express my gratitude to Lesley Lewis, who did a final edit, and the design and layout of the text.

I have to thank my family for their support over the many years of the writing of this book. My wife, Jillian, has endured with good patience my unceasing recitation of the sordid details of the rogues involved. And my daughters, Jessica and Juliette, have commented shrewdly, from time to time, on the values of solid scholarship and the dangers of conspiracy theories.

I dedicate this book to the heroes whose lives I have attempted to portray. They did not shrink from boldly and courageously exercising their duties to fight for the rights of the oppressed.

Not for them a fair fight, with a chance to match weapons with their adversaries, but gutless attacks with sinister bombs and merciless weapons. Their lives stand in stark contrast to the cowardly perpetrators of their deaths.

Chris Nicholson

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Notes

2. Justice is seemingly done

- 1 Supreme Court of Appeal case records, <http://www.saflii.org.za/za/cases/ZASCA/1994/189.html>.
- 2 Evelyn Groenink originally wrote a book entitled *Dulcie – een vrouw die haar mond moest houden*, Uitgeverij Atlas, Amsterdam 2001. This was translated into English under the title, *Murder Inc: killing for business in southern Africa*, The assassinations of Dulcie September, Anton Lubowski, and Chris Hani, but remained unpublished. It was finally published by the author under the title *Incorruptible: The story of the murders of Dulcie September, Anton Lubowski and Chris Hani* in 2018.

3. Chris Hani – the best President South Africa never had

- 1 Gevisser, Mark, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007. Page 271.
- 2 Ibid page 274
- 3 Smith and Tromp location 1,240.
- 4 Smith and Tromp location 1,296.
- 5 Smith and Tromp location 1,777.
- 6 Lissoni, Arianna, *The South African liberation movements in exile, c. 1945-1970*. Thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2008. Page 295.
- 7 Ibid pages 295-7.

4. Further suspects and motives

- 1 See generally Wikipedia under Arthur Kemp.
- 2 *Victory or Violence: The Story of the AWB*, re-published in 2009.
- 3 Heidi Beirich, the Intelligence Project Director of the Southern Poverty Law Centre, has written an article, 'White Supremacist Arthur Kemp Steps Up as Leader of The Neo-Nazi Group National Alliance', in the *Intelligence Report*, Winter Issue of 1 December 2007.
- 4 *Race Relations Survey 1992/93*, page 446.
- 5 Ibid.

5. Six similar sinister scandals

- 1 Francis Wilson, *Dinosaurs, Diamonds and Democracy*, pages 76-7.

6. Was there a wider network?

- 1 *Walus v Minister of Justice and Correctional Services and Others* (CCT 221/21) [2022] ZACC 39 (21 November 2022)
- 2 Jacana Publishers 2019.
- 3 Butler pages 228-9.
- 4 Ibid page 244.
- 5 Ibid pages 153 et seq.
- 6 Ibid pages 164-5.
- 7 Ibid page 197.
- 8 Ibid page 257.
- 9 Ibid page 260.

7. God was here but he left early

- 1 Ibid page 700.
- 2 Sanders page 453 note 47.

- 3 Terreblanche, *Empires*, location 665.
- 4 Quoted in Terreblanche, *Inequality*, page 55-56.
- 5 Meredith page xvii.
- 6 Burgis flyleaf.
- 7 Idem flyleaf.
- 8 Ibid page 4.
- 9 Ibid page 6.
- 10 Ibid page 8.
- 11 Ibid page 73.
- 12 Ibid page 74.
- 13 Ibid page 74.
- 14 *Lost in Transformation*, page 18.
- 15 Terry Crawford-Browne, *Eye on the Diamonds*, Published by Penguin Books (South Africa), 2012
- 16 Pages 53-4.

8. Who stole South Africa?

- 1 *The Looting Machine – Warlords, Oligarchs, Corporations, Smugglers, and the Theft of Africa's Wealth*, Perseus Book Group, New York, 2015, page 215.
- 2 Francis Wilson *Dinosaurs, Diamonds and Democracy*, pages 76-7.
- 3 Gevisser page 149.
- 4 Gevisser page xxxii.
- 5 Terreblanche, *Inequality*, page 58.
- 6 Meredith page 369.
- 7 Meredith pages 378-9.
- 8 Meredith page 374.
- 9 Meredith page 378.
- 10 *Rothschild – A Story of Wealth and Power* by Derek Wilson, Mandarin Paperback, 1995, page 303.
- 11 Wilson page 304.
- 12 *South Africa Inc*, by David Pallister, Sarah Stewart and Ian Lepper, Simon and Schuster, 1987, pages 57-9.
- 13 *Anglo American and the Rise of Modern South Africa*, by Duncan Innes, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1984, page 41.
- 14 O'Meara page 74.
- 15 O'Meara page 21-2.
- 16 O'Meara page 76.
- 17 O'Meara page 80.
- 18 Piketty location 2079-80.
- 19 Terreblanche, *Inequality*, pages 122-3.
- 20 Elsdon page 104.
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- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid.

9. A noxious outfit

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10. Invasion: Seychelles

- 1 We have corroboration for the wider context of SAIMR's participation in Ellen Ray's article in *Covert Action* for March 1982 at page 4 et seq.

- 2 Ray page 5.
- 3 Ibid page 10.
- 4 Ellis, Stephen, 'Africa and International Corruption: The Strange Case of South Africa and Seychelles', *African Affairs*, April 1996, pages 165-196.
- 5 At paragraph 97.

11. Crash or conspiracy?

- 1 Innes page 316.
- 2 Lanning and Mueller page 232.
- 3 Mads Brügger (Danish) and Göran Björkdahl (Swedish), *Cold Case Hammar skjöld*. The film won the 'Directing Award: World Cinema Documentary' at the 2019 Sundance Film Festival. It opened in US movie theatres on 16 August 2019.
- 4 SA Institute of International Affairs, Wits University. 1968.
- 5 Clarke, SJG, *The Congo Mercenary - A History and Analysis*, page 28.
- 6 Published in Danish by Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 2022.
- 7 Ibid location 1,793.
- 8 Williams 220.
- 9 At paragraph 14.
- 10 In Brügger's book at paragraph 113.
- 11 Lanning and Mueller page 238.
- 12 Williams page 227.
- 13 United Nations A/73/973 General Assembly Distr. General 12 September 2019 Investigation into the conditions and circumstances resulting in the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld and of the members of the party accompanying him. Mohamed Chande Othman Eminent Person 'The Othman Report'.
- 14 Paragraph 301.
- 15 Williams page 228.
- 16 Page 303.

12. Operation Celeste

- 1 Williams 216.
- 2 United Nations A/73/973 General Assembly Distr. General 12 September 2019 Investigation into the conditions and circumstances resulting in the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjöld and of the members of the party accompanying him. Mohamed Chande Othman Eminent Person 'The Othman Report'.
- 3 Paragraph 262.
- 4 Paragraph 264.
- 5 Paragraph 265.
- 6 Paragraph 266.
- 7 Paragraph 267.
- 8 Paragraph 268.
- 9 Paragraph 269.
- 10 Paragraph 270.
- 11 Paras 271-2.
- 12 Paragraph 273.
- 13 Paragraph 304.
- 14 Greg Poulgrain, University of the Sunshine Coast, Australia, Skyhorse, November 2022, (extract from Chapter 5).
- 15 Paragraph 288.
- 16 Paragraph 289.
- 17 Paragraph 290.
- 18 Paragraph 291.
- 19 Paragraph 293.
- 20 Paragraph 86.
- 21 Paragraph 296-7.
- 22 Paragraph 298-9.

- 23 Paragraph 274.
- 24 Paragraph 275.
- 15 Idem.
- 26 Idem.
- 27 Othman Report Paragraph 299.

13. The highly secret Le Cercle

- 1 Most of this section is indebted to Van Vuuren for his scholarly work.
- 2 Jacana. Kindle edition (locations 5316-5320).
- 3 Jacan. Kindle edition (locations 5316-5320).
- 4 Sanders page 16.
- 5 Pages 53-4.
- 6 Van Vuuren, Hennie, *Apartheid Guns and Money – A tale of profit* (Kindle locations 5337-5344).
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This book is a most explosive account of the real masterminds behind the murder of Chris Hani on 10 April 1993. South Africa's first non-racial president, President Nelson Mandela, eulogised Hani's role in the birth of the new South Africa, thundering that 'the enemies of change demonised Chris to the end, helping to create the climate in which our nation was robbed of one of its giants ...'

Mandela spoke of how that fateful day of Hani's brutal murder was indelibly etched on the hearts of all freedom-loving people, and how no-one would be satisfied 'until the truth about his death is known'. Retired judge, Chris Nicholson, meticulously challenges the bizarre narrative that a mad right-wing Pole with pale blue, staring eyes, Janusz Waluś, acting in concert with a white supremacist with a handlebar moustache, Clive Derby-Lewis, committed the murder, without outside assistance.

With fanatical zeal Nicholson investigates the 'enemies of change', who contributed to his murder. His foes in the intelligence world are probed, including the sinister South African Institute for Maritime Research, as are the captains of industry, with their vast accumulated wealth, who feared his commitment to the socialist aims of the Freedom Charter. Finally, the spotlight is ruthlessly shone on Hani's rivals and enemies within the ANC.

Particularly fascinating is Nicholson's exploration of the historical precedents of other heroes who were murdered for fighting the plundering of the corporates, and for trying to redistribute Africa's wealth to its people. In an amazing set of revelations, the author explores the deaths, over three decades, of Patrice Lumumba in September 1961; Dag Hammarskjöld on 18 September 1961; Olof Palme on 28 February 1986; Bernt Carlsson on 21 December 1988 and, finally, Anton Lubowski on 12 September 1989.

Although these killings occurred over a 30-year period, Nicholson shows, in true judicial fashion, how the motives and patterns of behaviour of the perpetrators of those murders materially assist in locating the true accomplices in Hani's murder. Only a writer of the most courageous talent could have crafted this enthralling account.



Cover designed by Sean Simons.