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COMMENT

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Third

NLESS President de Klerk acts promptly on the Goldstone commission's disclosures yesterday of dirty tricks by the security forces he will put his own position and the future of our country in peril. Judge Richard Goldstone's latest disclosures make clear that at least one member of De Klerk's Cabinet and member of the government's negotiating team. Roelf Meyer. disappeared when the security forces secret roles came up. And it is clear that senior military men from SADF chief Kat Liebenberg down through army chief Georg Meiring. Military Intelligence chief of staff Witkop Badenhorst and below have known of or participated in acts intended to smear government's negotiating partners. At the very least. De Klerk must immediately suspend the people compromised by Goldstone's disclosures. They must remain suspended until the full extent of Military Intelligence's anti-ANC projects are known. If he does not. De Klerk compounds the felony. implies that he agrees with the military's sordid plots to discredit ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders and puts his own security at risk. At the same time. De Klerk must authorise the additional investigative powers Goldstone believes are necessary. That might mean hiring independent foreign investigators to bolster the South Africans. Was De Klerk himself aware of the plot: which Goldstone believes may characterise a "third force"? They continued after the Inkatha gate disclosures had prompted presidential assurances that dirty tricks did not form part of the government's programme. Roelf Meyer obliged Military Intelligence to fire Ferdi Barnard. But he knew of the dirty tricks when he was playing Mr Clean in the government's negotiating team at Codesa H. And he knew that dirty tricks were not the sole responsibility of a "renegade" Barnard. — Goldstone left behind "hundreds" of files following his commission's raid on Military Intelligence! operations centre. If they do not "go missing" what other projects could they disclose? At present South Africans cannot tell what effect the clandestine projects have had on

the violence. But Goldstone's disclosures give credibility to Chris Ham's claims that "third force" activities are helping tear the country apart.

At best, Meyer has been less than frank. At best De Klerk was kept in the dark and his irrational urgency to force through his Indemnity Bill was unrelated to the facts now disclosed by Goldstone.

But the longer the government ignores the evidence, the more its own credibility will be undermined. The longer the Cabinet deludes itself about the military's capacity to destroy our prospects for peace, the greater the danger that desperate military chiefs will take matters into their own hands.

6m W

There is no third force, says FW

IAV "WY

PRESENTFWdeIUeI-kdentedyu

day that government organs were used to W the ANC, but hit! thm could het nem hen ot the eecm force with a hiddal enema.

In a BBC World Semce mtemew j home before Judge Richard Goldstone disclosures on the Military intelligence project resenting Umkhonto we Sizwe Kieth end: "Obviously there might be 'viduh who have their own agenda. have nothing to hide. There is no 'force. There is: no e'unster ceht within security forces; worms; agents: govt meat. The government is in hnn control the security forces"

Sape-Reuter reports that, much later a Chumel Four interview about the Goldstone disclaims, he tanned seem Iome- had no motive to uhdenne ANC and that any individuals caught doing so would be brought to book.

De Klerk told the BBC he could comment on dhclmm but wed that Isentl had been sent to Britain to the ANbelinktultt to them AendP heauae the matter was under "judi 'review". There was: no plan to spht ANC and he conunnd to "get along with its preetdent Nelson Mandela. he at De Klerk said multiparty talks come mane "in 3 months or so". There was convergence between momma; pem on a government at nauoul nutty. rep 3) government end increased majorities a mutuuoow-nunc body.

By Peter Fehrtetm

#mw Dramatic noonday raid followed tip-off

A hotel account paid by credit card led Goldstone commissioners and the South African Police to swoop on a trout company where they were astonished to discover tiles pointing to a "third force" within Military Intelligence (MI)

11:00 raid at 1 pm last Wednesday. they marched into the building - which turned out to be an operational headquarters of MI - sealed it off. ordered the immediate closure of the telephone lines and seized live wires.

They then called in police reinforcement: to ensure that no wires were removed or destroyed. said Goldstone commissioner Tony Pretoria: who led the commission's team into the building. With him were the two international investigators attached to the commission. Pretorius said the most senior officer present at the MI centre - a hrigud'ter who gave the commission his full co-operation and headed over the wires they wanted. These were related to the evidence which the commission already had. Mr Justice Goldstone said in his statement yesterday that the commission discovered the unit as a direct consequence of a witness brought to the commission by the SAP.

Pretorius said they followed up an article in Vrye Weekblad which described how a former Frel'uno soldier was allegedly put up in a hotel by a politician. Pretorius said they checked the counterfiles of the credit card which had been used to pay for the hotel bill and discovered the name of a company. Digging further they found that 48 credit cards had been issued for the same account. Police traced the company's address - which was 362/ WW 5:

the building the commission raided on Wednesday - where they discovered hundreds of wires.

According to Pretorius, the commission seized only the wire files which were rel

evant to the intormattou
they had. They were not em-
wered to seize others -
use not all covert opera-
tions by eecnrtty forces were
necessanty illegal

Other sources satd they
believed the rema'uung me:
would not be destroyed or
removed helore the commis-
sion could examine them be-
cause the commission had
recet'Ved cooperation trom
the MI hrtgadter at the oper-
atiun centre.

But Judge Gotdstone
seemed less tonhdett When
It was put to him at a pres
conference yesterday that
tiles could go missing his
reply was - "clearly".

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Township violence link possible.

By Peter Felticnl

Polltlcll Correspondent

Evidence uncovered by the Goldstone Commission has raised the possibility that Ferd! Barnard's dirty tricks task force might have taken rt directly in township violence.

The breakthrough in discovering the Military Intelligence establishment from which Barnard worked came utter a former Prelimo soldier led the Goldstone Commission to a Maritzburg hotel. The soldier, who claimed he had been employed by a policeman to murder township residents in Natal, had his bills paid by I credit card linked to the Secret Ml establishment.

Mr Justice Goldstonets statement confined itself to revealing pron! about an Ml task force aimed at ducted. ltlng the ANC's military wing Umhhonto we Slzwe.

But the testimony at Joao Alberto Cula - who told the Vrye Weekhiad newspaper recently that he had been employed by SAP narcotics squad otltcer "Boy" Schultz In Johannesburg to catty out political murders and had, in tact. taken part in the shooting of a house full of residents near Durban in March or April this year - suggests the shadowy group's activities might have gone further. Cuna told Vrye Weekblad that he and Schultz had stayed in a Maritzburg hotel en route to the township hill- lng.

This statement was corroborated by Goldstone commissioner Tory Pretorius who told The Star yesterday

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the commission had discovered the countertuils oi the credit card which had been used to pay the hotel bull - ah the Hilton Hotel outsnde Maritzburg.

The commission traced the name of the company which held the credit card account - and discovered it was a lront company tor a special MI task group under convicted murderer amt tor- mer Civil Co-operatton Bureau agent Ferdi Barnard. Its mission was to discred- it MK hy smearing it with

criminal activities.

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Documents reveal general's CCB ties
By Helen Grange
Pictoria Bureau-
Former Military Intelligence
IMII Chief of Staff Lieutenant-
General Rudolph "Witkop"
Badenhorst has gone his share
of testifying before commis-
sioners and lawyers, yet he
has managed to keep everyone
guessing about the real nature
of his relationship with the
Civil Cooperation Bureau.
Documents seized by the
Goldstone Commission's spe-
cial investigative team at an
MI operations building last
week, however, probably re-
veal more about Badenhorst's
ties with his former col-
leagues than has been exposed
either in the Harms Commis-
sion of Inquiry or the David
Webster inquest.
His dealings with notorious
MI agent Ferdi Barnard
during this last year
(1999) in MI before taking
early retirement reveal that
he had a strong interest in
keeping Barnard in the fore-
front of intelligence opera-
tions.
According to Mr Justice
Goldstone's report, Baden-
horst motivated Barnard's
employment from May to De-
cember 1999 as an
agent, initially at a monthly sal-
ary of R10,000 and then on a
permanent basis at a salary of
R35,000. This excluded opera-
tional expenses.
Badenhorst later presented
with a request that Barnard
be issued with a firearm, re-
fused approval.
However, after Barnard
submitted a suggested plan to
lead a task force looking at
the activities of the ANC's
Umkhonto we Sizwe, he re-
ceived full approval from his
MI superiors and was promot-
ed to chief agent.
It was shortly after this that
Badenhorst unexpectedly ill-
luminated his early retire-
ment, sparking suspicion that he was
being covered in the light of
inquiry probing al-
leged irregularities in his de-
partment.
The retired general
emerged again recently in the
Webside inquest to testify
about his knowledge of the
CCB.
This time he was under far
more legal pressure than he

was diuritig tflhe Harms Caim-
missiuon: of Inquiry. alt hough
hie twisted again that hie was
unaware of the existtence oi
the CCB before Barmard was
detained III 1989 ait-er Web-
ster's murder.

Under cross-examination by
Eberhardt Bertelsmann, her
the David Webster Tm. Ba-
demhorst began to llounder
badly, especially during m
timing about tile totterna III-
ve:stigation he (Badlenhor st)
headed Into the CCB alter the
Webster assassination.

His tailure tuo prmbe tu.lly
the dealings ol to-nmer CICB
agents working tinder him at
the time raised suspicion tlhat
he was protectii: ig them.

Although the inquest is not
yet over, it has unearthied
much more than lthe Harms
Commission about: Baden-
horst': modus operandi in re-
lation to the 0618..

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A valid role

0 TALK. as does Zach de Beer. of the Democratic Party eventually governing this country may be a bit over-optimistic. But it is by no means starry-eyed to see a valuable and even a growing role for the party in a future South Africa.

Its predecessors' record as a custodian of liberal values through the darkest days of repression is uncontested. Today. With both major political players showing signs of secret agendas and intolerance. the need still remains for a decent centrist party with clean hands and a clear dedication to fundamental human rights.

The DP is making strenuous efforts to build black membership and transform its old white elitist image. About a third of delegates at its weekend national congress were black - but many voiced complaints of intimidation in the townships. Parties whose rights the DP defended in the past should now reciprocate in like fashion. The Democrats have a unique part to play as an honest broker between the larger parties. as De Beer demonstrated through his important mediating role at CODESA. With a larger voting base they could even - who knows? .. end up in a balance-of-power situation. and in that way secure the role in government they deserve.

P. 9/23

arms

The truth

must out

THE Goldstone Commission revelations yesterday provide irrefutable evidence of moral corruption. not to say depravity, at the highest level of the South African Defence Force. These revelations will send the country reeling - yet, paradoxically, they might not come as a surprise to those who have watched. dismayed. as military paranoia and deceit have grown by bounds in recent years.

.It is chilling enough to learn that Military Intelligence hired notorious double-murderer Ferdy Barnard to head a covert unit that would use prostitutes. homosexuals; and drug dealers to a dirty-tricks operation against Umkhonto we Sizwe. 15 military men's involvement in the murder of Barnard's key qualification?

More chilling still is to discover that the operation originated with the Chief of Staff Intelligence. Lieutenant-General R (Witkop) Badenhorst. and ended with the threat of a veto on the Minister of Defence himself.

.But it is most chilling of all to realise that the operation began only last year, in the midst of what is supposedly a time of reconciliation. and that there are hundreds of MI files that have yet to be examined and which may offer proof of other hidden activities.

Can it be that we are about to find out more about the sinister Third Force - or at least one limb of it?

Judge Goldstone's investigation has
ratsed appalling quuu'ons. Did the State
Pteetdent and his Cabinet know nothing of
tin: plot? Does their fiefdom hold so lttle
away that they canOt deltver on thetr
peomtee of clean government-and good
fatth ln negotiation? Have they lost control
of their own security tom? Or are they
sunply et'tll turning a blind eye?
We do not know the answers yet. Nor
are we so natve as to imagine that the
SADF has a monopoly on dirty tricks.
What we do know is that President de
Kieth dare not turn down the Goldetone
Commntnton'a recommendation that it be
authomed to investigate. as a matter of
urgency. all format and informal secunty
forces in South Africa. including certatn
private "secunty firms". The country could
not Withstand another cover-up; neither
could be Kieth! own reputation. ' .
A. boil hu been lancod and the ugly
truth to beginning to come out. We can
onlyhopettcolnelouthstenoughtoetem
"a the ytolenee and anarchy that is engutt- -
._... AI.- ..-..._._...

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Govtts tdirty trickstdenounced

By Peter Fa bricius

Ind Esther Waugh

As opposition groups furiously denounced Pretoria Ear waging a dirty-tricfks war against its Opponents, the Governme at last night declined to comment on the tarereaching disclosures about a secret anti-ANC Military Intelligence (MI); unit. Angry opposition leaders called tor immediate steps to investigate 'the new revelations. but Constitutional llevelopment - Minister and top tIuV-ernment negottalur- ttoelt Meyer re-tetred inquiries to the current Minister at Detence n:nd the Chief of the SADP. Meyer, who served hnetty as Defence Minister, knew about the secret MI unit in December last year.

Serving Detence Minister

Gene Louw saidth at "at this slaget' he had nothing to- add to the statement made- by Acting State President Ptk Botthav Botha said the l,iovernement had noted Mr Justice Richard Goldstone 5 statement. which would recmve urgent attention The ANC has demanded the immediate In". public disclosure of all covert Operations to!- lowing disclosures of a secret ME project to discredit its armed wing, Umkhunto we Sizwe. '

Democratic Party header Dr

Zach de Beer demanded the im-ntedzate smspensiosn ot the Di. reactor at Covert; Collection pelnding an investigation. and the disbamtmg of tfhts section at the SADF'.

'The ANtC said Ml In particular should he subIected to intensive and thorough investigation regarding its role and tunding of covert operatnnns. both in Soluth Althea and tn neighbour. ing countries

Last mxght the organisation said: "It is clear that. despite protestations tn the Icu-ntra ry lrom the most senior level at Government. the dhrty war waged against the ANC from within the Stale and security apparatus continues unabated " Files seized by the (Gottbtome Commission revealed that One at Ferdi Ba rnard's "swb-agents" was involved in the installation at computers at true ANC's headquarters m .luhamncsburg

The ANCS said it 'was still investigating which company had supplied Computers to it and had MI links.

The urga msation accused uhc Government of tellhng the international community it was prepared to accept a negotia Led settlement. but samultaneously conducting "a VICiOIJS campaign at mistntonnuon and propaganda auned at destroying the ANC",

In r-eactxon to Judge Golde stone's; appeal for the expansion of has commission's powers. the ANC said it had long accepted the need for the extens son at the commtissions terms tot reference sac that it could investigate the sea: urtty torrus, "Altlllough the (Enuernment expressed willingness to co-operate in such an invest tgut'mn. it has nm-t maved on the matter. perhaps because It was wanting to pass the Further Indemnity Act. We are forced tu ask; Was that Amt meant to preltect those involvved in such illegal activities?"

De Beer said the sucking ut Barnard by Meyer was insufficient. ill was incumbent on President; de chrk to take responsibility tor the Investigation and restrmcung 0t ML as well as tutty Idtsclusng the nalture of its operattlons

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TKE discovery 01 a large Military lmm.
gene: 1M1) aperauona centre together with
hundreds 0! mg by Goldstone commtsaton
inveettgatora last week has uncovered a
complex web 01 subterfuge and djshoneety
in "high quarters".

Files aeued by the commission contain
details 01 a covert operauon to cruntnattse
and discredit the ANC's armed wing Umk-
homo we Stzwe (MK). a shady M1 task
toree led by tanner CCB member Ferd!
Barnard. money-countertett'tng and the 11-
legal importauon at arms.

At a news conference 1:: Johannesburg
yesterday. Judge R Goldstnue sad it was
the commnsswn's duty to make public the
inlormauon ln the M1 tiles.

Files semen by the commission contain
detaus 01 a covert operauon to cmmnahse
and dtseredit the ANC's armed wtng Um-
khontn we Stzwe (MK). a shady M1 task
torce led by tonne: CCB memhet' Fetch
Barnard. money-countertett'tng and the 11-
legal timportauon 0! arms.

At a news contereuce tn Johannesburg
yesterday. Judge Richard Goldawne sand it
was the communion! duty to make public
the mtonnaun in the MI tiles.

Barnard was employed on the recom-
mendauon ot Chiet oi Stall Intelligence Lt-
Gen R "Witkop" Badenhorst

Barnard had serveo part 01 a 20-year
sentence. had worked for the CC8 on 1118
release m 1988 and was employed by MT:
unnamed director 01 covert collection tn
May 1991.

Goldstone pomted out that "highly
placed members 01 M1 were party to the
employment 01 a person with a senous
cr'munal record tavomng cnmea ot vio-
lence ana' dnhoneatr'.

From May 1991. Barnard was employed
(or a mat period. Goldstone said.

In June 1991. Barnard submitted to M1 a
plan tor a task torce he was to lead. The
Barnard tiles enclose the task tone was to
apeuatiu solely on MK acuvtues. The oh-
jecuve was to discredit the orgamsatton by
linking uh member! to cnme.

ln lth way MK cadres could he recruit-
ed. compromtsed on as m the case 0! ARC
Youth League preetdent Peter Mohaha.
discredited. Mokaha. however. eurvwed al-
M

legauons that he was a police apy.

An excerpt from the mee aayl "(Bar-
nzrd's team; was to concentrate on ther
tnvotvement of MR in cnme and its rela-
uonsmp with cnmtnal syndicates. For that '
purpose MK members were to he used to
intimate the crunmal elements. and
where such memhets could am he recrutte
ed they would he crmunally comp .
For that purpoae use would be made. tater
aha. oi prosututee. homosexuats. sheheen
owners and drug dealers."

The task team obta'tned access to "tele-
phone huumg experts". the computer sys-
tems ot the SAP Crtmtnal Bureau and the
Revenue otttce. contacts at uumtgrauon

control and licensmg authorities. the vot-
ers' roll and credtt bureaus.

"One 01 the persons used by Barnard or
one 01 hts sub-agenu was Involved tn the
installauon of computers at the ANC head-
quarters." Goldstone said.

Followmg the praentaun of Bernard's 1
report. he was employed as a chlet ae-t at
an lllch salary. The appomtment waa
appruved hy Badenhorst.

Goldstone saw "Reterences are con-
tained in the tiles stating that the ANC is
mvotved ln cnmmal conduct. including
countertettng money and Illegal ttnporta-
mm at arms."

In December 1991. a man named Chris-
topher Human appeared tn court on
charges 01 untawtul pmunon at an Uni
machme 21m "111 a ban appheattce Mr
Human ts teported to have alleged that the
weapon was left wtth hm hy Barnard. who
med to recruit him and an escort agency
woman as aptee for M1." Goldstone and.

"Upon mstructttons tram the W'
(01 Delence. then 11er Meyer). Bernard's
serwces were temunatett.

ln-a report dated January :1 1m. Bar-
nard's M1 handle: sand his "atutude to-
wards the SADF (was) still sour but his
relationship wtth (the handler) ts strong
enough for (Barnum to stay and net to go
to a newapaper and cause wuhthe".

Goldatone sand 48 memoera ot the secret
M1 operations centre had spent hundreds
at thousands of tends 11st Mt cards.

A ,1 /' /, II 1' (/72/

J, (1&7 V/

t "F ltrshort. the Barnard tiles
jindmate that-
7 'a) Highly placed mem-
bers at Military Intelligence
were party to the employment
of a person Will! a serum: cnmv
mal record Invotvmq cnmes ot
vuolence aha dishonesty.
4h) The SADF made a public
statement denying that Bantam
we: employed by it when It was
known tn high quaners that
such dental was qutte untrue.
(c: At least one hemol- oilicer of
Military Intelligence was pre-
pared to recommend the meat
armxng ol Bantam With an
SADF weapon. He was able.
wttthout any appamt adverse
consequence to himsett. to
make such recommendatton to
General Bedenhont.
In the operauonal centre
3;!!! quesuoo there are 18
members who operate
credit cards. The expenditure
by way of the cards involve
hundred: 0! thousand: of rands.
One at the es membeu. unul his
recent manual. was LWJ
Flores. who was deutned by the
British poltce on susptcton that
he was Involved m a plot to
murder tormer pcliceman Dirlt
Coetue.
"The commmon believes
l that ho decent member ot
the secunty torca would
support or approve at such con-
duct or behekur by any
branch 0l those torts. It can
only be calculated to undermme
lhetr respect tar the legtumacy
and moral base at the"- own or-
gamsauon and)eoparutse the
efficiency and resolve to hght
agunst cmne.
' V " Wu: recent weeks the Head
la"! 32 f the Army. Lteutenant.
eral Meinnggh has
made public sutemenu tmnh-
cat'tng MK in cnmlnai conducx
utter aha regudmg the
planned use of "spectal opera-
ttons team;' from the PWV
area to sabotage Government
mstallattons m certatn home-
land: and townsnjbe These and
other statements have now been
publicly supported by the Mlnts-
ter of Defence and Defence
Force chtet General Kat Lie-
benberg. The puhllc of South
Mrtca are enutled to be tnt
formed by an independent
source whether thts type 0l alle:
gluon In true.
, There are widelpreld
. perceptttons supported by
-wevidence that in Natal
and elsewhere the IFP and ANC

have ready access to automatic
weapons.

. The South African Police
; , have been singularly un-
successful in apprehend-
ing the culprit: responsible (or
thousands of political murders
over the out couple of years.
The IFP at march: m
ohannuhur; and Dur-
, have openly routed
the law regarding the display of
dangerous weapons: at political
meetings. No criminal prosecu-
tions have been instituted
against any of the organisers.
For months the Azaman
' People's Liberation Army
- - has claimed responsibil-
ity for the murder of many
white and black members of the
South African Police.

h V The morale of the South
African Police is being
...- shattered on a daily
basis: by verbal and physical at-
tack: on its members. Its cap-
ability to tight the tightening
level of violence is being
seriously eroded.

; The commission has no
. doubt that political vio-
...- lence and intimidation in
South Africa will not be effec-
tively curbed until there has
been a thorough investigation of
all South African public and pri-
vate security forces and arms
whether situated inside or out-
side the borders of South Africa.
For the commission to continue
to multiply ill informed views
amount to an attempt to treat
the symptoms and not the dis-
ease of violence in South Africa.
'mNo successful and con-
sistent multiparty ne-
-gotiations are likely to be
held in the present climate of
mutual suspicion and distrust.
It is highly unlikely that free
and fair elections could be held
in the present climate of vio-
lence and intimidation. No in-
vestment will take place in
South Africa until a democratic
and peaceful climate has been
created.

in his report to the Secu-
rity Council of the United
Nations of August 7 1992.
the Secretary-General stated
inter alia: "89. The longstand-
ing problem of violence by the
various political groups in
South Africa is so central to the
lack of trust at the political level
of the country that it must
be remedied. Accordingly, I re-
commend that the Goldstone
Commission undertake a sena

of investigation: mm the tune-
ttotung end operations of cer-
mn agenclu. utter otm. the
army and poltce. Umlthohto we
Sizwe. the Azaman People 3
Liberauon Army (Apla). the
KweZulu Police and. more gen-
erlly. certain private "3th
lirms". My Spectal Repmenta-
Live has discussed thls pmpoeal
mu: Justice Goldetnne Ind cer-
.h'h

q
min at the name: who are of.
the vtew that such inVOSIIII-'
ttions could Indeed serve to CUTDI
vtolence and be of benent to the
country as a wrole. While such.
invesuuuons would wxden the
scope ot' the wont ot the Gold-
stone Commtsslon. they comd'
be undertaken wtthtn n3 presn
ent terms at relerence. Should:
the commmnon need turtherv
(lnancmg lor tts expandedi
wont. I would urge the Sow.
emment to be tbftthhmlhl." I
The recommendauons ot the
Secretary-Generat were edopt-t
ed by the Secunty Counc1l m.
Resolution 772 at August 17.

lm (
MThe South Atrican Gov-t
ernment and also the.
- ANC accepted the tecom-t
mendetlons ol the Secretary-
Geoeral. t

e The commission doe not
2 presently have the re
resources or the authority
and eo-opetauon ol the relevant.
parties to carry out the tnvestt-'
gauona suggested by the Secret
tary-Generat. Indeed. It does
not have the resources to search
the many hundreds of tiles It.
has lound at the Military Intel-u
ligence catablishment dlseo-
vered by it on Wednesday.

' The commmton calls on.
2 all political pamee and
..... groups tn South Africa-
ahtt tn particular the Govern-'
ment. to authonse and empow-a
er the commtssnon. or any other
independent body. to carry out:
urgently and (ally the I'QCOITH
mendauons ot the Secretary;
General. It also call: on the "11
ternaunel communtty to asstsr
tn the speedy and etlicient exe-
cution at that recommendation. '.
l! the pruent climate of:
violence. mttmldauon.

- mfeer and suaptcton is re:
moved. the commmton beheves-
that It will be able to play a.
meantnxful role tn building a.
secunty force. both the pouce
and army. whtch mll have the!
support and conttdenee oi the

vast majority at South Africans
Only then will this country have
a real prospect of peace and
prosperity. a A

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Last week, the Gold
Commission of Inquiry
regarding the Prevention
of Public Violence and
Terrorism seized
the: from an opera
unit of Military In-
spection (MI). The me-
mbers employed
various methods
Barnard to lead a
special unit that would
investigate the involvement
of Umkhonto we Sizwe
crime. that the SAD
admitted it employed
them! even though
officers knew the
was untrue. and the
senior MI officer was
prepared to recommend
illegal arming of Bar-
ack MK members were to be used
to infiltrate the criminal element
and where such members could
not be recruited they would be
criminally compromised.

E4 1"1'.:1"-." ' "BE
191-41 1-311
3134 1 1-3 1 '3
F'. 13:13
the rot and the cure
Violence
8!: tollowmg ta the full
statement released to
the preaa ymntay by
Goldstone Common
chemo Mr Justice thhard
J Goldateoe.
"?mstnce February 1990. the
State Prameet has set
.1: the Government's race
agents! the involvement 01 the
secunty tone: at the State
beats Involved in cnmtnat. alle-
gal and duhoout pracueea and
parucularly m retattau to pollu-
cai ytoleoea and muuudatton.
Indeed last Thursday evenmg
the State Prestoeat stated at the
annual torelgn eorreepondeota'
dtnoer that it was unacceptable
to the Government tor the State
security toreea to be myolved
ln party-pouucal covert opera-
uom.
tl- , When the communion
wwu appomted. I was m.
Mtormeo and assured in un-
eqmvocal terms by the State
Pratdent and by the hummer
ot Justtce that the eommtsaton
would operate at all tuna as an
tudepenoent judicul commu-
sxon. That assurance has been
scrupulousty honoured by the
State President and the Govern-
ment. So. too. nave the other po-
litical role-players to South
Atnca reaoected the moaperr
deuce ot the eommtsatoe
j'j'l'he commtsuon was
E&ym unusual and. for
/ South Afnca. untque
powen Lu parucular. 1 would
reter to the power of search and
semre.
_ ' Q- "The common has pre-
5 ' vioualy reported that the
math cause for ptaent
Vtolence ansa from the politi-
cal rivalry between the Atncan
Nattonat Congress and the In-
katha F reeoom Party.
It has also reported that it
had been presented with no evt.
aebee or an oraamm "third
force' and that there was no
eytdence tmphcaung senior
members 01 the secunty form
in political ytolence and munu-
dauon. The commtsswn stated
that It would invetugue tully
any such etndeoce.
4" ' On Wednesday 01 last
.-- week. November 11 1992.
en mvesuaauon launched
by the common led It to a

butldmg which housed a large
operattoes wt of Military In-
telltgence. The commmnon
me to that untt as a dstreet
consequence of a wttness
brought to the common hv
member: of the South Atn'cab
Police. On the ham ot the inter-
mataon given to the comms-
sml'l connect and eltlcient de-
tecuve wm betterment by Col.
one! H Heatmga. 5 pence om-
ctal on the stat! of the com-
mtaaton. together with members

..-_____

at one at the comm's in-
yuagauon teams. the Milttary
Intelltgenee operaual centre
was um. _

Two at the mtemahonal ex-
perts attached to the comma-
ston's mvesugauon unttis pam-
cmated tn the tuvuugauon.

#3. With the munce 01 re-
tEtntorcemeote provtded by
the South Mncan Police.-
the bulletin; houamg the Mill-
tat'y Intelligence mm was
sealed and live tile- were
seued. The tiles were sought to
cementum ot the intonnaun
pmtdd to the common by

the atoremenuonee wttnaaa

' 1- The tiles seized by the
: acomnuanoo disclose the
tollowtng mtormaouo:

la) From May 1991 untl Deeem'
ber 31 1991. Military Intelllv
gence employed Ferdt Barnard.
a notorious tormer member 0!
the CC8 (Civil Co-operaun Bu-
mm.

(M Barnard's employment re-
sulted truth a relenal to the
"Director of Covert Collection"
(DCC) by the Chief 01 Stat! ln-
telltllgence. LieutenantOeneral
R Badenhorat

(c) From May 1991 Barnard was
employed tor a tnal penod at a
monthly salary 01 R3000 and
openttohal expenaaa oi B800 a
month. From August I 1991 he
was employed on a permanent
bans at a salary 01 8.3500 and
operaual expenses 01 R2000
a month. That employment was
recommended by DCC and ap-
proved by General Badenhorst.

(d1 As became public during
1990. Barnard 13 a former SAP
Drug Squad sergeant and has
two prevmus convncuons for
murder. one for attempted mur-
der and three tor theft.

In 1934 he was sentenced to
20 years' tmpnsonment. The ef-
fecttve sentence was an years.
In ISM he was released on pa-
role and soon thereatter em-
ployed by the CCB.

(21 In consequence 01 his prey:-
ous convneuous. Bantam was
not allowed to panes a tire-
arm. 0:: June 6 1991. for the
reason that he requred 11 tor
his personal satety. the DCC re-
commended to General Baden-
horst that Barnard should be Is-
sued wth a ptstol. He sand that:
"6. The apuons open m request
01 issung a meant! are as tol-
lows:

'13) Issue 01 SADF weapon.

"(b1 Issue ot a front-company
WEDDOI'I.

"7.1t is recommended that a
firearm be tuned to thts chnet
agent as hts sttuattob m reaoect
ot the put and present ts totally
unearthed."

General Badenhont relaxed
to approve the Issue 01 a me-
ann to Barnard.

(f1 On June 201991 Barnard sub-
rmtted to Military Intelhgeace
a suggested plan tor the task
force he was to lead. The fol-
lowma pomts emerge lmm hm
report:

(i) It was to speelallae solely on
the aetmttee ot Umhhonto we
S'tzwetlldK).

(ii) In pamcular it was to con-
centrate on the tnvolvemeht 01
MK in crune and its relauon-
stup wth cnmmal syndicates.
For that pnrboae MK members
were to be used to tnhltrate the
cnnuual elements. and where
such members could not be re-
crutted they would be cnmmal-
ly eompromued. For that put-
poe. use would be made. tnter
am: of prosttttttea. homosexu-
als. shebeen owners and drug
dealera.

U) Accommg to the Beele artl-
cIe a spokesman tor the Army
dented that Bantam was em-
ployed by the Army. That dem-
al was talse.

(It) On December 19 1991 the
Beeld arucle was drawn to the
attenuon 01 the DCC and "He
instructed that (Barnard) be
placed ton tee Immediately"

On December 30 1991 the
DCC instructed that Barnardls
semen be tenmnated wth tm-
mediate etIect "upon Instruc-
tnons from the Minister'.

(1) Barbara's servtcea were ter-
mtnated wth etleet from De-
cember 31 1991. He was patd
three months' salary In advance
(R10 500) in respect of January,
February and March 1992.

(m1 A resort by the "handler" of
Barnard reported as follow: on
January 9 1992: "Thls source
was tucked' on December 31

1991 on uutrucuons 01 the Minister of Defence. Contact 13 Still being made In order to achteve the following:

'(al Ftnattse all ttnancxal mat. :ers resource ts handling melod- tng recewu for an 0/: advance (111) As an example 01 the man- 0! R5 "3.95 for memcal ea.

net at which members of MR would be compromtaed emma- ally or among thetr own mem- bera. reference ts made by Bar- nard to the case 01 Peter Mou- ha. (During May 1991 Mohaha was widely reputed tn the pm a: havtng been a pence spy. He dented this and aoon th'ereatter he was elected as pratdent oi the ANC Youth League!

(iv) Barbara's team had the ability to ohtatn am to: OThe combuter system 01 the SAP Criminal Bureau. OContacu at unmlgratton can not '

OContacu at human authen- ties.

0 Revenue oltice computers.

0 The voters roll.

0 Credit bureau.

0 An mdepeodent group at tele- phone "buggtng experts".

(v) Bernard's plan detailing utter aim the abovemenuoned information waa submitted to team member! 01 human In- telllgeaee and thereatter he was employed as a chtet agent.

(1) One at the penana used by Barnard or one 01 hts sub- agenta was Involved in the un- staillatlon ot comouten at the ANC headquarters.

(h) Barnard! plan and tollow-

6W

iW/h

tionally

penaet.

l(b) To stabilise source In order to dmuade lmm acung Irra- and embarrasstbg

up report: were suomtteea to sensor memben 01 Military In- telligence. In a report dated Au- gust 23 1991 reference ta made to a "support agent network" of "prosututea, homelemta. mght club manager: and cnmtnal elements".

tn On December 19 1991 an aru- cle appeared ln Beeld tn whtch it was reported that a Chris- topher Human had appeared to court on a charge 01 being In unlawful possession at an Uzi mactnne-gttn. In a ban appltca- txon Human as reported to have alleged that the weapon had been left mm tum by Barnard who med to recnnt htm and an escort agency woman as sptea

tor MJhtary intelligence.
SADF."

(m In a further report dated
January 21 1992. the same
"handler" stated that Barnard s
"attttnde towards SADF still
tour but his retauotwhtp wth
(the handler) ll strong enough
for (Barnum to stay on track
and not to go to a newspaper
and cause ttouble (Handler) at-
tempung to prowde (Bamardt
with genutoe mveaugattoe pn.
vate won."

(ol Betaencee are contained in
the thee ataung that the ANC ts
involveo ln enamel conduct In-
cludlhg countertetuna money
and illegal Importation of
weapons.

334 late

. 'GOLDSTONE: MI
RIED TO mscttggr
ANC .

By Cent Mlle

THE GoldStone Commission last Wednesday
raided a Mihury Intelligence unit. setztnng files
showmg Military intelligence last year conducted
a campatgn under former CCB operattve. Ferdi
Barnard. to discredit the African National Con-
gress.

This was Innouneed
yesterday by Mr Justice
Richard Goldstone.

"The SADF made I
publtc statement denying
that Barnard wu em-
ployed by it. when tt was
known in high quartets
that such a denial wes
quite untrue." satd Mr
"On Wednesday last
week. an investigation
teunched by the commu-
sion led it to a building.
which housed a large ctr
erattons ttmt at Military
Intelligence.

"The commisswn came

TO PAGE 2

to thet unit as a direct
wnsequencee ot a witness
brought to the commis-
sion by members at the
South African Police.

"On the basis at the in-
tomtatton gtven to the
wmmussion's counsel and
efficient detective work
performed by Colonel H
Hestinga. a police official
on the staff at the com-
mission. together wtth
members of one of the
commission's Investiga-
tion teams. the Military
Intelligence operational
centre was discovered.

"Two til the tntemat-
ionat experts attached to
the commissions tnvestt'
gatton units participated
in the investtgation.

"With the assistance of
reinfotcements prowded
by the South African
Potioe. the building hous-
ing the Military Intelli-
gence mm was sealed and
Eve files were setzed."

He believed the files
tdid not add up to evi-
dence of a third force op-
erattne in South Africa".
But they showed htgh-
ly-plnccd Ml officials
were pattv tn the employ-
ment of Mr Barnard. a
person wtth a serious
criminal record involvtng
viotent cnmes. in a bid to

compromise the ANC.
. Acme State President.
Mirth Botha. sand the.
Justice Goldstone.
ttried to discredit
government was giving
urgent attention to the re-
port.
Mt Bathe said the
Goldstone Commission
was an important institu-
.tton. It came Into being as
a result of Prestdent De
Klerlt's inililltvc to assist
in curbing pubhc violence
and intimidation through
objective invesugation.
ttlnsofar as there is a
need to Improve the com-
mission's eapacny to carry
out its task. the govern.
ment wtll consult with
Judge Goldstone and do
whatever possible to help
his eommrssion to fulfil its
functions effectively." he
satsd.
The confiscated mes.
Mr Justice Goldstone
said. showed that Ml ap-
proved a ptan submitted
by Mr Barnard to subvert
the ANC's military wing.
Umlhonto we Sizwe
(MKL by linking it to
criminal acts and crime
syndicates by ustng a nett
work of prostitutes. hom-
osexuals and drug deal-
CTS.
MI employed Mr Bam-
ard tor a mat period. but
he became a chief agent
after submittme the plan
to senior MI members. on
June 20 1991.
He suggested that the
task force he wastto lead;
0 Specraltse sotelv on
the activittes of Uthkhtm-
tn we'Stzwet
0 Concentrate
pnr- -
ticularly on MK's involveA
ment in enme and its re-
lationship with crtmitul
syndtcates.
Bamatdis team could
gain access to the SAP
Criminal Bureau's com-
puter system. contacts at
immigration control and
licensing authorities. tev-
venue ottice computers.
the voters' toll. credit bu-
reaus and an independent
group of telephone bug-
gtng experts.
Furthermore. one of
Bamard's sub-agents was
involved tn the installa-

mm of computers at ANC headquarters.

The files showed that Bamard's handler maintained contact after his dismissal to finalise financial matters and 'stabilise' source in order to dissuade (him) from acting irrationally and embarrassing the SADF'.

In a report on January 21 this year. Barnard's handler said Bamard's attitude towards the SADF was still sour. but their relationship was strong enough to keep Barnard "on track and not go to a newspaper and cause trouble?

He was trying to put-
wde Barnard with "ge.
nutne investigation print
rite until '

The SA Defence Force
had denied the former
Civil Co-operation Bureau
member's involvement
(7th /,77/"//d.

employed as late as December 19. 1991. while it was known in high quarters that such denial was untrue". Mr Justice Goldstone told a news conference.

The files showed Mr Barnard was employed by MI on the recommendation of the Chief of Staff of Intelligence. Lt-Gen Rudolph H Witkop 'T Badenhorst. in May 1991. but he was sacked on December 3! last year by MIs' "Director at Coven Collection" on the orders of the then Minister of Defence. Mr Roel Meyer.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission believed "the evidence was of such nature that the public needs to know".

At least one senior member of MI was prepared to recommend the illegal arming of Mr Bamardi who was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment in 1984 following two convictions on murder charges. one for attempted murder and one for theft. but he was released in 1988 on parole. Mr Justice Goldstone said,
At the operations unit.

there were 4N M1 mem.
bers. who all used credtt
cards. he said. spending
"hundreds hot thousands
(if randst , ' '
t r th." "t'ti
one (if the .. temhets.
ANCT
untithismeentdismtsat.
was Mr LWJ Baa.
whowasdetuned' hythe
British path: on suspi-
insptot to murder tamer
policeman. Mr Dirk Co-
etme.

'The commission be-
lieve: that no decent
membet ol the security
tomes would support or
approve ot such conduct
or behavsour by any
bunch of those tomes. It
can only be alarhted to
undermine their respect
for the legttmucy and
moral base of thetr own
organisation and jeopatd-
is: the efficiency and re-
solve to fight agatnst at.
me."

In recent weeks the
head of the Amy, Lt-
General Mein'ng. had
made public statements
implicating MK in crimi-
naI conduct. inter alia. re-
gnrding the planned use
of "speciaI operations tea.
msw from the PWV area
to sabotage government
installations in oemm
homelands and town-
ships.

These and other state-
ments had now been pub-
liciy supported by the Mi-
nister of Defence and
General Kat Liebenbete.
the Head O! the Defence
Force.

"The public of South
Africa are entttted to he
tnfnrnied by an indepen-
dent. auymgwhetheshtbq
WvalcsatWtam-t: 1' ,.

T 19: 19:39 811 334 1919

BOPHUTA- A meeting was held with the Bophutatswana Government TSWANA on 16 November 1992. The meeting discussed the following items:-

- . resumption of negotiations;
- . ANC's Regional Policy;
- release of political prisoners; and
- . free political activity in Bophutatswana.

The ANC presented the Bophutatswana Government with a list of political prisoners being held in Bophutatswana. it was agreed to hold a follow-up meeting to discuss the issue of free political activity in Bophutatswana.

A meeting was held with the Afrikaner Volks Unie on 19 November 1992. The AVU presented its policy of an Afrikaner Volkstaat while the ANC presented its constitutional proposals. The AVU expressed its desire to join the negotiations process. It was agreed to hold further meetings.

The ANC is at present awaiting dates for meetings with Ximoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu), Solidarity and Azapo. Attempts are also being made to arrange meetings with all other parties.

AFRIKANER

VOLKS UNIE

(AVU)

OTHER

PARTIES

54 r--1:;r-..-" '92 19: 2:2: 1:111 334 112-119 1:, 1; ..
tf.'t1:tiI/EU '_1 5 "HIV '992 lmmrhww 3338?.

tgV....

Fl.)

IL! I

INTRODUCTION As part of the process of resuming negotiations, the ANC has embarked on a series of meetings with various parties. The meetings are aimed at preparing the ground for the resumption of Codesa. At these meetings, the ANC is consulting other parties on the key outstanding questions in the negotiations.

A meeting of the Tripartite Alliance was held on 28 October 1992. The meeting discussed the strategic perspective, the agenda of the forthcoming bilateral meeting with the regime and the process for the resumption of negotiations.

A meeting of the Patriotic Front was held on 29 October 1992 in Port Elizabeth. The meeting discussed the agenda for the forthcoming bilateral meeting with the regime. It endorsed the Record of Understanding. It reaffirmed its conviction that Codesa - appropriately structured - remains the best forum for the conduct of multilateral negotiations.

A meeting was held with the Democratic Party on 1 November 1992. The meeting discussed the ANC's Transition to Democracy Act and other constitutional questions. The Democratic Party expressed its support for the idea of an extensive bilateral meeting between the ANC and the Regime. Both parties agreed that Codesa remains the best forum in which to conduct multilateral negotiations.

A meeting was held with a delegation of business leaders organised by the Consultative Business Movement on 1 November 1992. The ANC briefed the meeting on the negotiations process and, in particular, its Regional Policy. The meeting discussed the role of business in supporting a speedy resolution to the conflict.

COSATU

AND THE

SACP

PATRIOTIC

FRONT

DEMOCRATIC

PARTY

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