

AAM ARCHIVES COMMITTEE

**SUBMISSION
TO
THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
ON
SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL AND COVERT
ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM**

**PRESENTED
BY
LORD HUGHES**

TRC SEMINAR, CAPE TOWN, 10TH NOVEMBER 1997

AAM ARCHIVES COMMITTEE

c/o 14 Michelle Court, Torrington Park, North Finchley, London N12 9TD

Tel & Fax: 0181 4461840 (International [44] [181] 4461840)

Chair: Lord Hughes; Secretary: Michael Terry; Hon. Treasurer: Richard Caborn MP.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction page 1
2. Background page 2
3. The 1970s - Growing Evidence of Covert and Illegal Activities page 3
 - a) Theft from Friends House
 - b) South African 'spy ring'
 - c) Break-ins at the AAM Headquarters
 - d) Gathering Evidence for Trials in South Africa
 - i) the trial of the Dean of Johannesburg
 - ii) the trial of Alex Moumbaris
 - iii) the trial of Dr Renfrew Christie
 - e) Repression within South Africa facilitated by covert activities
 - i) the death in detention of Imam Haron
 - ii) the death in detention of Ahmed Timol
 - iii) the Schlebusch Commission
 - f) Targets for Surveillance
 - i) the assassination of Ruth First
 - ii) Albie Sachs
 - g) Bugging of phones in London
 - i) Die Vaderland foreign editor bugged
 - ii) ANC Chief Representative alleges phone bugging
 - h) The Involvement of South Africa House
4. The 1970s - A Decade of Disinformation page 8
 - a) Disruption of AAM admitted by former Head of Department of Information
 - b) Attempts to take control of British media
 - c) Fake Anti-Apartheid Movement Petitions
5. Fronts and Networks during the 1970s page 10
 - a) Club of Ten
 - b) Christian League of Southern Africa
 - c) South African Freedom Foundation and the Foreign Affairs Association
6. The 1980s - An Escalating Pattern of Covert and Illegal Activity page 11
 - a) The Bombing of the ANC Mission
 - b) Burglaries at the ANC, SWAPO and PAC Missions in London
 - i) Edward Aspinall
 - ii) Peter Caselton
 - iii) Bertil Wedin

6.	The 1980s - An Escalating Pattern of Covert and Illegal Activity (continued)	page 17
	c) An International Dimension	
	d) Break-in at AAM Headquarters in London	
	e) Arson Attack at AAM Headquarters in London	
	f) Deaths of London activists planned	
	g) Infiltration of war resisters organisations	
	h) New Front Organisations - Victims Against Terrorism	
	i) Kidnapping Plot	
7.	Breaking the Arms Embargo	page 20
	i) Redman Heenan International	
	ii) Hammond, Cherrett and Aspin	
	iii) Arm Scor Officials charged & the Birmingham conspiracy trial	
8.	Representations to the British Government	page 21
9.	Conclusions	page 22
	Bibliography	page 22
	i) AAM Memoranda	
	ii) Books	
	iii) Newspapers	
	References	page 23
	Addendum	page 26
	Appendices	

I. Introduction

This Submission has been drawn up by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) Archives Committee. This Committee was established when the AAM was formally dissolved in 1995 in order to oversee the archives of the AAM. The purposes of the Committee also include 'advancing public education and research into the history of opposition to apartheid and, in particular, the history of the Anti-Apartheid Movement'. It is in furtherance of this objective that this Submission has been prepared.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement, amongst its many activities, sought to monitor the illegal and covert activities undertaken internationally and in Britain, in particular, by the apartheid authorities in South Africa and those associated with its intelligence and related agencies. It also pressed for effective action by successive British governments to prevent such activities from taking place or being organised in Britain.

As this Submission will show, there is prima facie evidence that the human rights of many South African exiles resident in the United Kingdom as well as those of non-South Africans who were campaigning for the end of the apartheid system were violated by illegal and covert activities organised by or on behalf of the apartheid regime.

The Submission draws on material held in the AAM's archives at the Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford to whom we are grateful for their co-operation in compiling this submission. The material consists of reports prepared by the AAM, transcripts of trials, press articles and reports and other documentation. Some of the press articles are based on 'confessions' given by former South African agents, the veracity of which we are not in a position to confirm. Where appropriate, we have sought to corroborate this material with evidence obtained through interviews with former members and employees of the AAM and other recorded sources such as newspaper archives, television documentaries, etc. The funds and resources of the AAM Archives Committee are extremely limited and therefore in all probability this submission only provides a snapshot of the "dirty tricks" carried out in the UK and internationally.

It is hoped, however, that the information contained in this submission can play a part in assisting the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in its objective of 'establishing as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights which were committed during the period from 1 March 1960' beyond the borders of South Africa.

2. Background

Extensive relations have existed between South Africa and Britain in numerous fields for decades if not centuries. As a consequence, London was a natural place for many South Africans seeking exile to choose as a home. It also became an important centre for international opposition to the apartheid system. During this period London, was also a significant diplomatic centre for Southern Africa, especially since the Commonwealth Secretariat was based there.

Thus many of the Southern African liberation movements established Missions in the United Kingdom and London was where the first Anti-Apartheid Movement was established.

From the early 1960's, the activities of the South African intelligence agencies were focused apparently on both the South African exile community in London as well as the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other campaigning organisations. It would appear that initially such activities were mainly for the purposes of surveillance. However, as resistance to apartheid intensified within South Africa and the international campaign gathered momentum there is evidence that the apartheid authorities became more desperate and increasingly engaged in illegal and covert activities such as the bombing of the ANC office, burglaries and arson attacks.

There is also evidence that London was used as a base for co-ordinating illegal and covert activities elsewhere in Europe. This role was facilitated by the fact that senior South African intelligence officers as well as operatives were free to enter and leave the United Kingdom at will since it was one of only 6 countries outside of the African continent which permitted free entry without visas to South African nationalsⁱ. The other five were Liechtenstein, Ireland, Greece, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany. When other countries introduced visa restrictions, the UK government was adamant in refusing to take such a step.

By May 1983, in evidence presented to the then British Home Secretary Leon Brittan, the Anti-Apartheid Movement was able to categorise the activities as follows:

- a. the use of physical violence against anti-apartheid organisations;
- b. the surveillance of and gathering information about opponents of apartheid, in Europe, with the objective of planning assassinations;
- c. the systematic burglary and harassment of anti-apartheid organisations and individuals;
- d. the use of Britain as a base for planning operations against the Governments of independent African states and Southern African liberation movementsⁱⁱ.

3. The 1970s - Growing Evidence of Covert and Illegal Activities

From the early 1960s there were concerns within the South African exile community in London that their activities were being monitored by South African intelligence. By the 1970s these activities had become more overt and there were consistent reports in the British press of covert and illegal activities which were assumed to be undertaken by or on behalf of the South African intelligence. This period coincided with the establishment of BOSS, the Bureau for State Securityⁱⁱⁱ.

The following are a number of cases which were reported in the British press, including specific examples where there was prima facie evidence of South African state involvement:

a) Theft from Friends House

In December 1971 documents concerning church-sponsored exchange visits between South Africans and Britons were stolen from the London headquarters of

the Quakers. The Quakers believed that the theft was by BOSS. Three filing cabinets were opened, and index cards holding the names of subscribers to the Peace and International Relations Committee were stolen. Lists of local Quaker organisers were also taken. Other information taken included information about South African visiting under the auspices of the Christian Fellowship Trust. No other goods or material were taken.^{iv}

b) South African 'Spy Ring'

Details emerged in 1971 that a large 'spy ring' had been operating in Britain since 1965. Various newspapers named John Fairer-Smith as the organiser of the ring, which consisted of a four tiers. According to convicted South African spy, Norman Henry Blackburn^v from October 1996 onwards the leader of the spy ring was a man known as "Van Tonda" who was "from South Africa House" (the South African Embassy in London).

According to another press report^{vi}, an investigation by British MP's found that BOSS agents had:

"waged campaigns of intimidation and harassment against South Africans living in Britain and British opponents of apartheid

**repeatedly attempted to plant informers inside anti-apartheid groups*

**used bribes and coercion in attempts to force South Africans in this country to inform on people regarded as enemies of the Vorster regime."*

It was also reported^{vii} that Fairer-Smith's offices "contained the paraphernalia of espionage: short-wave radios, pocket transmitters, tape-recorders, cameras of various types and a filing cabinet with individual dossiers on about 250 people involved in liberation movements in Southern Africa".

One example of the spy ring's operations was the surveillance of the Student Christian Movement, which amongst its many activities was campaigning against apartheid. Pat Shanks, the then Assistant General Secretary, was convinced that she was being watched, and revealed that she was contacted by Michael Kennedy, who was a "secret service agent who has given evidence in the trial of the Dean of Johannesburg" She also stated that sophisticated bugging devices were used to record conversations in the SCM offices. South African agents were also spotted sitting in cars outside the offices and her flat. When Pat Shanks sought to make a visit to South Africa, she was refused admission to the country.

Further details of the operations taking place at this period were given by Norman Blackburn who had been sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in 1967 for stealing British Cabinet papers on sanctions against the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia for the South African regime. His accomplice, a Cabinet office typist, was jailed for six months. Blackburn claimed that "I knew of 70 who were being paid; I had 25 contacts myself"^{viii}. He also stated that at one time 315 different concerns in Britain holding "anti-South African and anti-Rhodesian views" were being watched at this time.

c) Break-ins at the AAM Headquarters

At least twice during this period (the 1970s), the Anti-Apartheid Movement Headquarters in Charlotte Street, London, were burgled. In one case, a stencil was taken which listed subscribers to the Movement's newspaper, together with an order file. The Executive Secretary of the Movement at that time, Ethel de Keyser, said "We have no proof that it was the South African security service who took these things. We have no secrets: all we do is documented publicly. But who else would want to take away a grubby stencil sheet and leave behind more saleable stuff, such as typewriters?"^{ix} The reported theft in August 1971 of a file containing a list of speakers and sympathisers from the Anti-Apartheid Movement's Headquarters in Charlotte Street prompted a Sunday newspaper to report that "MPs in the civil liberties group have a growing concern at the apparent impunity with which South African secret police operate in Britain. The Home Office has bulky files on 16 such agents active in London"^x.

d) Gathering Evidence for Trials in South Africa

Further evidence of South African covert activities came from a number of trials in South Africa during the 1970s.

1) The trial of the Dean of Johannesburg

In 1971 the Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend Gonville French-Beytagh, was sentenced to five years (reversed on appeal) for helping dependants with rent, food, school fees and spectacles. It was alleged that the funds came from International Defence and Aid Fund.

During his trial it emerged that he had been kept under surveillance during a visit to Europe. When arrested, the Dean had been shown photographs of himself in Ireland in 1968, and told that this was evidence of him conspiring to receive money from IDAF. It was reported that these photographs were taken by South African agents using long range cameras^{xi}. This report, in The Observer newspaper also stated that "long-forgotten incidents during the Dean's visits to this country also produced during the trial, are illustrative both of the way the South African intelligence service operates and of its principal purpose - the careful piecing together of bits of information which can be stored away on BOSS files for use at some future date".

One of the people who testified against the Dean was Michael Kennedy, who was a BOSS agent working in London. He was part of a team that kept under surveillance and attempted to infiltrate the Students' Christian Movement, which was based in London^{xii}.

2) The trial of Alex Moumbaris

Alexandre Moumbaris and his wife were arrested on 19 July 1972, and Alexandre was held for four months without charge. His wife, Marie Jose, who was pregnant at the time, was not charged and deported to France. Moumbaris and five others were subsequently charged for having conspired to bring in arms for the ANC, and to train people in "warfare and subversion".

He was sentenced in June 1973 to 12 years imprisonment. The five others were charged along with Moumbaris received sentences from 20 years to five years^{xiii}.

Amongst the evidence presented in the trial against Moumbaris were documents stolen from his home in London while he was being held incommunicado. Posing as a friend, a South African agent obtained a key to Moumbaris' flat from his mother, who was unaware of his detention. Photographs and other documents taken from the flat were later used in evidence in the trial. [Moumbaris did not serve his full 12 years. In December 1979, along with two other political prisoners, he escaped from Pretoria Central Prison^{xiv}]

3) the trial of Dr Renfrew Christie

There is prima facie evidence that the covert activities in Britain contributed to the arrest of Dr Renfrew Christie and to his subsequent imprisonment.

Dr Christie, an Oxford research student at the time, was arrested in 1979 following his return to South Africa from his studies in economics at St Anthony's College, Oxford. His research had included aspects of South Africa's nuclear industry. Whilst he was in England he had been present as an observer at UN Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa. Also present at this Seminar was Craig Williamson representing the IUEF who was subsequently exposed as a Captain in the South African security police.

Prior to the trial the Observer reported that the evidence against Christie would be based on documents supplied to the police by Williamson. According to the report, one of the documents was a letter to Christie from Dr Frene Ginwala, now Speaker of the South African Parliament^{xv}.

e) Repression within South Africa facilitated by covert activities

In addition to evidence in trials, there were several cases in which information obtained covertly abroad was used to intensify the repression of opponents of apartheid within South Africa.

1) the death in detention of Imam Haron

One such case was in 1969. Imam Abdullah Haron died in police custody, having been interrogated for 133 days, on 27 September 1969. During that time he was severely beaten, and had a needle inserted into his spinal column^{xvi}.

He was interrogated about the alleged receipt of money from International Defence and Aid Fund which it was claimed he had distributed to his Cape Town community. The police had copies of bank statements showing that Imam Haron had received \$4,000 from abroad. He presented him with a detailed account of everything discussed at meetings. They also had detailed accounts of meetings he had held in London with Cannon Collins of IDAF.

The post mortem revealed that at the time of death the Imam had 26 bruises, a broken rib, a haematoma near the base of his spine, small and large blood clots (pulmonary embolism and thrombosis in the legs), markings from at least 18 older bruises, and an empty stomach.

The inquest into his death found the cause of death to be "Myocardial Ischaemia, a likely contributing cause being a disturbance of the blood clotting mechanism and

blood circulation due to, in part, trauma superimposed on a severe narrowing of a coronary artery".

2) the death in detention of Ahmed Timol

Ahmed Timol, a political activist, was thrown from the 10th floor of John Vorster Square police station on 27 October 1971. In his book *Inside BOSS*,^{xvii} South African agent Gordon Winter admitted that information provided by him during his undercover work as a journalist in London directly led to the murder of Ahmed Timol.

Winter states that he passed on information to his superiors in Pretoria regarding a fellow member of the National Union of Journalists in London, Quentin Jacobsen. Following the receipt of this information, Jacobsen was followed, and this led to the detention of Ahmed Timol. Five days later, Timol was dead. Quentin Jacobsen was arrested and charged under the Terrorism Act, but subsequently acquitted.

3) the Schlebusch Commission

On 10 February 1972, the Prime Minister John Vorster announced in Parliament that an enquiry was to be set up to look onto the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the University Christian Movement (UCM), the Christian Institute (CI) and the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The Schlebusch Commission was set up, and inter alia, took as evidence documents obtained illegally. In particular, the final report on NUSAS relied heavily on several letters dealing with funds for the Prison Education scheme, which were mailed in South Africa to Europe and back and on a diary which was stolen either in the Netherlands or Britain. There was also a reference (p181 of the report) to a letter from the World University Service in Geneva to the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London^{xviii}.

Although no illegal activities were found, eight people connected with NUSAS were banned. Legislation was also passed through Parliament in 1974 to prevent "affected" organisations from receiving funds from abroad. This was directed partly at the NUSAS Prison Education scheme.

f) targets for surveillance

According to an interview given to the Observer in 1979, Arthur McGiven, who served on the British desk of BOSS, a target list was drawn up of individuals to be kept under surveillance^{xix}

Names on the list included senior officials of the Anti-Apartheid Movement including its Chairman Robert Hughes MP, its Honorary Secretary, Abdul S Minty and its Executive Secretary Mike Terry. Also on the list were Albie Sachs and Ruth First who were both active in the AAM and the ANC whilst in London. Both, also, were subject to bomb attacks in Maputo by apartheid agents. It is unclear whether evidence gathered in London contributed to decisions to carry out these attacks.

i) Assassination of Ruth First

Professor Ruth First was Director of the Centre of African Studies at the University of Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo. She went into exile in 1964 following long periods of detention, harassment and banning orders, living first in Britain and then in Mozambique.

She was the author of many books on Africa. Her most famous work is *117 Days*, which details her experiences under detention in a South African jail. According to Ivan Louis Himmelhock, a BOSS operative from 1976 to 1978, Ruth First was under close surveillance during her time in exile in London there was a bulging file on Ruth First at BOSS headquarters in Pretoria^{xx}.

On 17 August 1982 she received a letter bomb at her office. She was killed, and three others in the room at the time were injured. They were the Professor Aquino de Braganca, Dr Bridget O'Laughlin, and Pallo Jordan. Professor Aquino de Braganca was subsequently killed in the plane crash on 19 October 1986 which also killed Mozambican President Samora Machel.

ii) Albie Sachs

Albie Sachs was a barrister in Cape Town during the 1960s and also went into exile in Britain before moving to Mozambique. He was also reported to be a target of South African surveillance whilst living in London.

Albie Sachs was blown up by a bomb under his car in Maputo, Mozambique, on 7 April 1988, which left him with terrible injuries, including the loss of his right arm, a broken left foot, nerve problems in his right leg, loss of his right eye, and damage to his hearing. He also had serious internal injuries.

Although a member of the ANC, Albie Sachs was in Mozambique working with the Ministry of Justice's research department.

g) bugging of phones in London

There were also a number of cases of phones being bugged in London. The only explanation for such bugging would be the activities of the South African intelligence services. Examples include:

i) Die Vaderland foreign editor bugged

The Foreign Editor of *Die Vaderland*, Andre du Toit, complained whilst based in London in 1973 to the British Post Office that his telephone had been tapped. According to the report, he was told by telephone engineers that his phone was tapped "by your embassy". Following his complaint to Scotland Yard about the bugging, he was recalled to South Africa.

A South African journalist source was also quoted as saying that many South African journalist then working in Britain had believed it was "very possible" that their phones were being tapped by South African intelligence agents.^{xxi}

Mr du Toit states that "I wrote about the Anti-Apartheid Movement because I thought the people in the Republic should be kept informed. I also spoke to senior officials, for the same reason".

The article states that "journalists in London during that period said they were constantly approached by South African agents to inform on left wingers, such as anti-apartheid activist Mr Peter Hain. One South African journalist told the Sunday Times he had been offered an unending free supply of 10-year-old KWV brandy and subsequent payments for any information he could provide on Mr Hain and his activities".

ii) ANC Chief Representative alleges phone bugging

In 1971 the ANC Chief Representative, Reg September, publicly complained about phone bugging. Interviewed by a Sunday newspaper he stated that "frequently, one gets odd voices coming on the phone and you get tapes running. We have had instances of friends being approached and bribes offered to get them to inform or to keep an eye on our organisation. Recently, when pamphlets originating in this country were distributed on the streets in South Africa, the result was visits to the British printers by people with a South African accent, asking about the authors and the financial backers".^{xxii}

h) The Involvement of South Africa House

As early as 1971, The Observer newspaper reported that "among the 34 member of South Africa House who appear on the diplomatic list, about 10 are trained intelligence agents combining general embassy work with intelligence activities. In addition there are about a dozen full time agents in Britain attached to South African commercial organisations, or living here as businessmen or writers. These are the "professionals" ... In addition the security service recruits its own network of part-time agents among loyal Afrikaners living here and among Britons sympathetic to the Vorster government, as well as by hiring professional detective agencies"^{xxiii}

Further evidence of involvement of South Africa House was published in the New Statesman, in which a former South African agent, Ivan Himmelhoch, gave details of surveillance work he undertook under the direction of the First Secretary at South Africa House, who was named as B M van der Klashorst.^{xxiv}

Further evidence to link South Africa with illegal and covert activities is reported elsewhere in this report.

4. The 1970s - A Decade of Disinformation

Another feature of the South African 'dirty tricks' was to spread disinformation on the nature of apartheid as well as the work of organisations opposing apartheid both in South Africa and internationally. These activities have been extensively documented. Examples include:

a) Disruption of AAM admitted by former Head of Department of Information

The Secretary of the Department of Information, Dr Eschel Rhodie, admitted during an interview with the BBC that the regime played a role in spreading disinformation in Britain.

On 21 March 1979, Dr Rhodie stated that "we were anxious to find out what the anti-South African organisations were doing. That was very important to us, to counteract what they were doing"^{xxv}.

He also admitted to spreading disinformation: "if a certain organisation, for example, was out to arrange an anti-South Africa rally or was trying to get companies to disinvest and withdraw investments in South Africa, then obviously we would put people in that field to argue against them and we would perhaps send out notices and documents cancelling the meeting, so that the other party would not know what was going on".

Asked whether this was done against the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Dr Rhodie said "I don't have any particular love for the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and on a number of occasions we did that".

b) Attempts to take control of British media

In "The British Desk"^{xxvi} Dr Rhodie also admitted attempting to gain control of sections of the British media. He stated that frontmen were used to buy 29% of shares in the publishing company Morgan Grampian in 1976, hoping to eventually acquire complete control.

Dr Rhodie stated that "we had in mind buying both the Guardian and the Observer", both of whom carried many stories critical of the apartheid regime. Dr Rhodie also states that the regime bought a 30% stake in the international news company UPI-ITN. He states that this enabled him to plant an interview with Prime Minister Vorster broadcast on ITV. He said that "I wrote all the questions for the journalist and I wrote answers for the Prime Minister. We used the interview to destroy the image of the Nazi-supporter that the Prime Minister had been carrying all along and we were able to show that he did not hate blacks".

c) Fake Anti-Apartheid Movement Petitions

In 1977 the Anti-Apartheid Movement organised a petition campaign on the theme "Remember Soweto" with the aim of putting pressure on the British Government to press for a mandatory UN embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa.

However, the Anti-Apartheid Movement's Headquarters received complaints about the language used in the petition. Further investigation soon found that a fake petition was being sent out in an attempt to sow confusion. [See Appendix]

The fake petition was an almost exact replica of the original, except that there had been subtle changes to the text and phrases such as "I reject western imperialist oppression of the people of Southern Africa", and "British fascist military equipment" had been added.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement was able to ascertain that the despatch of the fake petitions was being co-ordinated from the South African Embassy in London. Recipients of the fake petitions noticed that the typeface and format on the envelopes containing the fake petitions were identical to those used on other envelopes sent from the Information Section at the South African Embassy^{xxvii}.

The matter was handed over to the British Director of Public Prosecutions, who decided not to prosecute, we were advised, on the grounds that there was only an attempt to deceive, not to defraud.

5. Fronts and Networks during the 1970s

In 1978 it was revealed that the Department of Information and BOSS had set up a series of front organisations and networks. Altogether it was estimated that over 130 secret projects were set up^{xxviii}. Many were apparently designed to present "a more favourable" image of apartheid South Africa but others were clearly linked to South Africa's covert and illegal activities.

a) Club of Ten

The Club of Ten was a front organisation funded by the South African regime to spread misinformation against those involved in the fight against apartheid. The organisation placed large advertisements in newspapers world-wide.

Their first advert was placed on 28 July 1973, titled "Does Britain have a conscience?"

According to Gordon Winter, payments were made by the Chief Information Officer at the South African Embassy in London, Vlok Delport. Winter claims that the total amount given to the Club of Ten exceeded £500,000^{xxix}.

The Club of Ten was exposed in 1978, along with several other front organisations operating in Britain.

b) Christian League of Southern Africa

This was another front organisation, set up in 1974^{xxx} to counter the growing calls from Christians throughout the world for action against apartheid. In particular, they aimed their attacks against the World Council of Churches.

Their headquarters were in Pretoria, reportedly purchased with government funds, with a full time staff of 12^{xxxi}. CLSA also had offices in London.

It stated that its aims and objectives were to specifically concentrate on "putting out corrective information about conditions in Southern Africa, which have been grossly mis-reported in the British press. This false reporting of course builds up a negative attitude towards South Africa and Rhodesia, in Britain, and establishes the emotional climate wherein, for instance, the British Government can condone murderers such as Mugabe and Nkomo"^{xxxii}.

The methods and activities of the organisation included:

- *widespread literature (leaflet) distribution*
- *contacting and working on the media*
- *petitioning and lobbying Parliament, the Foreign Office etc.*
- *organising various forms of public demonstrations such as marches, vigils, etc.*
- * *building contacts with, and working through, other organisations such as the "Young Conservatives" etc.*
- * *building up contacts with individuals such as MP's and sympathetic journalists*

- *having available a library and book-list of good, relevant, books*

Among the meetings that the officer to the London Office, Mr G Blainey, attended in 1978 were a Royal Africa Society meeting on Christian Responsibility in Southern Africa, and another held by the Royal Africa Society addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu.

In April 1978 it was revealed that the South African government through its Department of Information, had given over £200,000 per year to CLSA to carry out their attacks against the World Council of Churches^{xxxiii}.

According to Gordon Winter, CLSA had an even more sinister role. He states that CLSA was funded through the South African Defence Budget, and that it was "not only used as a propaganda outlet but also as a front organisation by South African Military Intelligence, which uses it as a vehicle for agents needing temporary cover overseas"^{xxxiv}.

CLSA closely collaborated with Father Arthur Lewis, who was the founder of the Rhodesia Christian Group in 1972. Winter states that this group was funded by Rhodesian intelligence, "in league with South African Military Intelligence".

c) South African Freedom Foundation and the Foreign Affairs Association

These two front organisations were also shown to be South African government funded bodies. The Foreign Affairs Association was disbanded in November 1978 in the face of imminent disclosures by the press^{xxxv}. Founded in 1975 and ostensibly financed by five leading Afrikaans businessmen, its declared purpose was to promote "dialogue both on internal and external levels".

Four of the five named sponsors of the Club of Ten were also at one time on the board of Trustees of the Foreign Affairs Association.

The South African Freedom Foundation also announced in November 1978 that it had received about £90,000 a year in secret funds from the Department of Information.

The SAFF invited prominent people to South Africa, including the British and NATO General, Sir Walter Walker, Rear-Admiral Morgan Giles and a US Governor, Meldrim Thomson of New Hampshire^{xxxvi}.

5. The 1980s - An Escalating Pattern of Covert and Illegal Activity

During the 1980s the character of South African illegal and covert activities appeared to change significantly both in Britain and across Europe. This appears to have been in response to the mounting internal opposition to apartheid; the growing success of the ANC's struggle both within South Africa and internationally; and the escalation of the international campaign against apartheid. Activities including bombings, arson attacks, and a systematic programme of burglaries.

Of activities undertaken in Britain, the most significant was the bombing of the ANC Mission in London. But a much fuller picture of the extent of South African covert operations emerged from the trials arising from the break ins at the ANC, SWAPO

and PAC Missions in London. These and other major developments during the 1980s are described below.

a) the bombing of ANC mission in London

On Sunday 14 March 1982, a 10lb bomb exploded at the rear of the ANC offices in Penton Street, London. The bomb went off at 9am, and injured an ANC research official, Vernet Mbatha, who was present in the building. The back of the building was destroyed, and windows over 100 yards away were broken, including the windows of a local school. According to Detective Inspector Cole, of the Anti-Terrorism Squad, "whoever did this had little thought for human life"^{xxxvii}.

The bombing took place immediately following a United Nations sponsored international conference on the theme "Southern Africa - the Time to Choose" at the Wembley Conference Centre. It was also on the morning of a major Anti-Apartheid Movement March and Rally in Trafalgar Square at which it had been widely publicised that the ANC President Oliver R Tambo would be speaking. In fact, President Tambo had been required to attend a Front-line states meeting in Maputo that weekend and Alfred Nzo, the ANC Secretary-General was representing the ANC.

In 1995 Craig Williamson was reported to have admitted responsibility for the bombing and named the following as having also taken part: Piet Goosen, Jerry Raven, Eugene de Kock, Jimmy Taylor, John Adam, Vic McPherson, and Peter Caselton. All, except for Caselton, were said by Williamson to have been decorated on 13 September 1982^{xxxviii} for their part in the operation. Ironically this was the very day that Peter Caselton was arrested in London in connection with burglaries of the ANC, SWAPO and PAC missions in London. According to evidence presented in a subsequent trial^{xxxix} Peter Caselton flew to Cyprus on 14th March 1982, the day of the bombing of the ANC mission with Bertil Wedin (see below)^{xl}.

Williamson claimed that the bomb was smuggled into Britain through the South African diplomatic bag. He also stated that there was more than one team - "there was reconnaissance, surveillance and an escape team. Jerry Raven and one of the others actually positioned the bomb"^{xli}.

Williamson was also reported to have said that "the bomb went off early in the morning, it was meant to be the quietest time" when, in fact, the bomb went off at 9am^{xlii}.

He was also reported to have stated that the bomb was aimed as much at the British government as at the ANC - "it was a message to the British government that they were supporting the ANC too much and in time of war there is a spill-over effect"^{xliii}.

There may, however, have been another reason for the timing of the bombing. It had been extensively publicised that President Tambo would be in London for the Rally on that day and he was known, whilst in London, to hold early morning meetings at the ANC Mission in Penton Street. The possibility exists, therefore, that the bombing had been planned as an assassination attempt on President Tambo. This would serve as an explanation as to why the South African authorities would take the risk of carrying out such an operation in the United Kingdom.

b) burglaries at the ANC, SWAPO & PAC Missions in London

Following the bombing of the ANC Mission in March 1982, there were a series of burglaries at the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and the South West Africa People's Organisation Missions in July and August 1982. In September, three men were arrested and were charged with conspiring to carry out these burglaries by the Metropolitan Police. Two of them, Edward Nicholas Aspinall and Peter John Caselton, pleaded guilty to the charges and were brought to trial on 17 December 1982. A third, Bertil Olov Wedin, a Swedish national, pleaded not guilty and was tried separately in April 1983.

At the time of their arrest there was speculation that some or all of these men were also connected to the bombing of the ANC Mission. When Caselton first appeared in Court, also present were senior Officers from the Metropolitan Police's Anti-Terrorism Squad. However no charges were ever brought in connection with the bombing.

A fourth man, apparently involved in the conspiracy, was Warrant Officer Klue who was a non-listed member of the Military Attache Section at South Africa House^{xliv}. He was withdrawn by the South African authorities when the British police sought to question him over his involvement^{xlv}. These trials brought into the public realm the extent of South Africa's illegal activities in Britain.

i) Edward Aspinall

Edward Aspinall was a convicted burglar, who was possibly "talent spotted" in prison by John Banks according to evidence presented in his trial^{xlvi}. John Banks had previously been involved in the recruitment of CIA-funded mercenaries to fight in Angolan Government^{xlvii}.

Mr R Amlot, acting on behalf of the Crown, described Aspinall's role as follows^{xlviii}:

"He [Peter Caselton] arranged for Edward Aspinall to burgle the London offices of three African organisations in July, and August of this year [1982], and to steal material which would be of interest to the South Africans. The material was sent, or taken, to South Africa after each burglary. Aspinall was paid for the crime each time. Aspinall can only be described as a professional burglar. There is no doubt that he was in this for the money, and there was no political motive on his part. Your Lordship will hear that although he is only 24 he has many convictions and the majority of them are for burglary. He was released from his last sentence of imprisonment at the end of March of this year. He said that he was first of all contacted by Warrant Officer Klue, who was working at the time at the South African Embassy in London. In turn, Klue put him in touch with Caselton. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of that assertion by Aspinall.

The police in this case have made efforts to interview Klue through diplomatic channels but they have met with no success. Subsequently that warrant officer left the country as a result of an approach to the South African Embassy by the Foreign Office.

Caselton persuaded Aspinall to carry out the burglaries, and told him what to steal, and paid him £500 each time. He also provided Aspinall with a set of picklocks, and a tear gas canister for use should he be disturbed in the course of a burglary."

The ANC Mission in Penton Street, North London, was burgled on the night of 20/21 July 1982, and entry was through the first floor window at the back of the building, forcing a security grill^{xlix}. A number of photographs were taken from different boxes. These were, inter alia, photographs of ANC personalities and guerrilla fighters from South Africa and Zimbabwe.

The second burglary was at the PAC offices in Willesden, in early August. Entry was through a back window. Files taken included about a dozen letters from a file of correspondence.

The third burglary was the SWAPO office at the end of August. Entry was gained through the rear window on the second floor. Travel documents, financial books, two briefcases, a number of files, address books, maps, a number of United Nations passports, and £50 in cash was taken.

Aspinall was told what to take from the offices by Peter Caselton. It was Caselton who gave Aspinall plans of the insides of the offices. According to Aspinall "that strike they launched about three weeks ago in Mozambique, that was down to me, and they did not know where the bases were until I gave them the photographs, and where the bases were located."^l

It also emerged during the trial of Aspinall and Caselton that other planned operations included one in Oxford, one on a "South African draft dodger". Aspinall was also paid to follow "an Indian lady from the ANC" and provide details of her. During his interview with the police, Aspinall admitted that he had followed "the Indian lady". He said "I told him [Peter Caselton] that I had done it and where she lived, and her car registration number which is UBY 393X. She lives near Crystal palace"^{li}. In total, Aspinall was paid £6,000. He was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

ii) Peter Caselton

Peter Caselton also pleaded guilty to the charges, although he sought in interviews with the police to reduce his role.

From the investigation into the burglaries, it became clear that Caselton was a central figure in the South African regime's "dirty tricks" operations in Europe. Caselton came to Britain in 1981 and set up Africa Aviation Consultants, a company registered in the Isle of Man on 14 July 1981 [See Appendix for details of company registration]. The other Director of Africa Aviation Consultants was Arthur Clayton, which was a pseudonym for Major Craig Williamson. In the course of a year Caselton was paid over £58,000, with the first payment, £10,000, coming from a C. Williamson in South Africa. Caselton also received £350 per month for his flat near Dorking, and a rent free flat in central London^{lii}.

The trial revealed that Africa Aviation Consultants did not carry out any legitimate work in the year, in other words it was a front company. During his trial, reference is made to Caselton's ownership of a boat and his love of sailing.

In a sign of the closeness between Caselton and the South African Embassy, following his arrest he "asked straight away if he could call Joe Klue at the South African Embassy"^{liii}. Apart from the departure of Warrant Officer Klue, another diplomat at the South African embassy, D M van der Klashorst, who had previously been exposed as a BOSS agent, also left the country apparently because of revelations connected with the case^{liv}.

Whilst Aspinall received legal aid to pay for his lawyer, Caselton hired top legal firm Jeffrey B Gush and Co^{lv}. The interest taken in the case by the South African secret police was also highlighted when a South African lawyer Hendrik Goosen was sent to visit Caselton and Wedin. This came to light when Goosen left a note in a telephone box instructing him to contact a British lawyer, stating that "he will take you around and tell you everything about the case when you get there" [See Appendix]. Hendrik Goosen was a serving police officer until March 1982 and the son of the then Deputy Police Commissioner Piet Goosen.

Caselton was sentenced to four years imprisonment.

Bertil Wedin

The third man charged in the case was Bertil Olov Wedin. He was resident in the United Kingdom but a Swedish national who apparently served with UN forces in the Congo and Cyprus.

Wedin pleaded not guilty to the charges, and the alternative charge of handling stolen goods. Therefore he had a separate trial, before a jury, from 6 to 11 April 1983 when he was acquitted of all charges.

However, evidence did emerge during the trial, which was not contested, of Wedin's relations with the South African intelligence services. It was reported that Wedin was receiving £1,000 per month, plus extra payments for his rent. He also received travel expenses for trips to Cyprus and to Canada^{lvi}.

For example, three letters to Wedin from Arthur Clayton, alias Craig Williamson, were produced in Court. On 13 July 1982 Clayton wrote:

"what happened to the Hellstrom report, who did you send it to, and has there been any feedback on it; also the SWAPO pictures and article, I need to know how you used them".

The letter continued: *" can you get hold of a film of the SWAPO/Kassinga massacre" and that "you should be able to get a copy from the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Charlotte Street" and "when you get hold of it please take a recording on video, in the Sony-U-Matic format and send it through".*

The letter also requested the following: *"I need at least one original copy of the following publications from the following organisations. I suggest you draw up a roneo letter from the Institute asking to be put on the mailing lists of the organisations concerned to receive the publication, mentioning that you will pay any subscription fees required, and that you are prepared to make a donation to the organisation concerned. Here are the publication, organisations and postal addresses - AAM News, Charlotte Street including reports from their Medical Committee and South Africa the Imprisoned Society. The Resister and the*

Committee of South African War Resistance Newsletter, publications of End Loans to South Africa, Caledonian Road, publications of the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, publications of the International Defence and Aid Fund, Newgate Street, publications of SANROC, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, INQABA publications (they are a breakaway group), the South African Congress of Trade Unions publications".

Wedin was also asked by A Clayton (Williamson) to write to the ANC in Lusaka and ask to be put on their mailing lists for press releases. It also went on to say: *"please let me know every time you have meetings with or contact with the PAC, who you met or had contact with, where and when, this is very important as I must have feedback".*

It also stated that: *"it would also be valuable if you contact the Azanian Peoples Support Committee in Canada, and the Azanian Committee in Rotterdam, telling them that you are working closely with the PAC and that you would like to keep in contact and exchange information with them".*

The letter concluded that: *"I apologise if this seems to be a somewhat long 'shopping list', but I would appreciate it if you could keep me informed as to your progress in respect of any of the subjects above".^{lvii}*

On 26 July 1982, A Clayton (Williamson) wrote again to Wedin, stating that I hope that you have received my last letter. Here is another publication which you should try to get. It deals with the RSA from a Trotskyist (sic) point of view. Ikwezi: UK address, Swedish address - why not subscribe in the UK and then try to interview them for your Institutes newsletter" Also get your friend to subscribe in Stockholm. then visit them next time you are there. Discuss them with Keke - when you get a copy of Ikwezi".

On 2 September 1982 Clayton (Williamson) wrote to Wedin *"Bertil, I hope you are well and not experiencing any problems. Many thanks for your follow-up of my 'shopping list' which I sent you in July. It was greatly appreciated".*

The letter continued: *"to save you some time and trouble - it is not really necessary for you to send press clippings of internal incidences in South Africa which are reported in the International press, except where persons of interest have made statements concerning such incidents or their political implications. I do receive most of the British Newspapers, but I am still interested in anything from the Morning Star, however you do not have to go our of your way to acquire such clippings"*

The letter also stated that *"research into other anti-South African movements and trade unions will also be of use as background for your newsletter. Build up correspondence with these groups and subscribe to their publications. I want to be informed of the result of this research. Please let me know the budgets for this work. Also you should try to cultivate the contacts which you made in Toronto as they may prove valuable sources of information".*

"In respect of your PAC contacts you may now be in a position to volunteer finance, on an irregular basis, for the setting up of a newsletter for the PAC London Office (over and above your Tonbridge Newsletter. Gifts are the way to most peoples hearts and the PAC are no exception. Finance and assistance offered to produce a

newsletter could be developed in such a way that eventually it will come to be relied on. One last point, anti-apartheid and SA meetings are advertised regularly in the Morning Star and the Anti-Apartheid News, try and attend such meetings if possible, it should help you to increase your circle of contacts. Once again, something of a 'shopping list' I'm afraid, but I hope you find the suggestions constructive. Hope to hear from you soon, Arthur^{lviii}.

Wedin also admitted during the trial that he had visited the offices of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

Two pieces of evidence which were produced in court were sketches made by Wedin, one of the route to the PAC offices, and the other of the inside of the offices^{lix}. Wedin had visited the offices in the lead up to the burglary of that office. Despite being in possession of papers stolen from the PAC, Wedin was found not guilty^{lx}. This followed the judge's ruling that a statement by Wedin to the police was inadmissible. This was due to a number of factors, including the fact that Wedin was denied access to a lawyer, and that contemporaneous notes were not taken, as was required practice.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement argued during a subsequent meeting with the Home Secretary, Leon Brittan MP that the Judge had ruled as inadmissible a signed statement by Wedin due to, as the Judge explained to the Court, "a complete failure by Detective Chief Inspector Cole to follow proper procedures". The Judge also explained to the Jury that "he [Cole] told Mr Wedin from his knowledge of affairs at that stage, he was of the opinion that the whole matter, including Caselton and Aspinall, that is to say the persons concerned in the burglary, could be dealt with at the lower court in front of the Magistrates^{lxi}".

c) An International Dimension

These trials also provided evidence of the role London was playing as a centre for South Africa's illegal and covert activities.

In the interview which Aspinall gave to the police at the time of his arrest stated, Aspinall stated that "I was supposed to go to Norway on 22 September to do a military office, and a house with a lot of papers in it". This was possibly the offices of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa which were based in Oslo. The Director of the World Campaign was Abdul S Minty, who was also the Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Just prior to his arrest, Aspinall had put down a deposit of £130 for a boat trip to Gothenberg^{lxii}.

Aspinall also referred to a planned operation against a "shipping front". The shipping front probably refers to the Shipping Research Bureau (SRB) in Amsterdam, which was set up in 1980 to monitor violations of the embargo on supplying oil to South Africa^{lxiii}.

In its book, *Embargo, Apartheid's Oil Secrets Revealed*, the SRB state that they received a warning "*after the London ANC office was bombed and burgled in 1982. Suspects were caught in Britain, and documents in their possession indicated that a "shipping" organisation in Amsterdam had also been targeted*"(p373). The book goes on to state that "*An abortive attempt at bombing the office of the SRB's parent organisation, Kairos, was made in 1989; the device used would have reduced the building to a pile of rubble if it had detonated*"^{lxiv}.

d) Break-in at AAM Headquarters in London

Over the bank holiday weekend of 30 April - 2 May 1983, there was a major burglary at the new Headquarters of the Anti-Apartheid Movement at 13 Mandela Street. Employees of the AAM who had been attending a UN Conference in Paris, arrived on the morning of 3rd May to find that a fire escape window had been forced open to gain entry^{lxv}.

Although valuable items were left untouched, membership records, financial documents and campaign files were stolen. It appeared that the burglars were disturbed since a large number of boxes full of material which had been removed from filing cabinets were piled up by the fire escape window seemingly ready to be removed. Fortunately the material stolen did not seriously disrupt the campaigning work of the AAM.

This was not the first time that the AAM had been burgled, as reported above, its previous offices in Charlotte Street were burgled on at least two occasions during the 1970s.

e) Arson Attack at AAM Headquarters in London

At about 5.00 am on the 17 July 1985 the Anti-Apartheid Movement's Headquarters were the target of a well-planned arson attack. An inflammable liquid was poured through the letter box and then set alight. The entrance and two toilets were completely gutted. In all probability, the premises would have been completely destroyed by fire if it had not been for a passer-by who called the fire brigade and police. The fire was extinguished before more extensive damage could be caused.

Two men were seen speeding away from the offices in a dark blue car. According to information given by the British authorities to the AAM, forensic experts who examined the fire stated that inflammable liquid used was of a type only available to military sources and was not on sale to the public. Extensive work was required to repair the premises; the total cost of the damage was some £15,000.

This arson attack took place on the eve of the declaration of a State of Emergency in South Africa and of widespread crackdown on the emerging mass democratic movement. If successful, it would have seriously affected the AAM's capacity in Britain and internationally to mobilize an effective response to the systematic denial of human rights which resulted from this State of Emergency.

f) deaths of London activists planned

According to British press report in 1987, plans were being made to kill ANC members stationed in Britain and that a 'death list' had been drawn up^{lxvi}.

The reports claimed that on 30 July 1985 a person calling himself Victor Kelly had met with an ANC official and given details of a plot to kill the ANC members and steal ANC documents. According to Kelly, he was offered £100,000 to kill Joe Slovo. The ANC had immediately notified the police, and at a subsequent meeting between the ANC official and Kelly was taped by the police. In a possibly related incident reported in the Mozambican press, Dirk Stofberg was stopped at

Heathrow Airport and interrogated over his role in South African dirty tricks in Europe^{lxvii}. A list of 20 members of the ANC and sympathisers was found on him, including the name of Albie Sachs. This report also stated that he was head of a so-called Z-squad in Europe. The Z-squad apparently was the name given to the death squad run by the South African intelligence services.

g) Infiltration of war resisters organisations

As the conflict in Southern Africa intensified a growing number of white South Africans refusing to carry out their national service in the apartheid army. Some of these war resisters sought refuge in Europe, and groups were set up to provide support and promote resistance to the apartheid military machine. These groups offered legal advice and moral support for those who wished to avoid conscription.

Craig Williamson, whilst based at the IUEF, tried to infiltrate these groups through the offering of financial support. Whilst in Holland, an executive member of the Committee of South African War Resisters (COSAWR) was spied upon by his relative. Keith Raper was spied on by Robert Carelse, a former member of 5 Reconnaissance Commandos. Carelse admitted that in July 1988 he was paid to travel to Amsterdam and join COSAWR and other anti-apartheid organisations^{lxviii}. He lived with Raper for seven months. Carelse was paid R2000 per month by the intelligence services.

h) New Front Organisations - Victims Against Terrorism

The 1980s saw the establishment of new front organisations. One, whose activities were focused in particular on Britain, was Victims Against Terrorism.

Bertil Wedin was reportedly the "head of the international division of Victims Against Terrorism (VAT)". The Chairman of VAT was Jonathan Leontsinis, who had formerly been Chairman of what the Guardian newspaper described as "the South African security police front organisation, the Security Forces Support Committee (SFSC) set up in 1983 to counter human rights activities by the parents of those detained under South Africa's emergency legislation"^{lxix}. SFSC was another front organisations apparently set up at the initiative of Craig Williamson. VAT and SFSC both used the same post office box number.

VAT were a well funded front organisation. In May 1985 a delegation of twenty people were flown to Britain from South Africa to take part in a demonstration organised by VAT outside the offices of the ANC in Penton Street. It met with British government officials and was interviewed on BBC Radio.

Large adverts were placed in national newspapers promoting the event [see Appendix], which was widely reported in the South African press. It also advertised itself in Crossbow, the journal of the Bow Group of the Conservative Party.

i) Kidnapping Plot

In 1987 evidence emerged of a plot to kidnap members of the ANC in London. Although the case was very confusing, it is known that on 15 July 1987 Frank Larsen, John Terence Larsen and Jonathan Richard Wheatley were charged with conspiring to kidnap members. Also charged was Evan Dennis Evans. A so-called fifth-man was named in the press as Johann Neimoller. His business partner,

Gerhard Dreuer was also named by the press. Johann Neimoller and Evan Dennis Evans had both previously belonged to South Africa's special forces.

The real identity of John and Frank Larsen was apparently not known. Some reports suggest that Frank Larsen is in fact a Norwegian named Viggo Oerbak, who served in the Rhodesian army. John Larsen is said to be Hans Christian Dahl, also a Norwegian. Among the ANC members listed to be kidnapped were Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Frene Ginwala and ANC Chief Representative in London, Solly Smith. According to the London-based newspaper, the Independent^{lxxx}, notes taken during the planning of the operation listed the aims as:

- 1) to destroy the ANC organisation in Britain;
- 2) to uncover the ANC operational structure in Europe and its links with South Africa;
- 3) to break communication codes used between the ANC in the UK and South Africa;
- 4) to remove all information collected and stored for intelligence purposes

Although there was sufficient evidence for charges to be brought, the whole case was apparently very dubious and in the event charges were dropped against the four.

6. Breaking the Arms Embargo

In addition to the organisation of covert and illegal action against South African exiles and other opponents of apartheid, there is considerable evidence of illegal activity which was undertaken to smuggle arms and other military equipment to South Africa.

Examples include:

1. Redman Heenan International

In 1980 five companies, including Redman Heenan International, and five individuals were found by customs to be involved in a series of arms deals valued at over £2 million. This matter was settled by British customs compounding proceedings involving the payment of £193,000^{lxxxi}.

2. Hammond, Cherrett and Aspin

In October 1992 three British citizens, Len Hammond, Robert Cherrett and Michael Aspin, were convicted at the Old Bailey for smuggling into South Africa what was described as hydraulic equipment. The equipment was provided to an Armscor front company.

One charge related to a shipment of 1,000 rifles valued at £20,000. Other charges involved 30 shipments of machine-gun parts valued at close to £1 million. During the trial evidence was presented in Court on the involvement of the South African embassy in financing illegal arms sales to South Africa. Included in the evidence was an invoice stamped PAID by the embassy^{lxxxii}. [See Appendix]

3. Armscor officials charged - Birmingham conspiracy trial

In 1984 four South Africans, whom it was subsequently revealed were top Armscor officials, were arrested by Customs officials in London and, together with three Britons, appeared in Court in Coventry on charges relating to the acquisition of missile components, spare parts for Buccaneer bombers and other military equipment. Custom officials opposed bail but this was granted on the basis of a surety provided by the South African Embassy in London and that they had to report regularly to the police. On the eve of P. W. Botha's meeting with Margaret Thatcher in June 1984 these bail conditions were further relaxed and the four officials were allowed to return to South Africa to await trial. When the full trial began, the four South Africans failed to return to the United Kingdom. The trial, however, took place over a five week period in Birmingham in 1985. It resulted in the conviction of five men on various charges of conspiring to smuggle military goods to South Africa. The Judge in the case, Mr Justice Mars Jones, described the conspiracy to smuggle military components to South Africa as "an extensive, profitable and well organised under-cover operation"^{lxviii}.

7. Representations to the British Government

The Anti-Apartheid Movement made repeated representations to successive British governments to express its concern over what it was convinced were illegal and covert activities by or on behalf of the South African intelligence agencies.

During the 1980s it held a succession of meetings with senior British government ministers and officials. These included the following:

March 1982: The AAM President Archbishop Huddleston and Abdul Minty the AAM Honorary Secretary met with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington on the day following the bomb attack on the ANC Mission. They pressed the case for a full scale investigation. At initial meetings between the AAM and investigating officers, the impression was conveyed that the police believed that the bombing was the result of alleged feuding within the exile community in London.

The ANC, itself, was not in a position to make direct representations to British Ministers as the then policy of the Conservative government was to refuse contact with representatives of the ANC at ministerial level.

October 1982: An AAM delegation led by Robert Hughes MP met with British Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, where they presented a 6 page memorandum. Although the memorandum focused on recent developments which are reported elsewhere in this submission, it included a list of 28 cases over the previous 11 years when there had been calls for investigations and enquiries concerning alleged South African covert activities in Britain. [See Appendix.]

May 1983: An Anti-Apartheid Movement delegation met with Mr Pilling of the Police Department at the Home Office, immediately following the burglary at the AAM office, where it presented a further memorandum which, inter alia, put forward a series of specific proposals which the British Government should take to prevent South African illegal and covert activities.

1983: An Anti-Apartheid Movement delegation, led by Robert Hughes MP met with the British Home Secretary, Leon Brittan MP, to follow up previous representations. A further memorandum was prepared for this meeting.

June 1984: In addition to the representations made to British ministers and officials, the Anti-Apartheid Movement prepared a memorandum for the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee's enquiry into the abuse of diplomatic immunities and privileges.

This identified five different categories of such abuses by the South African embassy in London. These were:

- a) the payment for the illegal shipment of arms to South Africa
- b) the commissioning of a British subject to carry out a series of burglaries in the UK
- c) abuse of the diplomatic bag
- d) commissioning the production of forged documents
- e) co-ordinating the surveillance and infiltration of various anti-apartheid organisations

1988: An AAM delegation, again led by Robert Hughes MP met with the British Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, to press in particular for effective protection for ANC personnel in the UK following the assassination of the ANC's Chief Representative in Paris, Dulcie September.

8. Conclusions

This Submission, as it pointed out in the Introduction, is based primarily on the material available in the AAM's archives. It is not intended as a definitive history of the illegal and covert activity undertaken in or organised from Britain.

But it does provide a picture. It shows the extensive measures which the South African intelligence services were prepared to undertake to undermine the activities of both South African exiles and non-South Africans who sought an end to the apartheid system.

Bibliography

AAM Memoranda

Memorandum to the Home Secretary; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 October 1982.
Memorandum to the Home Secretary II; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 May 1983.
Memorandum presented to Home Secretary; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1983.
Memorandum to the Foreign Affairs Committee, Anti-Apartheid Movement, 19.6.84.
How Britain Arms Apartheid, 1984
The Enforcement of the United Nations Arms Embargo Against South Africa, A Profile of United Kingdom Controls.

Books

BOSS - The First Five Years: IDAF 1975
The Apartheid War Machine, IDAF, 1980
Armed and Dangerous, Ronnie Kasrils, 1993
Embargo - Apartheid's oil secrets revealed, Shipping Research Bureau, 1995
Escape from Pretoria, Tim Jenkin, 1987
Inside Boss, Gordon Winter, 1981
The Killing of the Imam, Barney Desai and Cardiff Marney, 1978
Partners in Protest, Diana Collins, 1992
117 days, Ruth First, 1965
Prisoners of Apartheid, IDAF, 1978
The Schibusch Commission Report, SA Government,

Newspapers

Observer (London)
Guardian (London)
Daily Telegraph (London)
Sunday Times (London)
Rand Daily Mail (South Africa)
Sunday Times (South Africa)
Anti-Apartheid News (London)
Noticias (Maputo)

-
- ⁱ Memorandum to the Home Secretary; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 October 1982.
ⁱⁱ Memorandum to the Home Secretary; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 October 1982.
ⁱⁱⁱ The IDAF publication, Boss; The First 5 Years, provided a useful insight into these developments.
^{iv} Daily Telegraph 10.12.71
^v Observer 12.12.71
^{vi} Guardian 22.11.71
^{vii} Observer 19.12.97
^{viii} Observer 12.12.71
^{ix} Interview with Ethel de Keyser quoted in Observer 24.10.71
^x Sunday Telegraph 7.8.1971
^{xi} Observer 24.10. 1971
^{xii} Observer 24 10 1971
^{xiii} Prisoners of Apartheid p70, and Escape from Pretoria, p74.
^{xiv} The account of his escape from prison, along with two comrades, is found in Escape from Pretoria.
^{xv} Observer 27 1980
^{xvi} For a detailed account of the detention and death of Imam Harron, see The Killing of the Imam.
^{xvii} Inside Boss p.589
^{xviii} Boss; The First 5 Years p24
^{xix} Observer 30.12.79
^{xx} New Statesman, 15.8.80

-
- ^{xxi} Sunday Times (SA) 17. 2. 1986
^{xxii} Observer, 24. 10. 1971
^{xxiii} Observer 24.10.1971
^{xxiv} New Statesman, 15.8.80
^{xxv} Dr Eschel Rhoodie, interviewed on Tonight, 21 March 1979, BBC
^{xxvi} The British Desk, Central Independent Television, transmitted on 8 May 1984.
^{xxvii} BOSS agent Arthur McGivern stated in the television programme, The British Desk, Central Independent Television, that Chris van der Walt from the South African embassy was responsible for these forgeries
^{xxviii} Anti-Apartheid News, December 1978
^{xxix} Inside Boss, p.334
^{xxx} Leaflet, Africa, its politics and religion, Christian League of Southern Africa, 1978
^{xxxi} . Guardian 4.4.78
^{xxxii} Report of the London Office of the Christian League of Southern Africa, 15.7.78
^{xxxiii} Guardian 4.4. 1978
^{xxxiv} Inside Boss, p.528
^{xxxv} Anti-Apartheid News, December 1978

^{xxxvi} Anti-Apartheid News, December
^{xxxvii} Cape Times 15.3.82
^{xxxviii} Observer 19 2 1995
^{xxxix} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.10
^{xl} Transcript of trial at Old Bailey, London, Regina V Bertil Olov Wedin, p.22.
^{xli} Observer 19.2.95
^{xlii} Times 15.3.82
^{xliiii} Observer 19.2.95
^{xliv} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.5
^{xlv} Times 17.12.82, Daily Mail 16.12.82
^{xlvi} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.9 and p.17
^{xlvii} In Search of Enemies: John Stockwell
^{xlviii} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.5.
^{xlix} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.5.
^l Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.7
^{li} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.8
^{lii} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.5, p.54.

-
- ^{liii} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.10
- ^{liiv} Observer 3.10.82.
- ^{liv} Observer 26.9.82
- ^{lvi} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Bertil Olov Wedin p.23, p.117, p.69, p.88, p.109, summing up p.9.
- ^{lvii} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Bertil Olov Wedin p.105 - 110
- ^{lviii} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Bertil Olov Wedin p.111 - 114.
- ^{lix} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Bertil Olov Wedin p.26
- ^{lx} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Bertil Olov Wedin p.23
- ^{lxi} Memorandum presented to Home Secretary; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1983
- ^{lxii} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.9, p.10, p.14.
- ^{lxiii} Transcript of trial at the Old Bailey, London, Regina V Edward Nicholas Aspinall, Peter John Caselton and Bertil Olov Wedin p.9.
- ^{lxiv} p 373 Embargo - Apartheid's Oil Secrets Revealed, Shipping Research Bureau 1995
- ^{lxv} Memorandum to the Home Secretary II; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 May 1983.
- ^{lxvi} Guardian 12. 11. 1987
- ^{lxvii} Noticias 13 April 1988
- ^{lxviii} Star 9.12.89
- ^{lxix} Guardian 26. 7. 1985
- ^{lxx} Independent 27.10.87
- ^{lxxi} Mrs Margaret Thatcher in response to a Parliamentary Question, April 1984
- ^{lxxii} Memorandum to the Home Secretary II; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 13 May 1983.
- ^{lxxiii} Court Transcript

Addendum

Due to technical difficulties, this is not the final version of this Submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

As well as various minor editorial changes such as the correct referencing of the appendices and some improvements in the structure of the document, the following are some of the key points which are, unavoidably, not included in the main text of the document.

1. Additional Material on Break-ins at the AAM HQ (page 4)

Add at beginning of this section:

The Anti-Apartheid Movement Headquarters in Charlotte Street was first burgled in 1964. Every addressograph plate for members and supporters was taken together with the contents of two drawers containing inky used stencils of minutes of various committees, newsletters, notices of meetings etc. It was probable that copies of publications and supplies of letterheads were also taken.

The British police, who were called in, expressed the opinion that it "was a very professional job". The burglary took place during the preparations for a March and Rally on "No Arms for South Africa" which was addressed by Harold Wilson MP, then leader of the opposition Labour Party.

2. Additional Material relating to Edward Aspinall (page 14)

In the final paragraph of this section, reference is made to "an Indian lady from the ANC" who Aspinall had been paid to follow. This was, in fact, Dr Frene Ginwala.

3. Additional Material on An International Dimension (page 17)

Further evidence of the role of Britain as a centre for South African covert activities was reported in the Portuguese paper Expresso (14 August 1982). It published an extensive article exposing the preparations for "Operation Kubango", which was a \$5 million operation to overthrow the Angolan government.

According to the paper's investigations, Operation Kubango was agreed and signed in London on 15 April 1982. The meeting was attended by two South African operatives, Gary van Dyke and Johannes Jacobs Kemp.

Kemp was a very senior member of BOSS, having served as head of BOSS in the Western Cape, prior to his appointment in London as 1st Secretary. He then went on to head the counter-intelligence unit at BOSS' (DONS') headquarters in Pretoria.

The operation was to be carried out by South African troops from the South, and mercenaries working with UNITA and the FNLA from the north and east.

A further international connection emerged six year later, in 1988, when there was an escalation of South African covert activities in Europe. On 4th February there was

an attempted assassination attack on the ANC Chief Representative in Brussels, Godfrey Motsepe. The following month, on 27 March, a 17kg bomb was placed outside the ANC's offices in Brussels. The Belgian police identified Klue as the man who shot at Motsepe and the Belgian authorities subsequently issued an international warrant for his arrest.

Two days later on 29th March the ANC Chief Representative in France was shot dead as she was opening the offices of the ANC Information Bureau. This assassination represented the most serious known crime committed by South African intelligence beyond the African continent. Dulcie, herself, had previously worked as the AAM's Membership Secretary when she was living in London.

Klue's name was also linked to the assassination of Dulcie September, the ANC Chief Representative in Paris, on 29 March 1988.

No explanation was given by the relevant authorities as to why Klue had been able to visit European countries despite his known involvement in criminal activity in Britain in 1982 when based at South Africa House (see above).

4. Additional Material on Arson Attack at AAM HQ (page 18)

An earlier arson attack on the AAM HQ took place on the afternoon of 4th March 1961 when the basement offices were gutted and there was extensive fire and smoke damage to the 4-storey building which was a dwelling house.

The property, at 200 Gower Street, NW1 (now North Gower Street) contained the surgery of Dr David Pitt (later Lord Pitt) and offices of the Committee of African Organisations and the London office of UNIP of Zambia.

On that afternoon, the AAM was holding a March and Trafalgar Square Rally against Dr Vervoerd's visit to London and calling for South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference in London.

Four persons are arrested, charged and brought to trial at the Old Bailey but were found not guilty. No evidence emerged of any direct South African intelligence involvement in this attack but it appeared to be strategically timed to cause maximum disruption to AAM's well publicised 72 hour silent vigil to mark the first anniversary of the Sharpeville and Langa victims on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference at which the decision to expel South Africa from the Commonwealth was taken.

5. Additional material for the Conclusion (page 22)

It is important to note that this Submission only makes a few references to South African intelligence activities in Britain which were aimed at disrupting and undermining the work of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. This is due to the limited amount of material on this subject which is held in the AAM Archives.

IDAF played a unique role in supporting the victims of apartheid and was a principle target of South Africa's illegal and covert activities. This is a subject which requires consideration in its own right.

Appendices

- Appendix 1 (a&b) Fake AAM Petition
- Appendix 2 (a&b) Genuine AAM Petition
- Appendix 3 (a&b) Africa Aviation Consultants company papers
- Appendix 4 (a&b) Lawyer's letter with translation
- Appendix 5 (a,b&c) Victims Against Terrorism advertisements
- Appendix 6 Invoice for illegal shipment of arms to South Africa with South African Embassy stamp
- Appendix 7 Appendix to AAM Memorandum to Home Secretary, October 1982

