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THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON 5 NOVEMBER 1982

CHAIRMAN: I think just before we proceed, there is something to which I should refer, arising from the cross-examination yesterday, of the witness. He was asked whether he came and prepared a memorandum in response to anything from the Commission, and he said, yes, a letter had been written. I think it would be fair if I were to make it known that the Commission has thought it fit to approach a large number of bodies, Governmental and agencies, and all sorts of people, who might possibly - church leaders and 10 others who might in some way be able to contribute to the matters which we are inquiring into, and if it is at all thought necessary, I will make it available to the representatives of the South African Council of Churches, and it might be that you could think of others whom you would like to add to the list of people who were approached.

MR KENTRIDGE: Yes, I did notice that yesterday also. We are indebted to Your Lordship for making this available.

CHAIRMAN: The next witness?

CRAIG MICHAEL WILLIAMSON, duly sworn states: 20

MR VON LIERES: Major, you were also approached by the Commission and asked whether you could assist the Commission with regard to the facts that may be relevant to the sources of funds for the South African Council of Churches and its officials? --- That is correct.

As a result of that, did you make yourself available today to testify? --- I did.

Now, you are presently a Major in the Police and you are attached to the Security Headquarters in Pretoria? --- That is correct. 30

I think you could perhaps give His Lordship a brief overview of your Police career? --- I first joined the South African Police in 1968, and in 1972 I was attached to the Security Branch, Johannesburg. In the same year I became a registered student at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 1974 I was elected to served on the NUSAS National Executive as the Finance Officer for 1975. I 1975 I was re-elected to serve on the NUSAS National Executive for a second term as Finance Officer, and as Vice-President for 1976. In January 1977 I left the Republic and travelled to 10 Geneva in Switzerland, where I took up employment with the International University Exchange Fund, the IUEF, in the position of Information Officer. In July 1978 I was appointed the Deputy Director of the IUEF, a position which I held until shortly before I returned to the Republic in January 1980.

Does this organisation still exist today? --- No, the IUEF was disbanded some time after it was revealed that I as a member of the South African Police had infiltrated it. 20

Now, during your period of service with IUEF, did you become acquainted with its aims, objectives and activities? --- I did. I became acquainted with the activities of the IUEF, its aims, objectives and activities, including the relationship between the IUEF, Bishop Desmond Tutu and the South African Council of Churches.

I see you have appended a statute .. (INTERVENTION)

MR KENTRIDGE: M'Lord, although My Learned Friend is leading the witness, he is reading from his statement. I am quite happy to have him read from his statement, the 30

same way as other witnesses have done. I certainly do not - make no objection to his doing that. It is more convenient.

MR VON LIERES: Read paragraph 4 please? --- (READING)

"The IUEF Statutes are appended hereto as document X1. This document reflects the formal functions of the IUEF which were to cater especially to the needs in the educational field of refugees from Southern Africa and later Latin America. A secondary function of the IUEF was to assist refugees and their organisations to prepare for the future development of their countries, after 'Liberation'.

Appended to this statement as document X1.1 is the IUEF annual report for 1977/78. On page 1 through 4 of this report the then IUEF Director, Lars-Gunnar Eriksson summarises IUEF activities. Here IUEF support for individual refugees as well as for so-called liberation movements is clearly spelt out. Support to these movements included programmes aimed at generating skilled manpower resources for the 'governments of the future liberated Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa'.

Further information on IUEF support for Southern African 'liberation movements' is contained in the same report on page 31 through 34. It is clearly stated that the IUEF supported SWAPO as the 'sole liberation movement in Namibia' and that 'in the case of South Africa, the IUEF recognises the ANC as the leader of the National Liberation Movement which is spearheading the South African

liberation/...

liberation struggle and which holds the most hope for unity of the South African people'."

I would like to interrupt you there and ask you a few questions about X and XI. Were these documents published during the time you were employed at the IUEF? --- That is correct. I was in fact the responsible officer in charge of the publication both of these documents. In the case of the annual report, I actually compiled it, after having asked the various heads of the departments within the IUEF to submit to me reports on their activities, which 10 I then compiled into the annual report.

And after you had compiled the report, what happened to it? --- After it is compiled, it is printed - it does not state on the annual report, but in the case of the Statutes on the back, it will be seen it was published in June 1978 in 2 000 copies. To my knowledge there were also several thousand copies of the annual report printed, and these were distributed widely throughout the world to organisations and individuals involved with the IUEF or interested in it.

Is there anybody who had to check your prepared 20 product before it was finally printed? --- Yes, that is correct, particularly in the case of the Statutes. The Statutes reflect decisions of the governing body of the organisation and as such are checked by it. The same as the annual report, after drawing up the so-called - or final draft or rough copy, it is then submitted to the Director, who in consultation with members of the governing organisation, approves it for printing, as reflecting the policy and projects of the organisation.

Now, could you perhaps turn to document XI and tell 30

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the Commission how and by whom the LUEF was financed? ---

That is X1.1?

Yes? That is the financial report? --- Well, I think it would be easiest for the Commission to turn to page 38 of document X1.1. If I could read paragraph 4 on page 38:

"IUEF programmes are financed largely by contributions received from the Governments of Canada, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands and Sweden. These governments remain the largest donors while more recently some special grants have also been received from 10 the government of the United Kingdom. The United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Education and Training Programme for Southern Africans (UNETPSA) have also continued to support IUEF programmes".

The following paragraph then discusses non-governmental sources of funding. It reads as follows:

"Some funds are also received from non-governmental agencies and church sources as the following:
Algemeen Diakonaal Bureau (ADB), Baerum Kommune, 20
Canadian Catholic Organisation for Development and
Peace (CCODP), Centre National de Co-operation au
Développement (CNCD), Church of Sweden Mission,
Comité Catholique contre la Faim en pour le Dévelop-
pement, DANCHURCHAID, Danish Refugee Council (DRC),
Danish Youth Council (DUF), Misereor, NORAD, NOVIB,
Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), OXFAM (Québec),
OXFAM (UK), Norwegian Students International Assistance
Fund (SAIH), Swedish Free Church Aid, United Church
of Canada, University Assistance Fund (UAF), 30

World Council of Churches (WCC), Wilde Ganzen.

For the financial year 1977/1978 governmental donors contributed approximately Sfr 10,5 million while non-governmental donors contributed approximately SFR 1,8 million towards the programmes of the IUEF".

What would the figure of Sfr 12 million be roughly in rand terms? --- I am not entirely sure, but I would imagine it is something - in those days it was probably between R5 and R6 million.

Now, on page 31 of EXHIBIT "X1.1", in the second 10 paragraph, page 31, the last two lines, it says:

"The IUEF has been willing to act as a channel for funds from certain donor governments".

Do you have personal knowledge of that? --- That is correct. It says in certain instances and with the agreement of the liberation movements, this covered instances where certain governments, particularly the Danish Government at that stage, and also I think the Norwegian Government, were loathe to grant money directly to so-called liberation movements or terrorist movements in Southern Africa, and 20 therefore used the IUEF as a channel for funds to these organisations.

Perhaps you could also refer us to the relevant portions in this annexure as to what the aims and objectives of the IUEF were? --- I think it would be good then to start with document "X1", the Statutes of the organisation. If we look at the foreword of the document if I can read paragraph 1:

"The International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) was founded in 1961 to promote and coordinate 30 exchanges/...

exchanges, scholarships and technical assistance for student organisations, refugee groups and individuals. In the period immediately following the commencement of its operations, the IUEF quickly became preoccupied with what was to dominate its activities - a programme providing educational assistance to African refugees".

Then paragraph 3:

"Since 1961, the IUEF has built up a far-reaching programme of assistance to African Refugees 10 with special reference to South Africa and more recently it has turned its attention to the pressing needs of Latin American refugees. Parallel to the activities carried out in Africa and Latin America, it has collaborated with other agencies in seeking to improve the status of certain categories of refugees in Europe. In addition the IUEF has a programme of direct support for the educational and development activities of the liberation movements caring for substantial numbers of refugees in the coun- 20 tries surrounding South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The IUEF also provides material support for the Southern African liberation movements' research and information activities, as well as to groups inside the White minority ruled countries who are working for the establishment of a democratic society. In addition the IUEF Information Department produces publications from research undertaken on refugee problems on the situation in Southern Africa".

Then I think there is a lot of coverage of the activities 30

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in document X1.1.

Yes, I think I would like to pay some attention to that. Could you perhaps deal with the scholarship programme for South African refugees, on page 7 of this particular document? --- On page 7 we have, at the very top, the first paragraph - sorry, the bottom - Part 2, Scholarship Programme for Southern African Refugees.

"Scholarship assistance to the refugees from the White minority-ruled countries of Southern Africa is the largest single activity of the IUEF. The provision of educational opportunities is not necessarily confined to those that have fled from their country for political reasons, but is also available to 'internal refugees' - those inside the repressive countries who have no access to educational facilities because of the discriminatory legal and economic systems prevailing in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa."

I think if we turn to page 2 paragraph 4:

"The IUEF finds that it is becoming increasingly important to develop the scholarship programme for certain categories of refugees who wish to study outside Africa or Latin America. At the present time the IUEF has only 399 scholarship holders studying outside Latin America or Africa. However there are factors which sometimes make it impossible for a refugee to stay in either Africa or Latin America. This may be because of political reasons or the course to be followed may not be available and in other cases language and other cultural differences

may make it almost impossible to successfully undertake studies on the continent of origin. The IUEF has also been asked by some of the Southern African liberation movements to place people in training courses outside Africa and it can be forecast that this demand will increase as the liberation of Southern Africa becomes closer and more and more skilled manpower becomes necessary".

I see on page 8 this theme of the necessity to increase the training of people, is also reflected in the second- 10 last paragraph which reads:

"More than ever before, scholarship assistance is orientated to the requirements of the future independent states of Southern Africa and liaison with the liberation movements has increased".

--- That is correct.

Was that in fact your experience? --- That is correct. I think it is also important to note in the paragraph before that one, that there was another - a second special programme aimed especially at South African refugees, 20 " .. is for secondary school students who fled from Soweto, South Africa and Zimbabwe in 1976 and early 1977".

To my knowledge the entire Southern African programme of the IUEF was very much orientated towards the needs of the refugees and was done in consultation with the liberation movements concerned, in the various countries, the terrorist movements.

Now, I see on page 23 of this report, some other functions that the IUEF performs, is also set out, there 30

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is for example Counselling Services in Africa; then there is a Research and Evaluation Service. What is the nature of this Research and Evaluation Service? What were they actually doing? --- Well, just to start with the Counselling Service, that was just to counsel refugees, but it is interesting to note that the main counsellor for Africa was a Mrs Zanele Mbeki, who was the wife - who was herself an ANC member and the wife of the ANC Political Secretary, Tabo Mbeki. But as far as research and evaluation is concerned, I will just read what it says in this report. 10

"The IUEF regularly hosts seminars for its sponsored students in Europe which are largely organised by the students themselves. At the beginning of April 1978 such a seminar took place in London, the theme of which was 'Human Rights'. Speakers included Martin Ennals and Martin Hill of Amnesty International, whose contribution sparked off a heated discussion on the concept of human rights in the Third World; Richard Whitecross of the Committee for Human Rights in Argentina; Shapua Kaukungua of SWAPO, and 20 Kader Asmal of the International Defence and Aid Fund".

Kader Asmal of course is also the head of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Ireland and he is also a member of the ANC. Further, in the - on page 24, the third paragraph then:

"With regard to activities in Latin America, parallel to the development of our scholarship programme, we have broadened .." (INTERVENTION)

MR KENTRIDGE: M'Lord, surely we do not need Southern America.

CHAIRMAN: Let me just read and see whether I can 30

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determine what the parallel is or what the importance is of the reference to Latin America. I just have not got the page?

MR VON LIERES: Page 24, M'Lord, third paragraph.

WITNESS: What they are saying here is that they were involved in certain research and information work which they wanted now to extend this research and information work to cover their Latin American programme, but that this had come from experience gained in running their programmes in Africa.

I can say, M'Lord, the IUEF was at this time support- 10

ing what they term a liberation movement, the FSLN in Nicaragua, who were ultimately responsible for overthrowing

the Government in that country. So their support for terrorist organisations was not restricted only to the African

continent, and there is one other aspect on the so-called research and evaluation which I would like to mention, and

that is the type of activity given to individuals such as Dr Renfrew Christie, an individual who was given financial

assistance to come to South Africa to carry out so-called

research; in fact what he came here to do was under 20

the direction of the ANC, to carry out espionage relating

to various institutions in South Africa, including the Koeberg Nuclear Power Station, for which he was later on convicted

and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

MR KENTRIDGE: M'Lord, this is very interesting, but this is costing us a great deal of money to sit here, quite apart from the public money involved. Can we not get to the point of the SACC? I do not know what My Learned Friend's object is in bringing this all out.

CHAIRMAN: Is it not relevant to know what the IUEF 30

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is in view of ..

MR KENTRIDGE: Of course it is, but do we have to know all about Mr Renfrew Christie? We have heard this so often. There are four Commissioners, five civil servants; the cost in public money of this sort of stuff, M'Lord, is just immense, quite apart from what it costs us. Surely it can at least be - this can be summarised if we are going to have South America?

CHAIRMAN: Well, we have not left South America.

MR VON LIERES: I do not think the point is a valid 10 one, M'Lord. Surely the Commission is entitled to know what IUEF was about, as you pointed out, and this is what the witness is illustrating at the moment.

MR KENTRIDGE: The other thing that puzzles us is the role of My Learned Friend Mr Von Lieres in this. I thought he was simply an officer of the Commission and not a prosecutor. But I think, M'Lord, it will save time if I just leave that question over.

MR VON LIERES: That is the second reference to myself as a prosecutor. I do not quite know what counsel is 20 trying to ..

CHAIRMAN: Is there any justification?

MR KENTRIDGE: Yes, there is a good deal of justification. I will raise it at another time. My Learned Friend, although he is supposed to be the impartial officer of the Commission, has never in examination or re-examination of any witness attempted to bring out anything that could possibly be favourable to the SACC. My clients and ourselves have not failed to note it, M'Lord. That is all I wish to say at the moment. Later we may have something more to say about 30

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the role of Mr Von Lieres.

CHAIRMAN: Carry on?

MR VON LIERES: Now, another activity that is listed on page 32, is the Information Programme; paragraph 4 on page 32. --- Yes, we can deal with this very briefly. The Information Programme, the last two paragraphs on page 32, are described as follows:

"In view of the extensive propaganda machinery employed by the Pretoria and Smith regimes, the importance of information and publicity programmes cannot be 10 over-emphasised. The materials produced by the liberations movements are used not only to publicise the movements' points of view throughout the world, but also inside the White minority-ruled countries and finally as education materials in the schools run by the movements.

The IUEF has supported these programmes by providing printing equipment and training of printers.

In addition, the IUEF has given funds for the printing of publications as well as doing a certain 20 amount of printing for the movements in our own printing department".

I can also refer the Commission to the list of publications, on the very last page, page 40. We do not have to go through them, but I think it is important to note that very many of the publications listed - in fact I would say most of those relating to Southern Africa or South Africa, are in fact - or have been declared undesirable in terms of the Publications Act.

Could you then just briefly indicate to the

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Commission what sort of links did the IUEF have? --- The organisation was involved with various international organisations. I think the easiest way to describe that is to turn to page 3 of this report, paragraph 2 at the top of the page. I will just read it:

"It is in this context that the IUEF accepted the Vice-Chairmanship of the Planning Committee of the Pan-African Refugee Conference which will take place in May 1979 in Arusha. This conference will discuss the refugee situation in Africa and is being jointly sponsored by the OAU, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), who together with the IUEF, All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), United Nations Economic Council for Africa (UNECA), World Council of Churches (WCC), Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the Scandinavian Institute for African Studies (SIAS) form the Planning Committee".

Further we go to the second-last paragraph on that page:

"The IUEF has in the past year further developed 20 its relations with the Southern Africa liberation movements and will increase programmes aimed at generating skilled manpower resources which will be needed by the governments of the future liberated Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. In the short term those cadres who benefit from these schemes are of use to the movements and to their country of refuge. It goes without saying that there must be increased IUEF assistance to the liberation movements and related organisations. The IUEF is 30 determined/...

determined to respond to the needs of the liberation movements and in doing so the IUEF will consult closely with the movements in the planning and implementation of this assistance".

Then, page 4, virtually the whole page describes other links of the IUEF.

"As in the past, IUEF has continued to maintain and expand its relations and co-operation with various organisations dealing with similar questions. In addition to close relations with IUEF Assembly member organisations and with donor organisations, the IUEF remains actively involved with the activities of Euro-Action ACORD (EAA), the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) and the (International) Non-Governmental sub-committee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Decolonisation. The IUEF is a member of the Board of all these organisations.

As far as intergovernmental organisations are concerned, the IUEF maintains its consultative status with (20 the United Nations ECOSOC, (The Economic and Social Council), UNESCO and the Council of Europe. The IUEF has been active in all these forums. With ECOSOC, IUEF has participated in Human Rights activities, and IUEF will soon seek to upgrade its consultative status with UNESCO. The major activities participated in under the aegis of the Council of Europe relate to the situation of European exiles and refugees. The IUEF African programmes are carried out in close consultation with the

Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The IUEF has maintained particularly close working links with the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) both in Geneva and in the field.

Other United Nations bodies co-operated with include the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Centre against Apartheid, the Education and Training Programme for Southern Africans (UNETSPA) and the Committee of 24 on Decolonisation.

Close collaboration continues between the IUEF and numerous other non-governmental organisations working in the same field, both church and secular. Those with which IUEF enjoys particularly close relations include the World Council of Churches (WCC), the World University Service (WUS) and International Defence and Aid Fund and others".

Are those the main links that they have? ---- Those are the main links. There are various other smaller organisations or umbrella organisations they were also involved in. I think also - I have already emphasised the links 20 between the IUEF and what they termed liberation movements, but on page 31, if we look at paragraph 3 and 4, I think that is spelt out there very clearly.

"We believe that assistance to liberation movements should as far as possible be given without any strings attached, leaving the allocation to the liberation movements themselves. As this view, however, is not generally accepted, IUEF also fundraises for projects that have been submitted to us by the liberation movements and sometimes assists the movements in the elaboration of such projects.

"The IUEF supports SWAPO as the sole liberation movement of Namibia. In the case of Zimbabwe, the IUEF supports the Patriotic Front and provides assistance both to Patriotic Front projects and to projects operated individually by the two components of the Patriotic Front. In the case of South Africa, the IUEF recognises the ANC as the leader of the National Liberation Movement which is spearheading the South African liberation struggle and which holds the most hope for unity of the South African people."10

Now, the donors of the IUEF to whom you have already referred, did they know what its aims and objectives were and what its attitude was to the liberation movements? --- Yes, I think they were very clear on the aims and objects of the IUEF. In fact, M'Lord, in many instances the relationship between the IUEF and various terrorist organisations was in fact the reason that the donors used the IUEF. It was because of the close relationship with the ANC, SWAPO, the FSLN and other organisations, that the donors in fact gave the money to the IUEF to be channelled to those 20 organisations. The IUEF never made any secret of this political affiliation.

Were these publications distributed to the donors? --- Yes, correct, and in fact there were also on many occasions joint meetings between donor organisations and IUEF staff members relating specifically to the policy of the IUEF and its activities.

Could we then return to your memorandum? I think you stopped at the end of paragraph 6. -- Paragraph 7 then:

"Shortly after my arrival in Geneva, (that was 30

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in early 1977) I spent some considerable time with Mr Eriksson (that is Mr Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, the then Director of the IUEF) who briefed me on IUEF's support programmes in Southern Africa. I was supposed to assist him running these programmes. At that time the IUEF had not yet recognised the ANC as the 'leader of the National Liberation Movement' in South Africa and the IUEF was giving direct financial assistance to the ANC, the PAC (the Pan Africanist Congress) and to various internal 10 organisations in South Africa normally called the 'Black Consciousness Movement'. The IUEF provided these organisations with two types of assistance:

Educational scholarships; and finance for

Relief assistance, mobilisation programmes and community self-help.

To a large extent the IUEF provided various organisations in the RSA with funds for projects falling in the scope of category two above, well-knowing that these funds were in fact being used for 20 political mobilisation purposes by the organisations involved. Eriksson informed me that the donors of the funds channelled by the IUEF in fact did not care where the money went so long as they received suitable accounting and reports.

During early 1977 Eriksson showed me various copies of correspondence between himself and the then External Representative of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC), Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu. This 30

correspondence/...

correspondence I later copied and copies are appended hereto as documents X2.1, X2.2 (a typed version of X2.1) and X2.3. Over the years in Geneva I came to know the handwriting in X2.1 well as that of Randwedzi Nengwekhulu. These letters concerned Bishop Tutu, his relationship with the IUEF and the Black Consciousness Movement and the provision of certain funds by the IUEF for him. Eriksson explained to me that Nengwekhulu and the other leaders of the BCM, including Steve Biko, planned to woo Bishop Tutu to become the figure-head leader of the BCM and that the IUEF could play its role in this strategy by 'keeping the Bishop sweet' through advancing him funds as he needed them. Eriksson said that Tutu had had a long standing relationship with the IUEF and that I was to regard him as one of IUEF's most important South African 'contacts'. Eriksson said that although the IUEF did not officially have any funds which could be used for this type of assistance, in 'exceptional' cases exceptions were made and funds siphoned off for this purpose.

On 2 June 1978 I attended a meeting in a Geneva restaurant with Eriksson, Bishop Tutu, Rev (now Archbishop) Walter Makhulu, then of the World Council of Churches, and Mr Karl Edwards. This meeting was convened in order to discuss IUEF/South African Council of Churches co-operation and funding. Various matters were discussed including:

Prison education schemes

Legal costs for political trials

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A planned SACC 'Think Tank' on education in the RSA

Educational scholarships for various people

The fact that the 'spirit' in the BCM was the Church - (this in the context of the IUEF's planned new policy re the ANC, which Tutu said would prejudice internal groups)

Bishop Tutu's request that IUEF give scholarships for theological studies to 'good' people who had been 'politically active' (The IUEF normally refused to support theological studies)

A so-called 'Special Training and Education Programme' to give financial support for teachers in the Republic who were boycotting their jobs within the 'Bantu Education' system, and for other 'special' educational purposes.

It was agreed that the IUEF would try and raise funds for the last item above (that is for the Special Training and Education Programme)".

I think I later on call it STEP -

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" .. and that if successful these funds would be channelled to the South African Council of Churches via Makhulu and the World Council of Churches. It was also agreed that the IUEF would channel some funds to the South African Prison Education Trust (SAPET) in Cape Town via the SACC, and that the IUEF would grant the SACC Dependants' Conference programme some funds in order to allow them to make discretionary grants 'for needs not normally covered by the DC'. All these funds as well were to

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be channelled via the WCC in order to disguise the source as being the IUEF. By appearing in the Republic from the WCC, such funds would be 'laundered' of any connection with the IUEF and would appear to be Church funds.

After the meeting Eriksson informed me that the IUEF would use certain funds being raised from the UN Trust Fund for South Africa for the IUEF's 'Zimele Trust Fund' programme to cover the SACC requests. The Zimele Trust Fund was a project of the Black 10 Community Programme (BCP) which was part of the Black Consciousness Movement and was declared an unlawful organisation in September 1977. Despite this the IUEF continued raising funds for Zimele, as well as for the other elements of the Black Consciousness Movement"

and I refer the Commission to a document appended hereto, X3.2 in this regard.

"Eriksson claimed that he had Nengwekhulu's agreement to channel some Black Consciousness Movement 20 funds to Tutu who would use them correctly."

I see in X3.2 which is a letter dated 30 May 1978, apparently addressed to Ambassador A Thunborg, the Swedish Ambassador to the United Nations in New York; reference is made to the UN Trust Fund's grant to the IUEF of US \$40 000 for the activities of the Zimele Trust Fund (reference Mr Reddy's letter of 30 December 1977 and my reply of 10 February 1978). Now, I think the Commission is already aware that the United Nations Trust Fund's General Secretary publishes a yearly report on its activities? --- It 30

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does.

Is - was this money actually received, this R40 000 listed in this letter X3.2? --- \$ 40 000, yes, it was received.

And what did the IUEF do with the money? -- It was paid into one of the IUEF accounts, and was used for various projects.

I see. Is this amount reflected in - are you in possession of the UN Trust Fund's General Secretary Reports for 1977/1978? -- Yes. 10

Is this money reflected there? --- Well, there is in this document grant no 71, of 20 October 1977, is an amount of US \$ 40 000. There is no reference in this document to the IUEF, but the grant is made for the purposes (a), (b) and (c) of the Fund, that is legal assistance to persons persecuted under repressive and discriminatory legislation of South Africa; (b), relief to such persons and their dependants and (c) education of such persons and their dependants, and I believe that - from my knowledge of IUEF and its relations with the United Nations Trust Fund, 20 that this refers to this particular grant that is referred to in this letter, X3.2.

I see at the bottom of that page there is a further request for \$ 75 000, X3.2? --- Yes, this is the request which Eriksson was referring to, that I referred to in paragraph 10 of my statement.

The \$ 75 000? --- Yes, the reference to the \$ 40 000 is to money that IUEF had already received the previous year, and then this letter is asking them - thanking them for the money received the previous year, giving them a 30

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financial statement which is appended, and asking them for a further grant of \$ 75 000, and this is what Eriksson referred to when he told me that were we to receive money from this source, we would then use it to send to Bishop Tutu.

Did this \$ 40 000 go to the Zimele Trust as the financial statement appears to indicate? -- No, the Zimele Trust in South Africa at that stage had been wound up.

Carry on please? --- (READING)

"Following the Geneva meeting with Tutu, Eriksson gave me a copy of a letter received from Tutu 10 at the IUEF on 28 June 1978. A copy of this letter is appended as document X3.3. This letter confirms the requests made at the meeting referred to in paragraph 9 above."

I do not know whether the copy the Commissioners have, has got this - the lines drawn on it, but that is something which I did. It has got nothing to do with the contents of the letter. It was an internal thing I did.

"On 5 December 1978 the IUEF received a letter from the Ambassador Anders Thunborg, Chairman of 20 the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. This letter was copied to me and a copy is appended hereto as document X3.6."

Again, if there is handwriting on the copy that the Commissioners have, this was a note written by me on the letter when I sent it to my superiors as part of a report, so it has nothing in fact to do with the letter itself. This was an internal Security Police note.

There are two different types of handwriting on 30

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this letter X3.6? --- Yes, I am referring to the note, very cryptic, written at the top. It is in my handwriting, 'Asked for Zimele; this cash will go to Bishop Tutu'. So that was - I sent this letter to my superiors in the Security Police and that was merely a comment which I wrote on the copy that I sent to them.

This letter is dated 30 November 1978 and United Nations paper? --- That is correct, received on 12 December, and the letter was copied to me, as appended hereto.

"The letter confirmed a grant to the IUEF of 10 US \$ 50 000 in response to the IUEF letter mentioned in paragraph 10 and appended as document no X3.2. Eriksson instructed that a portion of this grant, SF 70 000, should be sent to Bishop Tutu at the South African Council of Churches via Walter Makhulu at the World Council of Churches as arranged previously. I was given a copy of the covering letter to Makhulu which accompanied the cheque which was delivered to him by hand. A copy of this letter is appended hereto as document 20 X3.7".

I have still got my original copy which I was given at the time, and ..

I cannot read my photocopy. Could you perhaps just read that please? --- It starts at the top, "No file copies" and then it says "bc Piers, Craig, Lars-Gunnar; underlined Craig; that is the copy that came to me; addressed to The Rev Walter Makhulu, World Council of Churches, 150 Route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20; Strictly Confidential. The reference is PC/ah, that is the writer of the letter, 30

Piers Campbell, and the typist, if I remember correctly, is a girl with the name of Angela Horton, dated 23 January 1979, delivered by hand/ah.

"Dear Walter

Following your telephone conversation with Craig yesterday, I am enclosing a cheque for SF 70 000.

The funds should be used as follows:

- SF 48 000 for the 'Dependants' Conference Supplementary Grant' for use, not in the normal Dependants' Conference programme, but to allow discretionary supplementary grants to persons in need who cannot be catered for the SACC in their normal programme".

I would imagine there is a word missing between 'for' and 'the'; it should be 'by'. Then the second part:

"- SF 22 000 for the Dean of Johannesburg's STEP programme.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely

PIERS CAMPBELL".

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Now, is this grant of 50 000 reflected in the United Nations Trust Fund South Africa's yearly report? --- I believe so, in their report for 1978, they have an amount listed, grant no 80 of 31 October 1978, and an amount listed as grant no 77 on the same date, also 50 000; the one being for purposes (a) to (c) as I mentioned before, and the other one being for purpose (a). Now, I believe that - given the dates involved, that grant no 77 is probably the one relating to the IUEF grant. There is - this is a report dated 10 November 1978, and they go up in this report to grant

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no 80. In their report 8 November 1979 they start with grant no 81, which is in April 1979. So I believe that this 31 October decision is more than likely the IUEF 50 000.

Yes, carry on please? -- (READING)

"On 17 August 1979 Bishop Tutu visited the IUEF offices in Geneva where I held discussions with him. These discussions are reflected in the internal IUEF memorandum which I submitted on the talks to Eriksson. A copy of this memorandum is appended as document X3.8. Tutu verbally confirmed 10 to me having received the SF 70 000 mentioned in paragraph 12 above".

Was X3.8 - did you draft this - or did you write this contemporaneous with the visit by the Bishop? --- This is an IUEF internal memorandum. I dictated after each meeting we had, we dictated minutes of the meeting which were then sent for typing and then for distribution to those people in the organisation involved. So as you see from this memorandum, it is from Craig to Lars-Gunnar, copies to Piers and Robin; that is Piers Campbell and Robin Ruggles, 20 with file - it went into various files, recipients to file as relevant, in other words, they were responsible to put it into the files which they were responsible for.

Will you read this copy into the record please? --

It is dated 22 August 1979, and it says:

"RE: Visit by Bishop Desmond Tutu, 17 August 1979. Bishop Tutu was in the office for about 2 hours during the afternoon and said that he had come with his annual 'shopping list'. After our meeting I took him to WUS where he met with Clive Nettleton 30 to/...

to present them with other items on his list.

We discussed the following specific items:

a. STEP (That is the Special Training and Education Programme) I told Bishop Tutu that we had between R5 000 and R10 000 for the STEP programme over the next year. He asked me to transfer this money to Hubert van Beek at the World Council of Churches. We agreed that Bishop Tutu will use this money to support teachers at schools in places such as Winterveld, various farm schools and the Crossroads squatter camp. Bishop Tutu agreed that there was a need for such support and I tried to pin him down to agree to use it for these specific purposes and said that we would need some type of reporting on it.

b. Shun Chetty. Bishop Tutu told me that the South African Law Society has acted against Chetty by making an urgent application to the Supreme Court to have Chetty's funds frozen. He said that it appears that there are some financial irregularities in Chetty's book and he has not paid tax for the past 3 years. In addition, there is an amount of R17 000 which was paid to Chetty by the SACC, which has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for. Tutu told me that on one occasion Chetty billed the Asingeni Trust Fund for an amount of R32 000 which after it was paid, the SACC asked for supporting vouchers to cover. However, Chetty could only then produce R16 000 worth of these vouchers. However, Tutu said that he was personally convinced

that/...

that there was not any rip-off concerned, but merely bad administration. He did say that it appears that there will definitely be some political flak flying about this and the situation could be a little difficult.

C. Ecumenical Trust Fund (ETF) and Dependants' Conference (DC). Tutu told me that in the past financial year, the SACC has overspent to the tune of R700 000 on these projects. He asked whether IUEF would be able to contribute R100 000 to 10 each of these programmes in order to assist him to cover his deficit. He said that the Asingeni Fund is oversubscribed, but the ETF and the DC need more funds. He told me that in the past these funds have received some money from the United Nations in New York, via Walter Makhulu at the World Council of Churches and this funding will probably continue. I explained that the funds which we sent to him last year came precisely from this source at the UN. He said then that we would have to take 20 care that the UN Trust Fund for South Africa does not find out that the SACC schemes are getting two bites at the same cherry. I said that we would investigate the situation of trying to get more funding for the ETF and the DC, but said that we would have to work out some reporting mechanism which would satisfy the United Nations Trust Fund, while at the same time not revealing that IUEF programme is actually funding the Ecumenical Trust Fund and the Dependants' Conference. I said 30

that/...

that in order to avoid this problem, we would present the IUEF internal victims of apartheid support programme as being an actual IUEF programme, rather than one fundraised for on behalf of the independent administrators inside the country. In this way, the UN Trust Fund would be supporting the IUEF programme and it is not their business as to how we go about distributing the funds. All that would need to be reported on was the effect and use to which the funds were put." 10

You can skip that. --- These are just various internal items.

Paragraph 14 then? --- (READING)

"After Bishop Tutu's visit Eriksson continued to apply to the United Nations Trust Fund for funds, some of which he intended to be used to cover the Tutu/SACC commitments of the IUEF. Due to the fact that the IUEF had no real reporting on the use of the United Nations Trust Fund funds inside the Republic, from Tutu or any other recipients, 20 Eriksson resorted to blatantly false reporting. Eriksson gave me copies of two such false letters to the United Nations Trust Fund and they are appended hereto as documents X3.9 and X3.10. Eriksson was particularly proud of his efforts in compiling X3.10 which he showed to me in its draft form and asked my opinion on its apparent authenticity.

During my association with the IUEF I was regarded by many organisations and individuals as an expert on South Africa. Thus I was often consulted 30

by/..

by other persons and groups, besides the IUEF, with regards applications for support and assistance from South African projects or organisations. In this way I was regularly shown SACC documents in which requests were made for financial assistance. I obtained copies of some of these SACC documents and I append hereto copies of the following:

X4.1 - copy of a letter from the South African Council of Churches signed by John Rees, dated 28 February 1978 to DAN CHURCHAID in Denmark". 10

Is it basically an appeal for funds? --- An appeal for funds, yes, asking for an amount of money for emergency situations..

"X4.2 - copy of the South African Council of Churches budget of expenditure for 1980 which was submitted to DAN CHURCHAID which in turn submitted an SACC funding application to the Danish Government agency DANIDA".

Basically what - this is apparently a South African Council of Churches document which was then appended to a DAN CHURCHAID application as appendix; "Bilag" is Danish for Appendix. 20

Annexure "G". Yes? --- Then:

"X4.3 - copy of an internal DANIDA budget proposal for its 1978 grants. These include proposed grants to the South African Council of Churches via DAN CHURCHAID."

The only interesting thing about this document is that other grants made from the same fund go to the ANC, the PAC and SWAPO. 30

"The/...

"The IUEF also had other contact with the South African Council of Churches,, besides with Bishop Tutu. During June 1978 Bernadette Mosala of the SACC visited Geneva and her programme was organised by the World Council of Churches. This included a visit to the IUEF on 27 June 1978 where she spoke to the IUEF Scholarships officer Peter van der Vaart. A copy of documents relating to her visit, including a report of the South African Council of Churches consultation on the South African education crisis 10 are appended as document X4.4.

Soon after I took up my position with the IUEF I was informed by Eriksson that the IUEF, together with the Lutheran World Federation, Mr E S Reddy, Director of the UN Centre Against Apartheid and other individuals and organisations, were involved in an ongoing effort to construct ways and means of supporting socalled 'political' court cases in the Republic without the sources of the funds ever becoming public knowledge in South Africa. The 20 type of support envisaged included legal fees as well as financial assistance to the families of persons involved in such cases or those subsequently imprisoned. Eriksson gave me a Lutheran World Federation document dealing with this matter and a copy is appended as document X5. Reference is made in the document to using the Legal Trust Fund of the South African Council of Churches to make payments on behalf of donors. It was also stated that the recipients in the Republic of South 30 Africa/...

Africa should be 'officially' unaware of the identity of the donors overseas".

The copy I think that the Commissioners have is a very bad photocopy.

There appears to be a typed version? --- There is a typed version apparently.

A retyped version? --- Retyped, yes, because my copy comes from microfilm.

You say this is an inter-office memorandum of the Lutheran World Federation? --- That is correct. It is addressed 10 in fact to people within the Lutheran World Federation. It is not a document addressed to people outside, and attached to it, the document called "Strictly Confidential" is an IUEF document compiled by Lars-Gunnar Eriksson. At the bottom you can see LGE/ae; that is, Lars-Gunnar Eriksson is the compiler, typed by Alison Eriksson, his wife.

What was the nature of the arrangements that were decided on, or under discussion in connection with Legal Aid? --- Basically throughout my association with the IUEF and other organisations including the International Defence 20 and Aid Fund, these people were obsessed with attempting to provide financial assistance to people in South Africa who are charged under Security legislation, without the South African authorities becoming aware of the actual origin of the money.

Why was that important? --- Well, I am still confused as to why it is really important, but these people regarded - they have a vision of South African Government activities which does not actually meet the truth. They believe that if the South Africa authorities knew where the money 30 was/...

was coming from, that they would use this for propaganda purposes or that they would attempt to cut off the sources of funds etcetera.

Now, was the South African Council of Churches and its General Secretary aware of the nature of the activities of IUEF? --- As far as I am concerned, he should have been aware of the nature of the IUEF - we in fact at at least one of our meetings discussed in some depth the activities of the IUEF.

Who is this 'we' now? --- Bishop Tutu and myself. 10

Now, a press report has come to hand, apparently from the Sunday Times of 1 June 1980, drafted by Kevin Stocks. It allegedly states that Bishop Tutu denied that the SACC had ever received money from the IUEF or had links with that organisation. It also deals with a lot of other matters. If this report is correct, do you have any comment on it? --- I did read this report, and the report is incorrect. Now, I do not know whether it is Mr Stocks or whether it was the Bishop.

THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED

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ON RESUMPTION:

CRAIG MICHAEL WILLIAMSON, still under oath:

MR VON LIERES: M'Lord, just one question please.

Major, those two reports of the General Secretary of the United National Trust Fund South Africa, do you formally hand them in as EXHIBIT "X6" and "X7"? --- Yes.

MR KENTRIDGE: Major Williamson, I gather you are here on request, and you have put in this report, which seems to be largely factual, but I do have a few questions to ask you about it and about certain background matters. When 30

were/...

were you approached by the officers of the Commission to give evidence here? --- I am not entirely sure, but it was several months ago.

And who approached you? --- I was told that I should - I was not approached - I got orders through my superiors to go and see Adv Von Lieres.

And did he tell you what he required of you? --- No, he told me that he had had information that I had certain knowledge about the South African Council of Churches, funding etcetera, and he asked me what I would be able to tell 10 him and the Commission about it. He then asked me to draw up a statement together with any documentation that I had.

And this is what you have done? -- That is correct.

When did you complete this? -- Well, it has gone through various stages. This particular statement I believe was completed probably not more than a week ago.

What do you mean by various stages? --- Well, I have gone through - I first of all compiled the documents, or I put together all the documentation that I had about the IUEF, at which stage I discussed this with people in my 20 office, and with - I tried to get clarity according to what were the specific instructions of the Commission, and what knowledge I had about the SACC would fall into the ambit of the Commission and what would not.

Now, I see you are attached to the Security Branch of the South African Police? --- That is correct.

You seem to have quite a number of your colleagues at the hearing this morning. Is that so? -- I can see one.

Only one? -- Only one.

I see. And is that someone who has assisted you 30

in this? --- No.

Is he just here out of interest? -- No, it is a person who has particular knowledge about this topic.

Do you mean the South African Council of Churches? --- No, about - I would say probably social, cultural organisations, religious organisations.

In South Africa? --- Probably.

I see, that is one of the things that falls under his purview. No, I just wondered whether he was watching us or watching you, Major Williamson. --- Probably both. 10

Major Williamson, let us assure you that what I am going to ask you has got a reason for it. It is about your experiences in the Police as set out in paragraph 2 and 3 of your memorandum. You talk about the time in the 1970's when you became an Executive Member of NUSAS. It is implied in here, but let us make it clear: when you did that, you presumably gave out that you had left the Police? --- Yes, that is correct.

And in the years which you mention here, you clearly took the role of an opponent of the Government and of apartheid? ---- Very much so. 20

And you did this on the instructions of the Security Police? --- That is correct.

And obviously during this period you were in NUSAS and in the IUEF, you have said, it was one of your duties to inform on these organisations? --- That is the general purpose of the operation.

And in Geneva, in your IUEF days, you were obviously accepted as a person who was hostile to the South African Government and sympathetic to what you call the 30

socalled/...

socalled liberation movements? --- That is correct.

And it is quite clear from what you have told us that you certainly won the confidence of the IUEF officials? --- Yes.

And obviously of others, including South African political exiles? --- That is correct.

And you kept up this deception for about three years in NUSAS and about three years in the IUEF in all? --- That is correct.

And if you do not mind my mentioning it, in the course of these years, there were people who had political interests in South Africa, who on the surface at least became close friends of yours, whom you also in the course of your duty had to deceive in this way? --- That is correct. 10

When Bishop Tutu met you in Geneva on the two occasions you mentioned, he certainly accepted you at face value, and he had no suspicion that you were a policeman or an informer or an infiltrator? He thought that you were a person sympathetic also to the South African Council of Churches and the projects which he described to you? Do you go along with that? --- Yes. 20

So it was quite clear in the course of your duty, you were, or at least learnt to be a good actor? That was part of your job? Is that not so? --- I agree.

And you had to convince people that you were sincere and trustworthy? Did you not? -- I did, yes.

And you had to become accomplished and convincing in deceit? I take it, that is one of the roles of a person in your position? --- Yes, in the same way as an actor.

Yes, or a spy? It was part of the job? --- That 30

is/...

is right.

And in particular you have got to give this veneer of sincerity and trustworthiness? Is that not so? --- You have got to befriend people.

Yes, you have got to make them trust you? --- That is right.

You have got to look sincere, talk sincere? --- You have got to be part of them, yes.

Even though you are not telling the truth? --- That is correct. 10

Yes. It must be in some ways a very useful accomplishment, Major Williamson? You can use it in many situations, can you not? --- I suspect where you are getting to.

You may suspect, but I am not particularly. But the point is, this is what I am coming back to, certainly Bishop Tutu instructs me, and if necessary, will say that, he had not the slightest inkling of your double role. Now .. --- Thank you for the compliment.

Well, it was not intended as such, I am afraid. Major Williamson, I want to ask you one or two things about 20 Mr Eriksson. Now, although I did not read in -, perhaps grasp in complete detail the revelations you made when you returned to South Africa, I did get the impression from them that quite apart from any play-acting, Mr Eriksson was not a very trustworthy person? --- No, I think I outlined that in some of my evidence.

Yes, but I think what was said when you returned from Europe, was even stronger? --- Yes.

I mean, he seems to have been a deceitful person without any acting about it, that is to say - I mean, not 30

because/...

because he was acting for the police or anything like that; he just turned out not to have been honest? --- No, he was not.

And anything that he says, we can take with a large grain of salt? --- I would certainly.

Major Williamson, a number of organisations with interests in South Africa, and if I call them liberation movements, let us take the inverted commas for granted. I am just using it as a term which is used in those circles. There were a number of organisations in Geneva which were 10 interested in Southern African liberation movements. Was not the World Council of Churches in Geneva? --- Correct.

What about the World University Service? --- Also in Geneva.

Did it also have that interest? --- The same interest.

Also known to have that interest? --- Correct, not to the same extent, but it has it.

And certainly in the times we are speaking of, it was well-known that the World Council of Churches, among its multifarious other activities, was giving financial 20 aid to what it called liberation movements, that is movements such as the ANC and SWAPO? Is that not so? --- That is correct.

And in fact the fact that they were doing so at the time we are talking of, 1978 onwards, had caused a considerable outcry in this country as well as abroad? --- Yes, particularly the activities of the Programme to Combat Racism.

Yes, but certainly in this country it was widely publicised in all sections of the press that the World Council of Churches was giving aid to terrorists? --- That is 30

correct/...

correct.

And the receipt of money from the World Council of Churches over the years, on the part of SACC, has been a matter on which the SACC has been vigorously criticised in this country? --- Yes, I have seen that.

Yes, by the Government amongst others, and the Information Department, the SABC, is that not so? --- To my knowledge, yes.

And very large sections of the press, including sections of the press not normally friendly to the Government? 10

--- That is correct.

Just one or two things, if you do not mind, from your report. Just have a look at paragraph 8, about the plan on behalf of Mr Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu to woo Bishop Tutu to become the figurehead-leader of the BCM. --- Paragraph 8?

Yes, you remember, and you put in that letter from Randwedzi Nengwekhulu to Mr Eriksson? --- That is correct.

And it is quite clear that Mr Nengwekhulu's plan such as it was, was a cynical one to exploit Bishop Tutu? --- Yes, I agree. 20

That is what you say. Well, it may be hardly necessary for me to say it, Major Williamson, but Bishop Tutu was not in fact wooed by the BCM, and certainly did not become its leader, whether figure-head or otherwise. You do not dispute that? --- No, what I say is what is in the letter.

And then you know, Mr Eriksson, whom we agree is a most unreliable man, according to this told you that Bishop Tutu had had a long standing relationship with the IUEF, and that you were to regard him as one of the IUEF's most important South African contacts. Well, why Mr 30

Eriksson/....

Eriksson said that, I do not know, Bishop Tutu does not know, but Bishop Tutu says that at this time here, of this letter, the only contact he had had with the IUEF was that it provided a scholarship for his son, originally in Swaziland, and then in England, and I cannot see anything in your documentation or information which really bears out what Mr Eriksson said. --- As I said, I am merely saying what I was told and what the documents that I was given ..

I do appreciate that. That is why I said at the outset that apart from one or two things which I have got 10 to take up with you, you have on the face of it tried to provide a factual document. --- If we look at letter 2.3, I think that reflects the type of thing Mr Eriksson used to say about Bishop Tutu.

Yes, I think we should have a look at that page, 2.3.

Yes, that is really what I have said:

"You might be interested to know that we have in fact been supporting Bishop Tutu's son for several years both in Swaziland and the UK where he is currently studying. ... We had a good relationship with him 20 while he was working in London".

Well, as I understand it from Bishop Tutu, the only good relationship was about this supply of a very, very useful scholarship to his son, which enabled his son to get a degree in Zoology, an Honours Degree at Imperial College, and then get an Education Diploma at Kings College, London. You are nodding? --- Yes.

Now, about your meeting in the restaurant in Geneva in paragraph 9, which is not in dispute, Major Williamson; you will see you set out the sorts of things that were 30 discussed/...

discussed, the prison education scheme, legal costs for political trials, a Think Tank on education scholarships. Well, we all know, these are the things which the SACC supports. There is one aspect of it which I want to ask you about, and I know that you are talking about a meeting which took place now over 4 years ago, but this sentence that says:

"The fact that the spirit in the BCM was the Church", this is in the context of the IUEF's planned new policy re the ANC, which Tutu said would prejudice internal groups. Now, I am not quite sure what this means, and nor is 10 Bishop Tutu, but the point is, which you seem to have made, is that Bishop Tutu was by no means pleased at this new policy of the IUEF under which it really recognised the ANC as the sole spokesman of Black aspirations in South Africa. --- That is correct. In fact, one can go further than that: Bishop Tutu either at that stage or before or afterwards, he expressed his displeasure with the methods used by the ANC, and he drew a very distinct distinction between the aims of the ANC and its methods.

Now, would you just look at the next paragraph 20 there about scholarships for theological studies to good people who had been politically active. That I am told is perfectly correct, except for this: Bishop Tutu instructs me that in this connection he was asking for scholarships for two particular individuals, and perhaps if I give you the names, it will refresh your memory. One is somebody called Barney Pityana. You must know his name? -- Yes.

He was I think a Black Consciousness Movement man who had been politically active in South Africa? --- I know him well.

And I think IUEF in fact did give him a scholarship for theology? --- That is correct.

And in fact he became an ordained priest? --- That is correct.

The other one was someone called Drake Chenkeng. [?] I do not know if you remember him. He was actually a priest from Johannesburg, and I understand that he in fact did not get a scholarship from IUEF for his further theological studies. He got it eventually from DANCHURCHAID? --- Yes.

You remember - it does not ring a bell. Now, 10 there is just one thing which I really must raise with you, at the top of page 4, Major Williamson. Your last two sentences in paragraph 9, where you say -

"All these funds as well were to be channelled via the WCC in order to disguise the source as being IUEF. By appearing in the RSA from the WCC, such funds would be 'laundered' of any connection with the IUEF and would appear to be Church funds".

I think there is a difference of emphasis here between you and Bishop Tutu, Major Williamson. Bishop Tutu says 20 that he and the SACC certainly did prefer that their funds should come through church agencies, because they themselves were a church organisation, and they preferred to deal with church organisations, whether the WCC or DANCHURCHAID, but he does not agree with your suggestion that this was "laundering" them of any connection with the IUEF. Now, I will tell you why: it follows from what I was saying; certainly in the South African context, the ogre was the WCC; IUEF was much more known, although it also assisted liberation movements, IUEF was generally known and thought of 30

an organisation which concentrated on scholarship? --- That is correct.

And from the point of view of - let us call it the public relations of the SACC in South Africa, or the attitude of the South African Government, getting your money from the WCC was not any great - of any great assistance as compared with IUEF? That is how Bishop Tutu recollects it. --- I think while in the eyes of perhaps the famous man on the Parkhurst bus, the man on the street, that money coming from IUEF or World Council of Churches, in fact that he might 10 even think money coming from IUEF would be better than that coming from the World Council of Churches. I think that certain individuals involved - I am not talking of Bishop Tutu, I am talking about particularly Archbishop Makhulu, were aware very - perhaps even to a far greater extent of what the IUEF in fact really did, and it was in fact Reverend Makhulu, Water Makhulu, who was I would say one of the leading lights in insisting that money did not go from there.

Well, this may have been his view. The other reason I raise this is because, as you are well aware from - 20 even from the newspaper cutting shown to you, and Bishop Tutu has never disguised the fact that his own children have had bursaries from IUEF? --- No.

Incidentally, with regard to the payment which you refer to at the foot of page 12, we have gone into that as far as we can, and I am instructed that you are correct; that SF 70 000 or the equivalent amount, did come through the WCC, having come from the IUEF, and it was used for the purposes set out in Mr Makhulu's letter. So you are correct about the SF 70 000, but I would like you to confirm 30

this/...

this, Major Williamson: as far as Bishop Tutu is aware, that is as far as his time as General Secretary is concerned, as far as he is aware, this SF 70 000 is the only amount that has come to the SACC and which originated in IUEF? --- Yes, and that was ..

Well, we have got the date; it was late 1978. -- Late 1978, yes. There was more money for the South African Council of Churches, but I cannot confirm it went there. In fact I suspect that it probably did not.

Well, our information is that it did not? --- No, 10 I think Mr Eriksson diverted it to other places.

So really that is all. With regard to the - with regard to the purposes for which it was to be used, that has already come from that letter which was sent to Mr Makhulu, which you read out. Once again I would say the purposes were what I would call in line with the normal purposes of the SACC, aid to teachers, aid to people in need, who did not qualify exactly under the Dependants' Conference because they were not the dependants of political prisoners? --- Yes, I think it was money given to Bishop Tutu 20 and the SACC with a very wide discretionary clause attached to it.

I would like to just turn again to that note you made, 3.8 after the visit by Bishop Tutu. This STEP programme, that was to support teachers at schools in places such as Winterveld. I do not know whether, in view of your absence from South Africa you know what Winterveld was? --- Yes, a resettlement camp.

Yes, a resettlement camp, exactly. Just in case, you did not read it out, but just to make it clear to His 30

Lordship/...

Lordship and the other members of the Commission, subparagraph (g) at the foot of page 2, that ICRC refers to International Committee of the Red Cross? --- That is correct.

And as we know - well, we know here, I do not know whether you know, when they talk of duplication of effort, 33 the Red Cross has given certain assistance to enable families of people on Robben Island to travel down there? --- Relatives.

And that was what the reference to duplication of effort was? --- Yes.

Would you have a look at paragraph 15, where you 10 have in accordance with your mandate given copies of the letters of which you had copies, relating to the SACC's requests for funds and its budget. Major Williamson, these documents were in fact in the ordinary files of the SACC? You were simply putting them in here because that is - you were asked to give all the information you had? ---- That is correct.

I just want to ask you to look at a document which you have not read. It is in connection with the visit of Bernadette Mosala of the SACC who visited Geneva in 20 June 1978. It is X4.4. Would you mind having a look at that? Is it X4.4? --- Yes, there are three separate documents.

Let us look at the one which is from Peter to Craig. This is a report on the visit of Mrs Mosala, and it says:

"She told me that the SACC is anxious to get more involved in Black assistance projects and she mentioned the following"

and she talks about the virtual breakdown of Black education, a consultation on the education crisis, a "think-tank" 30

of experts and teachers, upgrading of teachers and matters of that sort; then there is the prison education scheme, a loan fund for small self-help projects like homecraft, handy-craft and tailoring, something reminiscent of what BCP used to promote, pre-school nursery education, training of professionals, apprenticeships, on-the-job training, college and university courses both inside and outside South Africa. That is the sort of thing that she dealt with. Now, as for page 17, this Lutheran World Federation document, as you yourself said, it is very difficult to under- 10 stand what they were getting at, and you said it was an internal document. I am instructed that Bishop Tutu and the South African Council of Churches certainly did not see it? --- No, I would believe they probably did not.

Major Williamson, thank you for answering my questions. I have no further questions for you, but others may have.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. You are excused.

That seems to complete the presentation of evidence in this session. The Commission will now adjourn to a date to be fixed, which will probably be early next year. 20

Thank you very much for the assistance of everybody so far.

THE COMMISSION IS ADJOURNED