

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONSECTION 29 HEARING"IN CAMERA"

DATE: 02-12-1996

NAME: JOSEPH SIPHO MAMASELA

HELD AT: CAPE TOWN

DAY 1

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CHAIRPERSON: Well, maybe we ought to start now. Just for the record, this as I understand it subject to whatever corrections either side, understand we can talk about sides in this enquiry, can correct me, but this is an investigative enquiry that is as a consequence of an arrangement between ourselves and Mr Joe Mamasela through the office of the Attorney General.

It is something in the nature of a Section 29 enquiry, an information gathering exercise. Joe has not been subpoenaed, because he indicated his willingness to come and the office of the Attorney General has also been very helpful in that regard in providing their good offices for Joe to be here.

I understand the arrangements to be that maybe we will allow Joe to speak into the record so to speak, give an account of all the incidents and - about which he would like to talk to us about which have bearing on the sort of work that we do and that thereafter we would then depending on how much he has

indicated, we would possibly ask for questions, we would ask questions for clarification and so that the exercise should have been worth our while.

That is the understanding. I think we also have made provision that he should give the statement under oath and that is the position, and I don't know whether that is our general understanding, all of us. Mr Pretorius?

**MR PRETORIUS:** Thank you Mr Chair, yes, I am in total agreement with what you have just put on record there, obviously I am just here for the integrity of the prosecution and see to it that we don't have a lot of statements from the State witness, and don't expose him too much, I am in full agreement and we thank you also.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Very well then. I thought that Adv Potgieter will administer the oath.

In your absence Adv Potgieter, I have briefly indicated that this is in the nature of an enquiry, something of the nature of a Section 29 enquiry, an investigative process and information gathering exercise.

However, through the offices of the Attorney General, for which we are thankful, we have Joe here on a fairly voluntarily basis, that the office of the Attorney General have in fact themselves offered to be here. This has been confirmed (indistinct) in Mr Pretorius, whose indication is that you know, to

the extent that the integrity of the prosecution must be safeguarded, that is virtually the only capacity.

The process will be that Joe Mamasela will be sworn in and my suggestion with which I think there is a fair amount of agreement, is that maybe we want to let Joe say you know, on his own accord in the manner in which he would like to, to say it, give us a statement under oath, giving the details that he would like to give us which are relevant to our work as he understands it.

At an appropriate time, we would then call for questions and such questions as might be necessary for us to get a clear picture of what it is about, so we are waiting for you to administer the oath, which I think you should do without further ado.

**JOSEPH SIPHO MAMASELA:** (sworn states)

**CHAIRPERSON:** Very well then, Joe, you can go ahead.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, I would just like to give the Commission some brief background about myself.

I joined the African National Congress in 1977 for the first time, that was just shortly after the upheavals of June 1976, the riots, unrest and by then I was a student leader.

I was holding the position of Secretary General of SASM, South African Student Movement at Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto. In 1977 I decided that enough was enough, I had to

quit the country to go and join the African National Congress, to come and fight for the total emancipation of the poor and the oppressed of which myself and my family belonged to.

I went to the ANC in 1977, I was received warmly by comrade called Keith Mogwape and Snuki Sigalala who is now with the SABC and I believe he can attest to that.

We were three when we left, two of my colleagues, it was decided by the higher ranking officials of the African National Congress at that time, that due to my influence and due to my leadership potential with the students, they needed me more inside the country, than outside the country and they actually promised me that they would equip me with the proper training to can go on with my revolutionary work.

They gave me then what was called the underground combat training, so as to enable me to syphon information to help with DLB's, to help with transport and logistics and I carried my job very well, and as a result, very soon I was made a Commander of my cell, that was operating from Soweto to Botswana, I acted as a courier then for the African National Congress.

In 1979, I mean 1977, 1978 I was operating as a leader of my cell, there was no problems, no mistake, nothing, just in 1979 I was then recalled back to the African National Congress Headquarters in Gundling, 2067/68, I was called in, I was told that there is something that we need to do, we need to combine

our forces, we need not act independently as small pockets of units. We must have concerted effort so that when we deliver the blows to the enemy, it must be decisive blows and there was too much logic in the argument and I promised my Commanders that definitely I will help, I will incorporate my unit with other units, so that we can act collectively.

That was the fatal mistake I made in my life, because the Overall Commanding Officer of that unit in Soweto was called Siphso Makopo, whose brother was then Isaac Makopo, a senior official of the African National Congress in Botswana. He was the Chief Representative Council of the African National Congress in Botswana by then. I had absolutely no doubt about Siphso's political activities and commitment and loyalty because his entire family was involved in politics.

Siphso was also occupying Andrew Masondo's house in Mofolo South, just near where I was staying, near my family home. The credibility of his family, spoke for itself, I had no doubt in my mind whatsoever that a person of his calibre, can sell me out.

He ultimately did sell me out in 1979, he allowed me to go and sleep at Andrew Masondo's house with the promise that the police will be coming to look for him, not for me.

He wanted to use me as an acid test to ascertain where these policemen came from, whether they come from the Security

Police or from just a criminal department, because he was a politician cum criminal himself.

So, you know, like a disciplined soldier I went and I carried my instructions to the letter. That proved to be the worst, fatal mistake that I have committed, because the very same evening, it was Friday evening, the Police came at about 2 am, about eight to ten cars of well armed policemen.

They stormed the house and while I was expecting them because Sipho told me already that they would be looking for him, and when they came, they said we want Sipho, where is Sipho. I answered that Sipho was not around, I was just a neighbour, I was looking for his property when he is away, his sales of goods somewhere in the Free State, and the Police said who are you and I said I am Joe Mamasela.

You could have seen the excitement written all over their faces when they heard that. It was as if they had the best news of earth, that they have ever heard. I was immediately, the waded into my immediately, I was beaten left, right and centre, they beat the hell out of me.

Within a few minutes, I was unconscious, I was bleeding profusely and they did that in front of my wife. They took me away and they started asking me a lot of questions. They took me to Brakpan, East Rand Murder and Robbery, Brakpan. One of the

Policemen who was very, very diabolic and satanic in his nature, it was a Captain by the name of P. Viljoen.

That was the most brutal one because you know, the others were just stripping me naked in the middle of a winter night and poured me with cold water and they started assaulting me severely. They were putting electronic apparatus all over my genitals, my entire body, underneath my toes and all that.

But the worst thing that this man did, was to take something like an electronic stick that they used to prod cattle with and whatever, he stuck it in my anus and that was the most excruciating pain I have ever experienced in my life, because I lost consciousness for a long, long, long, long time and when I wake up, I found that every part of my body was bleeding.

My nostrils, ears, mouth, my genitals were bleeding, my anus was bleeding profusely and I don't know how many times I lost consciousness. This man kept on repeating this sadistic way of torturing me.

In the process they were boasting about how they killed my uncle, Chief Mamasela in 1977. You know they were boasting about it and one of them was called Waarheid. One of the people, the whites who were assaulting me was called Waarheid and the other one was called Karate. This Karate was chopping me with all kinds of karate chops.

He was boasting that he killed my uncle with a karate chop and they said no, he hanged himself at John Vorster. It then dawned on me that I was dealing with animals, there was no way I could resist further. The human body can take a certain limit and after that, it switches off and it switched off on several occasions with me.

Until I just became like a sponge, I just sucked all the punishment and all that, and then I said oh well, if they can continue with this rate, they will definitely kill me. They left no doubt in my mind that they can and they were eager to kill me, so I said no well, I will help you, what do you want.

You know the line of questioning, I was trained in Intelligence by the African National Congress, and their line of questioning, I could assess that it came from one source and one source only, from Sipho Makopo because I joined the ANC in 1977.

In 1978 I was still the operative, and this people's questions centred around 1979 when I started meeting with Sipho Makopo and the kind of information they were delivering to me, it was based on 1979, not 1977 nor 1978. Then I decided for the sake of my comrades and the unit that I was heading, I was the Commander of, I decided let me just adhere and confirm what they already know, but I mustn't go back to 1977 and 1978 and compromise other comrades.



Then I just stuck to 1979 because they already knew about all the events of 1979. That is why for the first time, the Security Police of South Africa, for the first time Dr Pretorius can attest to that, they were all shocked last year in December when I gave evidence for the first time against De Kock, when I mentioned that I joined the ANC in 1977.

I was arrested in 1979, it was the first time this thing was put on record that I was a member of the African National Congress in 1977, not 1979 as all the Police records will show.

I did that deliberately to safeguard the lives of my cell members, and up to this day, they are still alive and I still have good relations with them. They can attest to that, that at no stage did the Security Police harass them or harassed them on the basis of information that they got from me.

I was arrested in 1979, I was turned in that way that I had just described now, that the Police, Security Police were using those times. I had no alternative, my duty was an as ascari just to do everything, blatantly illegal or legal that my Commanders told me to do, I had to do it.

Failure to adhere to the instructions and carry them out to the letter, in more often than not resulted in the death of ascaris themselves. I wish to highlight, I think I speak on behalf of all ascaris, if I highlight the fact that as ascaris we had no say, we had no say whatsoever, even of our lives.

Most of us were used as cannon fodder and those who escaped the cannon fodder, they were used as poison testers. You know the Security Police will attain poison from the forensic experts department of the SAP and before they could use it on the so-called enemies, they will first test it with the ascaris.

A lot of ascaris became, they went bezerk because of that. The late Petrus Goadi became mad after De Kock gave him the poison, tested the poison on him. The other one is Moropa, Sergeant Moropa, he is still in the Police Force today. Hendrik Prinsloo gave him poison and he was admitted into a hospital for a long time, when he came back, he went bananas for the whole year.

Now, I think he is a little bit better, but he is still in the Police. Our lives were very, very cheap. We were never regarded as Policemen and more than 10 ascaris that I know of, were killed by their own bosses, by their own masters.

I will say ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** Joe, can you indicate when you were arrested?

**MR MAMASELA:** I was arrested some time in June 1979.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Okay.

**MR MAMASELA:** And then let me just say, after my arrest I was then told to go back to the ANC to get more further instructions that might be useful to the Security Police. I would

like to hasten at this juncture that I went back to the ANC, I went to my handler who was called Molefe by then. His MK was Molefe, he was the driver of Jaman Mbeki, Thabo Mbeki's elder brother in (indistinct), and I explained to him, listen there are Policemen who are interested in my services, they want to recruit me, they want me to work for them, and you know the guy casually dismissed me, he said no, you must work for them, as long as you can give us information.

Nothing will befall you if you give us information, if you work for them. I took it, if my own handler says it, then I can do it. Then I came back and I started giving the Police information.

Now, unfortunately my Commander, my handler in Botswana was moved to Zambia whatever, so I was left with Rhola and other people and I couldn't entrust them with the same information that I trusted my handler with. I just worked with them, but I didn't tell them that I was working also for the South African Police as long as I thought if my initial handler knows about this thing, then everything will be fine.

Until ultimately the ANC called ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** Can you hold it Joe there.

**MR CHASKALSON:** Joe, according to what you said after they had been torturing you for quite a while, you offered to help them. Did they ask you to help them during this period when they were torturing you?

MR MAMASELA: ... that I should work with them, and if I refused, they will kill me just like they killed my brother, and they were boasting about how they killed my brother. They left no doubt in my mind that if I don't offer to work with them, they will kill me.

MR CHASKALSON: Okay, but they were definitely from Murder and Robbery?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, I will explain why that disparity, because more often than not, what the Police do is they used Murder and Robbery to get to you as if it is just a Murder and Robbery, those were trumped up charges, because even in court they didn't take the case further.

CHAIRPERSON: I was going to suggest, maybe we should flag the questions that we would rather put to Joe, let him run and then we can come back to some of those, unless the question becomes crucial for clarification.

MR MAMASELA: Thank you Mr Chairman. You know the irony of the whole thing is all this time, I was arrested by the Brakpan Murder and Robbery, I thought it was a criminal thing because they were asking me questions about the truck that was hijacked and goods that were stolen and all that, but you know, I gave them all the information that they wanted, because I saw the people selling the goods and I even told them where the goods were sold, but they were never interested.

They never even, didn't even go there. That was you know, the surprise to me because after they arrested me they took me to Randfontein. From Randfontein they took me to Krugersdorp, from Krugersdorp that is when the Krugersdorp Security Police came to jail. So it was a link you know, I could see it was just a ploy you know, with trumped up charges that they were criminal charges they were investigating, whilst in actual fact they were asking me about who killed Sergeant Hlobe, Chappy of Moroke police station because they wanted to incriminate me with the murder of Sergeant Chappy and I knew nothing about that.

On the other hand I kept on incriminating because I knew most of the information they were asking me, they got it from the source Siphon. I kept on incriminating Siphon, but Siphon until this day was never picked up by the Police, he was never questioned about it. That confirmed my suspicion that it is true that this man was their source.

Even in Krugersdorp I never went to court on the allegation that they were making criminal allegations. Instead Security Police came and took me out and then they said no, from now on you are going to work with us and that is how I started working with them.

I will just say I went back to the ANC and I gave them little bits of information, and I went to the ANC and in 1981, round about June, the ANC discovered because this people probably

thought I was outliving my usefulness, they arrested one Sandile who was Mpo Masetla, the sister to Billy Masetla, who is now the Head of NIA, Intelligence.

I took them out of Soweto, I took them to Botswana and when this Sandile came back, they arrested him without my knowledge, and they started interrogating him on the things that me and him were saying that we reported to the Security, and they started exposing me to him, that I work for them. On the other hand they left him to go back and without informing me.

This Sandile went back to the ANC and he told them, no, Joe Mamasela is working for the Police, that is how the ANC in Botswana sent somebody urgently to come and pick me up after I have completed my Intelligence training in 1980.

In 1981 they sent somebody to fetch me, Felix Nqwenya to Botswana. When I went there, I found the same people that I was working with, they were extremely hostile, all of them.

They said no, they did not want to make it clear that you work for the South African Police but their actions were such that they indicated, okay, they already knew that I was working for the South African Police. I was with my adopted brother, Monde Mpateni.

They took us from Selibepigwe up to Gaborone, they drove in two cars. When we came to Gaborone they separated us, they took him away, they took me to Okavango Flats. Very late in the

brother, I insisted that I wanted to see my brother, because he is supposed to come back to South Africa, I had to give him money and all that, you know, transport money and then reluctantly Rhola took me to Brodest, to one township in Botswana called Brodest at station 4. The number of the house was 404. I went there and I saw Dennis Monage, MK name Iotola and then I saw my brother there but you know, he was very clean when we left Selibepigwe but this time he looked very, very clumsy.

He was filthy, even the clothes he was wearing were too big and they were not his clothing and I wondered what was happening, but I could see panic was written all over his face and when I tried to enquire to him what was happening, but Rhola just told me, no, I must not talk to this man any more. It is against the protocol of conspiracy, so I just left him there, I gave him all the money that I had, my brother and Rhola took me away.

The following morning at about 6 am, they woke me up and they said we are going to Livingstone with them, because they wanted me to go to Livingstone for further instructions. So we went to the airport. Fortunately Samora Marchell visited Botswana by then, so no airplanes were allowed to land or take off.

As a result, they were forced to go back with me to Okavango Flats and that is when I really feared for my life and I thought something sinister and tragic was going to happen to my

brother because the way he was looking the last time I was with him.

I then hashed a plan of them escorting me to Selibepigwe and then ultimately, reluctantly, very late Rhola agreed and then they drove me from Gaborone to Selibepigwe to fetch my clothing and my money and all that. When we went there, (indistinct) I informed my girlfriend Prescilla Baitsilla, a Botswana woman, she was a nurse, I said no listen, these people kidnapped me and my brother, I don't know what happened to my brother, but they have kidnapped me and I believe that they are going to kill me. Can you call the Police and she said no, okay take them home, I will phone the Police later.

She then phoned the Police and the Police came and arrested all these people. They took me to the Police station, it is then that the Police, after interrogating me, for quite a long time, that they told me that a corpse answering to the description of my brother, was picked up at (indistinct) in the Lukwati district. His charred remains at the government mortuary and I should go and identify his corpse.

It was the first time in all my life that I had to identify a corpse, let alone a charred remains of my own brother. When I went there, fortunately he had a self made ring and he made me one that looked similar to his, that was the only item I could identify him with positively.



When I saw his corpse in the government mortuary of Botswana I want to attest to this Commission that when I saw his charred remains there, you know, he looked very bad. As an African something died with me within there. I said whoever did this thing, I would never rest until justice is done to them.

When I came back with his corpse, I had to talk with the Botswana Police, they released us at about 12 o'clock midnight, when the borders were closed. They released the corpse with me, but the South African side, they arrested me. They harassed me again, we slept there with the corpse in the bakkie until the following day. The Commander contacted Pretoria, the Police came in and they said no, you must work with us.

You see the ANC, they played on those emotions that look, these people were supposed to liberate you, they are killing you, they are burning you alive, look at what is happening.

Well, feeling like I was feeling at that stage, I said okay fine, I will help you to (indistinct) these people, I know them, I even know where they stay you know. It is then that for the first time I took out all the information I knew about the ANC and gave it to the Security Police with the hopeless endeavour of trying to bring the culprits to book.

Little did I know that I was jumping out of the frying pan into the fire because what the Police made me do, was more dastardly than what the ANC did to me and my family.

Now, I am going to begin with hell that I describe as hell, the life of hell. In 1981 I was told then that for my safety and for my security, the Police, that was Colonel Jan Coetzee, he said he was going to take me to Vlakplaas in Pretoria, where the other turned ANC and PAC members were staying, for my own protection. He said the ANC won't get me there and I believed him, because he was my handler.

He took me to Vlakplaas in the middle of 1981. He introduced me to the then Vlakplaas Commander, Captain Dirk Coetzee. I was hardly three months, four months at Vlakplaas when Dirk Coetzee called me to his home with the Nofemele and Chikalanga and he told me listen, we want you to help these youngsters with manpower because I sent them to Lesotho to buy me diamonds worth R4 000-00 and they came back with cheap little stones that have flaws. These diamonds are not even worth R2 000-00 if I sell them.

Then he commanded me that I should go with these people to Lesotho to "lok" the diamond dealer into South Africa and if need be, we must kill that man and rob him because he took his money and he gave him useless stones.

So it is then that I went with Nofemele and Chikalanga to Lesotho. I also must hasten to point out that at this juncture, I did not know about the deal, the initial deal, they went there by themselves and they came back. I was only called to retrieve the

money. They went there with themselves and they came back, I was only called there to retrieve the money that made Coetzee dissatisfied.

We went to Lesotho and we met one guy who was an in between guy and he said, no the man that sold the diamonds, is inn (indistinct), (indistinct) was a little bit far, we couldn't go there. He tried to phone and the man couldn't come.

At this stage Nofemele was panicking because he was afraid of Coetzee, and then Nofemele suggested that we should come to the South African side and wait at the border, maybe he will identify the car of this Lesotho guy because this diamond dealer used to travel in and out of Lesotho to South Africa.

We did as Nofemele suggested. That was my first operation I had to rely on Nofemele for information because I never knew these guys and how they looked like myself. So at one stage Nofemele saw a silver-grey, brand new Datsun lorry of 1981 model, and he said no, there is the guy and I thought that was the diamond dealer.

He immediately screeched the car tyres and he overtook this guy and he took out a police card and showed him to park aside. At this stage I was not a policeman, I was not carrying police identity with myself, that was Nofemele who was carrying it.

This man stopped and Nofemele said no, we are investigating a case of armed robbery and the car answering the

description of your car, was involved. He said this man must get out of his car, he must be a passenger and then he ordered me to sit with the man at the back. I did that, and then he instructed Chikalanga to drive Nofemele's car back to Pretoria. Myself and Nofemele drove this man to one of the bushy areas near the town there, and then Nofemele asked the man to climb out of the car and into the bushes. We left the car in the street.

I went with Nofemele and this man into the bushes. Nofemele had the Police pistol with him and I was carrying a Tocaroff pistol. Whilst in the bushes, I thought Nofemele was going to force the man to take out the diamonds or the money, but it was abundantly clear to me that the man knew nothing about diamonds, the man was completely innocent.

Nofemele never asked him about diamonds and all that, he started wrapping the man up with the pistol in the stomach area and the guy began scared and then he started turning and running away. I took a potshot with my Tocaroff at the man and Nofemele stopped me and said no, my Tocaroff was making too much noise, it will attract neighbouring farmers there, wait I will go after him.

He chased the man, the man ran and there was a six feet fence, and the man started to climb on the fence. While on top of the fence, Nofemele kept on firing volleys of fire, until the man fell over the other side. Nofemele jumped the fence and then he

shot him at point blank range in the head, I am sure twice or three times. But it was more than once.

And then I could see the man's body laying there, lifelessly and then Nofemele jumped out and he came to me with a pistol in his hand and he said, no quickly let's run. He drove the man's car and we came to Pretoria. On the way I opened the cubby holder of the car and I saw stacks of papers that when I read the stacks of papers, I could clearly see the man was innocent, he was not a diamond dealer. He was working for a big dairy company in Lesotho, because those stacks of papers showed that they were dairy, they were talking about milk and all, you know ledgers for business and all that.

I took these things and just started throwing them out of the window and when Nofemele reached Pretoria, he told Coetzee that I threw all the evidence out and I was useless and you know, I couldn't operate well, I was scared and all that, and Coetzee then decided to drop me immediately. Nofemele told him that he killed the man, the man's body is there.

Then Coetzee said no, Nofemele and Ernest Modala must go and he must go back, they must leave me, they must go back to fetch the man, the corpse. They went there with the corpse back on Coetzee's boot and they started taking the man and I don't know where they took him, but Ernest Modala told me that they took the man somewhere in the Eastern Transvaal where Coetzee

destroyed his body in the rotation style of burning him to ashes and throwing his ashes into the river. But I cannot attest to that because I was not part of the whole thing. That was the first one.

Immediately, I am sure a month later, a month later, Coetzee, a month later my wife gave birth to my first son and I asked for, I requested for ...

**ADV POTGIETER:** Sorry Mr Mamasela, I assume you are going to move to the next incident now?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Before you do that, was this person that was killed from the dairy, was he ever identified, who was he?

**MR MAMASELA:** He was to the best of my knowledge, even up to now, he was never identified because he was a Lesotho citizen, he was not a South African citizen.

But it will be easy for me to identify him if really, people need the man to be identified because the first thing we have to do is to go to Lesotho, to ask about the person who disappeared in 1981, working for a dairy company with the company's car, then it would be easy. Even through the borders we can check.

**ADV POTGIETER:** How do you think this person fitted into the Vlakplaas issue, because there doesn't seem to be any connection between the diamond aborted, unless that was a lie, the aborted diamond deal and this person?

**MR MAMASELA**: No, that person was completely innocent, what Nofemele wanted to apeace Coetzee by stealing, by robbing this man's car, because Coetzee wanted his money back. If not, we must kill this man and rob him of his car.

So I think Nofemele just wanted to rob the man of his car, just to apeace Coetzee.

**ADV POTGIETER**: And tell Coetzee that this man ...

**MR MAMASELA**: That we got the diamond dealer, yes.

**ADV POTGIETER**: Okay.

**MR MAMASELA**: And this is the story that he fed Coetzee. Even I believe, until this day Coetzee believed that that man was a diamond dealer and that man was not a diamond dealer.

**ADV POTGIETER**: Okay, thank you.

**MR MAMASELA**: I think a month later, my wife gave birth to my first born son and I requested for a special leave to be with my wife in Soweto, but I knew that the group, the other group was getting to Durban, Nofemele's group was getting to Durban, so I stayed in Soweto with my wife.

But after a week or two these people have left, I saw Nofemele. Suddenly stopping in front of my wife's place at ...

**MR CHASKALSON**: Mr Chair, may I just ask, I think we are moving on to the Mxenge one. If we move over to one of the incidents that are going into a prosecution, may I ask that he refer to his statement that will be used in court. Obviously you

can ask questions to elucidate but if we move on to a specific one where there is a statement in court, obviously if there is going to be a prosecution, can I ask that he just relate his statement. Obviously you can ask to elucidate any points on that, but then we don't have the problem if he already made a statement on that, can I ask that he just go to that, thank you Mr Chair.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Well, there is no objection to that approach. Joe, you can refer to your prepared statement.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, and I make this statement to the effect that in Afrikaans, I say that it was June, okay, that was how I came to Vlakplaas you know, and all that. I said during October 1981 I was on leave ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** If it is in Afrikaans, I don't think we have a problem with you reading it into the record in the language that it is.

**MR MAMASELA:** In Afrikaans, all right.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Yes.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you Mr Chairman. I made a statement under oath in Afrikaans and I said "ek was sedert June 1981 verbonde aan Vlakplaas. Op 4 Februarie 1982 is ek aangestel as die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie, gestasioneer Vlakplaas, C10 as askari.

My onmiddellike bevelvoerder was oud-kaptein Dirk Coetzee. Gedurende Oktober 1981 was ek met vakansie verlof.



Op 'n dag, datum onbekend aan my gedurende dieselfde maand het Almond Nofemele saam met my by Vlakplaas gewerk en 'n lid van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie het by my huis opgedaag.

Almond het aan my gesê dat kaptein Coetzee, my bevelvoerder my dringend in Durban benodig. Ek het dit aan Almond gestel dat ek met verlof was. Hy het gesê dat daar 'n groot operasie in Durban was, en dat ek dringend benodig word. Ek moes saam na Durban gaan.

Ek het geweet dat ek nie bevele kan verontagsaam nie. Ek het saam met Almond na Durban gery. Met ons aankoms in Durban by die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie C.R. Swart, het kaptein Coetzee na my gekom.

Hy het aan my gesê dat daar 'n ANC prokureur was wie die Durbanse Veiligheidspolisie groot probleme besorg. Hy het gesê dat hy my die volgende dag sou inroep sodat die Durbanse Veiligheidspolisie my self kon inligting gee.

Die volgende dag, dit was ongeveer dertig minute voor nege, was ek na 'n kantoor van die Veiligheidskantore geroep. Kaptein Coetzee het my na die kantoor vergesel. In die kantoor, het ek vier Veiligheidspolisiemanne aangetref. Almal was blankes en op daardie stadium onbekend aan my.

Kaptein Coetzee het my aan die vier mans voorgestel. Ek onthou dat een brigadier Van der Hoven was en dat hy die

bevelvoerder was. Die ander was Andy Taylor, hy kan vlot Zulu praat. Die ander twee kan ek nie onthou nie.

Brigadier Van der Hoven het my ingelig dat daar 'n prokureur was wat hulle baie moeilikheid gee. Die prokureur was 'n ANC aktivis was op Robbeneiland aangehou was. Die prokureur sou volgens inligting R100 000-00 van die ANC ontvang het om jong lede te werf. Die prokureur was baie intelligent en hulle kon tot dusver niks aan hom doen nie.

Die prokureur was op 'n keer voor die Hof gebring, maar die saak het misluk. Hy was so kwaad dat hy die prokureur aangerand het. As gevolg waarvan siviele eise en baie moeilikheid ontstaan het.

Die brigadier het gesê die prokureur, Griffiths Mxenge geëlimineer moes word. Ons moes sorg dra dat dit nie na 'n politieke moord moes lyk nie, of dat nie die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie betrokke kon wees nie.

Dit moes blyk dat dit 'n roof was. Die oorledene se horlosie, skoene en motor moes afgevat word. Ons mag nie die prokureur doodskiet nie. Ons moes hom doodsteek.

Ek was ingelig dat Griffiths Mxenge en sy vrou by dieselfde firma werksaam was, maar dat elkeen met sy eie motor ry. Eersgenoemde het gewoonlik drie minute na sy vrou gery.

Brigadier Van der Hoven het die twee onbekende lede opdrag gegee om my in te lig oor omstandighede by Mxenge se

huis. Hulle het gesê dat daar twee kwaai honde was. Hulle het ook gesê dat Mxenge 'n bokser was en dat ek versigtig moes wees. Andy Taylor het 'n foto van Mxenge aan my gegee.

Na die inligtingsessie was ek deur die twee onbekende lede geneem, waar hulle die roete wat Mxenge sou volg, aan my gewys het.

Hulle het my na 'n koppie naby Mxenge se huis geneem vanwaar ek die hele toneel kan besigtig. Kaptein Coetzee was deurentyd teenwoordig tydens die inligtingsessie en het ook insette gelewer. Hy het ons egter nie vergesel om die roete te leer ken nie, die huis te besigtig nie.

Tydens die inligtingsessie was ek aangesê om die volgende dag vergiftigde vleis te kom afhaal sodat die kwaai honde geëlimineer kan word. Ek het voorgestel dat drie stukkies vleis voorberei word sodat ek dit kan versprei. Een hond kon dalk twee stukkies vleis eet en die ander oorleef.

Die plan was om Mxenge op pad te vermoor, sou hy in 'n konvooi ry wat dit onmoontlik en moes ons hom alternatiewelik tuis vermoor. Daarom moes die honde vooraf afgemaak word. Die volgende dag het ek Spyker Chikalanga en Almond Nofemele en wyle Brian Mgqulunga na C.R. Swart polisiestatie gegaan om die vleis te gaan haal en die laaste voorligting te ontvang.

Laasgenoemde drie persone het voor my na Durban gegaan en hulle was reeds voorgelig. By C.R. Swart het ons kaptein Dirk

Coetzee, Andy Taylor en die twee onbekende blankes aangetref. Dit was reeds aand. Ek het nie vir brigadier Van der Hoven gesien nie. Ons het die vleis ontvang terwyl Spyker Chikalanga met 'n knipmes uitgereik was.

Almond Nofemele het 'n groot slagmes ontvang en Brian Mgqulunga, 'n Macaroff pistool om Mxenge aan te hou. Ek was 'n karateka en bokser en my plig was om Mxenge vas te hou, terwyl die res hom doodsteek.

Brian was nie veronderstel om te skiet nie. Gedurende dieselfde nag is ons na Mxenge se huis waar ek self die vleis oor die muur van die erf gegooi het. Tydens die oorhandiging van die vergiftigde vleis, het kaptein Coetzee aan my gesê dat ek moes sorg dra dat daar nie van die gif aan my hande moes kom nie, aangesien dit baie giftig was. Ek het uit nuuskierigheid na die gif gekyk wat in die vleis was.

Dit was in die vorm van groenerige kristalle. Die volgende dag het ek verneem dat die twee honde dood was. Ons was bewus van die feit dat Mxenge en sy vrou om 17H00 van diens gaan.

Die dag na die honde vergiftig was, het ek, Spyker Chikalanga, Almond Nofemele en Brian Mgqulunga, die blankes by C.R. Swart agtergelaat en na Umlazi gegaan. Ons is 16H45 het ons voertuig, 'n Toyota 2000 LAW, ligbruin van kleur met 'n wit kappie en 'n Transkei registrasie nommer in die enkel ryvlak op pad na Mxenge se huis dwars in die pad parkeer.

Ons het die masjienkap ooggemaak om voor te gee dat ons probleme met die voertuig het. Ons het die voertuig so parkeer dat enigiemand moes stilhou en nie verby kan beweeg nie. Na 'n rukkie het 'n silwer kleurige Audi motorkar ons genader. Dit was Mxenge se eggenote. Ek het met haar gepraat en voorgegee dat ons in nood was en haar gevra om battery koppelings, "jumper cables" te leen.

Sy het gesê dat sy ongelukkig nie kon help nie. Ek het haar bedank en die ander aangesê om die bakkie uit die pad te stoot. Sy het verby gery na die huis toe.

Anders as wat ons verwag het, het Griffiths Mxenge nie die dag drie minute na sy vrou opgedaag nie, maar ongeveer 25 minute later. Hy het met 'n wit Audi gery. Toe hy by ons aangekom het, het hy stilgehou. Die bakkie was meer dwars op die pad parkeer.

Die plan was dat Brian Mgqulunga sou hom vra vir battery koppelings, "jumper cables". As hy antwoord, sou Brian die Macaroff op hom rig. Ek sou dan aan die passassierskant inklim, waarna Brian hom na my kant dwing en agter die stuur inklim. Almond sou agter ons inklim met 'n slagmes.

Ons wou die man ontvoer terwyl Spyker ons met die bakkie volg.

Die het nie so uitgewerk nie. Brian het skynbaar koue voete gekry en nie die wapen op die man gerig nie. Hy het 'n lang

gesprek met hom begin voer. Ek het gesien dat daar moeilikheid kom. Almond het by die agterste deur agter my gestaan. Ek het hom die slagmes gevra, waarop hy dit gegee het.

Ek het die linker voordeur oop gepluk en Mxenge met die slagmes gedreig. Ek het aan hom gesê dat ons nie verdere lang stories praat nie, en dat dit 'n roof is. Ons soek geld, Mxenge het groot geskrik. Brian het nou die vuurwapen uitgehaal en op Mxenge gerig.

Hy het Mxenge na die middel van die voertuig gedwing. Ons het weggery. Ek het die Macaroff by Brian geneem aangesien hy bestuur het, en die slagmes aan Almond terug oorhandig.

Spyker het ons met die bakkie gevolg. Ek het aan Brian gesê om ons na 'n stil plek te neem. Brian was 'n boorling van die omgewing en het dit goed geken.

Onderweg het ek aan Mxenge gesê dat ons van Inkatha was en hy van die ANC en dat hy nie goed was nie. Brian het ons na 'n ou fietsry stadion geneem wat in 'n oop veld was. Dit het ook saggies gereën. Ons het 'n entjie in die stadion ingery.

Dit was reeds skemer en daar was geen mense in sig nie. Aangesien ek die pistool gehad het, het ek Mxenge by my deur laat uitklim. Toe hy halfpad by die deur uit was, het ek hom teen die grond gepluk. Ek het hom met een hand teen die grond vasgedruk en die pistool teen sy gesig gedruk.

Almond Nofemele en Spyker het hom met die messe begin steek, baie keer. Almond het per ongeluk my linkerhand oor die vingers raakgesteek. Ek het my hand weggeruk en Mxenge gelos. Terwyl ek na die wond gekyk het, het Mxenge opgespring.

Hy het Almond se mes afgevat. Almond het Mxenge in die maag gesteek. Die mes was tot by die hef in sy maag. Almond kon dit nie uittrek nie, en het dit gelos. Mxenge het self die mes uitgepluk. Hy het Almond daarmee gejaag.

Ek het Spyker se knipmes gegryp en Mxenge gevolg. Ek het hom probeer van agter steek, maar kon hom nie raaksteek nie. Ek het hom plat geduik. Toe hy die grond tref, het die slagmes uit sy hande geval.

Ons het woensdag om besit van die slagmes gestoei. Terwyl ons stoei het ek gevoel dat Mxenge swakker word. Ek het hom in 'n stoeigrep gekry sodat hy nie kon loskom nie, alhoewel hy hard probeer het.

Almond het sy slagmes intussen herwin. Hy het Mxenge keel af gesny terwyl ek hom in die greep vashou. Ek het hom toe dadelik gelos. Mxenge het baie gebloei. Almond het hom egter verder keel af gesny. Mxenge het nou stil gelê.

Almond het 'n wiel moersleutel uit die bakkie gaan haal, hy het Mxenge herhaaldelik oor die kop geslaan. Ek het gesien dat Mxenge nou doodstil lê.

Ek het vir die ander gesê dat ons moes nou padgee. Ek het seker gemaak dat ons geen bewysstukke agtergelaat het nie. Dit was een van my take. Ek het die wiel moersleutel wat Almond neergegooi het, en bebloed was, opgetel en in die voertuig geplaas. Almond was woedend omdat Mxenge hom met die mes wou steek en het aan Brian gesê om met die Audi oor Mxenge wat op sy rug gelê het, te ry.

Ek het gekeer en gesê dat die motor vol bloed sal word, en dat ons daarmee deur die dorp moes ry. Ons het Mxenge se horlosie, skoene en baadjie geneem. Brian het agter die stuur van die Audi ingeklim terwyl Almond links voor, ingeklim het.

Ek het alleen agter gesit. Spyker Chikalanga het ons met die bakkie gevolg na die Butterworth hotel. By die Butterworth hotel het Almond die bakkie geneem om kaptein Coetzee te gaan haal by C.R. Swart polisiestasie. Ek is nie seker of Braam du Plessis en Koos Vermeulen saam met kaptein Coetzee by die hotel opgedaag het nie.

Ek het egter Mxenge se horlosie, baadjie en skoene aan kaptein Coetzee oorhandig. Ons het ook die Audi se sleutel aan kaptein Coetzee oorhandig. 'n Groep ander lede van Vlakplaas wat in Durban werksaam was, het my by die Butterworth hotel met 'n minibus opgelaai. Ons het na Pretoria teruggekeer.

'n Paar maande later het ons in Oos-Transvaal langs die Swaziland grens gewerk. Almond het gesê dat hy my wou wys



waar Mxenge se voertuig was. Ons het gery tot by 'n plek met die naam Jeppes Reef. Ek het die uitgebrande wrak van die Audi gesien. Selfs die wiel (onduidelik) was gesmelt.

Dit is nou die verklaring wat ek net afgelewer het.

**MR CHASKALSON:** Wat is die datum daar mnr Mamasela? Ek bedoel eintlik wanneer is die verklaring afgeneem van u, mnr Mamasela?

**MR MAMASELA:** I said the statement, this affidavit was made on the 12th of February 1996 at approximately twenty past twelve in Pretoria, at the Department of Justice offices.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Very well, then you can proceed in the manner in which you have been proceeding so far.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you very much Mr Chairman. That was after Mxenge's murder, we came back to Pretoria and within two, three weeks later, Captain Dirk Coetzee called us to his house again, and he thanked us for the successful operation that we undertook and he then gave each and everyone of us, that is the three of us, that is myself, Nofemele and Chikalanga, R1 000-00 each. But he did not give Brian Mgqulunga because Nofemele told him that Brian was "sussie-rig", Brian did not participate in the actual killing. That is why Brian Mgqulunga was left out when we were remunerated.

That was late in 1981. In 1982 on the 4th of February, I then officially became a Policeman. It was when Colonel Jan

Coetzee took over from Dirk Coetzee. He was always my handler, and then he made me a Policeman for the first time.

During that particular time, after February, shortly after I became a Policeman in February, I think in the middle of February, the same month, the very same Colonel Jan Coetzee, informed me that there is a big operation that was going to happen in Westgate, in Roodepoort in the mine dumps.

He said the operation was masterminded by one of the ascaris, by the name of Efrahim Mfalapisa. He lured some youngsters to recruit them for ANC training, and they were about four. He requested me to drive Mfalapisa near Krugersdorp at a four way stop in Krugersdorp, we must pick up the youngsters there.

Mfalapisa will show me where to drive them. When Mfalapisa say stop, I must stop and Mfalapisa will climb off with this four and they will head to the mine bunkers there, and I must immediately withdraw to the base. That was precisely my operation at that stage.

I did as the Colonel instructed me, I drove Mfalapisa to near Krugersdorp, where he picked up four youngsters and he introduced them to me as comrades. Then he told them no, I am a taxi man that he hired. I drove them until Mfalapisa showed me all the way and they said stop here, I stopped. Then he climbed off with the youngsters and moved into the bush in the darkness.

But I knew that there was already a mine bunker that was prepared for these youth, with explosives stuffed in the cement bags and whatever and little bricks were set there, so that when this youngsters were there with Mfalapisa and was told that you should get out, he must show them the grenade, how it works, and he must leave the message, he is going to fetch the other material.

Whilst out, the door was meant to lock from outside, he must lock them from outside and he must run away. So that this people can operate, I think it was a remote control sort of thing to blow these little school boys to smithereens.

That plan, I knew about the arrangement but I was not myself, in the whole thing. So I just left and the following day, after a few days, I knew that the mission was accomplished and even the press reported that there was some explosion in the mine dump and ironically they couldn't believe it, one of the youth survived the explosion.

That was Moosi, this guy called Moosi, he survived, and then Mfalapisa was very, very, extremely worried. He was openly agitated and progressively nervous because this Moosi was his neighbour and Moosi knew him very, very well. He actually pleaded with the Security Forces that our seniors should finish this man off at the hospital, and they said there was no way they

could do it, because the whole thing will backfire to the Police. It will be seen that it is the Police.

But the Police went in and got the statement from this injured boy, but at this stage I think he did not mention Mfalapisa's name, he just said no, somebody took them. He was also afraid you know, to say it was Mfalapisa, he said somebody took them there, and he does not know them, and they were blown to smithereens.

That is how Mfalapisa got away. I want to state clearly that should that boy mention Mfalapisa and that he knew Mfalapisa, the very same senior Policemen were going to kill him in the hospital, I have no doubt about it.

But fortunately for him, ironically, in a very queer way, he saved his life by not divulging Mfalapisa's name because they wanted to ascertain how much he knows of Mfalapisa and by him not disclosing Mfalapisa's name, he mysteriously saved his own life.

That was now 1982, February. 1982, I think that was the only incident in February and then came 1982, again, in the middle of 1982, we were sent in with Nofemele to get at Ernest Dipale, to try and abduct Ernest Dipale at his home. He was abducted, he was sent to Pretoria and they beat him up with his friend, Gilbert Poshogo and they were later released.

Subsequent, after his release, the John Vorster Police requested me that they wanted me to help them to rearrest Ernest Dipale, I don't know whether they had new evidence that they can pin on him. I helped them to look for him. One evening in Soweto I saw Ernest Dipale in a car, and they started chasing him and he outwitted them, and shots were fired.

I fired about three, four shots at the wheel of his car, but I missed, it was in the night, but he got away all the same. The following day they arrested him, Ernest. After they arrested him, within two days, I heard an emergency call from Colonel Jan Coetzee, calling me to John Vorster Square.

I drove to him and I could see you know, he asked me do you know what happened, and I said no, I don't know anything. He said Ernest Dipale is dead. It came as a complete shock to me because he was healthy, he was energetic and he then said no, he is dead. I said what happened, and he said no, it is just a little accident.

I said, how did the accident happen and he started showing me the photo's of him apparently hanging himself. You know they showed me the corpse, laying, but in the process I heard them talking, but what about the blood.

The post-mortem, what will they say you know, the inquest, are they not going to question about - they were

formulating ideas as to how they were going to get away with it at the inquest.

It is then that it dawned on me that no, this man did not commit suicide, he was killed by the Police. He was hanged there as if he hanged himself. You could see in the photo there was blood, just a little bit far away from him.

They said no, they will say that blood came when his head hit against the wall and he dangled, so he stood that side. They will say it was the initial impact of his head. But it became abundantly clear that they really murdered him and said no, he killed himself. For the first time I had the insight as to how people die and disappear in Police custody.

That was now 1982, and then in 1983, it was a bit quiet. 1984, let me refer, 1984, no 1982 the murder of Yabo Nausa and wife in Swaziland. I think I should come to that one.

I was not present when he was murdered, but I understand - it was Vlakplaas job where they put explosives. I am not an explosive's person, I know nothing about explosives, I have never worked with explosives myself. Even in the East Rand, during the East Rand, training of the East Rand youth who blew themselves up, I could hardly operate a hand grenade, I had to look for somebody who could operate it, that is why I got Daniel Nkala. Myself, I was not trained in that direction, I was trained in Intelligence, I specialised in Intelligence.

This Nausa I knew because we went there, we were holding some surveillance at his place and all that, so we knew what time he took his kids to school and what time he came back, but when Brigadier Cronje and others went to put explosives there, we were not there. We were just called in short, after about a month or later, after he was blown to smithereens with his wife. Then we drove there with Van Dyk in the same flat, and the one Mazda car. Apparently of ANC insurgents followed us and they started chasing us in Soweto, in town.

Van Dyk knew Soweto like the palm of his hand, because he took another road and the next thing, we saw the car coming, and we tried to follow it and then he said we must hit the guys and the other cars came in, they disturbed us and then we couldn't shoot those people, the occupants of the car.

I know about Nausa, he had according to the description, he had 6 fingers, I think on the left hand side, on his left hand and according to the information that we received at that time, he came from Russia for six years. He specialised in Intelligence, he was the Chief of Intelligence of the ANC in Botswana.

That was the information Brigadier Cronje gave me during the time.

A lot of other activities happened, particularly in Swaziland. I cannot remember whether it was 1982, 1983, between 1982 and 1983, this guy Dhlamini, Peter Dhlamini who

was a Swazi national, but he was helping the ANC and when we went with Brigadier Cronje to attack Little John, he is late, he was a Colonel in the South African Defence Force, National Defence Force, he is now late.

When we attacked him, bricks, I knew him very well, we schooled together at Morris Isaacson, then he was somehow a Commander and then they said no, we must go and attack him. They wanted to attack him, so we went to his house in Swaziland but it was in the evening, he couldn't come out.

Some insurgents came with the car, inside, and they stopped in the yard and then all hell broke loose, because somebody there started shooting at them, and they started running and there was shootings, and one, Peter Dhlamini was shot in the head, but he survived. He was a Swazi national, he survived that. Nobody was killed, nobody was arrested, that was another mission of Swaziland.

Also in 1981, we - let me not jump, let me come to the attack on the home of Joyce Dipale in Gaborone. Lilian Giagele who was in my unit and who was in the same unit that captured me and my brother, when she came back from Botswana to South Africa, she was intercepted and arrested by the Security Police, and she gave them information about Joyce Dipale. Joyce Dipale is no longer in Okavango Flats, she is hiding somewhere in a house, in a secret house in Botswana and she gave us the number.



I knew the area very well, I said no, I know the area. Then Dirk Coetzee decided that we should go and attack these people and kill them in Botswana. We left, that was myself, Dirk Coetzee, Colonel Vermeulen and Warrant Officer Van Dyk at that time, Chikalanga, Nofemele, we went to Botswana to attack Joyce Dipale.

We arrived at her place and when she tried to open the door, I jumped in and I grabbed her because the idea was to abduct them, not to kill them. So started screaming and dragging me inside the house and Dirk Coetzee just pushed me aside and started firing with the Uzi sub-machine gun. He fired several shots at her, but I think he deliberately missed because he wounded her in the knee and in the shoulder only.

When she fell, she called, she was hurt and she called towards me and Dirk Coetzee said, "laat ons gaan, laat ons gaan", you know. I think the purpose of the whole thing was to burn my bridges, because Joyce Dipale knew me. They wanted just to wound her in Botswana and leave there alive so that she can tell the ANC that it was Joe and the Security Forces who came to attack me.

So that even if I want to go back to the ANC, I couldn't, because my bridges would be burnt by then. I think that was the only way why she survived, because she was just wounded and she was calling and they just decided to abandon the mission.

Indeed, she did recognise me positively as Joe Mamasela who came with the Boers to attack her and she gave the statement to the Botswana Police, to that effect.

Then we can, no this attack on the house of Lilian Giagele, it ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** Can I just ask a question Joe, before you go. The Ernest Moabi Dipale and Joyce Dipale, is there any connection between these two persons, is it just a question of surnames coinciding?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, there is a connection. Ernest is the younger brother of Joyce Dipale and Joyce Dipale is the cousin to Lilian Giagele. And Joyce is married to alias Rhola Masinga. Rhola Masinga, we used to school together as Morris Isaacson, so we were a closely knit cell, we knew each other very well, even our homes.

**CHAIRPERSON:** So these people were related?

**MR MAMASELA:** They were related yes.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Okay.

**MR MAMASELA:** The attack on the house of Lilian Giagele refers to that one of Joyce Dipale, there was no attack on Lilian Giagele's house. Lilian Giagele was arrested and the Police told me that they had nothing against her, that can prove that she is an ANC insurgent and as a result thereof, the plot had to frame her,

that she was ANC insurgent and she carried ANC jobs, and they used me extensively because I am the only one who knew her.

Most of the time when I was in Botswana, she was there and they said no, because your passports can show that when you were in Botswana, she was in Botswana, you must just tell the court that she underwent the same training as you did, although I never had that knowledge that she attended that.

They told me that I must also frame her on Nklansani attack, that she made a map to attack Nklansani power station, and she didn't. All that she did was, she gave me the court documents of this municipal trade unionist leader, Joe Mafe. I think he is now late. So she gave me those documents to take to Botswana and the Police said no, I must say in the midst of those documents, there were a clear map that shows that Nklansani power station should be attacked, railway station.

But it was not like that, but in court I testified against her, and she was found guilty of those trumped up charges. She was sentenced to eight years and when she appealed, she was given two more years, she was sentenced to 10 years.

**ADV POTGIETER:** In which court was that?

**MR MAMASELA:** It was in Johannesburg court, court number 21 and the Presiding Magistrate was R. Dowling.

**MR CHASKALSON:** What year was that in, the actual trial?

MR MAMASELA: It was in 1982. She was charged with receiving training of the African National Congress, aiding and abating terrorists, and she was charged also with taking information to the ANC for the purpose of attacking installations inside the country.

ADV POTGIETER: So this power station, is it in Nklansani?

MR MAMASELA: It is Nklansani power station.

ADV POTGIETER: Where is that?

MR MAMASELA: It is in Mulapo, just Mulapo station, and she stayed at number 202 in Mulapo, just opposite the power station, so when we talked about that, the court believed it, because she was a stone's throw away from the power station.

ADV POTGIETER: So that was brought into the case to aggravate the case?

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

ADV POTGIETER: Okay, thank you.

MR MAMASELA: I think basically from 1984, late in 1985, I did not become active any longer because Brigadier Jack Cronje, requested me to become his driver, so all that I did was to drive him around the country, throughout the country, to visit other units most of the time.

So at least that was a quiet year for me. At least I had a relieve for a change. In 1985, round about 1985, on the 8th of May, we were requested by ...

**ADV POTGIETER:** I am sorry Mr Mamasela, did you speak about this incident in 1981 illegal shooting at a car of drunk people, and another incident in 1981, theft of an activist car. Did you speak about that?

**MR MAMASELA:** Oh, on top?

**ADV POTGIETER:** Yes?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, the theft of an activist car, I had during the Harms Commission for the first time, I heard about it. I think Coetzee was making a mistake about that, I was not even at Vlakplaas at that time.

It was there where they found the chickens with Nofemele with in the boot of the car, so I was not there. He is making a mistake there.

This illegal shooting at the car of drunk people, in Wynberg. It was a town near Lesotho border, called Wynberg, that is where these people were driving recklessly and when Coetzee tried to stop them, they forced him off the road.

Myself and Nofemele were following with a bakkie, and then we started, just to save Coetzee's life, because we could see they were trying to push him off the road, then we started shooting at them, and then they took a gravel road on the left hand side. Then me and Nofemele started shooting, I was shooting with a Tocaroff.

One of the, the driver of the car was hit and Nofemele because I was not a Policeman then, Nofemele took over the responsibilities, it is him who shot the guy, but when the ballistic experts came in and they took out some shrapnels of the bullets, they found out that it was a Tocaroff bullet and it is then that the whole thing was changed and said no, it is an informer who was with us.

The Police immediately made a hasty out of court settlement, they gave the man, they confiscated the man and there was no case to that effect. When the Harms Commission started to investigate this shooting, General Nick van Rensburg and General Krappies Engelbrecht, they went immediately to Wynberg to steal the docket that was talking about this incident.

They destroyed the docket.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Thank you.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you. Like I said 1984, 1985 for a change I had, I mentioned the one that we kidnapped him with Almond Nofemele's car.

**ADV POTGIETER:** 1983 you said was a bit quiet?

**MR MAMASELA:** It was a bit quiet on my side.

**ADV POTGIETER:** When did you start as a driver of Jack Cronje?

**MR MAMASELA:** I started between 1984, 1985.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Thank you.

MR MAMASELA: But 1985, on the 8th of May, De Kock called us into Vlakplaas office because it was then that he was taking over the running of Vlakplaas, the Command of Vlakplaas.

He told us that there is a big operation in Cape Town, in the Eastern Cape and they need us to go and help there. That was Venter and myself and Koole and Piet Mogoai. He told us there were some other activists who were making kangaroo courts, who were sentencing Police to death and all that, now we should really come as soon as possible.

In fact I think about three units, it was the first time that three to four units were sent to one place at the same time. Most of our units were sent to the Eastern Cape.

We came, we stayed at Colenso, a place called Colenso, near the Colenso station. It is a railway sort of hostel. We were based there. During our stay there, we were called at Port Elizabeth.

I think I have made a statement to that effect, but we, yes, I think I've made, this is the statement. We were called at Port Elizabeth, just to give a sketchy background, because I did not put it in the statement. We were called there and we were told by the Station Commander of Port Elizabeth, then Security Police, I think it was Colonel Herman du Plessis but I am not sure, he is the one who called us and he said we must help him with a guy

called Toto who was giving them hell and he does not want to cooperate with the police.

Toto is a light guy in complexion and he looks very much like a coloured, he was very, very active during those times. I think his surname is Sithole if I am not mistaken, but he was held up there. He had some bits of information on a piece of paper, I think names of guerillas that he was helping, but when the Police wanted to take them out, he swallowed them.

They were having a problem with him, but I talked to Stoto and I realised that he read too much of works of Malcolm X, because when I discussed Malcolm X with him, you know the burnt down conference, when he discussed the year of the ballot or the bullet with him, he became for the first time, he laughed and he joked and he said, no, he knows politics more than me, he is supposed to be in jail, not me. Ultimately I managed to break him, and for the first time, he laughed and that is how this Station Commander accorded us, he shouted - but in the process he took out a glass of water, he went in another room to come with water, but this water it was crystal clear water, and he took it into another room, when he came out, the water became you know, like the water that is still being purified.

It became whitish, I could see there was a substance, a chemical substance that was in the water. He wanted to force this young boy to drink that water.



ADV POTGIETER: Is it Herman du Plessis?

MR MAMASELA: Yes. Now he gave this boy, he forced this boy to drink that water, but the boy resisted. He resisted, he resisted and until he was dragged into the cells, but the water was there. Fortunately he did not drink that water in my presence, Du Plessis you could see, was angry that he did not drink it.

I think even that man, that boy does not know me, he does not know me, he can attest to that.

ADV POTGIETER: When did you have the discussion with Toto?

MR MAMASELA: With Toto? A week after we have landed at Colenso, we were just called in to talk to him. I went there I am sure on three occasions, three days successfully.

ADV POTGIETER: He was in custody somewhere?

MR MAMASELA: He was in custody in Port Elizabeth in the Security Branch, they kept on interrogating him, interrogating him until I talked about Malcolm X and he became free and we discussed ...

ADV POTGIETER: So, did they ask you to sort of win over his confidence?

MR MAMASELA: His confidence, yes.

ADV POTGIETER: So that he can open up?

MR MAMASELA: So they can make use of him, but he opened up but he did firstly refuse to work with them. But his attitude

was shoot or kill or arrest me. That was his type of attitude, but he was there and he can attest that I did come, I did talk to him and that is precisely what happened.

I saw him during those three days in 1985 and I have never seen him before.

**ADV POTGIETER:** After you succeeded in sort of winning over his confidence, Du Plessis wanted to give him that water?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, during that process he wanted to give him that water.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Oh, during the process?

**MR MAMASELA:** During the process yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** But was before you actually won him over?

**MR MAMASELA:** That was before I won his confidence, yes. Because he was very stubborn, he was seen as a, perceived as a very thorn in their flesh.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Thank you very much.

**MR MAMASELA:** I will say I have made a statement to that effect, and it reads as follows: I will start with during - "gedurende Mei 1985 was ek betrokke by die ontvoering van mnre Godolozzi, Sipho Hashe en Champion Galela wat destyds as die Pebco 3 bekend gestaan het.

Die het as volg gebeur. Op 'n dag was ekself, AO Koole en Piet Mogoai deur kolonel Roelf Venter na 'n kantoor geroep waar

ons voorligting gegee was aangaande 'n "attack" wat te Port Elizabeth uitgevoer moes word.

Ons was gesê dat daar persone was wat die swart woongebied onregeerbaar maak. Ons moet dink aan 'n metode om hulle uit die swart woonbuurt te lok en in 'n lokval in te lei. Ek, AO Koole, Piet Mogoai en nog ander lede het per minibus na die Oos-Kaap vertrek.

Ek onthou die volgende: Peggy Gadebe, Eric Siphade, Brian Mgqulunga, Tsabalala, die kort mannetjie wat nou in Durban is, asook Thabo Magage, laasgenoemde lede het nie geweet wat die opdrag was nie.

Shakes Maluleka was ook saam. Die blankes het met hulle eie voertuig gery. Ek onthou Kolonel Roelf Venter, AO Beeslaar en sersant Joe Coetzer. Met ons aankoms te Port Elizabeth was ons in kleiner groepe ingedeel en met sedan motors uitgereik.

Ons was opdrag gegee om onself met die woonbuurt vertrouwd te maak. Nadat ons reeds 'n paar dae te Port Elizabeth werksaam was, het kolonel Venter myself, AO Koole en Piet Mogoai geroep. Hy het opdrag gegee dat ons 'n aktivis, ene Toto wie in aanhouding was, moes ondervra aangesien hy geen samewerking met die plaaslike Veiligheidstak wou gee nie.

Ek het Toto ondervra en hy het gebreek. Hy het my samewerking gegee.

Hy het sy samewerking gegee. Toto was 'n Xhosa met 'n ligte gelaatskleur soos 'n kleurling. Nadat ons ongeveer drie dae met Toto besig was, het die Hoof van die Veiligheidstak, Port Elizabeth na ons gekom en ons bedank vir die goeie samewerking.

Hy het ons toe verder begin voorlig oor ons oorspronklike taak. Hy het aan ons gesê dat dit nie moontlik sou wees om die persone in die swart woonbuurt te kry nie, aangesien ons vreemd was en vreemde polisiemanne vermoor kon word.

Hy het bygevoeg dat 'n deurbraak gemaak is deurdat ene Thosamile Botha geskakel het en 'n afspraak gereël het. Hulle Veiligheidstak het dit te wete gekom deur afluister apparaat op die teiken se telefoon te plaas.

Ons was verder ingelig dat Thosamile Botha met iemand in die buiteland sou reël vir geld vanuit die buiteland. Ons was foto's van die verdagtes gewys en hulle name was ook aan ons verstrekk.

Ons was gesê dat iemand met 'n Engelse aksent reeds die verdagtes geskakel het en 'n afspraak gereël het vir 19H00 by die lughawe. Ons was aangesê om reeds om 18H00 op ons onderskeie punte te wees. As ek reg onthou, was die datum Woensdag, 1985, Meimaand, die agtste dag van Meimaand.

Die voorligting was om ongeveer 15H00 om gereed te maak. Ons was aangesê, ek, AO Koole en Piet Mogoai om na ons basis te gaan om gereed te maak om die aand te werk.

Ons moes donker klere aantrek, ens. Hulle sou ons teen 17H00 kom haal. Kolonel Roelf Venter and AO Beeslaar het by die basis aangekom met 'n blou minibus. Ek dink dit was 'n Husky met donker ruite. Ons het saam met gemelde lede na Port Elizabeth lughawe gereis. Met ons aankoms by die lughawe het ons by die ingang gestop.

Ons het direk, reg oor die outomatiese ingangsdeure stilgehou. Intussen het ons na ... (band eindig) ... observasie span geluister. Ons kon presies hoor wat die bewegings van die verdagtes was.

Byvoorbeeld Sipho Hashe se vertrek vanaf sy huis, asook die voertuig wat hy gebruik het. Hy het daarna Godolozzi gaan oplaai, waarna hulle na Champion Galela gery het om hom op te laai. Die hele roete wat deur die drie persone gebruik was, was gemonitor sodat ons presies geweet het waar hulle was, totdat die bakkie in ons sig was.

Die voertuig het by die tweede voetoorgang, ek wys punt A op foto A hierby aangeheg, uit. Twee van die insittendes het uitgeklim, dit was 'n lang manspersoon en 'n korter persoon. Ek het vasgestel dat die Godolozzi en Champion Galela was. Ek en Roelf Venter het uit die minibus gespring.

Ons het gewag dat hulle oor die straat stap na die ingang van die lughawe. By die ingang het ons ons aanstellingssertifikate aan die twee persone getoon, en onself

voorgestel. Ons het hulle gegryp en vinnig in die minibus gedruk.

Die bussie was naby.

Binne in die minibus het ek beide gevisenteer. Ek het 'n groot slagmes by Godolozzi gevind, maar niks by Galela nie.

Nadat die persoon wie die voertuig bestuur het, sy passasiers afgelaai het, het hy voort gery om 'n parkeerplek te gaan soek.

Nadat ons eersgenoemde twee passasiers in die minibus gelaai het, het ek en kolonel Venter hulle voertuig te voet gevolg, terwyl AO Beeslaar ons met die bus gevolg het.

Ons het die voertuig, 'n geel Toyota HiLux bakkie met registrasienommer CB12436 gevolg, tot by min of meer punt B op foto 1 waar dit nou parkeer was. Kolonel Venter het sy aanstellingsertifikaat aan die ou man getoon. Ons het hom ook in die minibus gelaai. Ek onthou die ou man het 'n (onduidelik) kep met ANC kleure op gehad.

Kolonel Venter het my opdrag gegee om die bakkie te bestuur en om 'n wit motor wat op die toneel was, te volg. Ek het met die bakkie gery. Ek het gesien dat dit reeds 'n ou bakkie was. Die koppelaar het moeilik gewerk en die remme was nie goed nie.

Ek het gesien dat daar wol, ANC kleure van die speke van die stuurwiel gehang het. Ek het die wit motor gevolg vir 'n

afstand van ongeveer twee kilometers vanaf die lughawe, waar ek dit in die erf van 'n privaat woning parkeer het.

Ek het opgemerk dat die bywoner bote op die perseel herstel of gebou het. 'n Lang blanke man met 'n bles het te voorskyn gekom. Hy het met die bestuurder van die wit motor gepraat en die sleutels van die bakkie geneem. Ek het in die wit motor geklim.

Ek is nie seker van die fabrikaat van die motor nie, maar dit kon 'n Mazda wees. Ek het saam met die blanke man wie die wit motor bestuur het, gery tot by 'n punt waar ons ons minibus afgetrek het. Die blanke is steeds aan my onbekend.

Ons minibus was 'n bruin kleurige motor, ek het gesien dat die bestuurder was deur die Hoof van Veiligheid, wie aan ons die voorligting gegee het, saam met hom was nog twee onbekende blanke mans.

Die wit motor het nou voor gery, gevolg deur die bruin motor en ons bussie agter. In ons bussie was kolonel Venter, AO Beeslaar, ekself, AO Koole and Piet Mogoai en die drie verdagtes. Dit is dieselfde minibus waarmee ons by die lughawe was.

Ons het verby Cradock gery, aangesien ek nie op daardie stadium vertrouwd wat met die omgewing nie, kon ek nie sê met watter pad nie. Ons het vir ongeveer 20 minute gery voordat ons stilgehou het. Die bestuurder van die bruin voertuig het 'n hek

oopgesluit en ons het na 'n plek toe gery wat soos 'n plaasopstal gelyk het. Ek het vasgestel dat dit die ou Cradock polisiestatie was.

Daar was ook 'n kennisgewingsbord wat aangedui het dat dit wel 'n polisiestatie was. Die kennisgewingsbord was verweer, die gras om die gebou was hoog en dit was duidelik dat geen aandag aan die tuin gegee was nie.

Op daardie stadium was dit donker. Ons het opdrag gekry om die drie gearresterdes in 'n motorhuis waarvan die buitedeur met 'n ketting en slot gesluit was, te plaas. Een van die blankes het die deur oopgesluit. Die gearresterdes, wie nog geboei was, was in die motorhuis geplaas en ons het opdrag gekry om hulle te bewaak. Ek wys foto 5 uit.

Ek onthou dat die deure op daardie stadium groen geverf was. Ek kan ook nie sê of dit dieselfde deur is nie. Die drie aangehoudenes was 'n bietjie ondervra, maar nie aangerand nie. Ekself, AO Koole en Piet Mogoai het hulle het hulle die nag bewaak terwyl die blankes vertrek het.

Slegs die minibus was by ons. Die volgende dag ongeveer sewe-uur in die oggend het luitenant Niewoudt, kolonel Venter, AO Beeslaar en nog ander blankes op die plaas opgedaag. Daar was ongeveer vier of vyf motors. Die blankes het vir ons kos gegee.



Ek wou aan die aangehoudenes gee, toe het luitenant Niewoudt aan my gesê dat ek nie vir hulle kos mag gee nie, aangesien hulle in elk geval gaan vrek. Ek het besef dat die ding begin het. Nadat ons vuur gemaak het, het luitenant Niewoudt opdrag gegee om die ou man te gaan haal.

Ek het Sipho Hashe uit die motorhuis gaan haal. Hulle het Sipho Hashe begin ondervra langs die motorhuis op foto 5, waar 'n baksteen braai was.

Ek merk dat die braai intussen afgebreek is. Die ondervraging het met 'n gespot begin deurdat luitenant Niewoudt gesê het dat hulle, die aangehoudenes lief is vir geld, en dat dit tot hulle arrestasie gely het. Daarna het dit gegaan oor waar sy kinders was.

Ek onthou dat hy gesê het dat een 'n ANC lid in Lesotho was en die ander met Popo Molefe, tans premier van die Noordwes Provinsie, getroud is. Luitenant Niewoudt het vir Hashe gevra waar hy geld kry, waarop die man aan hom gesê het dat hy groente verkoop en ook 'n sjebien het.

Niewoudt het aan hom gesê dat hy 'n kapitalis is. Verder het die gesprek gegaan oor polisiemanne wat uit die swart woonbuurt verdryf word. Niewoudt en die ander blankes het kwaad geword vir die antwoord van Hashe. Hulle het hom begin slaan en skop. Hy was geboei en kon niks doen om homself te verweer nie en het daarop begin skreeu.

Ons het sy mond toegedruk. AO Beeslaar het 'n stuk stok gevat en dit op die ou man se keel gedruk, sodat hy versmoor het.

Terselfdertyd het luitenant Niewoudt hom met 'n yster pyp oor die kop geslaan. Ek het gesien dat daar bloed by sy mond en ore uitkom en dat hy lam raak.

Ek en Piet Mogoai het geskrik en eenkant gaan staan. Na 'n rukkie het ek gesien dat hy bewusteloos was, maar nog asem gehaal het. Ek het water gaan haal en hom natgegooi. Hy het bygekom en ek het hom langs die muur laat sit. Hy het toe oor baie goed begin praat.

Onder andere dat hy in besit is van 17 AK47 gewere wat by sy suster se huis gebêre word. Ek kan onthou dat luitenant Niewoudt tydens die ondervraging, baie uit die Bybel aangehaal het. Ek en Piet Mogoai moes ook name van ANC lede wat deur die ou man genoem was, probeer identifiseer. Intussen was vleis gebraai en sterk drank gebruik.

Om ongeveer 13H00 dieselfde dag het AO Koole aan die ou man 'n vraag gestel wat deur die ou man as 'n dom vraag beskou was. AO Koole het hom hard in die gesig geskop. Ek onthou dat daar skuim by sy mond uitgekom het en ook sy oë het omgedop. (Onduidelik) het regs om opgeswaai.

AO Koole het op sy bors gesit en hom vir 'n lang tyd gewurg. Almal het die ou man nou aangerand deur hom te skop en op hom te spring. Op 'n stadium het ek nader gestaan en

gesien dat die ou man leweloos was. Ek het gesien dat AO Koole se klere en skoene vol bloed was.

Terwyl Hashe ondervra en aangerand was, het die silwerkleurige polshorlosie aan sy arm, op die grond geval en het ek dit opgetel en aan AO Beeslaar oorhandig. Ek het die naam van die horlosie vergeet, dit was nie 'n bekende naam nie, ek wil amper sê dat dit soos 'n mensnaam klink.

Ons was opdrag gegee om Godolozzi uit die motorhuis te haal en na die ou man te bring. Godolozzi het toe hy die ou man sien, op sy knieë gegaan en beloof om sy volle samewerking te gee. Hy het gesê dat hy 'n beriggewer van nuus was.

Aanvanklik wou luitenant Niewoudt niks daarvan weet nie, maar hy het nadat van die ander lede die moontlikheid dat die man moontlik 'n beriggewer was, besluit om met hom te wag. Ons het Galela uit die motorhuis gaan haal. Hy was die kortste van die drie en daar was iets fout met sy een oog, dit het gelyk asof dit 'n kunsoog kon wees.

Op hierdie stadium was Siphon Hashe en Godolozzi terug in die motorhuis. Ek onthou dat AO Koole vir Siphon Hashe wie op daardie stadium dood was, bo op perde voer wat in die motorhuis was, gegooi het. Ons het Galela begin ondervra, maar hy het nie veel inligting gehad nie.

Hy was die Algemene Sekretaris van Pebco. Hy het gepraat van polisiemanne wat deur 'n "kangaroo court" skuldig bevind en

ter dood veroordeel was. Hy het nie eintlik iets geweet van wapens en ander dergelike gebeure nie. Hy was vir ongeveer twee na drie ure ondervra en was gewelddadig, wreed aangerand. Hy was geskop, geslaan en met 'n yster pyp geslaan. Ek kan onthou dat AO Beeslaar ook sy "testicles" gedruk en geslaan het. Hy het hom daarna ook vir 'n lang periode verwurg, totdat hy doodstil bly lê het.

Teen ongeveer 17H00 na 18H00 was Galela oorlede. Ons het hom terug in die motorhuis geplaas waar Siphon Hashe dood gelê het. Godolozzi het pateties in 'n hoek gesit. Daar was verder vleis gebraai en gekuier tot laat. Ons was aangesê om wag te hou tot die volgende oggend.

Daar moes eers bevestiging verkry word of Godolozzi wel met nuus saamgewerk het. Die volgende dag tussen dertig minute voor agt, en agtuur, het daar weer 'n aantal motors aangekom. Dieselfde persone wie by die vorige dag se ondervraging betrokke was, was weer teenwoordig.

Daar was gewag vir die Hoof van Nuus. Teen ongeveer dertig minute oor nege het hy opgedaag. Die blanke man wat 'n middelmatige bou en lengte gehad het, met 'n vierkantige, goue raam bril en was ongeveer 54 tot 56 jaar oud. Hy was geklee in 'n bruin gestreepte pak klere, wit hemp en 'n das.

Hy het met kolonel Roelf Venter, luitenant Niewoudt en van die ander mense eenkant gestaan en gesels. Ek het naby hulle

gestaan en was besig om die vuur te maak waarop ek gehoor het dat die mans sê dat Godolozzi wel met hulle saamgewerk het, dat hy swak inligting deurgegee het, en dat hulle hom nie sal mis nie.

Kolonel Venter het my aangesê om Godolozzi uit die motorhuis te haal. In die motorhuis het ek gesien dat Siphon Hashe en Galela se liggame reeds styf geword het. Die Hoof van Nuus het vir 'n tydperk van twintig tot dertig minute met Godolozzi gepraat.

Hy het weer met kolonel Venter en luitenant Niewoudt gepraat, waarop hy vertrek het. Godolozzi was op dieselfde wyse as Hashe en Galela ondervra. Hy was egter fisies 'n baie sterker persoon en sy uithou vermoë was baie groter.

Ook hy was geslaan, geskop en met die yster pyp en AO Beeslaar se stok aangerand. Almal het aan die aanranding deelgeneem. Na ongeveer vyf na ses ure was hy leweloos. Ons het sy liggaam ook in die motorhuis geplaas en moes daarna die toneel skoonmaak.

Ons het self die grond waarop daar bloed voorgekom het, opgeruim. Terwyl ons besig was om skoon te maak, het 'n bruin Toyota kombi opgedaag en die drie oorledenes was daarin gelaai.

Ek, AO Koole en Piet Mogoai het daarna opdrag gekry om na ons basis terug te keer. Ons het die blankes en die oorledenes daar by die ou polisiestasie daar naby Cradock gelaat en vertrek. Alhoewel ek nie al die persone wie gedurende hierdie tydperk by

die ou polisiestase op Cradock was, kan identifiseer nie, het dit vir my voorgekom asof dit 'n gesamentlike operasie tussen die Veiligheidstakke van Port Elizabeth en Kaapstad, ons groep en Nuus was.

Daar het baie onbekende persone gekom en gegaan. Volgens my mening was daar reeds voor die arrestasie van die drie persone besluit dat hulle vermoor sal word. Daar was geen normale Polisie prosedure na hulle arrestasie gevolg nie.

Hierdie verklaring was geteken op die 1995-10-21. Nee, nee op hierdie datum 1995-10-21 vanaf sesuur in die oggend het ek, luitenant De Jong, 'n speurder adjudant offisier Ellis en speurder adjudant offisier Wale na Cradock en Port Elizabeth gegaan waar ek sekere punte uitgewys het, waarvan daar foto's geneem is en wat ek by hierdie verklaring aanheg.

Die verklaring was geteken op hierdie datum, 1996-01-08.

Dankie Mnr die Voorsitter.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Mnr Mamasela, net voordat u voorgaan na die volgende insident, before you proceed to the next incident, Roelf Venter, was he present throughout at this old police station in Cradock when all this was taking place?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, he initially he was involved in the beatings, but from time to time, like I have already stated, they would leave and come back the following day, and he was always present.

**ADV POTGIETER:** So he was in this group that would interrogate and assault and then move away or leave, and then come back?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes. No, he was present throughout the ordeal, he was present.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Not only present during the abduction of the three persons?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, throughout the whole procedure he was present.

**ADV POTGIETER:** And then you spoke about the scene after you had left the yellow bakkie, that was transporting the three persons at some private home, I assume in Port Elizabeth?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, it was about two kilometres away from the airport itself, it was not that far. I don't know what I have done with the information because I compiled a dossier, so some of my documents went missing, that is why the registration of the car was in my dossier, that is why I could say it even after 10, 15 years ago, but I could still say this is the car.

The street was almost like a number, maybe number 3 or number 7, somewhere there, it was just like a number and I tried to identify the place. The only place we got where they were fixing the boats and all that with the Police, they said no, the owner has died a long time ago.

**ADV POTGIETER:** After you had dropped off the bakkie at that house, at one stage there was a brown vehicle that joined the white one and the Husky in which the arrestees were being transported and you said that in that brown vehicle, there was the Head of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth, at that stage, that is Du Plessis?

**MR MAMASELA:** That is Herman du Plessis, yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Herman du Plessis, he was in the vehicle and some other people?

**MR MAMASELA:** And some other white policemen unknown to me, yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** That vehicle went with, so you were three vehicles that went to Cradock?

**MR MAMASELA:** To Cradock, yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** So, Du Plessis was present when the deceased were transported from Port Elizabeth to the old police station in Cradock?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** And he saw that they were locked up in the garage and all of that?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, he was part of the whole entourage that assaulted also the people.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Was he present only on the first occasion when you transported them to Cradock?



**MR MAMASELA**: He was present on the first occasion, he was present also when the second day when Sipho Hashe was assaulted, because he is the one that said no, he knows Sipho Hashe's sister very well. Because Sipho Hashe said he hid the 17 AK's on the floor of the dining room.

He says there was a carpet, but it was a wooden floor. I have never been to his sister, I don't know whether that is the right information, and I don't know whether the Police did go to the sister to search. She is the only one who can confirm that.

**ADV POTGIETER**: Okay.

**MR MAMASELA**: If it did happen.

**ADV POTGIETER**: But the point was Du Plessis was present on the first and on the second day?

**MR MAMASELA**: Yes, he was part.

**ADV POTGIETER**: He was part of the group that was involved in the interrogation and assaults and so on?

**MR MAMASELA**: Yes, he would come and go, he would come and also go like other people.

**ADV POTGIETER**: Okay, thank you very much.

**MR CHASKALSON**: Mr Mamasela, was Nick van Rensburg present during any of ...

**MR MAMASELA**: I will say it was a joint operation of senior high ranking Policemen, but at the time I did not know Nick van

Rensburg. It is possible he could have been part and parcel of the whole entourage, but I couldn't definitely say he was there.

MR CHASKALSON: Another question, Roelf Venter who was present you have said, was he involved in the interrogation at all or not?

MR MAMASELA: He was involved in the interrogation and he was also involved in the assault.

CHAIRPERSON: You can proceed Mr Mamasela.

MR MAMASELA: The same year, that is now the following month after this incident, we were then again called at Vlakplaas by De Kock and Cronje, who told us that there is the biggest operation that has to be done in East Rand.

This involves COSAS students who were running amok and making the townships ungovernable. Because they knew that I specialised in infiltration and intelligence, it was my duty now, to go and try and infiltrate this youths who were causing problems and try to control or minimise their activities.

I made a statement to this effect also in Afrikaans, but before I read the statement I would just like to draw attention to Mr Chairman about this incident, that indeed yes, the students were infiltrated, indeed yes, I do admit they were making the township ungovernable in the sense that most of the black policemen left their homes and their homes were (indistinct) to

the grounds, but I don't think that was the main incident why they were supposed to be killed.

I think the main incident why they were supposed to be killed, was because of an allegation of a white nurse who was killed somewhere along the road. She was killed and there was an attempt to burn her corpse. I think that was the main, main, main crux of the matter. Not that the students were making the township ungovernable.

I think it was emphasised throughout the whole ordeal where I was called in and out of the offices and briefed and debriefed by these people. The students were infiltrated, the first purpose was to infiltrate them, to try to derail them from their course of making the township ungovernable.

I would like to state in the presence of the Chairman here that that objective was made by myself. I did infiltrate them, I did even take the so-called, the most terrible of them, Congress Mosweni, who was a university student, he was doing his third year BSc.

I did even take him away out of the township, up to Potchefstroom and I came back, and I reported that the mission was accomplished. The students were no longer running amok, the main trouble maker was removed from the township into a neutral township and indeed there was no incident of violence during that period.

But they insisted that the nurse was killed, the white nurse was killed, therefore "die mense, hulle moet vrek." It was then decided that De Kock must be called from Durban to come and oversee the operation. In my opinion, I wouldn't say it was an attempt, it was a political attempt to stifle the unrest, because the objective of the whole thing was let us try to minimise or control the students from running amok and through my infiltration, because I am the one who infiltrated these guys, these youngsters, I am the one who was living with them, I knew I had full control over them, and I submitted my full report to that effect, but that full report was completely disregarded.

It was said no, "hulle moet vrek", De Kock was called. This is how the incident occurred to the best of my recollection. I will read it again in Afrikaans.

Kom ek begin net hierso, daar waar ek sê op 'n dag gedurende Junie 1985 was ek en ander lede, naamlik AO Beeslaar en Daniel Nkala en Debogo Macitinga deur my takbevelvoerder, kaptein De Kock na Springs Veiligheidstak gestuur om deur die bevelvoerder vir take aangewend te word.

Ons was meegedeel dat daar probleme ondervind word met COSAS lede. That is the name of Congress of South African Students.

Ek en die vermelde lede en ander was onder bevel van AO Beeslaar na die Veiligheidstak, Springs. Ons was deur die

bevelvoerder toegesprek en verduidelik wat die probleem is. Dit het geblyk dat daar lede van COSAS, Towosa Tsakane in KwaThema wie die woongebied onregeerbaar gemaak het.

Ek en Debogo Macitinga was aangesê om die organisasie binne te dring en om inligting aangaande hulle bedrywighede te bekom. Om dit te kan doen, was die huis van 'n lid van COSAS, naamlik Congress Mosweni aan ons uitgewys deur 'n blanke lid van Veiligheidstak in Springs.

Nadat die huis van Congress uitgewys was, het ek Debogo die huis genader en daar die Vader van Congress ontmoet. Ons het onself as kennis van Congress voorgestel. Die vader het vir Congress wie elders in die huis was, laat kom en ons het met Congress buite sy ouerhuis gaan gesels. Ons het hom meegedeel dat ons lede van die ANC is wie gestuur is om die COSAS lede behulpsaam te wees.

Om meer geloofwaardig voor te kom, was ons gewapen met handwapens en granate. Vir ongeveer 'n week met Congress se hulp in inligting aangaande ander lede van COSAS ingesamel.

Die inligting was op 'n daaglikse basis aan die bevelvoerder van Springs Veiligheidstak oorgedra. Die inligting wat ingesamel was, het gehandel oor geweldpleging in die gebied. Op 'n dag was 'n blanke verpleegster in die omgewing vermoor, en toe was daar inligting ingesamel wat daarop gedui het dat van die COSAS lede daar betrokke was.

Om die rede was daar deur die bevelvoerder besluit om teen hulle op te tree. Op die stadium was kolonel Cronje ook betrek by die samespreking van wat om te doen, wat om gedoen te word.

Kolonel Cronje het gesê dat hy vir kaptein De Kock sal moet spreek omrede hy toe die nuwe bevelvoerder van Vlakplaas was. De Kock was nie dadelik beskikbaar nie, hy was in Durban besig. Twee dae nadat hy deur Cronje gekontak was, het hy ook te Veiligheidstak, Springs opgedaag.

Die volgende lede was betrokke by samespreking om die COSAS lede te betrek by die opleiding van die gebruik van handgranate, De Kock en Cronje onder andere.

Omrede Debogo Macitinga se broer betrokke by die COSAS bedrywighede, wou hy nie verder deelneem nie en was hy onttrek.

In die plek van Debogo, het ek eers vir Chris Moshean gekies, maar omrede hy siek was, het hy ook nie deelgeneem nie. Om hierdie redes het kaptein De Kock besluit dat Daniel Nkala my behulpsaam moet wees.

Ek het vir Congress op die se versoek na 'n sekere kerk in Potchefstroom geneem, waar hy vir ongeveer 'n week gebly het. Ek was telefonies met hom in verbinding. Ek het weer vir Congress te Potchefstroom gaan haal. Daar was beplan deur die Veiligheidslede en De Kock dat ek en Nkala hierdie lede van COSAS deur middel van Congress moes oplei om hand granate te hanteer sodat hulle in 'n lokval gelei kan word.

Congress het vir my en Nkala aan ander lede van COSAS voorgestel. Ek was bekend as Mike en Nkala as James. Ons was bekendgestel aan twee lede te 'n kerkgebou in Duduza.

Daar was 'n groot vergadering by die kerk. Ek kan onthou dat daar 'n Khumalo en wyle Mazibuko was. Ek kan onthou dat ek hulle versoek het om 12 lede van Duduza en 6 lede van elk van Tsakane en KwaThema moet werf vir opleiding.

Die aand van die opleiding het dinge as volg afgeloop. Ek en Nkala het met 'n Toyota kombi gereis. Ons het die groepe opgelaai waar hulle byeen moes kom. Ons het na 'n plek gegaan waar daar nie woonhuise was nie, iewers tussen Duduza en Tsakane.

Die plek was vreemd vir my. Daniel het twee hand granate was hy vroeër van De Kock ontvang het, gebruik om die hantering daarvan aan die rekrute te demonstreer. Een daarvan het hy self laat ontplof en die ander het hy vir die een rekrut gegee, sodat hy dit gooi. Die opdrag van die COSAS lede was om die granate om 'n telling van drie te gooi.

Soos vroeër met Cronje, De Kock en die bevelvoerder van die Springs Veiligheidstak gereël was, is aan die COSAS lede opdrag gegee om in groepe teikens in die woongebied te identifiseer sodat die plekke op 26 Junie om 00H00, die dag van die Vryheidsmanifes, aangeval kan word.

Daar was uitdruklike opdrag gegee deur De Kock, dat aan COSAS oorgedra moes word dat die ontploffings gelyktydig moet plaasvind. Die operasie was bekend as "Operation 00H00".

Daar was met die lede van COSAS ooreengekom om op 'n sekere plek te ontmoet sodat die hand grenate oorhandig kan word.

By Springs Veiligheidstak op 26-06-1985 om ongeveer 18H00, waar ons op 'n plaas gebly het, het De Kock opgedaag met 'n houer. Die houer het die volgende bevat: 18 hand grenate, een groot limpet myn, twee AK47 gewere. Die goedere was aan ons twee oorhandig.

Om ongeveer 22H00 op 1985-06-26 het ek en Nkala die groepe in die woongebiede ontmoet. Die hand grenate was oorhandig, die teikens was onbekend aan my. Omrede Congress my en vir Debogo kon identifiseer was De Kock bekommerd oor die feit. Daarom is 'n limpet myn voorberei om te ontplof sodra hy die veiligheidspen uittrek.

Die hand grenate was ook so verander dat dit geen tyd vertraging het nie en sal ontplof die oomblik as die afwerpingshefboom gelos word. Die teiken van Congress was deur homself gekies. Die limpet myn was aan hom oorhandig. Ek en Nkala het hom na sy teiken, kragssentrale, geneem. Hy was gesê om die veiligheidspen uit te trek voordat hy oor die heining sou klim.



Ek en Nkala het gewag tot na die ontploffing van die limpet myn. Nkala het hom beskerm. Na die afhandeling van Operasie 00H00, is ek en Nkala terug na die plaas waar ons gewoon het. Ek het aan De Kock hulle gerapporteer dat die taak afgehandel was. Later het ek en Nkala gehoor dat Congress en nog sewe anders dood is.

As gevolg van hierdie operasie het Nkala en Debogo elkeen R2 000-00 by De Kock ontvang. Ekself was bevorder na die rang van sersant.

Dit is al, ek dink hy was geteken op die 1986-08-29, om ongeveer twee-uur.

**MR CHASKALSON:** Mr Mamasela, would you mind if I asked you a couple of just clarifying points on this. Can you just give us a little more detail on how you actually approached them?

You knew who they were so you could go to the house and say you were going to give them support. Did you offer to supply weapons to them, or did they request you to give them things?

**MR MAMASELA:** Because we were new in the area, we did not know who was giving the Security Police their problems. Our task was to go to the Security Police of the particular area in Springs and to be briefed by them.

They are the ones who identified a group of Congress of South African Students, who were giving them more problems, but they identified Mosweni as the most, most dangerous one

among the entire group. We were given his photo and one of the white members of the Security Police of Springs, actually took us to Mosweni's home to show us where he stayed, and thereafter he dropped us (indistinct), and we went by foot to approach him.

The question of the arms, they never requested for arms. We were told to infiltrate and control them. When I infiltrated them, I knew most of them, where they stayed and where they held meetings. But the question of weapons was introduced by De Kock, that they must be trained. It is then that I went back to them and introduced to them that because they were going to celebrate the Freedom Manifest Day of June 26, therefore I introduced what they called Unity in Action. I said it will be ideal if you celebrate that by unity in action, and by that we mean we will give you, we will provide you with training, we will arm you so that you can make an armed propaganda.

It was a logical thing for me to say and it was logical for them to accept.

**MR JEROME:** Would it be correct to sort of say that you had gone and you had infiltrated, you had assessed what was going on? That was a time when you also took this guy to Potchefstroom, is that right, and then you put in your report to say, look, it is not a problem, I've got him out of the area, and then De Kock had said, no, let's bring him back in, let's give them the grenades and we go ahead?

MR MAMASELA: That is absolutely correct sir. That is absolutely correct.

ADV POTGIETER: It seems to me the Cradock 4 on top, June 1985 seems to be the only remaining 1985 incident?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, let me not jump it. The question of the Cradock 4. During that 1985, in May month when we were operating against the Pebco 3, then Colonel Roelf Venter informed us not to go back but to stay there because there was the biggest operation, the mother of all operations, was going to take place.

But I then insisted because my wife, like I said initially had a young baby, my little son, my first born, and I wanted to be home, I think they were missing me and I was missing them. I insisted that I would rather go back home and I could come back by flight.

It is then that Colonel Venter decided that if I go, then all the black members should go with me, because I was the driver of the kombi.

We then came back, all of us and they never carried out that mission. When this operation was splashed all over the television and all that, then I knew about it. I thought this was the biggest operation that Colonel Venter was talking about. That is how I know about the Cradock 4. The Security Police knew about it and they were involved in it.

That is my only involvement in that.

**MR JEROME:** Mr Chairman, can I make a suggestion that maybe we just take a short pause now. We had organised that some lunch would be served at one o'clock.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Very well then, we will take a lunch adjournment. Will we come back at two o'clock?

**MR JEROME:** Yes, the lunch is going to be served in this room, so we can - at your wishes.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Oh yes. We will adjourn then until two o'clock or such earlier time as in the circumstances we will find convenient.

**HEARING ADJOURNS**

**ON RESUMPTION:**

**JOSEPH SIPHO MAMASELA:** (still under oath)

**CHAIRPERSON:** Mr Mamasela, you are still giving an account of the events that you would like to draw our attention to. You can then proceed.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you very much Mr Chairman. I think I will have to proceed from 1986, the death of nine so-called ANC members. I use the word so-called because they were never ANC members, and whoever said they were nine ANC members, probably in my opinion was trying to make it sound like a political killing.

This to me were very innocent, young, unarmed school children. The reason why they were killed was because they were racking havoc in the township of Mamelodi and this nine, they were involved, it is Sam Zindos' group. Before I could expantiate on how they were killed, I would like to give the Commission a scanty background of what was happening there, so that the Commission should be well versed about the events leading to their deaths.

This Sam Zindos was known as a comrade tsotsi, he was of a criminal nature himself. So he was very much active in the burning and the looting, and where there is looting you will find the tsotsi element there. Even if the thing can be started being a political event, but in the final analysis there is always that tsotsi element who will take the whole thing to their own ends.

So Sam Zindos was not a student, he was just a township tsotsi, having his own henchmen, but always where the students were, they were there. When the students were staging marches, they were there. When the students were disrupting traffic or whatever, they were there just to loot, to help the student make as if they are helping the student, but they were looting.

So it was then decided by Brigadier Cronje that I should infiltrate, he gave me specific instructions with the names and the addresses of a few students that I had to infiltrate in Mamelodi, one of the student leaders who was Abraham Cannon Letswalo.

I went to Abraham and I made friends with him and in the process, I noticed that the students were just being used by the tsotsi element and I made it in my submission SAP5, that no, I believed that the students are carrying on innocently in their student activities, but it is the tsotsi element that is burning the trucks that are coming to deliver in the township, it is not the students, that was my submission.

Then Brigadier Cronje came with a brilliant suggestion as usual, that I should now infiltrate the tsotsi elements, the students and set them against the tsotsi element, so that the tsotsi element could be differentiated from the students.

I did that successfully, so much so that even the students at one stage necklaced one of the tsotsi members, and the tsotsi's ran away out of the township into KwaNdebele, and then I really thought that our objective was achieved, because the tsotsi element was uprooted out of Mamelodi. They were now hiding in KwaNdebele because they were now afraid, not of the Police, they were afraid now of the students.

I thought everything was fine, but I was shocked to the marrow at one stage when the Brig Cronje himself called me into his office and gave me specific instructions to go to KwaNdebele to follow up the tsotsi's there because he said he received new information that they were hiding in the Bundu Inn, in a hotel called the Bundu Inn. He says they were hiding there and they

were racking havoc because they were now fighting against Mpogotho. Mpogotho was a State sponsored vigilante group. He said we must now go and uproot them and you know, they must be killed there in KwaNdebele.

Because he wanted to help Mpogotho to overcome. I then said I made the statement to that effect which reads as follows in Afrikaans. Op 1985-11-24 op ongeveer tienuur in die oggend het ek 'n sekere huis aan kaptein De Jongh en inspekteur Ellis uitgewys te Vlaklaagte 2 in KwaNdebele.

Die huis was deur inspekteur Ellis gefotografeer. Nege persone was in die buitekamer by die huis doodgeskiet. Die voorval het so gebeur. Gedurende 1986 het daar onluste in Mamelodi geheers. 'n Groep tsotsi's wat deur ene Sam Zindo gelei was, was geïdentifiseer as die sondebokke. Die groep tsotsi's het ook met 'n groep studente was as "comrades" bekend gestaan het, gebots.

Die "comrades" het die tsotsi's uit Mamelodi verdryf. Die Veiligheidspolisie het ook die tsotsi's se huise besoek met die doel om te arresteer. Inligting is ingewin dat die tsotsi's te KwaNdebele skuil. Brig Cronje het my opdrag gegee om te gaan vasstel waar in KwaNdebele die tsotsi's skuil asook om die groep te infiltrer.

Ek het vasgestel dat die groep by 'n sekere winkel in KwaNdebele wegkruip. Ek het nou die naam van die winkel

vergeet, maar sal dit kan uitwys. Ek het teruggekeer na Pretoria en aan brig Cronje rapporteer dat ek hulle skuilplek opgespoor het. Die brigadier het gesê dat dit goed was en dat hulle beplan om die groep te gaan uitwis.

Een aand het ek saam met sersant Medopi, luitenant Hechter, kaptein Van Jaarsveld en twee blanke mans, oud-(onduidelik) van Zimbabwe, met 'n minibus na KwaNdebele gery. Ek is nie seker nie, maar ek dink AO Van Vuuren was ook saam.

Almal behalwe die Zimbabweërs het AK47 gewere gehad. Die twee Zimbabweërs het "demolition chargers" in hulle besit gehad, hulle besig was om te stel binne in die minibus. Ons het gery tot naby die winkel waar die tsotsi's geskuil het.

Dit was reeds na middernag en die ligte in die winkel het gebrand. Kaptein Van Jaarsveld het gesê dat ons die gasbottels wat langs die muur buite die winkel staan, moes skiet sodat die ligte kon afgaan. Ons het die gasbottels met die AK47 gewere geskiet. Die ligte het afgegaan en 'n persoon het uit die winkel gehardloop. Ons het hom probeer doodskiet, maar hy het weggehardloop.

Daar was baie skote geskiet. Die twee Zimbabweërs het die "demolition chargers" op die grond langs die winkel geplaas en die "fuse" aangesteek. Toe die "fuse" brand, het ons in die voertuig gespring en weggery. Die "demolition chargers" het egter nie ontplof nie. Ons het terug gery na Pretoria toe.



I just wish to put this thing in its proper perspective because when our minibus left, the demolition charges did not fire at that stage, but I understand and I can confirm that at a very later stage, it did explode and it caused tremendous damage to the shop itself. The doors were blasted open, the windows and everything and as a result thereof, the shop belonged to Mr Mhlango, S. Mhlango, and then as a result thereof the neighbouring villages and whatever, they looted the whole shop completely.

The old man could never, he did not financially regain himself and as a result the shop has been taken over by other people, he couldn't do it because I went there later on.

Na 'n lang tydperk het ons inligting ontvang dat die bende tsotsi's weg is by die winkel, en te Bundu Inn in KwaNdebele skuil. Brigadier Cronje het my versoek om na KwaNdebele terug te gaan om die bende te infiltreer. Ek het in die Bundu Inn tuisgegaan.

Na ongeveer drie dae het een lid van die bende opgedaag. Ek het met die man gepraat en hy het gesê dat die bende geskuif het na Vlaklaagte 2. Ek het die man se vertrouwe heeltemal gewen en hy het my na die huis in Vlaklaagte 2 en die res van die bende geneem. By die huis het ek die hele bende asook die leier, Sam Zindo ontmoet.

Ek het myself as 'n lid van Umkonto We Sizwe voorgedoen. Ek het 'n afspraak met Sam Zindo vir die volgende dag gereël om my te vergesel om vuurwapens te gaan haal. My opdrag was om Sam Zindo uit die bende weg te lok. Ek het terug gekeer na Pretoria en aan Brigadier Cronje en kaptein Hechter gerapporteer dat ek Sam Zindo die volgende dag saam met my sou neem.

Ons het beplan dat ek Sam Zindo sou gaan oplaai terwyl kaptein Hechter en Van Vuuren op 'n afgespreekte plek sou gewag het. Die volgende dag het ek na die huis gegaan waar ek vir Sam Zindo opgelaai het. Op die afgespreekte plek het kaptein Hechter en Van Vuuren vir Zindo by my geneem.

Ek het hulle gevolg tot buite Mamelodi in die bosse, waaraan Sam Zindo daar ondervra was. Kaptein Hechter het gesê dat hy oor inligting beskik dat Zindo geweet het waar die wapens weggesteek word. Zindo was erg aangerand en het gehou by sy storie dat hy slegs bewus van .38 rewolwer wat sy moeder besit het.

Daar was besluit om Sam Zindo te vermoor. Ek het verskoning gemaak aangesien ek die volgende dag weer na KwaNdebele moes terugkeer en omdat ek moeg was en wou gaan slaap. Ek was toe verskoon.

Die volgende dag by die werk het kaptein Hechter aan my verduidelik hoe hy vir Sam Zindo vermoor het deur hom te verwurg en nadat hy dood was, was hy op 'n SPM limpet myn

geplaas en opgeblaas. Ek het oor die nuus gehoor dat 'n swart man met 'n limpet myn verongeluk het en het die storie geglo wat kaptein Hechter aan my vertel het.

Sersant Tiny was die ondersoekbeampte in hierdie saak. Ongeveer 'n week nadat ek vir Sam Zindo by die huis geneem het, het ek teruggekeer na KwaNdebele en na die res van die bende wat steeds by die huis was, gegaan. Ek het opdrag gehad om aan hulle te sê dat Sam Zindo steeds opleiding ondergaan en dat hy die volgende dag, dit was 'n Vrydag, aan hulle sou kom om saam met nog MK lede aan hulle opleiding te gee.

Ek het hulle versoek om seker te maak dat al die lede van die bende dan teenwoordig sal wees. Die volgende dag, die Vrydag is ek saam met kaptein Hechter, AO Wouter Mentz, sersant Deon Gouws en ene F. Goosen na KwaNdebele.

Goosen was die bestuurder van die voertuig. Ons het om ongeveer 23H00 by Vlaklaagte 2 aangekom. Daar was twee weermag patrollies aan diens, wat dit vir ons moeilik gemaak het om toegang tot die woonbuurt te verkry.

Daar was twee ingange na Vlaklaagte 2. In die voertuig het 'n kan met 25 liter petrol daarin, gestaan. Kaptein Hechter het besluit om 'n boom met die brandstof te besprinkel en dit aan die brand te steek om sodoende die aandag van die weermag lede te trek en hulle van die ingange weg te lok.

Toe die boom brand, het beide die weermag patrollies met hulle Buffel pantservoertuig daarheen beweeg. Ons het met afgeskakelde ligte die woonbuurt binne beweeg en na die huis gery. Ons het die voertuig 'n ent weg van die huis parkeer, waaraan ek alleen na die huis geloop het.

Die hek van die huis was gesluit gewees en ek het die bendelede om die sleutel gevra. Ek het hulle versoek om nie rond te beweeg nie, omdat daar weermag patrollies in die gebied is.

Hulle het my geglo en die hek se sleutels aan my gegee waarna ek dit oopgesluit het en daarna terug beweeg na die motor. Die voertuig was agteruit in die erf parkeer. Ons het besluit dat ek eers alleen na die bende sou gaan en dat die res daarna sou volg. Goosen sou in die voertuig bly.

Die opdrag was om die hele bende in een vertrek in 'n hoek bymekaar te kry. Ek het die bende teen die muur in 'n vertrek laat sit, my AK47 geweer geneem en die werking daarvan aan hulle begin verduidelik terwyl ek vir die res van my groep gewag het.

Ek het voetstaple buite gehoor en geweet dat hulle op pad was. Ek het langs die enigste deur van die vertrek gaan staan om uit die vuurlyn te bly. Die volgende oomblik het skote vanaf die deur langs my begin klap. Ek het die flitsligte aan die loper van die AK47 geweer gesien. Die persone wie geskiet het was Wouter Mentz en Deon Gouws.

Terwyl hulle skiet, het een van die bendelede opgespring, na my gekom en gepoog om my AK47 af te neem. Ek het gevuur en hom plat geskiet. Die skietery het opgehou en ek het die mense hoor skreeu en skreeu. Een het by die deur gesit en was vol bloed. Ek het by die deur uitgegaan en op pad vir kaptein Hechter aangetref met die kan petrol by hom.

Hy het weer die vertrek ingegaan. Na 'n rukkie het kaptein Hechter uit die vertrek wat in vlamme was, gekom. Ek het gemerk dat sy broekspyp aan die brand is. Ons het hom gehelp om die vlamme te blus. Ons het besluit dat ek en kaptein Hechter te voet voor die voertuig sou hardloop om die pad aan te dui. Ons wou nie die ligte aanskakel nie, omdat ons bang was dat een van die weermag patrollies ons kon opmerk.

Ons het tot by die teerpad gehardloop waarna ons in die voertuig geklim het, en na Pretoria terug gery het. Op pad terug het Wouter Menz 'n grap gemaak deur te sê dat die weermag patrollies in die moeilikheid sal wees by hulle bevelvoerder omdat daar mense doodgeskiet was, die huis was aan die brand gestee en dit terwyl hulle die gebied moet patroleer.

Op daardie stadium was daar oorlog tussen Mpogotho en die "comrades", ons het ook geweet dat Mpogotho die skuld vir hierdie moorde sou kry. Die opdrag om die bende uit te wis het van Brigadier Cronje self gekom. Hy het ons tydens die inligting

sessie ingelig dat hy met Moord-en-Roofteenheid gereël het om ons te help.

Al die blankes wat by die moorde betrokke was, het "balaclavas" en handskoene gedra. Die betrokke aan het ons van Moord-en-Roofteenheid se Nissan Skyline gebruik gemaak. Daar was nege persone, almal jong mense wat in die vertrek omgekom het. Niemand het dit oorleef nie.

Een seun van skoon terwyl die ander almal vuil was. Die skoon seun het gesê dat hy van Ermelo afkomstig was, dat hy 'n koeëlwond op sy boud opgedoen het en dat die koeëlpunt steeds in sy boud was. Hy was ook die seun wat ek in die Bundu Inn ontmoet het, en wat die huis en die ander bendelede vir my gaan uitwys het.

Hy het 'n ligte gelaatskleur en groot ore gehad. Na die optrede het ek R2 000-00 in kontant van brigadier Cronje ontvang. Ek het ook 'n aantal dae spesiale verlof ontvang. Ons was gelukkig met die suksesvolle optrede.

I don't know when it was signed, because I did not sign it.

**CHAIRPERSON:** There is no indication on that statement when it was done?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, there is not.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Okay, it is unsigned, all right. You may carry on Mr Mamasela.

MR MAMASELA: Thank you. Then I will like to immediately go because this incident is intertwined to the one of the comrades because there were two groups, it was the so-called tsotsi element and the comrades. But it happened almost a month after the other one. I will jump to the Bop 10, to the Bop 10 indication.

However, I would like to say with the Bop 10, I would like to clarify certain points, because here I could see a lot of people talk about 10, even in our investigation in the Department of Justice, they said it is about 10 people who were there, but in my own observation there was 12, there were not 10. I will always stick to 12 in my statement.

My statement was done in Afrikaans and it reads as follows:

Gedurende die jaar 1986, was ek ook betrokke by die ontvoering van 12 "comrades", wie uiteindelik deur die Veiligheidsmagte vermoor is. Dit het as volg gebeur.

Aanvanklik was die groep tsotsi's waarna ek in my verklaring by Kwaggalaagte 2 verwys, en die groep waarna ek in hierdie verklaring verwys, een groot groep. Die tsotsi's het egter tydens die onluste soveel misdaad gepleeg dat die groep in twee gedeeltes het.

Die studente of "comrades" het 'n leier gehad met die naam Cannon Abraham Letswalo. Ek het opdrag gehad om die Cannon se groep te infiltrer en hulle teen die tsotsi's, Sam Zindo se

groep, op te steek. Ek het Cannon se groep infiltreer en hulle teen die ander groep beïnvloed, soveel so dat hulle 'n lid van Sam Zindo se groep gevang en ge-"necklace" het.

Sam Zindo se groep het Mamelodi verlaat en na KwaNdabele gevlug waar hulle gebly het todat ons hulle uitgewis het soos ek in my verklaring beskryf het.

... na die Kwaggalaagte 2 voorval het brigadier Cronje opdrag gegee dat die "comrades" van Cannon vasgevat moet word. Die plan was reeds uitgewerk dat hulle ook uitgewis moet word. My taak was om die groep uit Mamelodi te lok. Ek moes hulle onder die vals indruk dat hulle in die buiteland opleiding gaan ontvang, uit Mamelodi verwyder. Ek het die groep infiltreer en myself voorgedoen as 'n lid van Umkonto We Sizwe.

Ek het 'n geruime tyd met die groep gewerk totdat hulle my vertrou het, en geglo het dat ek wel was wie ek voorgegee het om te wees. Op 'n dag het ek die groep genader. Ek het aan hulle gesê dat ek opdrag vanaf die ANC in Botswana ontvang het om die groep die land uit te neem sodat hulle militêre opleiding kon ontvang. Ek het met die groep gereël vir 'n spesifieke dag en hulle aangesê om reëlings te tref sodat ons na Botswana kon vertrek.

Intussen het ek my bevelvoerders op hoogte gehou van verwickelinge sodat beplanning gedoen kon word. Reëlings is met Veiligheidstak Zeerust getref.



Op die afgespreekte dag moes ek die groep in 'n minibus laai en ry na Zeerust. Te Zeerust moes ek na die vulstasie naby die Veiligheidskantore ry waar ek moes brandstof in die voertuig gooi. Ek sou 'n swart man ontmoet wie my verder sou vergesel.

In oorleg met brigadier Cronje, kaptein Hechter en brigadier Loods van Zeerust is 'n datum bepaal waarop ons sou vertrek. Ek het met die "comrades" gereël om die betrokke dag beskikbaar te wees. Ek het ook die dag voor ons vertrek, met die groep gereël dat ek hulle nie op dieselfde punt sou oplaai nie, aangesien dit aandag sou trek.

Ek het gereël dat ek hulle in groepies van drie of vier op afgespreekte plekke sou oplaai. Op 'n dag, datum onbekend, het ek na Mamelodi gegaan waar ek die groep in my minibus gelaai het soos wat ek met hulle afspreek het.

Dit was om ongeveer 19H00. Voor ons vertrek het, het ek met die groep na 'n winkel in Mamelodi gegaan waar ek vir hulle kos en bier gekoop het vir die rit na Botswana. Daar was 12 passasiers, almal jeugdige en voornemende landverlaters.

Ek onthou dat die jongste ongeveer 14 jaar oud was. Aangesien ek geweet het wat hulle uiteinde gaan wees, het ek hom jammer gekry en gesê dat hy moes bly. Hy was vasbeslote om saam te gaan en ek kon hom nie oorreed nie. Cannon was die oudste, ongeveer 19 jaar oud.



Ons het gereis vanaf Pretoria tot op Zeerust. Ek het by die vulstasie stilgehou en brandstof ingegooi. 'n Swart man het my genader en gesê dat hy my die pad na Botswana gaan wys. Ek het aan die groep gesê dat ons die "pilot" op Zeerust sou aantref.

Ons het gesels, die man het gesê dat die pad veilig was en dat die ander "comrades" in Botswana was. Dit was die eerste maal wat ek die man gesien het. Ek het gehoor dat hy nie 'n Suid-Afrikaanse burger was nie, maar 'n Zimbabwiër.

Vanaf Zeerust het ons gery in die rigting van Gaborone. Voor ek by die vulstasie gekom het, het ek brigadier Cronje, brigadier Loods en kaptein Hechter buite die Veiligheidskantoor in Zeerust opgemerk. Ek het geweet dat die operasie nog goed afloop. Op pad tussen Zeerust en Gaborone is ek deur 'n bruin Land Cruiser, nie 'n LAW nie, maar 'n Jeep ingehaal en verbygesteek.

Die man wat ek by die vulstasie opgelaai het, het gesê dat dit "comrades" was wat kyk of die pad steeds skoon is. Op 'n punt het die man gesê dat ons na links van die pad moes trek. Dit was tussen die berge en 'n twee spoor pad. Rondom ons was digte bosse.

Ek het ongeveer 30 tot 40 meter die bos ingery waar ek 'n hoop wit klippe opgemerk het. Op 1995-11-21 om ongeveer 11H50 het ek die punt aan kaptein De Jongh uitgewys.

Inspekteur Ellis het dit gefotografeer. Die man het my aangesê om net voor die klippe stil te hou, wat ek gedoen het.

Toe die voertuig stilhou het soldate in weermag uniform kamoefleer drag, uit die bos gespring en die minibus met vuurwapens omsingel. Daar was ook persone in burger drag. Dit was almal blankes gewees. Die "comrades" was aangesê om uit die minibus te klim en voor die voertuig op die grond te lê.

Terwyl hulle op die grond gelê het, het iemand almal se broeke afgetrek. 'n Persoon in kamoefleer uniform het die mense ingespuut. Kaptein Hechter, wie saam met die mense was, het die persoon met die spuit gehelp. Terwyl die inspuitery aan die gang was, het ander lede die "comrades" met 'n tou aanmekaar vasgemaak, aan die hande sowel as aan die voete.

Brigadier Loods en brigadier Cronje het op die toneel aangekom. Laasgenoemde het aan my gesê dat almal binne drie minute sou slaap. Ek het 'n wit minibus gesien wat 'n ent verder in die bos gestaan het. Die "comrades" was na die minibus gesleep en opgelaai. Dit was 'n ou bussie. Ek kan nie sê watter fabrikaat nie.

Brigadier Cronje het aan my die doos met die inspuittings oorhandig. Ek onthou dat drie daarvan nie gebruik was nie. Ek het opdrag gekry om dit te vernietig op die pad terug na Pretoria. Die inspuittingsvloeistof was deursigtig soos water.

Ek het dit vernietig deur dit langs die pad te verbrand. Ek het almal in die bos agtergelaat en terug gekeer na Pretoria. Na ongeveer drie weke het brigadier Cronje my na sy kantoor geroep.

Hy het aan my foto's van die ou minibus gewys. Dit was totaal uitgebrand. Die "comrades" was binne in die bus. Ek onthou dat een se kop oopgebars het.

Daar was ook drie uitgebrande AK47 gewere in die bus. Ek was weereens gelukkig met die suksesvolle operasie. Ek het R1 000-00 in kontant ontvang en was aangesê om twee weke verlof te neem. Na 'n paar dae het ek 'n berig in die koerant gelees dat 12 mense in 'n minibus op pad, vanaf Botswana en na Bophuthatswana Village ontplof het. Ek het geweet dat dit die 12 "comrades" was. Gedurende die begin van 1994 het ek myself as 'n joernalis voorgedoen. Ek het na die huise van die slagoffers teruggekeer soos ek die adresse onthou het.

Ek het by die families navraag gedoen, en name asook foto's bekom. Ek was vergesel deur mnr Elias Maluleka, 'n werknemer by die City Press koerant. Ek het bevestiging ontvang en foto's bekom van die volgende persone: Abraham Cannon Makulani, van Section V7229 Naledi, Mzwaki Siphosibanjone, van Blok R6356, Mamelodi, Naledi, Rooibaard Geldenhuys van Blok K3005 Mamelodi Wes, Siphos Morris Simon Gabinda en Jeremia Makakula.

Die datum van die verklaring, at this juncture after I have read my affidavit to you Mr Chairman, I think I should also elaborate on the fact that fortunately I brought certain documents, I don't know whether it was conducive for me to bring them, but nevertheless I brought them, about the evidence that I handed over to the Department of Justice concerning the very same matter that I have just elaborated about.

This is the receipt of the evidence that I handed over to the Department of Justice, that was on the 13th of December 1995, and then it says I certify that Mr Joe Mamasela handed the following documents to me for safekeeping on Wednesday, 13 December 1995.

It says three travel documents issues to Marcus Maponja, Identity number 5479070 and then it says Thomas Nkosnathi Mkhize, Identity number 5735342, Isaac Thabo Mafukeng, Identity number 6423373. Identity document issued to Marcus Maponja number 5610025718082, Isaac Thabo Mafukeng, number 6206115765080, Police Identification card number 48, issued to I. Khumalo. Special pass issued to I. Khumalo, ID number 8636047/4 of the SAP. Student card issued by Technikon Northern Transvaal in the name of M. Maponja, ID number 5610025718082. Photographs of Mr Mamasela are attached to all the above documents.

Then six programmes of the funeral of Bulensana Letsiya on 5 March 1987 in Mamelodi East. This is one of the victims, the Police victims whose home was petrol bombed. The brother, the Police wanted to kill the brother of this young girl. Unfortunately the brother was not at home and this 13 year old little girl was killed by Brigadier Cronje, Hechter and Van Vuuren as well as Captain Loods. I was there when they petrol bombed the house. I went back to retrieve the whole thing.

A copy of an (indistinct) certificate of Jeremiah Makakula, born 31 May 1970 in Mamelodi, entry number 20419734977, with a photograph stapled to it. He was one of the minibus massacre.

A reference book in the name of Morris Simon Gabinda, born 19 December 1967, number 1/7801011/3. Photograph of young couple, the word Rajesse is written on the back of the photograph.

A photograph of a baby, the following is written on the reverse side. Somewell Masilela, Block C957,83 Mamelodi West, when he was six months old, it is a minibus massacre. It is one of the students that were killed. So there was another photograph of a pupil in a school uniform. The following is written on the reverse side, Mzwaki Siphon Sibanjone, Block R6356, Mamelodi D5, telephone number 8057995. He also was the victim of the minibus of Nietverdiend.

A photograph of a woman and two young boys. The following is written on the reverse side, minibus blast, Rooibaard Geldenhuys, Blok K3005, Mamelodi West, C4. Photograph of a young man, details written on the back are Abraham Canon Makhulani, Section U7229, Naledi. He also died in the minibus blast.

A photograph of six young boys, the word Mzwaki Sibanjone in the centre, minibus appear on the reverse side, he also died in the minibus. A photograph, the word Andrew Maponje Makope, (indistinct) abduction appear on the back of the photograph. That was the businessman that was abducted with Makopi and Sephola.

Photograph of two women and a young man, the following is written on the reverse side, massacre James Mabena. He is the one who died in the KwaNdabele massacre. I think he was the brother, he was the child of the particular house where the incident took place.

Photograph of two men, written on the back Obet Mokonani, R 20 Section, 1179B1, Mamelodi West, KwaNdabele massacre. A photograph of two men and a women, the following appears on the back, massacre. Zeerust Skosana.

This is but a few of the people that I tried to account for who were involved in these separate incidents, I couldn't get all the names, probably there are more names than these.



So I ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** Mr Mamasela, the statement you read previously, before you read the names and that what is an annexure, that also was unsigned, is that so? It was not a signed statement, the one you read before, the one you read in Afrikaans?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, I signed them, but these were just copies made for me. The ones that were sent with the Attorney General.

**CHAIRPERSON:** I see, but it does not show a date?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, it doesn't show a date.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Okay.

**MR MAMASELA:** But basically, most of them I made them in about, more or less the following days, so they don't differ so much with each other.

**CHAIRPERSON:** You may continue.

**MR MAMASELA:** I will like to refer the Chairman to an incident that took place in Mamelodi, about in, during 1987.

It is also in Afrikaans, because the Policeman who was taking my statements, just used Afrikaans, he couldn't use English. It says gedurende 1987 ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** Sorry, it is in relation to what incident, or is it not ...

**MR MAMASELA:** No, it relates to the incident of Makopi and Sephola.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Oh, okay.

**MR MAMASELA:** It is Makopi and Sephola.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Makopi and Maki?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, because the Pebco 3 I have done that, and the others I have done, so Sephola Maki. It says gedurende 1987, ek kan nie die datum onthou nie, het AO Paul Van Vuuren geld aan 'n beriggewer van hom, ene Jackson Maki gegee om die ANC in Botswana te gaan infiltreer.

Later het die beriggewer teruggekeer. AO Van Vuuren was nie tevrede met die terugvoering wat Jackson Maki gegee het nie. AO Van Vuuren het my gevra om die beriggewer te ondervra om sy geloofwaardigheid te toets.

Ek het saam met kaptein Loods vanaf Pretoria gery na die afgespreekte ontmoetingsplek onder die brug by Pienaarsrivier waar ons die beriggewer, AO Van Vuuren, kaptein Hechter and Daniel Selahe aangetref het.

Hulle was in 'n minibus. Ek het die beriggewer ondervra oor sy sending, asook sy kennis oor wapens. Dit het duidelik geword dat hy nooit na Botswana gegaan het nie, maar die geld gebruik het.

Na verdere ondervraging, dit het ongeveer twee ure geduur, het hy erken dat hy nooit na Botswana gegaan het nie. Die

beriggewer was nie op daardie stadium aangerand nie. Ek het opdrag van AO Van Vuuren ontvang om die volgende dag na sy ouers se plaas te kom sodat ek Daniel Selahe kon aflos.

AO Van Vuuren, kaptein Hechter en Daniel Selahe het met Jackson Maki vertrek terwyl ek kaptein Loods na Pretoria teruggekeer het. Die volgende dag om ongeveer vyfuur in die oggend, het ek na die plaas te Pienaarsrivier gery waar ek Daniel Selahe en Hendrik Bokaba aangetref het.

Daniel Selahe was duidelik moeg asof hy nie geslaap het nie. Hendrik Bokaba was vars en skoon aangetrek asof hy net voor my opgedaag het. Die beriggewer het onder iets soos 'n hok geslaap. Daniel Selahe het in sy motor geklim en gery. Bokaba het die beriggewer Jackson Maki genader en beskuldig dat hy sy naam sleg praat by sy hanteerder.

Hy het hom geskop en in die gesig geslaan. Hy het hom ook gewurg sodat sy oë omdop. Ek het Bokaba gekeer en gesê dat die man verder ondervra moet word en nie beseer mag word nie. Na 'n rukkie het AO Van Vuuren opgedaag, hy het koffie en kos gebring. Ons en die beriggewer het geëet. Later het kaptein Hechter opgedaag.

Ons het Jackson Maki ondervra. Hy het gesê dat hy met Andrew Makopi van Mamelodi saamwerk en hy het ook laasgenoemde se telefoonnommer by hom gehad. Daar was besluit dat Maki vir Andrew Makopi sou bel sodat hy ook ondervra kon

word. Ek en Hendrik Bokaba het met Maki na die poskantoor te Pienaarsrivier gery, waar hy vanaf 'n telefoonhokkie gebel het. Ons het die gesprek tussen hom en Makopi gemonitor.

Aanvanklik het hy Makopi gevra om hom by die Pienaarsrivier onder die brug te ontmoet. Dit was nie suksesvol nie. Makopi het gevra dat hy later weer skakel.

Maki het weer geskakel, maar Makopi was nie beskikbaar nie. Teen die middag het hy weer geskakel, Makopi het gesê dat hy nie belangstel nie en nie mense in die bos ontmoet nie. Ons het na die plaas teruggekeer waar alternatiewe beplanning gemaak is.

Die volgende dag het ek en Daniel Selahe na Mamelodi gegaan waar ons Andrew Makopi se bewegings gemonitor het. Hy was aan Daniel Selahe bekend. Die middag het ons na die plaas teruggekeer waar ons gerapporteer het dat Makopi normaal met sy besigheid voortgaan. Daar was besluit om Makopi dieselfde aand te ontvoer. Ons sou hom monitor vanaf sy werk tot by sy plek waar dit moontlik was om hom te gryp.

Ek, Daniel Selahe, AO Van Vuuren, kaptein Hechter en ek dink nog twee ander lede, ek is nie seker wie nie, het vanaf die plaas na Mamelodi vertrek met 'n minibus. Ons het Andrew Makopi gemonitor vanaf sy werk, 'n "funeral parlour", dit was sluitingstyd. Hy het met 'n wit Mitsubishi sedan gery. Saam met hom was nog twee mense in die motor.

Ons het die voertuig op 'n afstand agtervolg. Hy het een persoon afgelaai, ons het hom verder agtervolg en hom in die omgewing waar hy woon, uit die oog verloor. Ek onthou nog dit was winter want dit was gou donker.

Ons het die strate patrolleer om hom te probeer opspoor. Op 'n stadium het ons om 'n hoek gegaan waar ons Andrew Makopi se voertuig geparkeer sien staan het. Daar was nog 'n persoon saam met hom in die motor. Ons het verby gery en op die volgende hoek stilgehou. Kaptein Hechter het my en Daniel Selahe aangesê om te voet na Andrew Makopi te gaan en hom te probeer vang.

Ek en Daniel Selahe het na die motor geloop. Ek het die deur aan die bestuurder se kant oopgemaak en Daniel die aan die passassierskant. Ons het ons pistole gereed gehad en ons aanstellingsertifikate getoon en gesê "Polisie". Daniel Selahe het die passasier, 'n vrou geneem en saam met haar agter in die voertuig geklim. Ek het Makopi op die passasiersplek laat sit, ek het Makopi se voertuig bestuur.

Ons het tot by ons bussie gery en ligte geflikker. Die bussie het ons uit die woongebied gevolg. Buite die woongebied het ons langs die pad parkeer met die bussie agter ons. Ek het aan die mense in die bussie rapporteer dat daar 'n vrou saam met Makopi was. AO Van Vuuren het gesê dat die vrou doodgemaak moes word.

Ek het gesê dat ons haar moes aflaai aangesien ek toe reeds aan haar gesê het dat ons van die ANC was en dat Makopi het die organisasie se geld gesteel. Die doel was om die geld terug te kry. Kaptein Hechter het met my saamgestem.

Ek het die vrou R5-00 gegee en aangesê om 'n taxi te haal. Ek het ook aan haar gesê dat sy nie die Boere moes sê nie, aangesien die ANC haar dan sal kry. Ons het met Makopi wat nou in die bussie gelaai was, na Pienaarsrivier terug gery. Ek het die bussie met Makopi se motor gevolg.

Op die plaas aangekom was Makopi ondervra. Ons het agtergekom dan Jackson Maki gelieg het. Hy het Makopi wel geken, maar daar was geen samewerking tussen hulle nie. Makopi was eerlik en openhartig, hy het ons inligting gegee waaroor ons nie beskik het nie. Hy het gesê dat hy wel ANC lede gehelp het. Hy sou van hulle wapens in die lykshuis versteek het.

Hy het gesê dat ene (onduidelik) Harold Siphola die ANC lede goed ken. Siphola sou ook die lykswa geleen het om wapens in Mafikeng te gaan haal. Ek het Makopi belowe dat hy 'n vry man sou wees as hy ons help om Siphola in die hande te kry. Hy het sy samewerking belowe. Siphola se telefoonnommer was egter by die lykshuis in Mamelodi.

Daar was besluit dat Makopi sou gaan bel. Eerstens om die telefoonnommer van Siphola by sy kantoor te kry, en tweedens

om 'n afspraak met Siphola te reël. Ons het die nag in die bussie geslaap. Dit was ekself, Bokaba en Selahe.

Die blankes het gery terwyl Maki en Makopi in die hok geplaas was. Die volgende oggend het ek, Bokaba en Dennis Selahe Makopi na die poskantoor te Pienaarsrivier geneem, waar hy geskakel het.

Ons het geluister wat hy gesê het. Ons het hom vooraf gesê wat om te sê. Makopi het met 'n manspersoon gepraat en hom aangesê om Siphola se telefoonnommer te verstrek. Die man het gevra of alles in order was, waarop Makopi bevestig het en gesê het dat hy saam met die ANC is.

Hy het die telefoonnommer gekry, waarop hy Siphola geskakel het. Hy het aan Siphola gesê dat hy moes te wagte wees dat twee lede van die ANC vir hom, Siphola sou kom haal en na hom, Makopi bring, en dat hy nie meer oor die telefoon wou sê nie.

Siphola het gesê dit is reg so. Ons het na die plaas terug gekeer, waar weer beplanning gedoen is. Siphola het 'n winkel in Witbank gehad en was deur die ANC opgelei. Aangesien ekself deur die ANC opgelei was, was besluit dat ek Siphola sou nader, ten einde hom in ons motor in te lok.

Ek en Daniel Selahe het met 'n groen Corolla, NMB825T gery na Witbank terwyl AO Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter ons gevolg het. Ek en Daniel Selahe het na die winkel gery terwyl

Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter langs die snelweg gewag het. Die naam van die winkel het my ontgaan, maar ek onthou waar dit gelê het.

Ek het in die winkel ingegaan en lekkergoed gekoop. Makopi het telefonies 'n kode aan Siphola gegee wat ek sou gebruik het, naamlik "The eagle has landed". Ek het die kode genoem en hy het geweet dat ek deur Makopi gestuur was.

Ek het aan hom 'n beskrywing van ons voertuig gegee en gesê waar dit parkeer was. Hy het gesê dat hy sou volg. Ek het na die motor terug gegaan. Na 'n rukkie het Harold Siphola na die motor gekom. Hy het agter in die motor geklim. Daniel het nou bestuur, ek was in die passasiersplek.

Ons het in die rigting van Pretoria gery. Ek het baie politiek met Siphola gepraat om sy aandag te behou. Hy was later oortuig dat ek een van hulle was, en het inligting verstrek.

Ons het by AO Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter verby gery en hulle het ons gevolg tot by Pienaarsrivier. By die afdraai na die plaas, het Siphola die eerste maal onraad vermoed. Ek het my pistool en aanstellingsertifikaat uitgehaal en gesê dat ons van die polisie was.

Op die plaas aangekom het ons Siphola eenkant geneem en ondervra. Omdat hy geweet het dat ons polisiemanne was, het hy alles wat hy voorheen gesê het, ontken. Hy het ontken dat daar wapens weggesteek was by sy DLB. Hy wou nie saamwerk nie.



Op daardie stadium was ek, Daniel Selahe, Bokaba, AO Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter op die plaas. Kaptein Hechter het gesê dat al drie moes dood. Ek het probeer keer vir Makopi, wat sy samewerking gegee het. Kaptein Hechter het gesê dat hy, Makopi, weet van die ander twee en nie vrygelaat kon word nie.

Daar was 'n stryery tussen AO Van Vuuren en Hendrik Bokaba oor met wie begin moes word. Bokaba het duidelik 'n "grudge" teen Maki gehad, terwyl Van Vuuren met Makopi wou begin. AO Van Vuuren het Makopi geneem, elektriese drade aan hom gekoppel en 'n kragopwekker aangeskakel. Makopi is geskok totdat hy gesterf het.

Makopi het geskreeu. AO Van Vuuren het sy gesig herhaaldelik met 'n sakmes gesny. Intussen het Bokaba vir Maki verskriklik aangerand, deur hom met die vuis te slaan en te skop en op hom te spring. Sy gesig was baie opgeswel. Sy neus, ore en mond het baie gebloei.

Toe dit sy beurt was om geskok te word, het Maki baie gepleit en hom teëgesit. Ons het gehelp om hom vas te druk terwyl die drade aan hom gekoppel was. Die kragopwekker was aangeskakel en hy was geskok tot hy dood was.

Siphola wie die oudste van die drie was en parmantig was, was deur AO Van Vuuren aangesê om vir die ander twee te bid. Hy het op sy knieë gegaan en sy gebalde vuis in die lug gesteek en gesê dat hy sy makkers salueer in die naam van die "struggle".

Dit was duidelik dat hy sy lot aanvaar het. Die drade was aan hom vasgemaak en die kragopwekker aangeskakel. Hy is geskok tot hy dood is. Daar het skuim by sy mond uitgekom en donkerrooi bloed by sy mond en ore.

Die drie oorledenes was in die bussie gelaai. Kaptein Hechter het Makopi se aktetas deursoek. Hy het 'n tjekboek met ondertekende tjeks daarin gevind. Hy het gesê dat hy dit in Swaziland sou wissel, maar dat hy by die Ermelo Veiligheidstak sou vra.

Voor Siphola se dood was sy bankkaartjie gevind en sy geheime nommer van hom verkry. Ek en AO Van Vuuren het dit later gaan toets. Ons het tussen R500-00 en R600-00 getrek. Daar was later 'n braai met die geld gehou. Teen 18H00 het kaptein Hechter reëlings met Brits Veiligheidstak getref vir die vernietiging van die lyke.

Ons het met die lyke na Brits vertrek. Op Brits aangekom, het ons AO Hunter en sersant Fanki en 'n onbekende lid ontmoet.

Hulle het verduidelik dat hulle bevelvoerder op daardie stadium, kaptein Jabber, opdrag gegee het dat hulle nie mag deelneem nie.

Ons het besluit om self 'n plan te maak.

Ek het die omgewing geken en voorgestel dat ons die lyke in Bophuthatswana gebied moes vernietig. My voorstelle was aanvaar. Ons het gery tot naby Jericho polisiestatie. Op 'n draai in die pad, nie ver van Jericho polisiestatie nie, het ons die drie

lyke op 'n landmyn geplaas. Daar was 'n "fuse" in die landmyn. Ons het in die voertuig gespring en weg gery.

Die landmyn het ontplof. Die volgende dag was kaptein Hechter baie bekommerd. Hy het gesê dat daar hande op die toneel gevind was, waarmee die oorledenes identifiseer kon word.

Hy het gesê dat hy reeds met brigadier Cronje gepraat het om 'n plan te maak sodat die vingerafdrukke nie identifiseer sou word nie.

Ek was opdrag gegee om vals registrasieplate in Makopi se voertuig te sit, en dit aan kaptein Kok by Tegnies te oorhandig. Ek het die motor op die plaas geneem en daarmee na kaptein Kok, Tegnies gery waar ek dit aan oorhandig het. Ek het AO Van Vuuren gehelp om die radio en luidsprekers van die voertuig te verwyder. Hy het dit vir homself geneem.

Hierdie verklaring was afgelewer by Pretoria op die 15de dag van Augustusmaand 1996, omtrent elfuur.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you Mr Mamasela.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you Mr Chairperson.

**CHAIRPERSON:** You can proceed to the next.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you Mr Chairman. I would like to proceed with a very controversial statement here, about Jeffrey Sibeya. Oh, no, this is not the controversial one. Let me go to 1987 with Jeffrey Sibeya. It is also in Afrikaans. It starts with...

**CHAIRPERSON:** Before you go to that, something I noted in the previous statement you have just given. You said "kaptein", was it "kaptein Jabber"?

**MR MAMASELA:** It is Captain Juber, Juber.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Juber?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, Juber.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Okay. Ber?

**MR MAMASELA:** Ber. I think he is now retired, he got an early retirement.

**CHAIRPERSON:** He was in the Security Police?

**MR MAMASELA:** He was there. He was in fact the Commander, it is the Commander of Brits Security Police. He was later transferred to Pretoria Headquarters. I think he retired as a Colonel.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you. You may then proceed.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you sir. This one is of Jeffrey Sibeya. It reads as follows, also in Afrikaans.

I, Joseph Siphon Mamasela, verklaar onder eed, Jeffrey Sibeya was 'n beriggewer van AO Paul Van Vuuren. Op 'n dag dit was nie lank na die dood van Jackson Maki, Andrew Makopi end Harold Siphola nie, het AO Van Vuuren my geroep en meegedeel dat hy vermoed dat Jeffrey hom minderwaardige inligting gee en waardevolle inligting weerhou.

Ek kan nie datums onthou nie. AO Van Vuuren wou die beriggewer toets. Ek het nie op daardie stadium vir Jeffrey geken nie. AO Van Vuuren het my saam met 'n ander beriggewer na Jeffrey gestuur sodat laasgenoemde my aan Jeffrey kon voorstel. Ek en die beriggewer het Jeffrey ontmoet. Hy het my voorgestel as 'n lid van die ANC wat met die (onduidelik) opgelei was.

Ek het Macaroff pistole en hand grenade by my gehad en het aangebied om Jeffrey in die hantering daarvan op te lei. Ek het die wapens aan hom getoon en 'n afspraak gemaak om hom weer die volgende aand te ontmoet. Ons wou sien of Jeffrey die inligting aan AO Van Vuuren sou rapporteer.

Ek het na AO Van Vuuren teruggegaan en rapporteer wat ek gereël het. Jeffrey Sibeya het nie aan AO Van Vuuren die inligting deurgegee nie. Ek het na Jeffrey terug gegaan soos ek met hom gereël het. By die ontmoetingsplek het hy 'n man by hom gehad. Ek is nie seker nie, maar ek dink sy naam was Prompana.

Ek het hulle aangesê om by my in die voertuig te klim sodat ons na Hammanskraal kon ry, waar ek hulle in die bos opleiding kon gee. Ek het intussen met AO Van Vuuren gereël dat hy my onderweg na Hammanskraal sou ontmoet en op 'n stil plek van die pad sou aftrek. Op pad na Hammanskraal het ek AO Van Vuuren met 'n minibus gesien.

Op 'n punt het hy my van die pad af getrek. Ek het aan Jeffrey gesê dat die taxi mense lastig is. Jeffrey het gesê dat dit nie 'n taxi was nie, maar lede van Kompol. AO Van Vuuren, kaptein Hechter, kaptein Crafford, Mbatha en Daniel Selahe was in die minibus. Hulle het Jeffrey Sibeya en die ander man gegryp en in die minibus gelaai. Ons het voort gery in die rigting van Hammanskraal.

Ek het die minibus gevolg. Op 'n stadium het ons van die pad af getrek en stilgehou. Almal het uitgeklim. Ons het Jeffrey en sy maat in die bos langs die pad ingeneem. Jeffrey en sy maat was gekonfronteer en geondervra. Hulle was aangerand vir 'n lang tyd. Hulle was geklap, geskop en met gebalde vuiste geslaan.

Later het AO Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter 'n lyfband om Jeffrey se nek gesit, elk aan 'n punt van die lyfband wat 'n lus gevorm het. Jeffrey was gewurg totdat hy dood is. Ekself, kaptein Crafford en Mbatha het die ander man op dieselfde manier gewurg dat hy ook gesterf het.

Albei die lyke was in die minibus gelaai en ons het gery. In die omgewing van Hammanskraal op 'n grondpad, daar was 'n "village" naby, het ons op 'n draai stilgehou. Die twee lyke was op die grondpad in mekaar geplaas bo-op 'n SPM limpet myn. Kaptein Hechter het die "fuse" voorberei waarna ons weg gery het.

Na ons 'n entjie gery het was daar 'n groot ontploffing. Vlamme het die lug in geskiet. Ons het na ons huise terug gekeer. Die volgende dag het ons 'n verslag aangaande die ontploffing ontvang. Ons het geweet dat ons suksesvol was. Ten tyde van die ontploffing was dit reeds ongeveer 22H00 en donker.

It is signed, hierdie een is geteken op hierdie 22ste dag van Augustus 1996, omtrent elfuur.

**CHAIRPERSON**: Just repeat those dates.

**MR MAMASELA**: 22 August 1996, at about eleven o'clock.

**CHAIRPERSON**: Thank you.

**MR MAMASELA**: This one is of I see, it is not here, the one of Hammanskraal of Sergeant Mothasi. Themba, Sergeant Mothasi and his wife Florence.

**MR PRETORIUS**: That is a policeman?

**MR MAMASELA**: Yes. It is not, it doesn't reflect here.

**MR PRETORIUS**: Will you just proceed with it anyway.

**MR MAMASELA**: Okay. This one is in relation with Sergeant Mothasi.

**CHAIRPERSON**: Can you spell that for the record please?

**MR MAMASELA**: Sergeant Mothasi, it is Mothasi. Sergeant Mothasi.

**MR PRETORIUS**: Sorry Mr Mamasela, Mr Chairman, it is one of the events that is included in the Wagner letter.

**MR MAMASELA**: In reference with Sergeant Mothasi, a lot of things have opened my eyes in reference to this particular case, because more often than not, when the Security Police wanted us to do something, they would always use false accusations and say this man is an informer, he works for the CIO or he works for this or that.

It must be justified as a political event, but after the death of this man, when I read in the press, I found that he was completely innocent, he was not a member, he was not a spy for CIO. He was just a Sergeant in the Police Force at Hammanskraal, he was just doing his job and his Commander, a Colonel clapped him and then he made a civil case against him and this is precisely why he was killed, but they said to us he is a CIO agent, he must be killed, he is a danger to the State.

I just wanted to clarify that with Mr Chairman.

**CHAIRPERSON**: What is CIO?

**MR MAMASELA**: CIO, it is Central Investigation Organisation of Zimbabwe.

**CHAIRPERSON**: Oh, I see.

**MR MAMASELA**: Yes, because they said he was a spy for CIO.

**MR PRETORIUS**: Central Intelligence.

**MR MAMASELA**: Central Intelligence Organisation of Zimbabwe, yes. Thank you. I also made a statement to that effect in Afrikaans which reads as follows: Op 1995, November



24, om ongeveer 13H20 minute het ek huis nommer 538 Themba aan kaptein De Jongh en speurder adjudant-offisier Ellis uitgewys. Speurder adjudant-offisier Ellis het foto's van die huis geneem.

Gedurende 1988 was die perseel deur die gesin Mothasi bewoon. Mnr Mothasi was 'n sersant in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie gestasioneer te Hammanskraal Opleidingskollege. Op 'n dag, datum onbekend, was ek deur my onmiddellike bevelvoerder, kaptein Hechter genader. Hy het aan my gesê dat sersant Mothasi uitgeloop was, dat hy 'n agent was vir CIO, wat vir Zimbabwe gespioeneer het.

Ek was opdrag gegee om sy adres in D-Blok, Themba, vas te stel en observasie te hou. Ek moes toegangsroetes en ontsnaproetes vasstel. Ek het sersant Mothasi se woonadres vasgestel en die nodige observasie gehou. Ek het die inligting aan kaptein Hechter oorgedra.

Die volgende dag het ek, kaptein Hechter, kaptein Loods, AO Paul van Vuuren en konstabel Daniel Selahe na sersant Mothasi se huis vertrek. Konstabel Selahe was die bestuurder van die donkerblou Husky minibus. Die plan was om as ons by Mothasi se huis kom, ons sou klop en as Mothasi die deur oopmaak, ons hom sou doodskiet.

Ek was gewapen met 'n .357 rewolwer. Kaptein Loods en AO Van Vuuren het elkeen 'n AK47 geweer gehad terwyl kaptein

Hechter sy AK47 geweer aan konstabel Selahe gegee het om die voertuig op te pas en vir ons dekking van agter te verskaf.

Met ons aankoms by die huis, dit was om ongeveer 21H30, het ons voor die huis stilgehou. Ek het alleen uitgeklim en na die huis gegaan. Ek het geklop, waarop Mothasi se vrou die deur oopgemaak het. Ek het gesien Mothasi se voertuig staan nie in die erf nie.

Ek wou by haar weet waar hy is. Sy het gesê dat hy gery het om Kentucky hoender te gaan koop, waarop ek dit toe so aan kaptein Hechter hulle in die voertuig gaan rapporteer het. Die vrou was nuuskierig en het kort kort uit die huis gekom, en buite rond gestap. Kaptein Hechter het gesê dat ek die vrou in die huis moes neem aangesien hy bang was dat sy aandag kon trek.

Ek het die vrou weer buite die huis genader en aan haar gesê dat ons van die polisie is en die huis wil visenteer. Sy het nie beswaar gehad nie, en ek en sy het in die huis gegaan. Kaptein Hechter, kaptein Loods en AO Van Vuuren het ons gevolg. Ek was aangesê om die vrou in die slaapkamer aan te hou totdat haar man opdaag.

Ek het haar gekalmeer en gemaak asof ek met deursoeking besig is. Sy het my gevra wat ons teen haar man ondersoek, waarop ek 'n leuen vertel het deur aan haar te sê dat ek gehoor het dat dit 'n gewapende roof is. Ek het haar ook gevra of sy nie

'n groot hoeveelheid geld by haar man gesien het nie, waarop sy ontkennend geantwoord het.

Sy het rustig begin raak en aan my vertel dat sy 'n verpleegster by die Jubilee hospitaal is. Ek het my rewolwer in my hand gehad, maar dit nie op haar gerig soos wat ek aangesê was om te doen nie.

Na 'n ruk het haar man teruggekom. 'n Groot lawaai het in die sitkamer losgebars. Ek het slae soos deur 'n stomp voorwerp veroorsaak, gehoor. Die vrou het gevra wat aan die gang was, waarop ek geantwoord het dat hy homself moontlik teen arrestasie wil verset. Ek het 'n aantal skote vanuit die sitkamer gehoor.

Die vrou het kwaad begin raak en wou gaan kyk wat aangaan. Ek het haar egter in die kamer gehou. Dit het stil geraak in die sitkamer, waarna kaptein Hechter die slaapkamer ingekom het. Hy het my beskuldig dat ek staan en slaap en dat ek lankal die vrou moes geskiet het. Hy het haar aangesê om tussen die komberse in die bed te klim, waarop hy die rewolwer by my geneem en die vrou 'n paar skote in die kop geskiet het.

Ek was baie verbaas omdat ons nie beplan het om die vrou te skiet nie. Kaptein Hechter het die rewolwer aan my terug gegee met die opdrag om die kind in die ander slaapkamer te gaan skiet. Hy het die vertrek verlaat en ek het hom gevolg. Die slaapkamer deur van die kind het oop gestaan en die lig was

aangeskakel. Ek het gesien die klein seuntjie lê en slaap en kon dit nie oor my hart kry om hom dood te skiet nie.

Ek het die kamerdeur toegetrek en na die slaapkamer van die vrou gegaan, waar ek twee skote in die rigting van die bed geskiet het. Die ammunisie was klaar en ek het die kamer dadelik verlaat. Toe ek deur die sitkamer beweeg het, het ek die liggaam van 'n man op die vloer gesien lê. Hy het op sy rug gelê en daar was bloed aan sy gesig en bors. Hy het 'n wit hemp aangehad en was opsigtelik dood.

Ek het die huis verlaat en ons het na die minibus gehardloop wat nou 'n ent van die huis, onder 'n lamppaal gestaan het. In die voertuig het kaptein Hechter my weer beskuldig dat ek gestaan en gaap het omdat ek nie die vrou geskiet het nie. Hy het my gevra of ek die kind geskiet het en ek het bevestigend geantwoord. Hy het my rewolwer gevra om dit na te gaan, en ek het dit aan hom oorhandig. Hy het gesien dat al die rondtes afgevuur was, en was tevrede.

Ons het na die basis teruggekeer waar ek my motor geneem, en na my huis gegaan het. Na 'n paar dae het brigadier Basie Smit bevel oorgeneem van ons seksie. Kaptein Hechter het aan brigadier Smit gerapporteer wat ons gedoen het. Brigadier Swart was baie kwaad. Brigadier Hechter was verplaas na Soweto, waar hy later ontslag geneem het.

Ek was verplaas na C-seksie. Van Vuuren het ontslag geneem en kaptein Loods is na Koedoe Arkade verplaas. Die hele B-seksie was ontbind. Ek het later in die koerant gelees dat sersant Mothasi 'n argument met sy bevelvoerder gehad het. Sy bevelvoerder, 'n kolonel het hom aangerand en Mothasi is na 'n prokureur om 'n siviele geding teen die kolonel aanhangig te maak.

Die kolonel het op bevordering gestaan en die saak kon sy bevordering benadeel. Dit was blykbaar die rede waarom Mothasi vermoor is, en nie soos ek geglo het hy 'n CIO spioen was nie.

Die een is ook nie geteken nie.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Now, do you have an idea when more or less you made that statement? Was it more or less around the days of the other ones?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you, right.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, it is round about 25, 26th of November 1995. This one is about Joseph Tsele in Makapaanstad, but it does not reflect anywhere here.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Joseph who?

**MR MAMASELA:** Joseph Tsele in Makapaanstad.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you.

**MR MAMASELA:** It is also done in Afrikaans, although I don't understand Afrikaans very well myself, but unfortunately the policeman who wrote it, only wrote it in Afrikaans.

**CHAIRPERSON:** It is okay.

**MR MAMASELA:** It also reads as follows: Op 1995-11-24 om ongeveer 11H15 het ek huis nommer 2635, Makapaanstad in die voormalige Bophuthatswana aan kaptein De Jongh uitgewys. Die huis was deur inspekteur Ellis gefotografeer.

Gedurende 1986 of 1987 het sersant Tiny aan kaptein Hechter gerapporteer dat die besturende direkteur van Bophuthatswana Transport Holding, BTH, kla dat ene Joseph Tsele wie van Robbeneiland afkomstig was, besig was om 'n vakbond te stig en van sy werkers te werf.

Verder sou Joseph Tsele terroriste en wapens in sy huis versteek het. Kaptein Hechter het die inligting na brigadier Cronje verwys. Na ongeveer 'n week, het brigadier vir myself, kaptein Hechter, AO Paul van Vuuren, sersant Tiny en konstabel Mbatha na sy kantoor ontbied. Brigadier Cronje het gesê dat daar besluit was dat ons Joseph Tsele moes ontvoer. As ons nie slaag nie, moes ons hom by sy huis doodskiet.

Ek en Mbatha het opdrag gekry om Tsele se woonadres vas te stel. Ons moes sy bewegings dophou en vasstel waarmee hy ry. Ek en Mbatha het na Makapaanstad gegaan. Dit was maklik om

die adres op te spoor, maar moeilik om sy bewegings dop te hou, omdat hy verskillende skofte gewerk het.

Op 'n dag het brigadier Cronje gesê dat ons die aand na Tsele se huis moes gaan. Hy het aan my en Mbatha elkeen 'n AK47 geweer gegee. Brigadier Cronje het ook aan ons 'n klein foto van Tsele gegee. Ongeveer 21H00 die aand, het ons na Tsele se huis gegaan. Dit was ek, konstabel Mbatha, brigadier Cronje en kaptein Hechter.

By die huis aangekom het ons langs die teerpad geparkeer. Ek en Mbatha het te voet na die huis gestap. By die huis het ons aan die deur geklop, maar niemand het dit oopgemaak nie. Ons het om die huis gestap en deur die venster geloer om te sien wat in die huis was.

By een vertrek het die televisie stel gespeel, en ek het 'n man op die rusbank gesien lê en slaap. Ek het na die man se gesig gekyk en dit met die foto in my besit, vergelyk en gemerk dat dit dieselfde persoon was.

Mbatha het dit ook vergelyk en saamgestem dat dit dieselfde persoon was. Omdat daar diefwering oor die venster was, en ek en Mbatha bang was dat 'n koeël daarteen kon terug deflekteer, het ons besluit om gelyktydig ons AK47 gewere deur die ruite te stamp en op vol outomaties na die man te vuur.

Ons het toe die wapens deur die ruite gestamp en op die man gevuur. Ek het bloed sien spat en die man se liggaam sien

ruk. Aangesien die wapens op outomatiese vuur was, kan ek nie sê hoeveel skote ek en Mbatha geskiet het nie. Dit was egter 'n hele aantal. Ek het onttrek en na die wagtende motor gehardloop. Mbatha het my daarna gevolg.

In die motor het brigadier Cronje gesê dat hy bekommerd geraak het aangesien ons so lank getalm het. Ons het aan hom verduidelik dat ons nie toegang tot die huis kon kry nie, dat ons om die huis moes loop en dat die man geslaap het. Ons het verduidelik dat ons nie daarin kon slaag om die man te ontvoer nie, en daarom die alternatief wat hy aan ons gestel het, gebruik het.

Brigadier Cronje wou weet of ons seker was dat die man wel dood was. Ek het gesê dat ek sien die bloed spat en sy liggaam ruk en dat ek voor Mbatha onttrek het. Mbatha het gesê dat hy geskiet het totdat die man sit lê en dat hy seker was dat die man wel dood was. Brigadier Cronje het gesê dat hy bevestiging sou kry.

Na ongeveer twee dae het brigadier Cronje nog nie bevestiging ontvang nie. Hy het bekommerd geraak en my en Mbatha na Makapaanstad terug gestuur om die dood te gaan bevestig. Ons het na 'n sjebien waar Mbatha altyd gedrink het gegaan, sodat ons kon hoor of die man wel dood was.

Die aanwesiges het bevestig dat hy wel dood was en gesê dat hy moontlik deur kinders uit sy vorige huwelik vermoor was,



aangesien daar 'n rusie tussen hulle was. Ons het ook die bewegings op die huis dopgehou en gesien dat daar volgens tradisie as aan die vensters was en dat die meubels buite gestaan het.

Daar was ook groot potte kos gekook. Ons was nou seker dat die man wel dood was en het dit so aan brigadier Cronje oorgedra. Brigadier het ook van 'n ander polisie offisier bevestiging ontvang dat die man wel dood was. Die operasie was 'n sukses en ons het kontant en 'n week verlof ontvang met die opdrag om ons te gaan geniet.

It is also not signed, but it is in the region of 25, 26 November 1995.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you Mr Mamasela.

**MR MAMASELA:** This one, I don't think, it is just about the incident of the burning of Dr Robero's house. I don't know whether I should read it also.

**CHAIRPERSON:** I think read it because it does constitute an offence or an act in relation to which amnesty may be applied for.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, it is also written in Afrikaans. Ek was te Vlakplaas werksaam vanaf Junie 1981 tot November 1985, toe ek na die Veiligheidstak te Vereeniging verplaas was. Gedurende Junie 1986 is ek na Kompol polisie hoofkantoor te Pretoria verplaas, waar ek in die Veiligheidstak werksaam was.

Terwyl ek aan die Veiligheidstak in Vereeniging verbonde was, was ek van tyd tot tyd deur Veiligheidstak Hoofkantoor gebruik vir sekere take.

Gedurende 1986 was ek betrokke in die brand van Dr Robero se woning in Mamelodi en 'n poging om hom daarna te vermoor. Die moord poging was egter onsuksesvol, aangesien niemand die betrokke aand tuis was nie.

Ek kan weens die tydsverloop nie meer datums onthou nie, maar onthou die gebeure nog goed. Op 'n dag gedurende 1986, datum onbekend, was ek na hoofkantoor ontbied waar ek saam met die volgende lede in 'n kantoor vergader het, brigadier Cronje, kaptein Piet Victor, seun van brigadier Victor en bevelvoerder van die Mamelodi polisiestasie, luitenant Hechter en luitenant Van Jaarsveld. Ons was voorligting gegee en beplanning was gedoen om Dr Robero, wie op daardie stadium onbekend aan my was, te vermoor.

Sy huis sou aan die brand gestee word, en my opdrag was om enige persoon, wie uit die huis sou probeer, dood te skiet. Vir die doel was ek uitgereik met 'n AK47 geweer met twee vol gelaaide magasynne.

Kaptein Victor sou al die lede by die Mamelodi polisiestasie die aand afgee en slegs een lid as 'n wag by die polisiestasie laat.

Petrol vir die brand sou ook by Mamelodi polisiestasie beskikbaar wees. Volgens inligting oorgedra, het Dr Robero lede

van die ANC gewerf. Hy het ook beseerde "comrades" behandel en dan toegesien dat sake teen die lede van die polisie gemaak word. In kort het hy die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie moeilikheid gegee.

Brigadier Cronje het die voorligting gegee, insette ten opsigte van die beskikbaarheid van petrol en die afgee van lede te Mamelodi was deur kaptein Victor gelewer. Die voorligting was om ongeveer 09h00 gewees. Daar was beplan om die taak dieselfde nag uit te voer.

Na die voorligting sou kaptein Victor, luitenant Hechter en luitenant Van Jaarsveld petrol bomme voorberei. Ek moes hulle met my voertuig, 'n wit Toyota bakkie, volg sodat ek die huis in Mamelodi kon sien, ingangs- en uitgangsroetes kon identifiseer en my in die algemeen vertrouwd met Mamelodi kon maak, aangesien die plek op daardie stadium nog onbekend aan my was.

Reëlings was getref dat ons mekaar om 24H00 die betrokke nag in die parkeerterrein van hoofkantoor sou ontmoet. Ons sou kaptein Victor daarna by Mamelodi polisiestasie ontmoet. Om 24H00 dieselfde nag, het ek soos afgespreek vir luitenant Hechter en luitenant Van Jaarsveld by Kompol parkeerterrein ontmoet.

Ek het die bakkie wat ek gebruik het, agtergelaat en saam met die twee blankes in die wit Skyline, GTS van luitenant Hechter gery na Mamelodi. Ons het donker kleure gedra en elkeen 'n "balaclava" gehad.

By Mamelodi het ons vir kaptein Victor ontmoet. Hy was nou vergesel van nog drie onbekende blanke mans. Hulle was besig om swaar pakkies van die een voertuig na 'n ander te dra. Ek het gesien dat hulle ook donker klere, "balaclavas" en handskoene gedra het.

Luitenant Hechter en luitenant Van Jaarsveld het ook van die pakkies, dit was petrol bomme wat deur hulle "Molotoff cocktail genoem was", ontvang. Daar was afgespreek dat luitenant Hechter en Van Jaarsveld die een kant van die huis sou aanval en kaptein Victor en die drie manne die ander kant van die huis. Ek moes onder 'n groot boom in die erf stelling inneem en die agterdeur en nabygeleë buitegebou dophou.

Ek moes wag totdat die huis in vlamme was en seker maak dat al my mense uit was. My opdrag was om enigiemand wat uit die brandende huis vlug, dood te skiet. Ek moet onttrek sodra ek ons voertuig hoor aanskakel. Die deur van die voertuig sou vir my oopgelaat word.

Nadat ons seker was dat alles goed beplan was, het ek luitenant Hechter en luitenant Van Jaarsveld na die toneel gery terwyl kaptein Victor en sy manne, ons gevolg het. Robero woon in 'n hoekhuis en ons het 'n entjie verby die huis gery, waarna ons die voertuig parkeer het.

Kaptein Victor se voertuig was in die ander straat parkeer. Almal het oor die mure, heining wat om die huis gebou was,

gesprings. Ek het my posisie gaan inneem met my vuurwapen gereed. Ek het ruite hoor breek en na 'n kort rukkie was die huis in vlamme gewees.

Ek het gesien dat my kollegas die toneel verlaat en ek het gewag dat niemand in die huis moes vlug nie. Niemand het uit die huis gevlug nie, en ek het dus geen skote geskiet nie.

Ek het weer by luitenant Hechter-hulle in die voertuig gesprings en ons het na Kompol gery. Daar was oor die polisie radio in die voertuig gepraat oor wat verder sou gebeur. Na die voorval was ek na Erasmia waar ek geslaap het. Tydens die aanval van die huis van Dr Robero, was die strate stil en verlate en ek het nie mense gesien beweeg nie.

Ek weet nie of daar enigiemand tydens die aanval gedood of beseer was nie. Gedurende November 1986 was ek reeds verplaas na Kompol Veiligheidstak in die B-seksie saam met kaptein Loods, luitenant Hechter, AO Van Vuuren in 'n tak ingedeel. Op 'n dag het ek, Hechter en Van Vuuren vergadering gehou saam met Militêre Intelligensie. Ek onthou ene Chris wat teenwoordig was.

Hy het lang blonde hare gehad en was fris gebou. Hy het 'n poging aangewend om my vir Militêre Intelligensie te werf, maar ek het dit van die hand gewys. Hy het 'n spesiale "balaclava" wat in 'n (onduidelik) gedra word, aan my as 'n geskenk gegee.

Tydens hierdie vergadering was dit bespreek dat Dr Robero gedood moet word. Militêre Intelligensie het vasgestel dat hy in 'n hotel ingeboek was. Ons was versoek om nie na die hotel te gaan nie, omdat Militêre Intelligensie hom daar sou voorlê.

... het gesê dat Dr Robero weer by die hotel uitgeboek was, maar dat daar inligting was dat hy weer by sy huis gaan slaap. Ons moes hom by sy huis probeer elimineer. Ongeveer 'n week na die vergadering het ek, luitenant Hechter en Van Vuuren na Dr Robero se huis gegaan met die doel om hom te vermoor. Ons was al drie met AK47 gewere gewapen.

By die huis aangekom het ek en luitenant Hechter oor die muur gespring en na die buitekamer gegaan. Die huis was uitgebrand en kon niemand huisves nie. 'n Skerp lig by die buitekamer het ons gehinder. Ons het die glas afgeskroef en die gloeilamp verwyder.

Ons sien toe dat die deur van buite met 'n stuk yster gesluit was en daar was dus niemand wat tuis kon wees nie. Ons het nog steeds die deur oopgemaak om seker te maak dat daar niemand tuis was nie. Ons het die glas en die gloeilamp net so op die grond gelaat.

Gedurende Desember 1986 terwyl ek met verlof was, het ek deur die media verneem dat Dr Robero en sy vrou vermoor was by hulle huis in Mamelodi. Aangesien ek by twee geleenthede self

gepoog het om hulle te vermoor, het ek nie getwyfel oor wie vir die moorde verantwoordelik was nie.

Ek het geglo dat dit lede van my eenheid was. My vermoede was versterk deurdat ek in die koerant gesien het dat luitenant Hechter die eerste persoon op die toneel was. Na ek van verlof teruggekeer het, het ek luitenant Hechter gevra waarom ek nie by die taak betrek was nie. Hy het gelag en gesê dat dit ek was wie met verlof wou gaan.

Op 1995-11-08 om ongeveer 09H15 het ek luitenant De Jongh die huis van wyle Dr Robero in Mamelodi gaan uitwys.

I think I've got another one here of ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** (Indistinct)

**MR MAMASELA:** No, this one is of Mr Phdri, let me see where he figures. This one is the man, oh, yes, it is that one that Van Vuuren was playing stupid, he tried to put him into the Siphola's and the Maki's, because he wanted. I don't know which one it falls into.

That is the man where Van Vuuren said one of the, I think it is Die Bron, I think so, where he said after killing Maki and others, they heard that this was a member of their cell also in Mamelodi.

**MR PRETORIUS:** That is the one that is unidentified activist, part of SMM cell.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, that is it.

**MR PRETORIUS:** And that is Mr Phdri.

**MR MAMASELA:** Mr Phdri.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Who is Mr Phdri, the unidentified activist?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes.

**CHAIRPERSON:** So he was Mr Phdri?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, he was Mr Phdri. I think Van Vuuren was just trying to make his death very political because he knew this man was hundred percent innocent, so he tried to put him there and they said no, he cannot identify him.

He tried to place him with the other three.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Do I understand you to be saying it is your impression that Mr Van Vuuren, when he made disclosures with regard to this incident, was in fact trying to create a political offence out of no political offence?

**MR MAMASELA:** I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that was the case Mr Chairman.

You know, especially putting ANC 9 when you know very well that these people were not ANC members, they were innocent school children, unarmed and innocent in the townships.

In my opinion he was trying to make everything political because this murder, he knows very well, there is no way he can say he lost his memory, there is absolutely no way that he can say no, he did not know this man. The fact of the matter is that this man was seen by, he was with one of the informers in the shibeen



drinking, and the informer related to Van Vuuren that so and so was drinking with us and he told us his friends have come back, and they were armed with AK47's.

All this man's problem was, his crime was he saw trained insurgents that he knew of and that is why he was killed. The mere fact that he was with them, he saw them in a shibeen and he drank with them, that was a death warrant for him and then Van Vuuren knew that. There is no way that he can say he could not identify him, now he wants to place him as one of the cell leaders of the three who are dead. That to me is not acceptable.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you Joe, if you can then proceed with your statement.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you Mr Chairman, it is also made in Afrikaans. Op 'n dag, datum onbekend, het 'n bron gerapporteer dat hy 'n ene Phdri ontmoet het.

Phdri het gesê dat hy twee van sy vriende in 'n sjebien ontmoet het. Die twee vriende het gesê dat hulle deur die ANC opgelei was en dat hulle nou terug was en op 'n groot sending was. Phdri sou ook 'n AK47 geweer by hulle gesien het.

Kaptein Hechter en AO Van Vuuren het besluit dat Phdri ontvoer moes word sodat ons kon vasstel wie sy twee vriende was. Ekself, die beriggewer Mbatha, AO Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter is na Phdri se huis toe. Die beriggewer het dit aan ons gaan uitwys.

Ons het met 'n grys stasiewa, ek kan nie die fabriek onthou nie, gery. Die stasiewa was by Silverton motorhawe geleen, maar nooit teruggegee nie. Ek onthou daar was probleme van die motorhawe se kant.

AO Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter het in die bagasieruimte gelê onder komberse. Ons het ook die "child locks" van die agterdeur aangesit sodat Phdri as hy in die voertuig was, nie kon ontsnap nie. By Phdri se huis het die beriggewer na hom gegaan en met hom gepraat.

Hy het by ons in die voertuig geklim. Ek onthou dat toe ons ry, Phdri se sustertjie buite gestaan het. Nadat ons weggery het, het AO Van Vuuren en kaptein Hechter van onder die komberse uitgekom.

Hulle het Phdri met hulle vuurwapens aangehou. Ons het die beriggewer langs die pad afgelaai en na ons kantore by Kompol gery. By die kantore was Phdri ondervra na aanleiding van die inligting wat ons gehad het.

Phdri het saamgewerk en die name van sy vriende verstrekk en ook gesê wat hulle hom vertel het. Ons wou weet waar hulle opgespoor kon word. Phdri het nie geweet nie.

Ons, dit is ekself, Mbatha, Daniel Selahe, wat ook nou teenwoordig was, kaptein Hechter en AO Van Vuuren het Phdri aangerand om vas te stel waar sy vriende was. Daar was vermoed dat hy die inligting wegsteek.

Phdri het by sy storie gehou totdat ek geglo het dat hy die waarheid praat. Ek was self in die buiteland opgelei. Phdri se vriende sou nie oor hulle bewegings uitpraat nie.

Daar was besluit dat Phdri doodgemaak moes word. Ek het Phdri geglo en wou nie deel van die moord wees nie. Ek het gesê dat ek 'n probleem by die huis het, en gevra om verskoon te word.

Kaptein Hechter het nie 'n probleem daarmee gehad nie, aangesien daar genoeg mannekrag was. Ek is toe na my huis toe.

Die volgende dag het kaptein Hechter aan my gesê dat hulle Phdri in Bophuthatswana gewerf het totdat hy semi-bewusteloos was. Daarna was 25 liter petrol oor hom uitgegooi en 'n "fuse" was gemaak deur 'n streep petrol te gooi wat aan die brand gesteek is.

Volgens kaptein Hechter was daar 'n groot bal vuur. Daniel Selahe het ook dieselfde storie aan my vertel. Ek het nooit weer vir Phdri gesien nie.

Die een was geteken op Pretoria op die 22ste dag van Augustus 1996, om ongeveer 11H10.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Can we just take a 10 minute break, just 10 minutes, I don't know if there is tea. We should be back at ten to, five to four.

**HEARING ADJOURNS**

**ON RESUMPTION:**

**JOSEPH SIPHO MAMASELA:** (still under oath)

**MR MAMASELA:** Mr Chairman, I have a lot of statements here, I think this one is the last one, and unless there are other things that I have missed, we can just round them off.

This one is also done in Afrikaans. This is also of Mxenge, it is an additional of Mxenge, that the Attorney General of Durban wanted some more information on this, so I don't, I mean we have done Mxenge. I don't know whether I should do it again.

**CHAIRPERSON:** What was additional, maybe just for the sake of completeness you can just read it into the record.

**MR MAMASELA:** Oh yes, it says it was done on 1996-02-12. Na afhandeling van die operasie het ek Chikalanga en Brian Mgqulunga saam na Pretoria terug gekeer, terwyl Almond Nofemela saam met kaptein Coetzee agtergebly het.

Met Almond Nofemela se terugkering het ek hom gevra waarom hy agtergebly het, aangesien ek baie bekommerd was. Almond het gesê dat hy agtergebly het om kaptein Dirk Coetzee te help om onder andere die radio vanuit Mxenge se voertuig, die Audi, te verwyder. Kaptein Coetzee sou aan hom, Almond, gesê het dat hy die radio en luidsprekers aan brigadier Du Preez gaan gee.

Aangesien dit die eerste moord was waarby ek betrokke was, was ek baie bang dat daar moeilikheid sou kom. Ek het kaptein Dirk Coetzee genader en hom gevra om daar nie moeilikheid gaan kom nie. Kaptein Coetzee het my verseker dat

daar nie moeilikheid gaan kom nie, want hy het die radio en luidsprekers aan brigadier Du Preez self gegee en hy het ook die brigadier se seun, Braam du Preez, betrokke gemaak deurdat hy, Braam, Mxenge se voertuig bestuur het tot waar dit gebrand is.

Hy het gesê dat hy dit gedoen het omdat as daar moeilikheid sou kom, brigadier Du Preez en sy seun betrokke sou wees en daar dan nie verder moeilikheid sou wees nie. Ek was hierna tevrede.

Na afhandeling van die operasie, het kaptein Coetzee myself en Chikalanga en Nofemela na sy huis laat kom. Hy het gesê dat hy baie tevrede is met ons goeie werk, hy het ons elkeen R1 000-00 in kontant gegee.

Ek is vertrouwd aan die, en die, en die en dit is al.

I don't know, this one is for, just the statement that I was prepared by the Department of Justice to make in the case of De Kock. I don't know whether it is of interest that I should read it.

**CHAIRPERSON:** What is it about?

**MR MAMASELA:** It was about Brian Mgqulunga.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Yes, let's get that into the record.

**MR MAMASELA:** Okay, I will just say briefly, I was just told to make a, it was a **prima facie** case for me to testify about Brian Mgqulunga only, but in court certain things developed, where I also mentioned in this case that, I mentioned the Pebco 3 in court, I also mentioned the death of the eight students in East

Rand, although those incidents were not mentioned in this original statement. It is just that when the court leads, I just followed the lead of the court. Those things just cropped up.

It is written in English, I say, I Joseph Sepho Mamasela declare under oath that I have been asked to state what I know about the murder of my erstwhile colleague, Brian Mgqulunga. I have not yet had the opportunity to go through any records with which I may be able to refresh my memory. Example the transcript of my evidence at the Harms Commission from which I can perhaps deduce relevant dates etc. However, I will state what I recall at this stage.

I first met Brian in 1981, we worked together in the South African Police at Vlakplaas until 1985. I was transferred to the Security Branch in Kompol building in 1986. Brian remained at Vlakplaas, but was at a later stage transferred to Head Office, Wachthuis. I had occasional contact with him over the years.

After Almond Nofemela and later Dirk Coetzee's allegation were made public, I saw Brian more regularly. Before Brian or I testified before the Harms Commission, I attended a meeting in preparation of the Police case at the Harms Commission.

The meeting took place in Gen Krappies Engelbrecht's office. I think he then held the rank of Brigadier. Present were Gen Engelbrecht, Brigadier Nick van Rensburg, Colonel Eugene de Kock, I think he was a Major then, Colonel Du Plessis, Paul

van Dyk, Koos Vermeulen en Balletjies Bellingham and Major Baker.

In the course of the meeting, concern was raised about Brian Mgqulunga concerning the fact that he had shot his pregnant wife and that he was becoming progressively more nervous and agitated.

It was felt that his condition and behaviour could constitute a serious threat to the Police case, as he was a key witness. Major Eugene de Kock then suggested that Brian must be eliminated. Paul van Dyk suggested that I should eliminate Brian.

As I was close to him, I had reservations about the suggestion. Brigadier Van Rensburg cautioned that it will be better for the SAP case at the Harms Commission if they waited with the elimination until after Mgqulunga had testified.

Subsequent to this meeting, both Brian and I testified before the Harms Commission. Some time after Brian had testified, I saw him on Friday morning at the office in Police Headquarters, Wachthuis. He was wearing a suit and he informed me that he, Van Dyk and others were going out.

While I was talking to Brian, Paul van Dyk approached us. I had known Van Dyk since 1981 and had known him to be always casually dressed. To my surprise I saw that he was dressed in a formal suit and tie.

Because I had never seen him dressed in a suit, I enquired where he was going. He confirmed that he and Brian were to attend a special braai. Very early on the following Sunday morning I received a telephone call from Cloris Sidebe, who enquired whether I had heard that Brian Mgqulunga had been murdered.

Sidebe informed me that Brian had been abducted from the Blue Street taxi rank after work. Because of the meeting which I had attended in Brigadier Krappies Engelbrecht's office and the improbability of the story of an abduction in the Blue Street, I became very suspicious and concerned about my own life.

I met with various askaris on that Sunday and we all discussed Brian's fate. We learnt from Sidebe that his body had been found near Oskraal. The whole story seemed unconvincing to me and I decided to do some investigation on my own.

I drove to the Oskraal area and made enquiries from local inhabitants. There I learnt that a red Toyota Corolla was seen in the vicinity. This information confirmed my suspicion and as I knew that a car answering to the description, was used at Vlakplaas.

Because of my fears that I may also be eliminated, I went to Wachthuis early the next morning. I went to see Brigadier Van Rensburg in his office. I confronted him with my suspicion that Brian had been eliminated by the Police as was earlier planned



and fearing for my own safety, the fact that I had not been informed prior to Brian's elimination, may mean that I was to be the next victim.

Brigadier Van Rensburg told me we could not discuss the matter in his office. We then went to Richmond Police Arcade. There Brigadier Van Rensburg told me not to panic. He said that I was right in my suspicion, he said that the Police had no choice but to eliminate Brian because there was a possibility of him becoming another Almond Nofemela.

Should he be prosecuted for shooting his wife, there was no guarantee of him not spilling the beans against the Police if he was convicted and his murder will help sway Judge Harms decision in favour of the SAP as his murder will be blamed on the ANC as he had been shot with an AK47.

Because of the Brigadier's openness and frank admission that the Police did it, I was reassured that I was still trusted and would not meet a similar fate. I regard the above statement as highly privileged for the purposes of the court only. Should the fact that I have made this statement be made known beforehand, I sincerely believe that it will put my life and the lives of my family members in jeopardy. I therefore had strong objection to the statement being made available to the Defence team or the contents thereof being disclosed to them, before I testify.

I will for the same reason, not be prepared to consult with Counsel or Attorneys of the Defence, before the trial. This was the statement that I referred to as a little bit controversial because it is when I had to take out all these murders of Pebco 3 and whatever and put it in the whole thing.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Just for the record is it Malunga or Mgqulunga.

**MR MAMASELA:** Mgqulunga.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Where did he come from?

**MR MAMASELA:** He hails originally from New Castle. No, not it is not New Castle, it is KwaMashu in Durban.

What I've got here, I don't think it is, it constitutes gross human rights but I have some other formal requests to make to you Mr Chairman, in your capacity as the Head of the Investigation Department.

**CHAIRPERSON:** That is?

**MR MAMASELA:** That is I've got a letter here from one of the Commissioners of the Truth Commissioners in Johannesburg. Her name is Yasmin Sooka. The problem here is I don't have any qualms with the TRC as you know yourself Mr Chairman, I never, at any stage envisaged any problems with myself and the TRC, but what I find highly unprofessional and improbable is the fact that she is using as a Commissioner of the TRC, she is using the TRC

letterheads and everything to come and collude on lies against me from my own Attorneys.

I had a tiff with my own Attorneys, using my material. You know, I handed them the material for safekeeping because during those time I feared for my life, you know. Then I said to my Attorneys here is the visual material, can you keep it safe for me until I can come out. After two years, I saw my Attorneys acting as now officials of the Truth Commission in the Amnesty wing.

Then I became suspicious. I said but Greg has never been a human rights lawyer, so all of a sudden I see him proceeding in the amnesty. I thought maybe you know, as the suspicion came that he should have used my material to try and ingratiate himself to the TRC.

I went back to him, I befriended him and in the process, all out of the blue, I said where are my visual material, I want them.

Then he said no, they are not here, you know the safe is locked and after a week, it is then that the secretary, Mrs Naidoo told me that no, your visual material is not with us. I said where is it, she said no, Emu Mohafegee, one of our lawyers took it away with him. I said but where is Emu?

They said no, Emu has resigned. I said but how can an official of this office resign with the client's stuff, then she said no, it is unconstitutional, they will fight and I will get it back.

Then I phoned Emu, she gave me the telephone number and Emu confirmed that he has the things safe somewhere.

I said no, but I wanted it. I said I left it with a big company like (indistinct) so how can you keep it safer than (indistinct). He said no, he will bring it back.

But after two weeks, three weeks I was sent from pillar to post until I got information, positive information that my things, that visual material was dubbed at Cosatu House in Wanderer Street, by two officials of the TRC, two white people and the description fits that of Piers Pigou because he had a pony hair and all that.

I knew that it was true. I immediately phoned (indistinct) I said but, my visual materials are being dubbed now at five o'clock. They were dubbed at Wanderers House. They said no, no, we don't know anything. But after a week they said your visual material are here.

I said okay right, they are there, but I want a submission, a written letter that you have never interfered with them in any way, you have never given them to anybody. This is where the problem started because they couldn't produce that letter.

I went to the Law Society because I knew I had tangible information. I had also the affidavit from the man who made the video for me, because Emu was there as my lawyer. After this man had made that visual material, he took it and he handed it

over to Emu and ever since then it has been in their hands. You know, I had a strong case. I went to the Law Society.

Now, I know Greg, he is streetwise, so what he did was, Emu, because Emu is a bit of, he is an Indian and probably he knows Sooka, so he used Emu to go to Sooka and then they drafted this letter to counter me that the TRC confirms they have the statement, but they did not get it from my Attorneys.

If they did not get it from my Attorneys, where did they get it from, because the only copy, the one and only copy has been with my Attorneys and the Truth Commission has an access to that. I don't understand because whatever the Truth Commission wants from me, like now, I brought all this evidence, I've brought everything. The Truth Commission, I can give, I've brought a better thing, more than this video. I've got my own manuscript that I have written a book about.

If the TRC wants them, Mr Chairman, you know my doors are open, you can always say Joe, bring that and I will bring that in. These are some of the people that brings the TRC into disrepute because if I look at it from our side, I said what chance do I stand when these people are colluding with my Attorneys to lie against me, how can I trust the Commissioners of the TRC.

To me it is a very serious concern. I will be happy Mr Chairman, if you can pick up the matter with Sooka and demand that they give the information where they got my things from, and

that man must sign that he is the one that gave them that information, so that the Truth Commission must not be seen to be used as a dangerous weapon. You know this is an abuse of power by a Commissioner.

The person that we must run to is the one that is attacking us in this way.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Thank you Mr Mamasela. I certainly am going to take up the matter with Commissioner Sooka and we will follow it up.

**MR MAMASELA:** I will definitely appreciate it Mr Chairman.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Yes. We take note also of your sentiments and about your concern about the reputation of the Commission.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thanks.

**CHAIRPERSON:** We will certainly follow it up.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you very much.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Now, I don't know if that constitutes a formal end to statements which you would like to read into the record or whether there is another statement which you would like to read, because we are nearing for o'clock which was the agreed time.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, I don't have any other statements Mr Chairman, but I think there are a lot of other things that are not included, that I should talk about. Probably I will have to go and think about other incidents because I know in my synopsis there are many incidents that one has to talk about.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Well, in which event then, before we adjourn Adv Potgieter wants to deal with just one issue.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Mr Mamasela, I just want to ask you if you could be of some assistance, we have been dealing with a matter recently, in fact last week in a public hearing, which relates to an incident in 1986, March of 1986, where a group of seven young men were shot by the Police in Guguletu, one of the local townships.

There were clear indications, clear evidence that it was a Vlakplaas operation and that there was a direct reporting to, as he then was Captain Eugene De Kock.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** There was also an indication that the operation was mounted on the basis that Vlakplaas people, askaris, were infiltrated into the township to target certain active groups of youth in the township and eventually there was an operation that was planned to attack a Police bus that was transporting Police on a fixed route, at a fixed time in the morning, and there was some plan to attack this bus when it had reached a certain intersection which it reaches at a specific time in the morning.

This whole operation was planned by this group that was infiltrated by the askaris, and then of course Police were ready and they shot these boys to pieces. We've got some of the

**Exhibits**, photographs, we've got the Police video that was taken after the scene and these young men were you know, really peppered with bullets and very, very badly sort of shot up.

There was also testimony at an inquest and at another court case, expert testimony that some of the shots could have been contact shots. There was also testimony from eyewitnesses, members of the public which amounted to the fact that at least two of these people were seen, being executed, shot whilst the one was surrendering with his hands up and after he was disarmed and thrown to the ground and shot and the other one was already, according to the eyewitness, laying on the ground and he was shot twice through the head.

Now, there was a handler in charge of the operation, a chap called Bellingham.

**MR MAMASELA:** Balletjies.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Do you know him?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, I know him, the short guy. Yes sir.

**ADV POTGIETER:** And there was also, perhaps I can just complete the picture from our side, there was another person who was on the scene also from Vlakplaas, a chap called Mbello.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, I know Mbello, I know him very well.

**ADV POTGIETER:** That was the, that is the sum total of the evidence that we've had up to now in the public hearing. It was confirmed by the local Security Police, a member of the local



Security Police who seemed to have been the key person, that it was a Vlakplaas operation and for the first time that this element came into it, the Vlakplaas element and of course that has thrown a completely new light on this whole case.

Perhaps to add the Police gave an official explanation of what happened, just briefly amounting to the fact that one of the Police, a Murder and Robbery person, saw these suspicious looking young men walking down the road and he confronted them and he wanted to search them as he had said and to see, and then one of them threw a hand grenade at him, and the whole thing started. Eventually seven people were laying dead in the street and around in Guguletu.

As I say there was conflicting eyewitness testimony, but that was rejected at all of the inquest proceedings and the Vlakplaas element was never disclosed until now and we obviously are anxious to get to the bottom of this thing and to see what has happened.

The operation combined Vlakplaas, local Security Police and the local Murder and Robbery Unit and I have noted with interest that you have referred to the role of the Murder and Robbery unit in your own arrest. That is the sort of, you know the picture that we have and it would be of some assistance if you know anything about this, perhaps anything that could be of

assistance to us, in regard to these ex-colleagues of yours that I have mentioned, that you can perhaps bring to our attention.

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes, I will be happy Advocate to shed light to that. I also referred in other statements here, that we were working hand in hand with the Murder and Robbery of Pretoria. Wouter Mentz, Deon Gouws, F. Goosen, they were not members of Security Police, they were then members of Murder and Robbery in Pretoria under Suiker Britz.

So, these things they interlap and in coming to your personal request about this Guguletu 7, I think when I was at the Department of Justice, I did hint this thing to Warrant Officer Mhluli. I mentioned that to him and may probably, he might have forgotten about it because I am the one, I am the first person to inform him that listen, this Guguletu 7, I know something about it, because I got my Police pocket book in 1985, October somewhere there. I was working in Cape Town and those were the people who were given names to infiltrate and I did infiltrate them.

Because infiltration, I used to specialise with infiltration at Vlakplaas. Any infiltration job, they will tell you those askaris, it was done by me. Infiltration was a very sensitive, if you infiltrate wrongly, you die. Everybody was afraid to infiltrate, to make mistakes. I did not drink, I did not smoke, and I was trained in

that line, in intelligence, I did extensive intelligence training by the ANC.

I infiltrated the people, I came back and submitted my SAP5 to De Kock to the effect that all those people that their names were given, they were all of them innocent, they were just tsotsi's that were drinking in the shibeens and all that. Not one of them was a trained ANC insurgent, that I can bear testimony to.

I gave him, I submitted my thing, I even wrote notes on my pocket book, I will look for it, that pocket book and then Jimmy Mbane, I was with Jimmy Mbane and Maluleke and then when I confronted De Kock the following month, and we had our squabble, I decided to go to my Attorneys and get a transfer.

Then De Kock, maybe he wanted to spite me, he continued with that operation, that was my operation and I said no, those people were innocent. Then he continued with it and now he used Jimmy Mbane and Mbello to further lure these people. These people, they were not there to attack the bus. They were lured by these two, especially Jimmy Mbane because he was very troublesome. Of all the askaris Jimmy was very troublesome, he smoked dagga too much, he was of the tsotsi type, of a guy. Even in the ANC he had problems because of dagga, he was smoking dagga too much and when he was drunk, he used to fight everybody.

It is Jimmy Mbane who lured these people. The minibus that was shot at, it is not a local minibus. That was the Vlakplaas minibus. Even on television, when I saw it on television, I said no, it is our bus, we used to drive in that bus at Vlakplaas. So these boys, they were lured by the askaris, because sometimes if you work, and they keep on asking you what are you doing, "dit is nou klaar die einde van die maand, wat het julle gedoen? Julle sit en gaap, julle vreet net die Staat", they used something, they used innocent people to lure them and these people must be mowed down and then it will be said Vlakplaas is working.

As a matter of fact, Jimmy Mbane was given R7 000-00 for that particular operation by De Kock. It is indeed a Vlakplaas operation, I have no doubt in my mind about it.

**CHAIRPERSON:** Now, maybe I don't know whether you were intending to talk about it, there is also the Piet Retief incident. I don't know whether you know anything about it. I think it featured in the trial of De Kock.

**MR MAMASELA:** The Piet Retief where Siluma ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** And Braam Mos ...

**MR MAMASELA:** And Braam Mos, yes, that is Warrant Officer Mos Siluma. No, that one I know about that one, although I was not part of it, you know, we talk, we are friends.

That operation where there was an Indian chap and other women that were taken from Swaziland, when it was also a death

nail, it was a death trap, because we used to call it a death trap, he went to Swaziland and he organised the people, he will bring them this side with the busses, the taxi man.

If you look at Siluma, he was an adult. You could not suspect him, he is a grown up, so he brought them in. They were about four if I am not mistaken, there were four. He brought them in and at a certain fixed point he knew ...

**CHAIRPERSON:** Was that Mos, Siluma.

**MR MAMASELA:** Siluma, he is the one who came with the people from Swaziland, bringing them into an ambush. They were never armed, not even a single of them was armed and then when he saw De Kock, De Kock said when I appear and say Police, Police, you must just run out, get out of the bus and run, take cover and then that bus was shot to smithereens.

After the people had died and all that, what they normally do is they climb into the bus, inside the bus. The Police, after they have killed everybody they climbed into the bus and they started shooting, inside the bus, outside so that even the ballistics can show that it is an entrance wound or an exit hole. So they shoot and then they leave the AK's there and when they call the Police to come in, and the Inspectors, they find that the scene is ideal.

There is irrefutable proof that these people were shot, they were shooting from inside the bus, outside. That was the

knowledge that the Security Police first did not have. That is when they started incorporating the CID's into them, that the CID's made us aware that you must watch out, this is what we are looking for.

The CID's they were incorporated into the CID's in order after the scene of murder, then they will reconstruct the scene to suit whatever event, whatever statement you say because they work with that, so that is why more often than not, you find them being incorporated into the Security Forces.

That thing of the Guguletu 7 it was just a clear Vlakplaas operation, those people were completely innocent, all seven of them.

**ADV POTGIETER:** You were the first one that was asked to infiltrate the group?

**MR MAMASELA:** Yes.

**ADV POTGIETER:** What was the instruction, why did they want them infiltrated and where did it emanate from, where did the instruction emanate from?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, the instructions was, there was a group of youth who were carrying hand grenades, so we must infiltrate them to get out where these hand grenades came from. Even in my report, you will see, I will give you the book, you can put it in whatever test you will find it is very old, and then it talks about hand grenades and this and this and this.

But during the subsequent follow up of the investigation, I found that the people who had the grenades, were not these people. I even mentioned their names that, but they couldn't find them. So that is why because they wanted that bounty head money, that is why they went for the innocent, just to make an easy money.

**ADV POTGIETER:** They were subsequently on the scene, there was evidence that well the one person had an AK47 with some magazines, three or so magazines, the other one was laying with a pistol on his chest. I don't know how it landed there, when he fell. The other one had a hand grenade between his legs, the other one had a hand grenade next to him and so each one of them, except for one person, had some or other form of weapons with them.

From your knowledge when you infiltrated the group, were they actually armed with that sort of stuff?

**MR MAMASELA:** No.

**ADV POTGIETER:** AK's and hand grenades?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, it is lies, it is lies. You know, especially the one that had this AK on the chest. If you have an AK you are about to shoot, and somebody shoots you. If you fall, the impact takes you back and then it must fall a few paces away from you, it cannot lay neatly on your chest.

And then the hand grenades, you don't throw hand grenades with your thighs, you throw it with your hand, so it cannot come and smartly sit inside your thighs, nicely where it poses for the photograph, where the photographer comes in and takes it nicely out. It is impossible ipso facto, it was, you could see it was done for show boasting, to show the public that the Police are working and these people were armed, they were insurgents, they were terrorists, you know they were well armed, it is impossible.

And especially a group of seven armed like that, without any one of them firing a single shot at the Police, it is impossible ipso facto. It is not possible, it is devoid of any logic and truth.

Even if people are two or three, if we are armed and you come and attack us, and especially when we are all combat alertness, because it is alleged that they were going to ambush, so they were in combat alert, so that they were waiting for anything funny for them to shoot, you know if they said they took them by complete surprise, it is something, but not when they were on a mission knowing that they were going to shoot the Police who are heavily armed, who will shoot back, and they go in and they pose in the corpse with hand grenades and with AK47's, you know it was shambles.

Whoever reconstructed it, did shambles with it. It cannot withstand an acid test in any court of law in a democratic society.



ADV POTGIETER: Who do you think are the sort of key people that one can interview in connection with the operation itself?

MR MAMASELA: I think now De Kock wants to talk, I think the right angle will be to go to him. If he wants to talk, but De Kock always is very selective and he won't say what he does not want to say. He is very selective, that is the caution that I can give you, but if he wants to talk, he will talk about that thing.

And then the other person who can give you the truth and nothing else but absolute truth is Mbello, he is now in Bloemfontein. You know, with Jimmy Mbane, I worked with these people, I know them, so with Jimmy Mbane, Jimmy you know, seventy percent of his statement is not always lies, but you know, he messes his truth with too much unnecessary lies. You know, with Jimmy you must be able to sift through the debris of lies to get to the truth. It is difficult, but with Mbello, look Mbello he is - I was with him in the De Kock trial, he is open and he does not want to mess up his career.

I even advised him, I said my brother, you are at least fortunate, you are still holding a job, don't be like us, stick to a job and that is when he went to De Kock's trial, he was open and he even told me, he said no, anything that comes his way, he is open. But he waits for people to come to him.

You know, he is not like myself, you know, become a sacrificial lamb and say no, I know this, I know everything, take all the truth you know. But if you confront him with that, Mbello, you will always get the truth from him. As long as he was there, he will give you everything in detail.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Does he know that you started off that operation, that infiltration?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, I don't think he knows because usually Mbello was not going too much out with our operations, he was getting, you know we used to specialise with areas. I infiltrated from the western frontier, so I was used on the west too much.

Mbello was used in Durban too much.

**ADV POTGIETER:** What was he, was he in the same position as you, was he also an askari or was he a Policeman?

**MR MAMASELA:** No, he is not an askari, no he is a straight forward Policeman, that is why I know he will give you the truth. I have no doubt about it, he will definitely give you the truth.

**ADV POTGIETER:** What about Bellingham, how did he fit into the picture?

**MR MAMASELA:** Bellingham, he used to work at Vlakplaas and he was a Warrant Officer at first and then all of a sudden he came back and then he became one of the top guys. He is the one who shot and killed Brian Mgqulunga himself. He tried very hard

to ingratiate himself with De Kock and so I think he got involved through De Kock.

But Bellingham, I will tell you one thing, if you get him in a corner alone and talk to him, he will talk, he is not a toughie, he is definitely not a toughie.

Even the last time, the last time I saw him is when he said Joe, I wish this process of reconciliation can be sped up so that the new government can start from a clean slate, you know, I could see that he was starting to have introspection and self remorse.

I think if he can, if you can get to him now especially when De Kock is in jail, because everybody was afraid of De Kock, so now he can talk. But the best bet is Mbello.

**ADV POTGIETER:** Thank you very much.

**MR MAMASELA:** Thank you. I don't know whether this statements from informers was useful, it is written in 1986, 1987 where the Police gave informers instructions to stab people to death whether this constitute anything, because ..

**CHAIRPERSON:** Well, maybe you want to look at it again and then when we meet tomorrow, we will evaluate and discuss to what extent we can use it.

We are adjourned until tomorrow at ten o'clock. I wish it could be earlier, but I think there are certain things that I need to do before that, thank you.