

MR MAMASELA: Thank you.

HEARING ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION ON 03-12-1996 DAY: 2

MR PRETORIUS: This is the second session of this particular investigative enquiry. I must at the outset indicate that Commissioner Ntsebeza, who was participating in this enquiry, is unable to continue to participate today because of a range of other commitments that have intervened, as also Commissioner Denzil Potgieter, has also had to travel to the Eastern Cape for various commitments that he had there.

They have asked me to express their apology to you Mr Mamasela, that they had not been able to participate today as well and they have asked me to convene this session and to proceed with it as National Director, together with Mr Magadla, Head of the Special Investigations Section. We will conduct it as part of our investigative, ongoing investigative duty of the Investigation Unit and we again apologise for the slight delay in starting proceedings this morning.

You are proceeding with your presentation and questions that might be addressed to you by the participants here. You are still under oath and I would ask you to continue or for Mr Chaskalson to lead us in this regard.

JOSEPH SIPHO MAMASELA: (still under oath)

MR CHASKALSON: I think Mr Mamasela, if you can just carry on. You had gone back last night with a couple of notes and things, maybe we can just let you carry on with your story.

MR MAMASELA: Thank you very much Mr Chaskalson. There are certain incidents that have come into my mind last night, because I had to brood about these things, they were (indistinct) and they happened over a long period of time.

However, to the best of my recollection, I tried to recollect and reconstruct some of the incidents, and I have just marked them here. Number one, is about Motse. There was a Motse, one of the tribe's king there house at Motse, it was bombed by what we call a bucket bomb, which was prepared by Captain Hechter. It was a bucket bomb, TNT mixed with some screws and other little shrapnels inside. He put a fuse on and then he threw it into the house.

He did it with the help of the CID Chief of KwaNdabele at the time, Warrant Officer - who is this Warrant Officer, he was a white guy, I will remember his name and then I will give it to the officials later. He is the one who gave us all the information about this king, his activities because he refused to be incorporated into KwaNdabele, so that is precisely why his house was attacked specifically, that king.

I know his house although all the other houses around there, were of poor quality, but his house was a decent, big

house. It was black and white it was on the top of a little hill-let. So I know the place, I could point the place out. I understand on the subsequent reports from the newspapers a little girl died there in that incident.

All the people present there, it was myself, Captain Hechter who was leading the whole mission and Warrant Officer Paul van Vuuren and Sergeant Daniel Selahe. We were four.

I will also like to move to another incident of 125 Buckroonse Street in Atteridgeville. Also the same method of the bomb attack was used by Captain Hechter, Warrant Officer Paul van Vuuren, myself, Daniel Selahe and Hendrik Bokaba. Also in that house a bomb was thrown in by these people and the subsequent report was a woman died in that bomb attack, because the house was completely demolished from the inside.

So there were a series of this bomb attacks, more than 350 homes were bombed. I mention all the incidents where death occurred. I could not recall all these 350 homes, but it was different townships in and around Pretoria, where this special squad of Captain Hechter was operating.

He even had to undergo a special course because we started with petrol bombs and they found that the petrol bombs were not effective. Brigadier Cronje is the one who said petrol bombs are not effective, he wants to see effectiveness and done in a military precision.

Captain Hechter was then instructed to undergo a crash course of explosives and he went for this crash course. I think it took about six weeks and when he came back, it is then that he introduced this bucket bomb systems and stuff like that. It is then that devastating damage was now done with loss of life.

MR CHASKALSON: Mr Mamasela, do you recall the dates of these incidents?

MR MAMASELA: I cannot really recall the dates, but I can recall the years, from 1986, 1987, 1988 it was done that way.

MR CHASKALSON: And this group that took part in this 350 or however many they were, was it the same group the whole time?

MR MAMASELA: It was the same group the whole time, but with other additional manpower, depending on the mission at hand. Captain Loods, he is now Colonel Loods I suppose, later joined in. The son of Brigadier or General Victor, his son, Piet also came in. He was a Captain, he was a Station Commander of Mamelodi police station.

Later on people like Mentz, Wouter Mentz, Goosen, Gouws, they also joined in. The whole operation became bigger and bigger with different people from time to time.

The other incident I would like to mention is that of Father Mkatsua's attempted murder. I was personally a bit greatly disturbed and disappointed by the submissions made by Captain

Hechter and Brigadier Cronje as far as Father Mkatsua was concerned, how can they overlook an obvious attempted murder that was done there, because what was done was Brigadier Cronje and Captain Hechter, they went to Father Mkatsua's place of residence in Soshanguve with one thing in mind, to get his key, his house key so that they can duplicate it and to see how many people are there and what types of weapons are in the house.

The intention was to get, to syphon that intelligence data so that when we go to kill and kill him, we should know precisely how to gain entrance into the door and without breaking the door down, and we should know what types of guns are in the house and how many people are there and how many people are guarding that.

It was not to arrest or detain him, it was only for that particular purpose of syphoning intelligence data for the Police to use later. They did go into Father Mkatsua's house. They made as if they were arresting him, they were detaining him, but they took his house key with them, it was a yale key, copper like, only one key, yale key.

He was with his, I think a relative, a young boy, a young man, and this young man, under his pillow, they told me that they found a .38 revolver, but it was licensed, they couldn't arrest him. They came with this information to me and they gave me the key

to go around the shops to, there was a shop that were making keys to make a duplicate.

I did as commander by the Brigadier and I came with two pairs of keys. We held the new one and I gave them the old one, I said with the new one we can easily go and kill Father Mkatsua two days later.

We set off as arranged to go and kill Father Mkatsua, but somehow you know, the whole thing did not all go well with my human compassion and with myself. I did not know how to save Father Mkatsua's life, but as we approached a corner near the church where he was staying, I was having an AK47 cocked and ready to fire, but I deliberately you know, swung it on my side and holding the trigger and then I released the trigger as though it was an accident, and it fired on the ground.

The whole mission was abandoned, because I had fired already and then we had to run back to our car and pull back. Then even after so many years, I never had the temerity to go and approach Father Mkatsua and tell him about the incident until I coincidentally met with him at Shell House. It is then that I revealed to him that on that particular day you didn't hear, heard the sound of guns but I couldn't detect whether it is an AK or whatever. I said no, it was an AK47, we were on a mission to kill you and when I started relating the very story that I am relating to the Commission, he concurred with me. He said that is

precisely what happened, so I had no doubt in my mind that that was true.

I will also like to move to our most Bishop Tutu's attempted murder in 1984. That was the beginning of the UDF mass mobilisation and it was conceived by Soweto Security Branch at Protea and the Head of that particular wing was, Commander, was Colonel - anyway the Warrant Officer who was working there was Van Tonder and Sergeant Kruger and the Head, I will remember the Head, he is retired now.

MR CHASKALSON: Mr Mamasela, is that you said Soweto?

MR MAMASELA: Soweto.

MR CHASKALSON: Soweto Security Police?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, Protea. And then, I just forget these people's names but it will come. He was Colonel - no, I will remember his name and he is the one who called Vlakplaas for help and then they dispatched our Unit. I was part of the Unit. Myself, Jeffrey Bosigo and I can't remember the other people. We went to Soweto to help them.

He gave us information that Bishop Tutu was then driving a green, old Volkswagen kombi, the old model in 1984. He said we must kill Bishop Tutu and it must appear as though it is an accident, it is a robbery. We must assimilate robbery. He gave us the house, the corner house at Orlando where Bishop Tutu was staying, he was not there, the kombi was not there.

They said he also likes to frequent a place (indistinct) also in Soweto. We went to that place, he was not there, and then out of sheer anger, then they decided because they were frustrated, they decided to go, we split into two groups. My group we were looking for this kombi and whatever at possible places where he used to frequent, but we couldn't find him.

The other group went to Rev Frank Chikane's home and out of sheer anger started, that was Jeffrey Bosigo's group, out of sheer anger they started to slash Rev Chikane's car tyres with knives, all four, they slashed them just with knives and they reported. They were laughing and they were joking about it at the Headquarters.

Fortunately that is one of the murders that fortunately I escaped from committing, and that of Father Mkatsua. The sixth one is the abduction and the disappearance and the murder of Moses Morodi from Mamelodi. Moses Morodi, I stumbled across the information that he knew about certain DLB of a Unit that belonged to the ANC that was arrested. The Korombe Unit and I think it is Korombe and other people who were arrested but DLB's, we could not get all the DLB's, so I received information a year later that this Moses Morodi knows where the DLB is.

I went to Moses Morodi, I looked for him and then apparently my information was that he went to hide in Potchefstroom in a church. But the informer came back to me

and said no Moses Morodi was just present when the guns, when the DLB was made by Junior Mogweri. The man who knows where the DLB is, is Junior Mogweri.

I passed this information on my SAP5, because I had to report from time to time, submit my report. I told them that Moses Morodi does not know about the DLB, only Junior Mogweri who knows about the DLB. Unfortunately unknown to my Unit, because it was Section C which was Headed by Captain Hendrik Prinsloo and our Section was called Section D at Kompol, which was Headed by Captain Hechter, so there was some form of professional jealousy between the two and animosity.

There was that open competition as to which Unit will kill more people than the other Unit. The whole thing became a competitive scenario where the people will just gamble with people's lives for the sake of getting more numbers to kill. When we went to a place and committed a murder, they will then go to another place and commit two, three murders, just to better us.

It was that competition. Hendrik Prinsloo then instructed our Unit not to carry on with Moses Morodi's investigation because he does not know, we must concentrate of Junior Mogwedi and whilst we concentrated on Junior Mogwedi, he sent his pockets of Policemen which was Headed by Smuts, Smuts is still a Policeman, he is in the Community Policing in Pretoria, and

he stays in Hammanskraal. He was formally from Vlakplaas also. He is the most loved and cherished Policeman because he is very, very loyal and he carries instructions to the letter, he does not ask questions.

They like him because he does not have, he does not use his initiative, you know, he is just downright stupid. He has blind loyalty, so they all like him. He is very tall, he is shangaan built, very tough by nature. He was extensively used at Vlakplaas to kidnap people, because he was very tough. He can take you and put you into the car, you can kick and do whatever, but he was extremely tough.

He was mainly used by Prinsloo to do most of the abductions, most of the killings were done by Smuts. Even today, till this day they don't want anybody to come near him, particularly people like myself, I can't go near him. You know, he is well protected, so they are hiding him somewhere in Pretoria. They gave him special cars, new cars, they gave him special privileges so that he must just - to maintain that happiness level of his, he must not spill the beans.

Smuts and the other one is Hendrik Bokaba, he is in the Community Policing, this Hendrik. I understand recently they just made him a Warrant Officer and they gave him a brand new car. They kept them happy and intact and they are still controlled by their former Commanders. They still work under Captain

Henning Brand, he is the one who still controls them. And from time to time they go to the Head Office to see Hendrik Prinsloo. He is a Colonel there and I think last they wanted to make him a Brigadier.

These people are a closely knit team with him and they are all afraid of Captain, Colonel Hendrik Prinsloo. Just the same as we at Vlakplaas were afraid of De Kock, so Prinsloo is the De Kock of Kompol.

He is more, he is mostly feared by his subordinates, black and white in the same way that De Kock was feared. In my opinion he did more or less basically the same things, dastardly things and nocturnal things that De Kock did at Kompol, and he killed more people than De Kock, but because he is in town and Kompol is in the middle of the city, it is not known.

Morodi, when he disappeared, I gave them the information on my SAP5, about the place, the church he was hiding in in Potchefstroom and all that and then Smuts, Sergeant Moore, Kenny Moore, he is now, he got an early retirement and Sergeant Mageni who is also on an early retirement and I think two other people, went to - Prinsloo sent them to the church to get Moses Morodi under false pretences that they were taking him out.

MR CHASKALSON: Mr Mamasela, could I just ask you, you weren't involved in that abduction?

MR MAMASELA: No, I was not.

MR CHASKALSON: How do you know that that occurred, where do you get that information from?

MR MAMASELA: I got the information from Captain Hechter because he later came to complain that Prinsloo said we mustn't interfere with Moses Morodi, then behind our back he sent people there to abduct him, and then they killed him. He was very bitter, he was very angry because he took the matter up to Brigadier Cronje. That was our information and Brigadier Cronje said, because he was aware of that animosity between the two, then he called a meeting and said we must work jointly, we must share intelligence data and when we shared the intelligence data and they were then using our information for their own gains, without informing us.

That caused an uproar and I think the Brigadier and even Captain Hechter, if you can remind them, they will immediately know about that incident, they will tell you.

So, then I knew that Moses Morodi was killed, but the guns were not found because he was present, he was sitting in the car when these guns were planted. He tried to go to the area, because when we later went to the area with the right person, we saw that there were some attempts of digging around the area where the DLB was, but the DLB was not found.

I arrested Junior Mogwedi, we went with the Police there, with Prinsloo also present, and then this man went in and he

showed us the DLB and we found the guns, Junior Mogwedi, but already, Prinsloo had already killed Moses Morodi saying that Moses Morodi does not want to show them where the guns are.

The seventh point I wanted to make was this one of a man who held from Germiston, he worked for a pharmaceutical company. He was supposed to deliver medicine at Medunsa in about, between 1987, 1988. He was driving a Ford bakkie with a big two way radio aerial.

This man never reached Medunsa hospital, he never delivered the medicine on that particular day, simply because Prinsloo sent an informer from Winterveldt to go to this man and they wanted to know about guns and whatever, he was acting as a courier for the ANC. They even lied to the man to come to corner Pretorius and Andries Street in Pretoria where he made an appointment to meet with the man there, and instead Prinsloo sent us Police there. I was sent as a backup team. You know Prinsloo trusted only his men, and if you are not his men, he just uses you as a messenger or as a backup team.

In that particular incident I was a backup team for his men.

His team composed of the late Constable Mbata, who was an askari, Kenny Moore, Majeni and Smuts who were tasked to go and abduct a man right in the centre of Pretoria. Myself and I think two guys, we went in as backup team, so we waited at the corner but Kenny Moore and Mbata approached the man, Kenny

produced his appointment certificate as a police and then the man never refused and then they took him and they took the car away and they took the car to Prinsloo and when we saw everything was fine, we went back to the base.

Kenny later came and informed me how the man was killed and even Constable Mbata told me that they had to pick up his pieces because Dos Santos who was working with Prinsloo, was the man who was an explosive expert, so they just strangled him until he became unconscious and then Dos Santos put explosives under his body and then they ignited the explosives.

They did it on several occasions until there were just small little pieces of bones and meat and then Constable Mbata and the others, and Smuts had to collect those pieces and put it in a whole. I know that for a fact that this man has died.

I was also given 50 poisoned UDF T-shirts by Brigadier Cronje to give to a certain student leader of Atteridgeville by the name of Petrus Malifah. This Petrus Malifah resides at number 85 Mahondi Street in Atteridgeville but because I myself was a student leader, the whole thing did not all go well with me, you know with my human compassion. I then decided you know, out of my own will, to swop the shirts. I took the UDF and substituted it with the Cosas ones who were not poisoned, and then I destroyed the ones that were poisoned.

He put a white powderish stuff inside this T-shirts and he told me that it is pesticide. He told me how it works. Brigadier Cronje said it works, if you wear it and you sweat, through the pores of your body, this poison goes in, back into your blood system and after a while, after some time, some few days your blood forms some clots, you die of cardiac failure. It will be diagnosed as natural death so nobody would be blamed.

But I thought I was a student leader and I couldn't debase myself that low to wipe off 50 school children, I couldn't see myself doing that, so I gave them Cosas shirts, and that can be attested. Petrus Malifaho does not know me until this day. He doesn't know who I am but he knows me as comrade Mike from Tembisa.

If anybody can go to him because there are two young brothers, they look the same and the one is Petrus Malifaho and you ask him, he will tell you, yes somebody gave me 50 T-shirts free of charge, and that was comrade Mike and that was myself, but what he doesn't know, even today he does not know that I saved his life and possibly the lives of 49 others that were supposed to wear those T-shirts.

I think that is basically all I had outstanding. If things come out, I will always report.

MR CHASKALSON: Thank you. A couple of other things we were speaking about yesterday which I just want to get on the

record. These are some incidents which are mentioned in one of the amnesty applications that we have received.

The one was dealing with the attempted murder of the activists in the Zozo Hut in Mamelodi I think it was.

MR MAMASELA: Donzi Khumalo. Was that the one of Donzi Khumalo?

MR CHASKALSON: I think that was who you identified it as yesterday, the amnesty application doesn't have any names to it.

MR MAMASELA: The only one that I know of the incident, that was Donzi Khumalo, he was a Trade Unionist. We were told that he came from Port Elizabeth to stay in Mamelodi and he was a trouble monger and one night, Captain Hechter, myself and Warrant Officer Van Vuuren, we jumped over the fence, but that was a house, he was in a house. We knocked through the window, we wanted him to open so that he can be blasted with AK47's and then he wanted to stand up, but his wife refused, she said no you can't open for people you don't know, at night.

That woman saved his life because we had AK47's and then he refused to open and then I said no, they've got a phone, they might phone other people, let's just quit and then we jumped over the fence and then we ran away. Nothing was done during that time.

Also other things that I would like to highlight, you know these bombing incidents, there were plenty and there was the

other one that was done at Peter Mokaba's home in Pietersburg. If I am not mistaken, his home it was four roomed house, (indistinct) four roomed house, very nice plastered and painted outside and inside the house, there was a "zozo", inside the yard, a "rondawel", "zozo", and there was a car parked next to this "zozo".

I think Peter Mokaba's brother was inside that hut in the yard. That is where Captain Hechter placed a small limpet mine, this mini limpet mine, the brown one, on the window of the "zozo" and then he put a fuse and he lit it and we had to jump over the wall and we had to wait.

Captain Victor and the other group, including members of the Security Police of Pietersburg, two streets away of that of Mokaba, the lady who was very politically active there, the same evening they went to attack her house with the same limpet mine also and when ours blasted, theirs also blasted and we went out together.

MR CHASKALSON: Two other incidents, I am not certain if you are going to have any knowledge of them. The one is a murder which took place at a place called Die Bron.

MR MAMASELA: I tried to figure out that De Bron place, but I don't have any recollection. They say it is a murder of what?

MR CHASKALSON: The person who was murdered was not identified beyond being an ANC activist, but we can obtain more detail about that and we can discuss it with you at a later stage.

MR MAMASELA: I've got my own suspicions about that one. What I know is Van Vuuren, Paul van Vuuren he at one stage informed me that one of his father's labourers was stealing their livestock and then he wanted this man to be killed. At one stage he actually shot some shots at this man, but he missed and the little boy ran to the police and made a case against Van Vuuren and there was a lot of court proceedings and whatever, and then he actually - I don't know whether he bribed the policemen who was handling the case and ultimately the charges were dismissed and then he wanted to kill that boy.

But on the day of his killing or whatever, I was not there, I don't know where I was, but at a later stage one of the askaris by the name of Edgar - I forgot his surname but he works for the ambulance services in Pretoria, Edgar, I will get his name now, Edgar came to me and said he went with Sergeant Selahe to Paul van Vuuren's home. We also put a Police caravan in the yard, on that farm because that farm was used extensively for police interrogations and murder, that is where the other three were killed in that farm, Siphole and the others, they were killed in Paul van Vuuren's father's farm.

The Police put a caravan there and in that caravan he killed one of the people, I don't know if it is a labourer or whatever, and then he cut his hand and then the hand lay in the caravan and there was blood splashes all over the caravan but the corpse was not there. So that thing shook Edgar to the roots, because even today Edgar does not stop talking about that incident. He does not stop.

Sergeant Selahe became a nervous wreck, he drank like a fish. Every time when there is a mission, he will be completely drunk, but he was mainly used as a driver for us because he couldn't take it. I think that is the incident he is talking about and he was trying to politicise it, it is a criminal incident, it is a personal vendetta that he wanted to murder that particular person.

MR CHASKALSON: The other incident that is mentioned, also not very well described, is some intimidation of a preacher who was homosexual and had been found in bed with ...

MR MAMASELA: Lebise, Sendile Lebise?

MR CHASKALSON: Yes.

MR MAMASELA: No, that is lies. It is blatant lies. You know these preachers, they were from Koinonia, they came from a particular church sector in Pretoria and they wanted to defy this Residential Act, so they will from time to time come into the black townships and spend a weekend there or spend weeks there.

On that particular night, we went to Sandile's house and then we found these people there and they were just sleeping normally and then Van Vuuren insulted this man and called him a gay, a homosexual and he called him names. That was not the case. At that time, it was a policy of Koinonia to break the racial barriers for people to mix freely and then they were doing it defiantly, in defiance of the government laws of the time. That man was not a homosexual.

MR CHASKALSON: Mr Mamasela, could we, if that is all the sort of major incidents that you have at the moment, could we maybe - unless, do you want to come in here?

MR PRETORIUS: Yes Jerome, perhaps we could, I am not sure if Mr Magadla wouldn't perhaps have some questions that he would like to ask or issues that you would like to deal with at this stage?

MR MAGADLA: Yes, I have. You spoke of Daniel Nkala, who went with you to infiltrate the Cosas people in Springs. Was he a policeman or who was he, Daniel Nkala?

MR MAMASELA: Daniel Nkala was an askari, trained by the African National Congress. He belonged to the first group that was called the Mara group, that opened the infiltration route from the western frontier and in that incident, they fought with the police.

It was the first time the police met a highly trained group and they all managed to go back to Botswana. The ANC decided that because he panicked then, he couldn't fire properly, they decided to take him back for retraining and after the retraining, then they took him to Swaziland this time, to infiltrate from Swaziland.

He came with a Unit of about five or six from Swaziland and unfortunately the man, their pilot, an old man who was supposed to bring them in, was a police informer, so as they were trying to cross into the South African border, they were ambushed by the police and all five of his Unit was wiped off.

Because he was the youngest, he pretended as if he was a headboy, looking after the cattle. It is the only man, the old man who insisted this man is an insurgent, this man is, until ultimately he was arrested and then they beat him up and he produced his AK47's and hand grenades. He was incorporated into Vlakplaas.

But something mysterious happened with him because he became so devoted to his job, he became so devoted to De Kock that you will never even, I doubt if you can do anything to him without him reporting to his former Commanders, he is one hundred percent devoted and he was extensively used for other operations, very, very secretive operations.

He never told anybody about these operations.

MR MAGADLA: Do you have any knowledge as to where he is now?

MR MAMASELA: Yes sir, he is a resident of Letlhabile, he is taxi operator. Immediately we got our packages, he bought himself a taxi or two, so he is busy in this taxi thing of Letlhabile.

In my opinion, I don't have any doubt, that he might be involved in this taxi shootings because that man, he is a hard nut to crack, he comes originally from (indistinct), in Natal.

MR MAGADLA: And you were saying that what triggered this that you were to go and infiltrate the students, was the death of a white nurse?

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

MR MAGADLA: After they had been killed, do you know if they were charged with the death of this nurse, because we have heard that sometimes where people were infiltrated like the Guguletu 7, and killed, but still there would have been a docket where they would then be charged for whatever would be alleged they would have done before they got killed, and also that which would have given the police an excuse for having actually approached them and then there would have been a shootout where they would have been killed? In this one then, do you have knowledge of whether they were charged with the killing of that nurse after they had been killed?

They get charged and the matter is withdrawn and of course, they are buried?

MR MAMASELA: With this one, like I said, it was only one person out of all these people who confessed that he took part in the murder of that particular nurse, not all of them.

Even today, that person was never charged with that murder. They were charged with possessing weapons of warfare, unlicensed guns and whatever ammunition under the Ammunition and Explosives Act, they were never charged for that particular thing.

MR MAGADLA: So, they were charged for being in possession of arms and weapons which you actually had handed over to them?

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

MR MAGADLA: Which actually had come from Vlakplaas?

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

MR MAGADLA: And the case of the policeman, Sergeant Matosi. You said what were the reasons for killing him?

MR MAMASELA: Initially what we were told was, he is a spy for the CIO, Central Intelligence Organisation, that is the Security Police of Zimbabwe.

As a result of that we were told that he constitutes danger to the police and that he must be killed. After his killing, I read numerous press reports, you know where he was writing

concerted letters, pleading for his life, that you know, he fought with this Colonel who beat him up with a clap and he broke his eardrum and he went to the Doctor and then he wanted medically unfit pension, and then he was also making a civil case against this Commander of his.

This Commander was always threatening to kill him and all that, it was for the first time that I heard that this people, we were killing him under the false pretences, they were using us under a false pretence that this man is a spy and whilst on the other hand, it was a personal thing just like that of Mxenge. I don't believe Mxenge was killed for political reasons other than the fact that he had an altercation with Brigadier Van der Hoven in court, where Brigadier Van der Hoven assaulted him and Mxenge made a civil case against him.

The Brigadier for personal reasons, politicised this personal squabble with Mxenge and that he was supposed to be promoted and he couldn't be promoted whilst a civil case was pending against him, and that was why precisely Mxenge had to be killed.

The same logic here prevails, where that Colonel was supposed to be a Brigadier. His promotion was withheld because there was a case, a criminal case against him. He felt threatened and he sent people, they sent us in to kill this man because the only way they could use was, he was a spy. He was a political

spy for another country, whilst they were doing that for their own personal interest.

The same thing, it is the same as far as I am concerned, in my opinion.

MR MAGADLA: What was then suggested as having been the reason for killing him, maybe by the police because they would make some suggestions as to why he was killed?

MR MAMASELA: No, the police never took, accepted that murder as theirs, until I came out myself.

MR MAGADLA: Yes, I mean what were they alleging who would have killed him? Would they have been alleging that he was killed by the ANC or killed by robbers or killed by whom?

MR MAMASELA: No, to them it was alleged that he was killed by the ANC because AK47's were used.

MR MAGADLA: Would it have been the case therefore that the policemen who investigated his murder, would he have known or would he have been instructed to investigate the murder otherwise than proving a case? Would he have been let in, into the secret of the fact that he was killed by the police? The Investigative Officer who investigated the case?

MR MAMASELA: The police wouldn't tell him exactly that, but in a way they will choose somebody they know to go in, because in more often than not, the police will never let an intelligence

policeman to investigate or somebody who is against the police, who is against them to investigate.

They will always choose their own puppets to do the investigations. Ja, jy sien, daardie man, hy was 'n "spy". You know, he was a spy, "nou kyk, sy eie mense het hom". They lead you, but they lead you indirectly, that is precisely what has been happening all along.

They will just lead you, but they will say "jy sien, kyk nou, sy eie mense het hom geskiet, het hom opgevang. Jy sien, ons het hom altyd ...". Now if you go there and you are a policeman and the Brigadier or the General tells you that, you go there with a certain perspective, you are not going to investigate, you are just going to confirm what your superiors have told you. I think that is the case that happened with him.

I was told of a docket about that case, whereby even the wife, the number of shots fired at her, could not be determined, I don't know why. They just said she was shot and then how many times, where are the entrance bullets, you can see that case was clumsily investigated so that the real perpetrators could not be traced.

MR MAGADLA: You also said when you were sent to the Eastern Cape, there was a man called Tsabalala shot, Sergeant from KwaZulu Natal.

MR MAMASELA: Yes sir.

MR MAGADLA: What happened to him after that?

MR MAMASELA: He is still around, he was an askari from the ANC himself and then he got the package like all of us. He is the one who killed the cousin to Commissioner Ntsebeza, Ndondo in the University:

MR MAGADLA: Oh, yes.

MR MAMASELA: They had to change his name and call him Mavusu.

MR MAGADLA: Oh.

MR MAMASELA: They changed his identity, the police, and called him Mavusu.

MR MAGADLA: But you said he had come from Natal?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, he comes from Natal.

MR MAGADLA: Is that where his home is?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, even now he stays that side, in Natal. I think Warrant Officer Mhluli knows where he can find him, because I gave him all the information.

MR MAGADLA: This Mavusu?

MR MAMASELA: Yes. He is Joseph, I think he is Joseph Tsabalala. I have forgotten his first name, but he is Tsabalala, the surname. Ndondo is the cousin to Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza.

MR MAGADLA: Ndondo Batwanda.

MR MAMASELA: Batwanda, yes.

MR MAGADLA: So when he came to join you in the Eastern Cape, did he come there with a group of other people or ...?

MR MAMASELA: For the first time in the Eastern Cape, we found that more than three Units went to one place, we had never worked that way before at Vlakplaas. Each and every Unit will go to a certain province, independently.

On that particular mission of Eastern Cape, all four Units went, about four Units went to Eastern Cape. The Mosiane's, you name them, they were there, we were all there and we were based at the Colenso railway hostel.

MR MAGADLA: Did you happen to meet Sergeant Tungata and Manne?

MR MAMASELA: Yes. The Maqiqi?

MR MAGADLA: At that time?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, we called them Maqiqi. We operated with him at that time, he used to carry a briefcase, he used to carry many guns on him and his brother also was there, who was later killed. Yes, Tungata.

MR MAGADLA: Did you also work with a man called Patrick Qahiso?

MR MAMASELA: We worked with about three people there, but one of them was sent to jail, Manne. That one is a very intriguing one because he was sent to jail here, and then they

took him out behind the back door, then they took him to Vlakplaas with his wife who was a Sergeant in the Police Force.

The wife was working at Erasmia police station, and then Manne was serving his sentence, his jail sentence at Vlakplaas as a policeman.

MR CHASKALSON: He was then returned to the Eastern Cape, is that correct?

MR MAMASELA: Later on, he was then returned as if he comes from jail.

MR MAGADLA: These other people came from KwaZulu Natal, the police group, do you know who was in charge of them?

MR MAMASELA: In KwaZulu Natal?

MR MAGADLA: No, who had come there from another group, do you know who had come there with Qahiso's group?

MR MAMASELA: I cannot say sir, but it was very numerous senior policemen.

MR MAGADLA: Do you remember seeing or because I believe the one person who was in charge of a group there, was Colonel Dunky van Wyk.

MR MAMASELA: No, I don't know that name, but it could be possible, because there were plenty.

MR MAGADLA: Okay. When these people went to the school, Manne and Tungata or somebody and attacked the school children there, were you there?

MR MAMASELA: No, no sir. But I know of that incident because we were discussing this incident of Kinikine and stuff like that and then he said no, they said Tungata was chasing this student alone, around the school and he was shooting like mad. He actually said, he boasted that he was aiming for their heads.

MR MAGADLA: Victoria Mxenge, do you have any idea as to who actually killed her?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, it is a Vlakplaas thing under De Kock, because Victoria Mxenge was killed in 1986, if I am not mistaken and I had a confrontation with De Kock in 1985, in November.

I even had to apply through my Attorneys for a transfer, so that's when I left Vlakplaas. Before I left, this Victoria Mxenge thing was in the pipeline, because he said she was very active, she was becoming a threat now to the police and a plan has to be made, by De Kock, he was the one who was doing it.

I will give you a small lead, I will give you a small lead. Nkala, Daniel Nkala comes from Durban and my intelligence is that Nkala was involved, he is the one who chopped her with the tomahawk or something, because she was shot and she was chopped with some tomahawk of some sort. I believe Nkala was there. You take also Christopher Musiani.

Christopher Musiani was involved in the initial petrol bombing of her house, before she was killed, her house was petrol bombed and ...

MR MAGADLA: By?

MR MAMASELA: By Christopher Musiani.

MR MAGADLA: Was he also an askari?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, he is an askari from the ANC, he moved in a wheelchair now. He is one of the Attorney General's, he was one of the witnesses also against De Kock, but he is a fine chap, he talks fine.

I don't think you will encounter problems with Chris. It is Nkala and this man Mafha. I think Mafha is the one who shot. Mafha, he is an ANC askari also at Vlakplaas. He stays at Letlhabile. I know of the two and probably the late Nzimande was also one of them, but he is late.

If you get Mafha and Nkala and you confront them about that, the truth will come out.

MR MAGADLA: When you went on the Mxenge mission, did you have to do anything with a person called Zanzile Dube, he would have been a police informer? He would have been very close to Mxenge, Mxenge would have been his lawyer in fact?

MR MAMASELA: You know, this thing of the planning and the operation of the late Mr Mxenge, unfortunately I came in very late. As I have already stated, I was on leave and these people went in for two weeks, and they couldn't do anything. It is then that Coetzee decided to sent Nofemela down to Soweto to pick me up. When I came in, I was briefed. That is why I was briefed

by Brigadier Van der Hoven and all that, and then immediately it was in operation.

I didn't have enough time to can have met other people, but I cannot disprove that he might have met with the other group during my absence.

MR MAGADLA: On the night of the death of Piet Ntuli, were you also in KwaNdabele that day or that evening?

MR MAMASELA: No, I was not in KwaNdabele that evening, but I was part and parcel of the group, the initial group that planned his murder.

MR MAGADLA: Why was he killed?

MR MAMASELA: According to Brigadier Cronje, Piet Ntuli was an informer of the Security Police of Northern Transvaal, that is Kompol itself and they just put him there so that he can suppress the young activists, and then apparently he grew too big for his boots, because now he wanted to be the Prime Minister of KwaNdabele and then he started having a friction with the Mahlangu's who were the, Prince Mahlangu, who was then the Prime Minister.

He formed an opposition party and he threatened this Pretorius' puppets, because he wanted to take over. Every time they tell him not to do this, not to do it, he disregarded them because he had now too much power. They gave him weapons, they gave him everything. They gave him money, they gave him

logistics, so he was a sort of Frankenstein monster for them, but they are the ones who built it.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, the then spokesperson of the Minister of Police is the one who came with the idea that Brigadier Cronje must make a plan about this man.

MR MAGADLA: Do you have an idea as to why they did not decide to kill James Mahlango?

MR MAMASELA: I think to a certain extent, by and large, I think James Mahlango was towing their line to a certain extent. He only changed his colours when the ANC took over, then he ingratiated himself with the ANC, but initially he was just okay, like all other (indistinct) leaders.

MR MAGADLA: You say at one time he also worked with them, James Mahlango?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, he worked with, he was very cooperative with the system.

MR MAGADLA: Okay. Jim Mahlango, do you remember Chief Jim Mahlango of I think Tweefontein G?

MR MAMASELA: No.

MR MAGADLA: The Chief who I think early 1987, people went to his house and said they were policemen and took him away and he never came back?

MR MAMASELA: The son of the owner of the shop and the Bundu Inn?

MR MAGADLA: I am not sure, but his (indistinct) is in Tweefontein G and he is the only Chief after 1986, after an investigation, just after the death of Piet Ntuli, people came there and took him away and I believe he was detained in some police station somewhere near Pretoria, but later removed from there, and got killed?

MR MAMASELA: No, that one I don't know, but the only link I can give is Hechter, because he was, everything that was happening in and around Northern Transvaal, he should know. If anyone should know, it is Hechter.

MR MAGADLA: Did you happen to meet Deon Gouws in KwaNdabele?

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

MR MAGADLA: What was his role there?

MR MAMASELA: Deon Gouws in 1987, he was a member of the CID of Pretoria, he was working under Brigadier Suiker Britz, but Brigadier Cronje talked with them, and he recruited him for a particular special mission that was supposed to be conducted in KwaNdebele. The killing of the nine of KwaNdebele, he was there and he was shooting. Him and Wouter Mentz and myself, I was inside that small room where they were shooting.

He took part in the killing of the nine students.

MR MAGADLA: Would you have an idea about the van, police van which after it had been used in a killing, was hidden at Dannelton police station in a garage there, for about three months?

MR MAMASELA: No.

MR MAGADLA: It had been used by Deon Gouws and somebody?

MR MAMASELA: No, I don't have (indistinct) with that.

MR MAGADLA: Okay. Thank you.

MR CHASKALSON: Thank you very much. If you have any other questions, please just indicate, thank you.

Mr Mamasela, could I just ask you two questions relating to the operations of bases similar to Vlakplaas in KwaZulu Natal. Do you have any information about the Camperdown farm that was operated by Andy Taylor, did you ever visit that farm or have anything to do with operations conducted by persons based on that farm?

MR MAMASELA: I wouldn't say I knew, I don't know about that. I knew there was something sinister happening in Natal and I knew Andy Taylor was always in contact with Vlakplaas, but unfortunately I did not belong to the Unit that specialised with Natal.

I only went to Natal during 1981 and after that, I never went to Natal.

MR CHASKALSON: Okay, and at the stage that you were there, who comprised the Unit that was involved in the operations into Natal?

MR MAMASELA: Andy Taylor was there, and Van der Hoven was also there, he was then a Captain.

MR CHASKALSON: But from a Vlakplaas side, people that specialised in working in Natal at that stage?

MR MAMASELA: Nofemela was one of them, but Nofemela won't give you too much. He is not - let me give you the name of a person that I think will be a key to the whole thing of Natal, Bekhi Tsabalala. That Tsabalala was very, very much loved ...

MR CHASKALSON: Bekhi Tsalabala?

MR MAMASELA: No, I said Bekhi is the late, Bekhi Nzimande is late. You know what they normally do, they take people who come from that particular area to lead the Unit you know, because they are familiar with the surroundings.

Tsabalala wouldn't be a problem, Tsabalala will talk because Tsabalala killed people in Natal. He shot a few people there in Natal himself. Mostly they were insurgents of the African National Congress. He killed about two or three in Natal.

Such a person they will like him, they will love him. From time to time they will say he is very active, they will take him there. Tsabalala is the key link to the whole thing.

But somehow I would like to warn the Commission about Tsabalala's incapacities. Tsabalala is not the person who can, who is fairly intelligent, he is just a cannon fodder, he is just used. The ANC used him the same way and in the Police, he was used the same way.

He can give you nice links as to who was there and all that, but he is a key person to the killing, because he can advised as to who was killed, why and how. But then he should give you some few names of the people who can be able to give a chronological account about what happened, the sequence in proper perspective.

Why things had to happen. On the why and how things were happening, Tsabalala cannot help you, but as an operative, as a field operative, he can give you a lot of information about the killings that took place, because he was part and parcel of that particular killings, and even this thing of the (indistinct), I don't really believe that it was the Kits Constable and Mitchell only, I think askaris, two or three askaris took part in that particular thing.

I think Thabo Magage was one of the two askaris that took part in that killing, but now those Kits Constables did not know who is who and I think even Mitchell himself, Mitchell, could not really know whether those people are askaris or not police. I don't think he should know, but in the (indistinct) massacre, I know that two or three askaris were involved there.

MR CHASKALSON: Okay. Now, a similar base was established outside East London on a farm in the mid 1980's. Do you have any idea of the persons involved in either the establishment of a sub-Vlakplaas base outside East London, did you ever visit that base, do you know anything about that particular operation?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, I know about the base, but I have never personally been there, because we discussed with Jackson. Jackson is one of the victims of the so-called Motherwell car bomb. They said in the press that Jackson was an informer. I wish to point out that Jackson was never an informer, he was an askari like all of us.

He is the man who led the raid at Lesotho. He was short, light in complexion and he loved dagga too much, he is the one who led the Lesotho raid, where 42 ANC insurgents were killed. As a result of that, he was brought down to Vlakplaas.

He did not see eye to eye with De Kock, so he had to go back to East London. He had one handler there, he was his Commander, he loved him very much. He is the man who always brought him half a bag of dagga to give him. He went back to him and then he told us that they had a farm similar to Vlakplaas, and so he will be, he will have no problem, he will be working there.

MR CHASKALSON: Do you know who his handler was?

MR MAMASELA: I have forgotten the man's name, he mentioned the man's name, but to me it was insignificant at the time.

MR CHASKALSON: Okay. Thank you very much. A couple of more things, we were speaking earlier about Nsumgetle. Could you tell us a little bit about that?

MR MAMASELA: The controversial one now. Now I must fight with the government of other nations. Nsumgetle, when I went to Vlakplaas, I found him there in the early 1980's. I found him there, he was travelling with four people. Two of them were elderly and the other two were very young, young physically built like myself during that time.

We discussed politics most of the time, because when I came to Vlakplaas, before I became a policeman I became a resident with my family for security reasons, so when other people went out to work, I was always at Vlakplaas. I had the opportunity to be with him most of the time, and there was one guy, Ernest Ramodala. He was a Lesotho citizen, the one who attempted to bomb Chris Hani's car and he got himself bombed by his own bomb.

He was smuggled by the police from Lesotho hospital and he was brought to this side. He was brought to Vlakplaas. It is Ernest Ramodala who was cooking for him and you know, talking to him and he could trust Ernest because was a Mosuthi like

himself. He was there, then from time to time he would leave. A military chopper, maybe once or twice in a month, would bring him back and he will leave again, and he will come back.

He was at Vlakplaas and we used to go to, you know, at Vlakplaas there is a river called, what is this river's name, it has a funny name, but it used to move across Vlakplaas en there were big trees there which we were using as shooting targets. We will go there and shoot with the guards and with him.

He was very much at home and he used, you know top police would come during the week, when they know that all other Units have gone, then the top police from the Head Office will come and brief him and give him whatever support that he wanted.

He was at Vlakplaas, he was bettered and aided by Vlakplaas, he will never deny it.

MR CHASKALSON: How long was he there for?

MR MAMASELA: At Vlakplaas, he was there for a longer period and then he will disappear like I say, and then he will come back again. After some time, he will disappear and then he will - he kept on coming and going, you know, but they wanted to avoid contact with him with a lot of askaris. When they knew the askaris went to work, then he will come in and then when they knew that, because (indistinct) will go for three weeks, and when

they know that they were supposed to come, then they will fly him out.

It was a periodical basis, but he was there and I know for a fact that at one stage they were discussing the question of arms. You know, arms and finance and then at one stage, the Brigadier Victor was a bit nervous because the Head Office told him that Lesotho has sent in a formal complaint that a South African Police, Security Police are aiding and (indistinct) terrorists to attack Lesotho, but at the same time they blame Lesotho, they do the same thing.

It was then better that he should be removed to go to Botswana. I think they had a base for him in Botswana. It is then that he left for Botswana, but not for a very long time. He would just go there and when these people attack, and so that when the Lesotho police come, they say no, we have chased him, he is not settled in Botswana, we can even give you his place in Botswana.

It was just done for political reasons to save face for Pretoria.

MR CHASKALSON: Can we look at that list that I gave you earlier, and maybe if you can go through that list, indicating which of the people you know, who they were and then maybe assigned to the Natal Unit or where they would be operating if

they were Angolan, if you will just indicate that to us and then also who you aren't aware of.

MR MAMASELA: Yes. Another person that I've forgotten his name, I just see it here, is this Mtembu guy, Aaron Mtembu, very light in complexion, he is a (indistinct) type of a guy. He comes from Nqutu, deep, deep in Natal and he is the one who can help you a lot about the Natal violence, Aaron Mtembu. He is number 50 on the list that I've got, AM, Aaron Mtembu. He comes from Natal.

MR CHASKALSON: Mr Mamasela, you have mentioned a Tsabalala quite recently. Is that the same Tsabalala who was down as Mavusu or is that a different one?

MR MAMASELA: It is the same Tsabalala who was down as Mavusu.

MR CHASKALSON: Thank you. Wilson, you had indicated that you had one or two questions that you wanted to ask. I don't know if you wanted to deal with those now?

MR MAGADLA: You say you at one time, went to Guguletu to try and infiltrate those people who were eventually infiltrated and killed?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, sir.

MR MAGADLA: And you also mentioned the name of Mbello as having been there as well?

MR MAMASELA: Yes sir. Johannes Mbello.

MR MAGADLA: Yes, there is talk that someone went there first, but those people suspected that person to be not one of them, and he had to go back. Would that have been yourself or Mbello?

MR MAMASELA: I think it would have been Mbello, because myself, I went there first on October 1985. The initial contact was done by me, we were given, I was just given information and names and addresses that this people are highly armed and probably they might be working with insurgents, but after infiltrating them for about two weeks, three weeks, I submitted a report that no, they were just ordinary criminals, most of them. They were just ordinary criminals and they had no guns of Russian origin, or weapons of Russian origin.

That was my initial report that I submitted to De Kock. But the following month, when we were supposed to come down on November, I had an altercation with De Kock, and I wanted out. It is then that I submitted my transfer application, so I was then grounded by De Kock to stay at the farm and then they went to work. After three, four months later, in the following year, 1986, February somewhere there, then I saw this thing on television.

Then I knew even the names that were mentioned, they were very familiar with me, especially the guy with the dreadlocks, I met him several times. I knew he loved his dagga and he drank a

lot. They were ordinary criminals. Then I knew that they carried on with my assignment, despite I told them no, these people, there is no iota of truth in the initial informer's report about these people being insurgents and being trained, they were never trained in my opinion.

MR MAGADLA: And you also said Mbello also operated in KwaZulu Natal?

MR MAMASELA: Too much, yes.

MR MAGADLA: Would he have been on killing operations or...

MR MAMASELA: Yes, we operated, we were very versatile most of us. If the situation demands that you kill, you kill.

MR MAGADLA: Could there have been specific cases where you know him to have participated in KwaZulu Natal?

MR MAMASELA: In most cases, he appeared on the inquest, especially of the killings with De Kock. His name was more than often mentioned in those inquests.

There was an inquest where they were shooting somewhere in Natal, in Natal with Thabo Magagi and where the incident that Nofemele referred to particularly, but he could not really say what was the location, he could not really identify the location.

He mentioned another place, but while the incident happened in the other place, but it was the same incident. Mbello's name was there, he appeared in the inquest.

MR MAGADLA: You say in several inquests in KwaZulu Natal, his name does appear?

MR MAMASELA: It does appear twice, thrice, it does appear.

MR MAGADLA: Thank you.

MR MAMASELA: Thank you.

MR PRETORIUS: Jerome, are there any other questions that you want to run through?

MR JEROME: Well, I was hoping that Mr Mamasela would, maybe we could even read that into the record, once he has been through it, alternatively we can just keep it on the side.

MR CHASKALSON: Otherwise Mr Mamasela, you had spoken earlier that you had spent some time in the Western Cape on infiltrations.

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

MR CHASKALSON: Could you maybe give us some indication as to where you were based here, and who you worked with while you were here?

MR MAMASELA: We were based at Colenso like I said, and we worked, it was our four Units coming in. A Unit comprised of between seven and ten people, askaris.

MR CHASKALSON: That was here in the Western Cape?

MR MAMASELA: Here?

MR CHASKALSON: In the Western Cape?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, we came in 1985 and we were based at Koeberg Power Station, because there was information that certain insurgents were going to blast the Koeberg with limpet mines, and we were based at Koeberg. That was myself, the late Brian Mgcqulunga, Eric Siphadi, Maluleka and we were about ten of us there.

The person who was in charge of us, was Warrant Officer Beeslaar and Colonel Roelf Venter and Joe Coetzer.

MR CHASKALSON: Joe or Jan?

MR MAMASELA: No, Joe Coetzer. He comes from Koevoet, the guy. We were based here for almost a month or two, looking for specifically those insurgents, and we could not get anyone of that.

Sorry, it was during that year, when we were told of a former policeman who was running a security company, and who was shooting people more often than not at Guguletu, killing people. He was a fat guy, called Schoor or something, or Schoon or something like that, he was very fat, they warned us about him and they said if he stops us, we must just stop and lift our hands and they will tell him that we are there.

We were driving with small, little small cars and I was driving a Mazda myself. We used to go in and at one stage, a certain political activist were detained at numerous police stations during that period, and then I remember one where I was

locked next to his cell, because they wanted information, and he couldn't give them.

They locked me up in the cell next to his and they said no, behave as if you are a radical and all that. I talked to him and then he gave me his address, but he did not talk politics. He gave me his address in Guguletu. I went there, I found his wife and other political activists, but they were having a thing like a church sermon.

When I said I was sent by him, they were very suspicious but we acted, we operated a lot in 1985. We were here.

MR MAGADLA: In the inquest, you say Mbello's name appeared, would he have used the name Mbello or some other name?

MR MAMASELA: No, he used his real name because even the press reports I have read he was always Johannes Mbelo and Johannes Mbelo.

MR MAGADLA: So he is actually a policeman himself, full policeman?

MR MAMASELA: He is a full policeman. He comes originally from Bloemfontein.

MR MAGADLA: Thank you.

MR CHASKALSON: Any other issues that we want to clarify before we close?

FEMALE INVESTIGATOR: ... Western Cape that we can look at, that Mr Mamasela might feel able to speak about?

MR PRETORIUS: All right, if there are other questions that you are wanting to ask and raise specific answers, are you wanting to carry on after lunch, if we could break for lunch now and come back afterwards, otherwise we could wrap it up now. Is there specific things that you want him to address?

FEMALE INVESTIGATOR: No, there aren't specific things but we will go to more detail and (indistinct)

MR PRETORIUS: Jerome, what are the arrangements for Mr Mamasela from here, availability for after lunch or to - at some future point?

MR CHASKALSON: (Microphone not on)

MR PRETORIUS: Okay, so should we break for lunch at this point and then reconvene and we can assess after lunch if there are other things that we want him to deal with at this stage or not? Mr Mamasela, will that be all right with you, we break for lunch at this point so that we probably reconvene again at say quarter past two, is that all right, two o'clock, quarter past two. Which would suit you?

Two o'clock, is that fine? All right, we will adjourn until two o'clock, thank you very much.

MR MAMASELA: Thank you very much.

HEARING ADJOURNS

ON RESUMPTION:**JOSEPH SIPHO MAMASELA:** (still under oath)**MR PRETORIUS:** Thank you very much. This is the resumption of the inquiry and without much ado I am going to hand over to Jerome who will take us further in this matter, thank you.**MR CHASKALSON:** Joe, can we get back to that list that I gave you before lunch, and maybe just quickly run through it and identify some people for us.**MR MAMASELA:** Must I just read it?**MR CHASKALSON:** Yes, just read the name and then say I don't know or yes, this was here and he was in Natal or ...**MR MAMASELA:** M.S. Maduna, I know. He is ANC. Number 5, C.V. Khumalo, he is ANC. He comes originally from Durban. He is a resident of Letlhabile. Then comes number 8, G. Kangende, he is an Angolan, he was also a resident of Letlhabile.

Then we come to number 10, T. Hassani. No, number 11, Antonio, he is an Angolan. And then number 12, just under him, Bangu, he is an Angolan also, resident of Letlhabile both of them.

Then comes number 16, Domingo, he is an Angolan, and his younger brother Domingo also. They are both Angolans, residents of Letlhabile. Number 18, S. Chilwane, he is an ANC askari. He is the one that was described through the national television and the youngest terrorist who was made to dismantle

and reassemble an AK47 and displayed on television. He was indeed very young, he was the youngest. Constable Mbatha, number 19. He is late, he is the one who committed suicide, he is from the ANC. He worked with me and with Prinsloo and he is the one that attracted (indistinct) to come out and Prinsloo reprimanded him and I don't know what went wrong, and he decided to commit suicide after that.

And then number 22, we have Fredi Mgwena, he is ANC. And he comes from Venda, Lungwena. Then we have Khuzwayo. Khuzwayo is an askari from the ANC, he comes from Durban also and then we have, this from 26 up to 39, I don't know all those people. I have never come across them in all my life.

Then we have Mafha. Mafha I know, he hails from the ANC. Mafha is the same young man I was telling you about, that he can give us some leading information concerning Victoria Mxenge's murder, Mafha. And then we have Maluleke, Shakes Maluleke.

He also used to operate too much in Durban. He was involved in that shibeen brawl where he shot a man in cold blood at point blank range about six times. He was arrested and sentenced to nine years. He never stayed more than two years and then he was taken out and he was brought back to Vlakplaas.

The gun that he used during the murder of that person, was a stolen police gun. I think if people can get this information,

they can be able to squeeze something out of Maluleka because what happened was in 1985, when I had a confrontation with De Kock, and then I threatened that I wanted to resign, I wanted out at all cost, and he, De Kock sent me to Thabazimbi to go and operate in Rustenberg and then as I was operating there De Kock came from Durban, to come for me strictly.

He threatened to kill me and he then sent the late Brian Mgqulunga with Christoph Mogopa, the PAC Commander who defected to Vlakplaas. He then sent the two of them to guard me during the process because that very same evening I was supposed to report to him. I knew there was something sinister, if he sent those people to guard me, he had to send them to guard me for a purpose and the purpose in my opinion was, he wanted to eliminate me, so I just bought them food and then I escaped from Rustenberg and I came back here.

The very same evening that I escaped, De Kock did not know where I went. He panicked, he thought I went back to the ANC and then he wanted to build a cover up for himself, then he sent Jimmy Mbane and Maluleka to break in, he ordered all other askaris to leave their guns in the kombi, because our kombi was not allowed to get into the mine premises, so what we used to do is the kombi used to sleep outside the mine premises.

Our guns used to be locked in his office every time when we knock off, but on that particular day when I escaped, he

ordered all of them to carry their guns on them because he does not know whether I will come with the ANC or whatever, so that they could protect themselves.

He ordered them that that evening they must leave their guns in the kombi. So they left their guns in the kombi and then he ordered Jimmy Mbane and Shakes Maluleka to break into the kombi and steal those guns, as if I am the one who came back in the evening, to come and steal those guns, so that you know the blame must be put to me and not to him.

And they did that. So I lived with that suspicion that even the Generals couldn't trust me a hundred percent now that I disappeared, and the day that I disappeared, guns disappeared of other policemen. But after two years, Shakes Malukeka shot that boy in Durban in cold blood with one of the guns.

When that gun was found, it was reported stolen by the Police, but because it was De Kock's plan, the whole thing was just handled hush hush and nothing came out of it, but this Maluleka if people can get him, and they can ask him he was sentenced for nine years, why did you stay for only 18 months, what happened? What happened to the gun that you stole, was that your gun?

I think, because he is a young man and he is easily scared at the moment, he will spill the beans because he operated extensively from Durban. That is the other incident that I know

of, where he killed a person just for they were drinking in a shibeen squabble, and he shot him several times in cold blood.

I think that is one of the incidents that might help to uncover this Durban, Natal mysteries. Then I know M.D. Mqinqa, number 43. He is the man I was talking about that initially with this thing of East Rand, he was initially with me and then because he comes from East Rand and his brother, younger brother was involved in the Cosas, he eventually pulled out of the operation when Daniel Nkala was brought in.

Mqinqa, I understand he went back to his home, he was a resident of Letfhabile, now he went back to his home in East Rand. I think he is still in Springs at the moment.

Then T.B. Mavusu, that is Tsabalala. He comes from the ANC also. He hails from Durban also and he used to operate too much in Durban too.

And then 46, T.J. Mofokeng, he is an ANC cadre and then P.S. Monyane, also ANC. And then 48 Christopher Mosiane, also ANC. Christopher is the one that I said if he was initially involved in the burning down, the petrol bombing of the late Mxenge's home. I want to believe that they could not use him for that particular operation only and leave him on the murder one.

I think he should be involved in the murder one too. Then we have Aaron Mtembu. Aaron Mtembu is a potential, potential trouble maker. He comes from Nqutu in Natal, and he is not very

MR MAMASELA: It was a certain Colonel, I don't know whether they called him Van Niekerk or what, he was a Colonel that was in charge of that particular place.

MR MAGADLA: Did De Kock also have control over that situation?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, De Kock was one person. He can never send his men somewhere and he withdraws his control, where he sent his men, he must have the final control.

MR MAGADLA: In other words you would say Kilinia's were also his men?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, they were De Kock's men.

MR MAGADLA: De Kock's men?

MR MAMASELA: Yes. The Kilinia in fact was recruited into this country by De Kock, he is not a South African, he is an Angolan. He is an Angolan but he is recruited as a policeman by De Kock.

MR MAGADLA: According to your following up of the evidence against De Kock or the things that De Kock has been saying, has he been saying things about that matter, about Kilinia and about the trains?

MR MAMASELA: No, no, that is why I even said it in public that De Kock is just telling selective truths. Because I understand, he said he wanted to give his men, that is the people that he trusted, he wanted to give them a chance go go to the

Truth Commission, but he never mentioned that. He is still hiding a lot of things.

MR MAGADLA: Are there some specific things which you know that are those things that De Kock has not revealed, has not spoken about? We have the train story he hasn't spoken about and do you have other things that you could tell us now that for instance, that and that he hasn't said a thing about?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, but you know it is difficult for me to can say about De Kock, because I had a brief experience about him. But apparently in my opinion, there is a lot of things that he did not talk about.

Like for instance the taxi violence, he should know about that, he never talked about that. The assassin, the hired assassin of Atteridgeville, we don't know who is that man, but we know, even all the askaris they knew that Simon Radebe was handling that man and he was paid by De Kock and a lot of times De Kock will give Simon lump sums of money to go and pay that man. Up to this day we don't know those operations, why was that man paid so many thousands of rands.

MR MAGADLA: Do you know of people who were involved in the taxi violence, people under De Kock or under his charge?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, definitely I know very well of that. Here I have my investigation diary, that was dated in 1993 February on the 20th. This is one of the few incidents where I

reported to Major Snyders. I said enquiry received and promptly dispatched by Warrant Officer Mamasela. Then I say on Wednesday, 1993-01-20 at approximately 9:30 am an askari by the name of Edgar, who was involved in the Pietersburg massacre of January 1990, where five people were mowed down in cold blood with Ak47 wielding men, Edgar was one of them, Edgar came to see me at my place of work. He was accompanied by two well known taxi people.

The purpose of his, Edgar's visit, was to identify me possibly to his taxi warlords. Then I said last week Wednesday, plus minus 14-01-1993, a group of askaris led by Warrant Officer Jeffrey Bosigo and Sergeant T.P. Magagi both notorious askaris, also came looking for me at my place of work. Since they could not find me, they left in a sulky mood, according to eyewitnesses.

On numerous occasions my children were receiving threatening telephone calls. The pattern dramatically changed when I took them away from my place, that is home and placed them to a place of safety. Instead now, the telephonic threats is now directed to my wife at work. She received two threatening calls from unknown callers.

On investigating the matter, I found that the wife of a taxi warlord by the name of Dan Mokaba, informed me that a certain askari by the name of Eric Sephadi gave him my house and my wife's work telephone numbers. The above group of askaris,

namely Jeff Bosigo, T.P. Magagi and Jabugomba, a policeman were involved in a robbing spree in Mamelodi at plus minus June, July last year. Numerous people were robbed of household goods and money by this three.

A witness by the name of Philip Mabena, a boot legger of Mamelodi confirmed the information. It was signed by me on 1993-01-20. I still have a lot of other investigation diaries that deal mainly with askaris involvement in taxi wars.

Here I've got another investigation dairy that deals mainly with also taxi warlords, that the taxi people, they got information from other askaris about people that they can, the potential is recruits, that they can recruit from the askaris.

Because myself, I myself I was approached by taxi warlords of Vereeniging who clearly came to me and say, no, we know that we were referred to you by so and so and they mentioned an askari that was working with me and I knew him. They offered me R25 000-00 to go and do the hit jobs for them, and those people had money. They gave me R5 000-00 cash and this is the story of the R5 000-00 where I said it was the same, 1993 on February, on the 4th of February, I was duly provided with a list of names and car registrations used by the opposing taxi faction.

I was also given R5 000-00 as money paid in advance, that is deposit for a job. I was addressing Major Snyders, I said note well, please find attached the sum of R5 000-00 as proof of the

authenticity of the above-mentioned information. I hereby attach a hit list as provided by the taxi people of Vereeniging. There is my signature, there is my name.

MR MAGADLA: Now, seeing that you yourself did not kill those people, but were they killed in fact, those people who were on that list?

MR MAMASELA: No, until this day they were saved because I did not get involved in that. But others, we killed, like those of Pietersburg, where I was not involved. I just heard they were killed and they were killed by ...

MR MAGADLA: Vlakplaas?

MR MAMASELA: By Vlakplaas askaris.

MR MAGADLA: Were they taxi people?

MR MAMASELA: They were taxi people, and I took the matter, I will show you the whole thing, the whole list is as thick as this, and then at one stage, Major Snyders got cold feet and he said no, no, just go and report this matter to General Engelbrecht, Krappies because he wanted to know the direction from him, because these askaris and askaris in the Security Forces, they were untouchable.

I did as the Major instructed me, I went to General Krappies, I told him about it. He immediately told me to stop with the investigation, that is why I compiled this investigation

diary of mine and put it aside, because he stopped me from doing that.

MR MAGADLA: So you told Gen Krappies that the massacre at Pietersburg, was the work of Vlakplaas?

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

MR MAGADLA: And he told you to stop everything, stop that investigation?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, I must not continue with the investigation and I must not concentrate on the taxi's, he said I must concentrate on political issues.

MR MAGADLA: According to your knowledge, were those cases ever solved then, that massacre, was it solved by the Police at any other stage?

MR MAMASELA: Not a single person was arrested for that until this day, and the police, they used that AK's that killed the people. It is the very same Gumba, policeman who carried those weapons out of Pietersburg.

MR MAGADLA: So, you do have knowledge of the identity of some of the people who participated in that massacre?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, I do.

MR MAGADLA: From Vlakplaas?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, I do.

MR MAGADLA: Perhaps if we could have the names, if you have them with you?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, okay, here I've got Edgar Mhlala, he is Edgar Mhlala, he is a former askari. He is the one that I am saying he is driving the ambulances now in Pretoria.

MR MAGADLA: He is employed by the City ...

MR MAMASELA: I think it is Health Department.

MR MAGADLA: But he works for the government in Pretoria?

MR MAMASELA: Yes.

MR MAGADLA: Okay. And the other one who will give you more information is Jimmy Mbane because he was very much close into those incidents. It is Jimmy Mbane who was actually doing the recruiting for the taxi people.

MR MAGADLA: Okay. Besides the, what is that place?

MR MAMASELA: Pietersburg.

MR MAGADLA: Besides the Pietersburg massacre where askaris were involved, do you remember of any other massacre, taxi or otherwise, where askaris were involved?

MR MAMASELA: I don't have a specific one at the moment, but my suspicions were that in Soweto Jimmy was involved there, because he was running two taxi's in Soweto and he used to tell me, he used to boast to me how he used to shoot at the Baragwanath taxi rank with AK47.

Every time he boasted about it, you will read about it, about the story in the press that taxi guys were shot at

Baragwanath and then I immediately knew that it is Jimmy, he was telling the truth.

Jimmy, to a certain extent, yes, he knows about taxi violence. He was involved in the taxi industry himself.

MR MAGADLA: Perhaps I would like to mention something which is not included in some of the things we have given you, in terms of the events. What would be your comment if I gave you a story that somebody says he was working for a security firm in KwaZulu Natal and then a white person, who also worked with that person who is black, left the security firm and about a week later, returned to fetch this other person to say to him, that he had found a new and a better job for him and for both of them. Later they met at a certain spot, they were loaded into army, what appeared to be army trucks and they drove to some place in the Cape somewhere, could have been Koeberg, could have been some other place, but there they were trained as tracers. They were told this training is for tracing people, you will be given a list of people to trace and then you could conduct surveillance on the people's movements and give us reports and that report would be handed over to people who would be trained for the elimination of those people and that indeed that thing happened. There were other people from Transvaal and people from KwaZulu Natal and of course even from the Cape at that camp? Then, when they came out of there, they started then tracing and identifying people

who got shot and it did appear that this would have been an entirely different set up as opposed to the Vlakplaas set up and other set ups, but people leading people within the Vlakplaas set up, would have known about this other grouping that was there.

It was a grouping that came out from security firms, but then went out and did that and they did go to the trains as well and they also did go to the taxi, get involved within the taxi struggles as well. Have you heard of a thing like that?

MR MAMASELA: Personally speaking, I never heard of a thing like that, but I heard of a number of similar incidents, almost involving security companies. If I remember well, this thing took a dramatic change after the 1990's.

From the early 1980's up to the late 1980's it was one pattern of Vlakplaas, but now because of the possibility of the political transformation, the Security Forces had to adopt and change their plans drastically and then they made great use of security companies.

We had a flood of security companies geminating from nowhere and if you take the history of each and every security company, you will find that it is owned by an ex-policeman and ex-security policeman and ex-army man. Most of them were used as fronts, as "securities companies". Even today like I say, most of the askaris are hired, they work for these security companies.

On the surface, some of their jobs are normal because this PX trucks, big trucks that load the goods, you will always find that in the cabin, there is one or two askaris escorting the driver.

They work for these companies. The one that I said is Legonda, I still have a card, I will show you the card of Legonda company.

You will phone there, you will get a different name and whatever, but it is run by a former Security Policeman. Mooney works for that company and he recruits a lot of askaris for that company.

It is still a Security Police thing.

MR MAGADLA: Yes, another thing, somebody was saying that some askaris and some people used to work as informers, when the ANC was unbanned, there was a plan that those people who would have been informers and some askaris, would when MK people were back, would go out to those who had not found work, who had not been taken in the SANDF and who had not joined any of the government structures. They would go and entice these people, they would go there with plans of some banks which were to be robbed and places which were to be attacked, but robberies which were to be committed, they would have a plan that when we get there, the driver will park there, the other people would be there, and the whole set up.

Then the people would go, would one day drive to this place and then when they got there, then policemen would spring

up from nowhere and shoot these people and the informers would find a way of ducking out of that situation and they would get their money and they would go and entice others, and it would go on and on, but there had been this talk, this information, but there had been things happening in that fashion throughout the country, where askaris or where MK people are found, killed with AK47's in a robbery situation where police seem to have information pre - have information before they got there, the police had this information already and then they would spring up and kill the people.

Do you have any knowledge of that set up?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, I have something in that regard because after 1992, just shortly after 1992, we were called in all of us, although I was no longer working at Vlakplaas, we were just, all the askaris were called in by De Kock, and then he read us the laws. He told us for the first time that there is a possibility that because of the political transformation that is going to take place, we might as askaris find ourselves without jobs.

He said the political climate has changed because now we are no longer supposed to be looking for the ANC as terrorists or as political opponents of the government. That one is out, but we must concentrate and make concerted efforts on crime. We must fight crime and we must not just fight it by the mouth, we must be seen to be fighting crime.

He said the best way of doing it is to entice this ANC people, who are coming in because they had no money, their homes are deserted. Some comes in and they can hardly find their relatives, they can hardly find their homes. So those are the potential recruits, that we can use, we can entice.

The banks pay certain rewards, about R10 000-00 rewards if you give them information that could lead to the arrest of bank robbers. He said that is the best way of remunerating ourselves because we were used as askaris to get bonus money when you arrest an insurgent, you get about R1 000-00, R2 000-00, you get R1 000-00, R2 000-00, now we are not going to get that.

He said we must not be disillusioned, we must lure the people into police traps so that we can get money. Okay, it did not all go well with me because I didn't like the whole Vlakplaas planning because of my previous statement that I have said. Just a case in point, to confirm what you are saying sir, is this thing of the Nelspruit armed, so-called "armed robbery", where four people were lured in a kombi by an informer who recruited them.

He did not recruit ordinary criminals, he went to Winnie Mandela's driver and said recruit other people because I've got a bank that I have scouted that you are going to hit. You can see the plan, the initial plan was to go and attack a Fidelity Guard car, borrowed a Fidelity Guard van and they were inside, it was

the police inside, waiting for the people to attack them so that they can shoot them.

Tiso Lebalo refused, he did not recruit the people, he did not go on that particular day that he mentioned he will be there. But this informer went back to him and said you have disappointed me, we could have made a lot of money. Anyway let's leave that one, let's go to the bank now in Nelspruit. I've got a bank there, in the isolated place, we can hit it.

This time, for the second attempt, Tiso fell in for the idea. Then all four were mowed down and Tiso was cornered and he was also killed. That is history now, but that is the fact of the matter, that confirms the information that you have at hand, that confirms the allegation that I am making at the moment, that it is indeed true.

Not only that, a lot of askaris were ANC top structures of the ANC. 1990, 1991 they were recruited left, right and centre. We were even given the instructions not to recruit foot soldiers, we must go for Commanders, you know for bigger guys.

Because they were also confused about the political scenario and change and transformation at that time, because they had no guarantee that this thing would work out well. They also had to look at their own interest. We recruited a lot of them. We recruited a lot of them, they are still working, even now for the Police.

Some of them occupied higher positions in the governmental structures. I will come to that later, because I still have to refer to my notes and ...

MR MAGADLA: Lastly in this line of discussion, there was also information which said that just before the elections or somewhere during the course of the discussions between the government and the ANC and the other parties, when it was obvious that the ANC would be the next government of the country, the Police especially Security, held certain meetings in which in which it was - somebody came and said they were called on parade and they were told that the Security Police from the meeting that they had attended, they had been told that the ANC had resolved to form certain hit squads to select certain policemen for elimination, to kill Police and that the one thing that would help the Police to have a voice, to have a way of a joint addressing of that situation, would be for Police to join SAPU, the Police Union.

That is when it was being started. But the person who was saying this was then also saying there had been fears within some Policemen because there had been information, because he was also saying they will target the black policemen, the ANC people and then indeed soon after that, there was shooting of policemen all over the place. I think you saw that because Police were marching and were protesting and doing all sorts of things

because they were being shot at by people and they were being killed by people.

That happened after that meeting about the police having been, there had been an information that the police would be attacked by certain people. Do you have any comment to make in that, did it ever pass your ears that there was any talk of that kind?

MR MAMASELA: I would say not specifically in the light of the Union, but what I know is just after we received our final packages as askaris, De Kock called a big meeting at Hartebeespoortdam in Britz, in Britz, and then he said to us there was a need for the police to arm us with the AK47's, hand grenades and explosives, because there is information that they as the policemen received, that the ANC is going to eliminate us one by one.

He made us, he prepared us that should the ANC kill one of us, we should march to Shell House, and mow down anything that will be moving there. As a result of that, I myself, was provided with an AK47, three magazines, R1 000-00 of ammunition and I was given about four to five hand grenades so I really don't believe I am the only one who got those things.

You know, a lot of policemen, askaris were given those things. Then after they gave us these things, I went to my wife and said you know, I don't want to be part and parcel of this

thing, let us sell our house, let's move to a neutral place. It is then that I sold my house in Letlhabile, because we were surrounded you know, we were all together, you could not think alone.

Once you start to put some sense into other people, they went behind your back and report you, and they will be given money to kill you. It was a difficult thing to can work within the midst of other askaris, so I went to town in Pretoria. I took all my suitcase full of those armourments, they are heavy, more than 8 kilograms, I took it, I hid it somewhere very, very nice. Then I came back. I said it is pointless for me to can just say I am not going to do that as an individual.

What about hundreds of askaris who are armed like that, and I knew that De Kock would play into their emotions, he can kill one of the askaris and make it look as if it is the ANC and all hell will break loose. It is then that I came out into the open and went back to Letlhabile, Soshanguve and recruited the askaris and told them the possibility of us being used as dogs of war in our own country of birth.

We will have another Renamo, we will have another Savimbi in this country. I said, we need to weigh the possibilities and we need to know where our interest lies. It is then that I said to them, listen I feel, I believe that we were left out in the negotiations. From the onset the security system never cared

about us, in fact we were not part of them, that is why they didn't care about us.

We were just their prisoners of war, so we need to stand up as prisoners of war and stand up for our rights, and the only credible thing and honourable thing for us to do is to take our arms publicly, and reconcile with the ANC and say this is what the people said we must do and we don't want to do it, here are the arms, we surrender our arms, we have nothing, we have no political motive.

That will be the only honourable thing for us to do. About seventy percent of the guys agreed with me, because they could see sense, but one went to De Kock and that is when I was threatened, that is when I went to my Attorneys and that is when they wrote to the Commissioner of the Police about the threats to kill me.

I was always a lone voice in the wilderness. Yes, I've got the arms, yes, I've got those things, but I am concerned because I am not the only one who has these things. I know my arms will never be used to kill people, I know. I have refused that and I will always refuse to be manipulated by other people for their selfish political gains, but the same cannot be said of other askaris.

They are there and they don't work, they are without work and we were told on numerous occasions that it is the ANC who

don't want us to work. It is the ANC who took our jobs. And the poor guys who cannot reason, they believe that. They believe that the ANC took their jobs, they believe that the ANC has a grudge against them, and they believe that the ANC ultimately wants to get at them.

MR MAGADLA: Has it ever been mentioned publicly that you actually have an arms cache yourself now, grenades and those things?

MR MAMASELA: I have said it, myself, I have said it on numerous occasions to journalists. The Attorney General, I told him I've got this stuff, here it is. Matthew Phosa knows about this, Thabo Mbeki.

MR MAGADLA: Have you surrendered it?

MR MAMASELA: No, I still have them. Thabo Mbeki has it. But I wanted the platform, I wanted to modality where I can use it so that it mustn't be a private thing. If it is a private thing, it serves no purpose. I want to use it in such a way that even other askaris, I will make a compassionate plea to them and say this thing is the past, it will never work, let us join forces, bring all those arsenals that are illegal, let's hand over our things.

There is no ANC "gogga" that is going to eat us, the ANC more than any other people, they understand that in every war there are casualties, we are the casualties of the revolution. We

stood up, we tried to pay our humble contribution to the liberation of the emancipation of our people.

We fell in the process, it is not a shame. We have to, it will be a shame for us if we are going to destabilise this fledging democracy of ours, we need to consolidate it in stead of destabilising it.

MR MAGADLA: I believe Kilinia has been charged?

MR MAMASELA: Kilinia won't be charged, in my opinion, he will never be charged. I know that.

MR MAGADLA: He was in court last week.

MR MAMASELA: charged for?

MR MAGADLA: The, something like the train massacres or something, I am not sure, but somebody saw him in a court being remanded to prison. But where is Kilinia now according to yourself?

MR MAMASELA: According to myself, Kilinia was in Shashai, he is running a flourishing supermarket in Maputo. I don't know...

MR MAGADLA: You don't know him to have been charged or to be under arrest?

MR MAMASELA: No, no.

MR MAGADLA: Okay. What would you suggest would help us find some of the people who were at this Uncle Charley's farm, those Angolans who operated on the trains?

MR MAMASELA: What I will suggest is first and foremost you get Jimmy. You know, I will tell you something about Jimmy, Jimmy is a good person to can make use of constructively and negatively. It depends on how you want to use him.

Jimmy is one person, he does anything that people tell him to do. One advantage about him, he is at every point where things are happening, he has that ability to be everywhere at any time. Jimmy at the moment I know, he is in Letlhabile.

MR MAGADLA: The only problem we have with Jimmy now is that we wanted to have him here with us last week, but he has been dodging us, he has been getting drunk and he has been doing all sorts of things, trying to avoid seeing us, trying to avoid getting here.

MR MAMASELA: No, I know Jimmy, Jimmy is a typical (indistinct) and you handle him like a gentleman, that is your fault. Jimmy is a typical (indistinct). You don't handle Jimmy like a human being, you know, you handle him with force. And once you have a firm guy on him, I am telling you Jimmy will produce the best.

MR MAGADLA: We want him to help us you see, but we can't handle him with force and things.

MR MAMASELA: But Jimmy is, another thing he is a liar. He will lie, you know you have to sift through a mountain of lies before you can reach to the bottom of the truth about him, but

that is why I say, he has that advantage of being everywhere any time, because of his tongue. He lies a lot, he lies his way in and out of any situation.

But in my opinion, just that I worked with him very long, I know how to handle him. In my opinion I could use him constructively. Even not, he mustn't know exactly what are your intentions, just ask him where can I get him, can I get him, how can I get that man, he will tell you. And then you go and get that man without him, just use him as a sniffer dog, a guide dog.

Otherwise if you handle him, he will never do it. Another person that I can, other than Jimmy, that I feel he has the influence in Letlhabile who can get to these people, especially the Angolans, they are a completely knit family, De Kock told them never to mix with other askaris, so they don't have askari friends too much, but I know their house where they stayed and things like that.

I can get their addresses and last time I even had their phone numbers, I gave it to Dirk Coetzee and the address, I don't know what he did with that, but I still can go and get those things and pass them over to you.

MR MAGADLA: Yes, you can, you meet with John all the time, you can pass that over to him.

MR MAMASELA: Johan, yes.

MR MAGADLA: Thank you from my side.

MR MAMASELA: Thank you.

MR CHASKALSON: Thank you. Jerome Anderson, is there anything that you want him to deal with at this stage?

MS ANDERSON: It shouldn't take too long. Mr Mamasela, I just wanted to ask you it was alleged that Dirk Coetzee was ordered to kill two PAC members, that was near the end of 1981.

That was not Vusi and Dhlamini, but two members who were detained under Article 6 of the Security legislation, but there wasn't enough to prosecute them. Do you have any knowledge of that event or perhaps the names of those people?

MR MAMASELA: No, unfortunately I don't have that knowledge.

MS ANDERSON: Okay, do you perhaps have any knowledge of an incident in September 1990 in Sebokeng at one of the hostels.

There was some violence allegedly or supposedly between Inkatha and the ANC. Does that ...

MR MAMASELA: No, the only incident that I know of of Sebokeng hostel, is when you know there was the hostel next to the ANC transitional camp, you pass that hostel before you go to the ANC transitional camp where there was Du Preez settled there.

I was sent from Pretoria to infiltrate the SDU's of that hostel and then I stayed with those guys for almost six weeks and they showed me their AK47's, how their AK47's operate and

ironically one of the, no three ANC people, well trained people of the African National Congress, they were informers of the Police, and they were staying in that camp with Chikalanga and the police got the (indistinct), because I was the only one at Kompol who knew Chikalanga, who worked with Chikalanga at Vlakplaas, so I went in there and one of the sources, Moskweto, M.K. Moskweto he was the one who was reporting about Chikalanga and then the police set him up against Chikalanga. They said okay here is money, make him drunk and beat the hell out of him.

He did that and he was the one who was telling us Chikalanga is carrying a 9 mm pistol with him in his bag and stuff like that, but the police were not that much interested in Chikalanga. They were just interested, much interested in attacking the camp because the people, the overall Commander, I don't know, they introduced me to him, he looked like a coloured like guy, they introduced me to him and they told me the types of guns they were carrying. They were carrying about three big guns to guard the whole entrance and they showed me the whole in the fence which can be used by the Security Forces.

I don't know for one way or for whatever reason ...

MS ANDERSON: Not an incident in the early hours of the morning during which the SADF were called in?

MR MAMASELA: No, no, I don't know about that, but I know, what I know is this ones, the ones I infiltrated, we hired a taxi for

them to go in the taxi with the AK47's and they were driven into an ambush and they were arrested.

I know of that one only.

MS ANDERSON: So you set up that ambush?

MR MAMASELA: The Police ambush yes, but they were never shot, they were arrested.

MS ANDERSON: Then, back to the Western Cape, do you perhaps have names of the members of the "Terroriste Opspringseenheid"?

MR MAMASELA: In the Western Cape?

MS ANDERSON: Yes.

MR MAMASELA: Here?

MS ANDERSON: Yes, that perhaps you might have come across during the Guguletu 7 operation or during the time that you were stationed here?

MR MAMASELA: It is difficult. I can't recall them, no I can't.

But we were working mainly with the Station Commander and some few people, you know if you come to a police station, we don't come there on our own, they are the ones who send for us for help for a specific help and then a Unit which specialises in that line will be brought in.

When we are here, then they will give us photo's and they will brief us and tell us what to do but from there on, we are on

our own. We are no longer answering to them, we are answerable to our Commander who are in turn answerable to that particular...

MR CHASKALSON: Did we ask you maybe at some stage when you were at home, just to think about a list of people that you came into contact with, sort of Station Commanders, where you were sent on different Vlakplaas operations, you would have linked up with, the different times and in the different areas?

Mr Mamasela, have you had any contact at any stage with Joffel van der Westhuizen?

MR MAMASELA: Wait a minute. The name sounds familiar, but I don't know whether it is the same guy that I know, Van der Westhuizen.

From which police station?

MS ANDERSON: He is quite high up, it would be a General I think.

MR MAMASELA: Van der Westhuizen, listen, the only Van der Westhuizen that I - I cannot point him now, but the only Van der Westhuizen I know of is the one who was in the military intelligence, if that is the one. He looked, at the time he was a little bit medium built and he looked very youth like in his face.

Yes, I should think it was during May 1985, during the Pebco, during the Pebco 3 when they were taken away. He is the man who came in and who talked with Roelf Venter and who said,

who told Roelf Venter about the big mission that we must carry on a month later.

Yes, he looked very dignified, he looked very dignified. He was very, very clean.

MS ANDERSON: That was the Cradock 4? That big mission a month later was the Cradock 4?

MR MAMASELA: Yes, and then when that happened, I knew because they said stay, and I insisted to go.

MS ANDERSON: Okay, thank you very much.

MR MAMASELA: No, thank you, it is my pleasure.

MR MAGADLA: Just finally, we are also trying to find out about farms which were used for interrogations where people died sometimes, and also farms which were used for burying some of the people whom those who dealt with them or who had killed them, would not have wanted them to be found and we know some people were blown up, some were disposed of in some other ways, but some were buried on certain farms.

Now, it is farms where people used to be interrogated, tortured and those things and also farms where they used to be buried. If perhaps you could have some idea, it would help us.

MR MAMASELA: Oh, there are many farms. No, the whole of South Africa, you know, when the political scenario changed, the Security Police changed their patterns and their way of

operations. Instead of using police stations, they made extensive use of farms.

MR MAGADLA: We really would like to get to know those farms.

MR MAMASELA: I will give you the farms, there are plenty. Even near Johannesburg, near Randburg and Roodepoort, in Pietersburg, in Pretoria, in Soweto, they made extensive use of farms. I will definitely get them, and even today some of the farms are still operating.

Even in Garankuwa, when you go to what is this place, if you go to Garankuwa, there is in the big bus stop, depot, there was a farm on the left hand side, it was extensively used by Kompol.

MR MAGADLA: Okay.

MR CHASKALSON: Mr Mamasela, thank you very much for your assistance that you have provided over the last two days.

I think that the arrangement that we would like to have from here is that obviously we would go through the material that you have provided to us and the information, look at that, see if there are any issues that we need to clarify, any further detail that we might need and questions of clarification that we might need.

Things that we have not dealt with in the course of the last two days. We would probably then make arrangements via Mr Magadla to have further discussions with you, either with one of

the Investigators that you have had contact with in the past, to raise those issues and perhaps at some point, have a further session like today where we could deal with matters in more detail, if that becomes necessary.

But thank you very much for your contribution and your assistance, we certainly appreciate it and obviously we can't hope to resolve all of the matters in one sitting, if you like, and you will appreciate that I am sure, but thank you. Thank you very much. I hope that your stay here has been comfortable as well.

MR MAMASELA: No, on my side I will just like to say I thank each and every one of you, particularly the Commissioners themselves for the support that I got.

Indeed, it was a surprise for me because I had my own political perceptions about the TRC and the things that I used to see on national television, how some of the Commissioners were conducting themselves, I thought an abominable person of my stature, will stand no chance if he comes to the TRC, but I was greatly, greatly honoured.

I will like to express my deepest feelings about the conditions, the atmosphere, the cordial, humble atmosphere that I got for the first time in my life, I am 43 years old, for the first time in my life in the country of my birth, I have been treated in a humanly possible way and I don't think this should end up here. I think I will have at every given opportunity, on national

television, national media, on community bases with my fellow askaris, I need to express the change of perception that I have at the moment.

I see that the Truth Commission is not what I perceived it to be, and it is definitely not what my fellow askaris perceived it to be, so it will be my profound and progressive duty to go back to them and say guys, those people are not "goggas" like we thought, like we were made to believe, those people are human beings, those are the people that understand the problems of this country. There is a genuine concerted effort on their side, to really try to bring the political chapter to a close.

They do appreciate and understand our plight. For that I will like to pass my vote of thanks to Mr Ntsebeza, Mr Potgieter, yourself, Mr Magadia, the Honourable distinguished members of the TRC here. I am personally greatly grateful for what you have done for me.

To this is, it is a heath and hope, you gave, you fulfilled my heath and my hope and I feel that I will use the TRC as my heath, you know, whenever I feel not comfortable, I will come to the TRC, I will arrange to meet with you, I will really give my best to you.

Whatever you want, whatever you need, I never told any member of the TRC about the arms that I've got, but because of the cordial and amicable atmosphere that you have created, you

have made it possible for me, because like all other people, I said no, let me put my arsenal a little bit, if the people want to come to me, I must be able to fight for myself, but really you disarmed me with your humbleness and with your simplicity. I feel greatly humbled and honoured by you people, thank you very much.

MR CHASKALSON: Mr Mamasela, thank you very much.
