

The Case Of “Dulcie September”

The Truth Commission Files

[DS-report]

Date (murder): 29-03-1988;

Place: Paris (France)

Name Victim: Dulcie September (here called D.S.) Address Victim: Val-de-Marne, France

Sex Victim: F;

Age Victim: 45 years;

Mar.Status: unmarried;

Born: Cape Town (SA)

Position Victim: Chief representative of the ANC in France (and also of Switzerland and Luxembourg). Arrived in Paris in 1983, head of the ANC Information Bureau in France

[Monde 31/3/88]

Information Victim:

Effective ANC representative (see Crime Motives); in France considered as a member of the SACP ; Some of D.S.'s friends asserted that she knew she was being followed and threatened and that she had asked the ministry for protection which was not accorded [Courret:32].

The interior minister Charles Pasqua stated that D.S. never made any request for protection.[ION-326:2]. However, already in December 1987, the French seem to have been informed by the Swiss authorities that South Africa was 'up to something', probably killing D.S. They warned the SA-embassy in Bern (the only European capital where an SA-military attaché was still permitted to be), that nothing must happen on Swiss soil. This information has been confirmed by two sources in the Swiss 'Bundesanwaltschaft', but officially denied. The sources also said that all western intelligence services knew about the SA-plans (FBI-warning Sept. 1987)[G&D;WoZ 31/3/89 & 24/4/92]. It isn't known why the French didn't do anything about it.

Perpetrator: X

Perpetrator Information:

1. SADF Sergeant-Major Joseph Klue [Pauw:208,281], who was positively identified by Godfrey Motsepe (ANC rep Brussels) as the man who took a shot at him [Roth:47], some weeks before D.S.'s murder (4/2/88). I (KdJ) doubt it, if Klue himself fired these shots. But he certainly could have been involved. (see Notes *1)

Klue was also suspected to be involved in the assassination of D.S. After the attack on Godfrey, the Belgian secret service informed their French colleagues about three involved SA-agents in Brussels, one of them has a name that begins with 'K'. [G&D-doc]. The French didn't take any action.

Josep Klue lives in the Cape (SA) where he seems to be the owner of an ostrich farm.

2. Dirk K. Stoffberg (see Notes *2), arms dealer and a SA agent, was also named as the head of the 'Z-Squad Incorporated' operating in Europe [Pauw,1991:208]. Stoffberg always admitted to

knowing details of this case. He arrived in France two days before the assassination of D.S.

[Courret:32]. "Z-Squads Incorporated" is alleged to consist of professional highly trained hit men, with virtually unlimited range of action and operational funds. Created by BOSS, perfected by NIS [SS].

Later -not long before his death- Stoffberg told Jacques Pauw [Thorny:3; see also the SABC documentary Guns for September] that "he gave the orders for assassination of the ANC's Dulcie September (...). He said he paid two former members of the French Foreign Legion L 20 000 each to kill the ANC's chief representative in France. And Stoffberg said he had no idea why she was to be assassinated and presumed it was because she held a prominent position in the ANC.(...) He activated (these) two hitmen through the Adler Group. (...) Intelligence about Dulcie September was received from the SA Security Police who asked him to facilitate her assassination.

3. Jean-Dominique Taousson:

Some French journals (as "Le Monde" and "Libération") mentioned the involvement of Taousson. According to the "Indian Ocean Newsletter" [ION-326:1], this Frenchman made name during the Algerian war, when he was responsible for numerous attacks as a member of the "Delta commandos" (a death squad) of the underground anti-independence "Organisation de l'Armée Secrète"(OAS).

This same newsletter revealed in an earlier issue in 1985 [ION-193] that the Paris bureau of Pretoria's NIS had "received orders to organise attacks against missions of the ANC and the South-West Africa People in France and elsewhere in Europe. For this purpose the NIS began to form hit-squads (as did for example Stoffberg & Klue), recruiting among mercenaries, the security services of extreme-right movement and veterans of the South African army's own 32nd Battalion, many of whom were French." According to the ION [326] Taousson had been given the job leading this recruiting campaign, as well as collecting full information on the targets. Taousson had extremely good contacts with the European right-wing.

Taousson was bitterly opposed to the ANC: he had been the chief-editor of the pro-South African newsletter 'Courier Austral Parlementaire' (published by a Paris based organisation ADERI see

Notes *3). His newsletter was distributed to members of the European and French parliaments and it was set up with help from the South African authorities. [AC ; Courret :31-32]. In 1981 Taousson became the head of the photography service in the election campaign headquarters of the RPR, the Gaullist party of Jacques Chirac and Charles Pasqua. These elections were lost, but in 1986 the Chirac government took over. Shortly after these legislative elections of March 1986 Taousson was appointed a technical adviser on the personal staff of interior minister Charles Pasqua, where he was in charge of highly-sensitive matters like New Caledonia and relations with Algeria. [ION-326] Taousson being opposed to the ANC having a representation in France, is said to have given 'strict orders' to the relevant service not to renew Dulcie September's residence permit which would expire in October 1987. However, DS succeeded in having it extended for a further year by applying not to the authorities in Paris but to those in the suburban "département" of Val de Marne, whose prefect had been appointed while the previous socialist administration was in power.(ION-326:1)

When French newspapers [G & D-doc: 5] wrote that Taousson had also been the recruiter for the murder of Dulcie, he sued them with success. But it is known that DS was harassed from the moment that the Pasqua government (1986) came into power in France: Taousson threatened DS that she would be expelled if she wouldn't cease public activities and he had the new ANC-office monitored [see Notes *4]. But, there is no evidence that Taousson him self has contacted people for attacks on ANC. It seems unlikely, that a publicly known SA-propagandist working officially with

the French government, would be directly involved in an undercover-operation, but he certainly plaid a role in the harassing of Dulcie on an official level and probably also passed on intelligence information.

4. Heine Hüman (+/- 45), is allegedly a Swede of SA origin (or the other way round). He could be an interesting witness. According "Vrije Weekblad" [VW] he said: "I helped to murder Dulcie" and claimed to have participated in the planning of D.S.'s murder. Hüman told them that he had worked for the Security Branch of the SAP (section A1: external security operations) and that he had fetched Dulcie's hitman at Heathrow-airport. After Dirk Coetzee's revelations he got afraid and contacted the Swedish Embassy in Harare (Zimbabwe). The Swede and his then 8 years old son took refuge in the Nigerian Embassy in Harare on the 1st of Dec. 1989. ANC intelligence officers interviewed him during this period. Hüman came to Sweden in the beginning of the 80's [Interview Tor Sellström]. His name was later also mentioned in relationship with the murder of the Swedish prime-minister Olof Palme [see Palme-case]. During the time of Palme's murder in 1986 Hüman lived in a small place outside Uppsala (Sweden) where he had a car repair shop. Fourteen minutes after the murder of Palme an elderly couple in Stockholm (Bromma) received a mysterious phonecall with the message: "The job is done, Palme is dead". With the only difference of one digit in the area code (Stockholm 08; Uppsala-area 018), their number corresponded to the number of a telephone in a room of a clubhouse of which allegedly only Hüman had the key. Soon afterwards Hüman left Sweden in a hurry, without saying goodbye to his neighbours. These neighbours, who were interviewed by Swedish newspapers, said that there was a lot of funny business going on at night at his place. Swedish journalist have tracked him down in Florida (USA) where he lives under another name in a place outside Miami where a lot of American ex-intelligence people are retired too [Expressen 29/9/96:12-13]. Hüman denied any involvement in the assassination of Olof Palme and didn't want to talk about his involvement with the murder of D.S..

5. Eben Barlow (see Notes *5) seems at the time of DS's assassination to have headed the CCB's Western Europe region. He operated out of Frankfurt (Germany). D.S.'s assassination was according to Ellis almost certainly directed by Barlow as CCB desk officer for Europe. [Int.Ellis] Eben Barlow seems to deny this, although an informant told me that Barlow allegedly once received an order to kill Dulcie September, but that his section refused because DS wasn't a military target

6. Comoro-link ?? the Comoros were effectively run ?? by mercenaries in close alliance with France and South Africa:

a) According to 'Actuel' (French investigative magazine) the assassination of D.S. was personally set up by a French mercenary, Capt. J.P. Dessales, who later served in the Comoros (as a member of the presidential guard) with Col. Bob Denard [WA].

b) In the beginning of 1988, an ex-Rhodesian mercenary based in Paris, goes to the Comoro Islands to undergo some kind of training for 'special operations'. There is talk about more mercs going the same way. [G&D-doc]

c) A much more complete picture about the Comoros-link is given in the official French document "Ordonnance de Non-Lieu" [Non-Lieu]. According to this document, the French police (Brigade Criminelle) suspected at a certain moment that a French mercenary, named Richard Rouget could have plaid a role in DS's murder, but no hard evidence could be produced to arrest neither him nor other members of his group who allegedly had been working for the South Africans. This Rouget directed a group doing reconnaissance missions on the ANC in Europe. [Notes *6]

7. ?? Pitha Assesso, Angolan (self-declared president of the PDLA) and a draft-resisting South African refugee (Martijn van Geems) were arrested for the murder of D.S. together with their

partners All were released the following day.[SS; Monde, 9-10/4/88]. False track!

8. ?? Italian link: involvement of Mario Ricci, former confidante of Seychelles president Albert René. Ricci now lives in SA where he has a business partnership with former SA superspy, Craig Williamson [TB]. Ricci ran Italian mercenaries at the Seychelles [G&D]. It was said that Ricci was linked to GAL also [G&D-doc], but this is probably a false track [TB].

Crime Activity:

Five bullets from a .22-calibre weapon (22 Long Rifle, with a silencer or "canon lisse") hit D.S. in the head as she stood, mail in hand, opening up the ANC office. Time: between 09.45 and 10.00 h. 28 Address: Rue des Petites-Ecuries, 4th floor, Paris-10)"[Pauw:207]. Work of professionals, probably silencer used (nobody heard anything) [Breyten; Pauw:207; Non-Lieu:2].

Crime Result: murder

Crime Motives:

1. Answer probably related to military links between France and RSA (Arm Scor particularly)

[Notes *7]. France important illicit supplier of essential parts and materials to Arm Scor. Fact that France almost alone of major western European countries had no powerful anti-apartheid movement facilitated these clandestine links. There were signs that September was putting together an effective anti-apartheid lobby. Thus a threat; thus a hit [Ellis].

The reality was probably a bit more complex:

From Oct.1986 - Sept.1987 the Albertini affair dominated the diplomatic relationship between France and South Africa. Pierre André Albertini worked in South Africa (as part of the French Government's Foreign Exchange Programme) where he was employed as a lecturer in French at Ciskei's University of Fort Hare. He became politically involved and was imprisoned for collaboration with the ANC. President Mitterrand didn't want to accept the credentials of SA's new Ambassador to France before Albertini had been released from his Ciskei prison and allowed to return home. To improve the relationship between the two countries negotiations were initiated with a prisoner swap in mind (especially between the SA captain Wynand Du Toit, caught during an commando action in Angola, and Albertini).

The main negotiator became the French businessman Jean-Yves Ollivier, a representative of Thomson-CSF (electronics), the French arms-company. Ollivier admitted that he did it "because I have business interests in the region (...)" [Soule:284]. This matches with what Craig Williamson told an investigative journalist [E.G.] **that during the 1987 negotiations about this case (l'opération "Condor") also some weapon deals were settled. This was also confirmed by French investigators. Ollivier worked especially through some senior officers in the SADF [Glaser:154; Soule:285] and had the support of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and General Jannie Geldenhuys (Chief of the SADF).** He also became well accepted by the new government, as can be deduced from the fact that Ollivier got decorated by President Mandela. According to this investigative journalist Dulcie September probably heard something about these weapon transactions from somebody inside a French arms industry (we don't know who, yet). Just before her death she phoned Aziz Pahad (then ANC-HQ and the actual SA deputy minister of Foreign Affairs) in London, asking him to come to Paris for a very sensitive matter. **Aziz thought that Dulcie "had stumbled on something nuclear".** Dulcie had also said that she feared for her life.[E.G.]

We have to remember that since 1986 the arms-trade between SA/ Armscor and France became privatised and continued only in clandestinity through arms dealers (see for example the "Blowpipe" scandal).

Antoine Glaser, a French investigator and co-author of the books *Ces Messieurs Afrique* (I and II) wrote about Operation Condor and the persons involved: Besides Ollivier himself, there was his assistant, a French former para colonel and former head of "service action" of the DGSE Jacques Rigault (who wrote a book called *Démantèlement de l'apartheid*). Ollivier was also helped by the experienced French diplomat Fernand Wibaux (member of the Africa network of Jacques Chirac & Jacques Foccart).

Jean-Christophe Mitterrand, the son of the French president (nickname "papamadit") who headed his father's Africa-network didn't know about the whole negotiation process until it was finished, although he was the President's main adviser for African Affairs [Gaillard:326]. Later Jean-Christophe befriended Ollivier and they became very close [Gaillard:326]. Another person mentioned as somebody who could have been linked to this whole affair, was Alain Guenon (Notes*8).

According to Glaser (discussion Dec.1996) was Pasqua's Africa-network probably also involved in these arms deals. Pasqua, at the time of DS murder minister of interior, ran an important political and economical Africa-network, in which public and private interests are closely entangled. Pasqua managed to turn the "Service de Coopération Technique Internationale de la Police" (SCTIP= Department of international technical development-aid of the Police) into his own private department, completely devoted to him. This department is known to have organised some strange deals and some of its members were accused to have killed some French development workers [Dossiers:27-28].

During the period 1987-88 some secret top-level summits took place between French and South African intelligence chiefs: General François Mermet (director of the French DGSE Secret Service) , General René Imbot and the French diplomat and Africa specialist Fernand Wibaux had a meeting with General C.J. van Tonder (head of the South African Directorate of Military Intelligence/DMI) in June 1988. Before that -on the 9/10/87- Pik Botha, SA minister of Foreign Affairs, had visited Paris to see members of the Chirac government (President Mitterrand didn't know about its) and again on March the 12th of 1988 (in transit at Rossy) where he met Fernand Wibaux and Jean-Yves Ollivier [CE].

Although there have been suggestions that members of the French secret service were directly involved in the murder of Dulcie September and especially some belonging to Pasqua's network (see Jean Taousson above), Glaser doesn't think that the French they themselves planned or executed this murder. More probably they created in 1988 some space for SA agents to eliminate DS, as a kind of spin-off of the ongoing weapendeals. But they probably lend a helping hand (surveillance etc.).

2. ?? Part of "The fifth phase (+/- early 1985 - first quarter of 1988) of South African's regional policy (...) marked by increased activity of death squads." See:Alby Sachs, Godfrey Motsepe etc. (Pauw,1991:207]. Like was said before, in August 1985 the Indian Ocean Newsletter (ION-193) revealed that the Paris bureau of Pretoria's National Intelligence Service, which had a staff of ten and was headed by a woman (WHO??), had "received orders to organize attacks against missions of the ANC and SWAPO in France and elsewhere in Europe. For this purpose the NIS began to form hit-squads, recruiting among mercenaries, the security services of extreme-right movements and veterans of its own army. Those operations planned in 1985 had to take place in early 1986. [ION-326:1]. Apparently DGSE (French intelligence) stopped it then, but in 1988 the

1986-scenario was used. [G&D-doc]

3. ?? The killing of D.S. was an 'internal struggle' within the ANC. Opinion stated by the French minister M. Robert Pandraud (ministre délégué chargé de sécurité) [Monde 3-4/4/88] and by the SA Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe [WoZ:15/4/88] and Pik Botha (SA minister of foreign affairs)[Boon 13/4/88]. D.S. was a turned South African double agent, and therefore "liquidated by the militant communist faction of the ANC" [SS]. False track: smear campaign.

4. ?? D.S. could in no way be described as a 'military target'. Though a very active militant, her effectiveness was often doubtful, although much better than that of her two successor (among them Solly Smith, see Notes *9) . DS seems to have restricted her contacts and connections entirely to French communists. The CP newspaper l'Humanité (31-1-88) wrote: "in killing her, the South African secret services have also struck at France's communists. " "For this reason the theory cannot be ruled out that this murder, arranged as it was by an extremist faction in South African intelligence, was intended to sabotage the beginnings of a thaw which had begun to appear in the relations between Pretoria and Moscow" [Breyten; ION-326:2]

Chain of Command:

Must have been cleared at very high levels: SSC or Min.of Def. Malan. Stephen Ellis [Int.Ellis] believed such an operation in a major western European capital had to be cleared at very high levels; at least SSC or Ministry of Defence (then Malan). If so, this assassination was almost certainly directed by Eben Barlow, according to Ellis at that time the CCB desk officer for Europe (Notes-3). General Marius Oelschig, as a Senior Military Representative must have had some knowledge of this affair.

Witness: Mr. De Crepy [Non-Lieu:2]

Witness Information:

Mr. De Crepy (commercial agent) was the only person who saw at about 09H45 two men (whites) of about 40 years old, coming down the staircase and leaving the building where the ANC had its office [G&D; Non-Lieu: 2]. De Crepy confronted with photographs of Klue (see later) and Rouget (see later) didn't recognise none of these two as one of the two men he had seen.

Notes:

***1. Joseph Klue** [see photo; Black ; Kent]: Klue, a warrant officer in the SA security police, was a member of the South African Embassy in London (under Ambassador Marais Steyn) from August 1980 until 1982. He wasn't mentioned in the official Diplomatic List. As a SA spy he tried to enlist ex-British soldiers for the SADF in Namibia and to gather information about black activists of the ANC, PAC and SWAPO. When the British government threatened to expel him for "activities incompatible with his office" , he was recalled to Pretoria. Klue was named in an Old Bailey trial in London in connection with a plot to burgle the offices of black nationalist movements in Britain and steal documents from them [Pauw:208]. In London he seem to have been the assistant of Colonel C. van Niekerk, then the armed forces attaché who would become, as a General the MID's chief of operation in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and the Benelux countries [WA]. At the time of DS's murder, it was however **General Marius Oelschig** who had MI responsibility for France and Belgium [CV Oelschig]. The Belgian intelligence identified Joseph Klue as the person who shot at the ANC representative in Brussels, Godfrey Motsepe. Klue could be also involved in the assassination of D.S. [Intel/PP 88 07]. Belgian authorities issued an international warrant for the arrest of Klue [Pauw:208]. KdJ: The TRC should ask the Belgians to handover his file.

***2. Dirk K. Stoffberg:** South African spy; when questioned by British security officers at London's Heathrow Airport a list of ANC names had been found.[Pauw:208]. He lived from Dec. 1987 until July 1988 in Germany (Frankfurt). Later in Luzern (Switzerland). Was mentioned as the head of the Z-Squad operating in Europe. Although Stoffberg said "Our job was to do the things that the (SA) government could not be seen to be doing", he denied long time to be the head of a SA'n hit-squad or to be responsible for the assassination of D.S.[Roth:56,61]. Stoffberg told Roth [61] that "my people in Johannesburg were responsible for the murder of D.S." He admitted to work for the NIS and claimed responsibility for the murder of Ruth First in Mozambique [Roth:61]. Stoffberg worked in Frankfurt as an arms dealer (through "ABCComputers and Electronics", an Iranian company and entertained relations with "Teiger Handels AG" -in St. Gallen, Switzerland and the "Iran International Trading Company" in Johannesburg)[Roth:54]. In Switzerland (Luzern) Stoffberg was an authorized representative of the "Atlantic Bankers Corporation" in Atlanta/USA, an CIA front company. [Roth:40]. Stoffberg admitted to know Joseph Klue [Roth:67]

***3 ADERI: This "Association for Development of Exchanges and International Relations"** in Paris was an important base of the international right-wing [SS]. Besides the publisher of the pro-South African (and pro-Unita) newsletter, the "Courrier Austral Parlementaire", ADERI organized via Christian Morritz a course for UNITA-cadres at Cercottes in France: the headquarters of the 'Action Service of the Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure' (DGSE) secret service. These UNITA cadres have been trained in sabotage.[AC]

This newsletter was mentioned during the "Muldergate" affair in the late 70s and ADERI was linked to Stratcom, the SA State Security Council arm specialized in intelligence gathering and dirty tricks as assassinations, bombings and propaganda against the ANC. ADERI functioned as a SA front company for Radar (SA Foreign Affairs project no. 319), one of Starcom's special projects in Europe, set up to boost SA's image. ADERI's chief was Mr. Leon Delbecque, who like Taousson had headed one of the Delta death squads during the war in Algeria.

***4 Concerning the surveillance of DS** and the ANC-Office in Paris by French or/and South Africans, it could be useful to go deeper into the activities of two companies which were housed in the same building [information EG]:

- **"Sport Eco"** an office of a journal about sports articles, at the time at the same floor and next to Dulcie's ANC-office in Rue des Petites Ecuries 28. Sport Eco occupied this office at the same day (1/8/85) as the ANC did and it moved out a short time after DS's murder. Its editor in chief was Pierre Cazeel, who worked previously as an Africa-specialist at "Radio France Internationale"(well known for its contacts with the French secret service). Cazeel seems to have discovered DS's body the morning of the murder and he was present when the police arrived.

- **Company Donati** (house painters from Paris, Rueil): their painters worked in the building during the period Dulcie was murdered. Especially the whereabouts of two out of 4 painters: Daniel Storelli (an Italian with a Swiss passport) and Stephane.

***5. Eeben Barlow:** was member 32 battalion; served in Namibia; worked in the office DCC (Directorate of Covert Collection), an MI agency; later run Executive Outcomes/EO, which generally works from Pretoria, although EO has a presence in England (mansion Hampshire/UK); EO originally set up as a CCB front company [Ellis].

***6 In the 70s François Richard Rouget (or Sanders)** had been active in extreme right-wing movements like GUD ("Groupe Union Défense", a student union) and PFN ("Parti des Forces Nouvelles"). Without completing his studies he entered the French Army. He left the army in 1984 with the rank of warrant officer ("sous lieutenant"). In Juin 1985 Rouget became, under the alias of Sanders, a mercenary officer of Bob Denard's Comorian Presidential Guard. January 1987 he

went to live in South Africa where he worked as a representative for two French companies: Essor Engineering (address at the time of the head office of the " Société Essor International Ingenerie"/SEII in France: 51 Quay de Valmy, Paris 10; the actual address of SEII seems to be: 63 Blvd. du Marechal Joffre, 92340 Bourg La Reine, France; tel. +33.1.40 91 12 47, fax: +33.1.46 83 95 85) and E.A. Export, ("Europe Afrique Export"; head office in France: 3 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris 8). In both companies his business partners and friends were two former mercenary officers of the above mentioned Presidential Guard: Jean-Claude Cabanac (alias "Barjac") of SEII and Christophe Chabassol at "Eurosept Associés", of which E.A. Export was a branch. Rouget travelled frequently between South Africa and Europe, making visits to places like Basel & Zürich; Lyon & Paris; Brussels and London. officially concerning the export of steel to SA

Some background [Weinberg]: In 1978 the French mercenary Bob Denard established himself with a group of mercenaries in the Comoros where he became the head of the Guard of President Abdallah. Since September 1979 Denard worked not only with French secret services who had always backed him and monitored his activities, but also with South African agents. SA military intelligence and foreign affairs decided to start funding and training the Denard's PG in return to the permission to set up a secret listening station on the islands. A handful of SA agents slipped into the country and blended in with the Presidential Guard. Their job was to keep an ear on what was happening in the important ANC bases in Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam and to monitor the war in Mozambique, in which SA was playing an active role. The Comoros were also used as a base for "sanctions-busting", particularly in arms. When in 1981 François Mitterrand was elected president Denard lost the support of the French intelligence service, but he managed to strengthen the link between SA and the Comoros. Between 1982 and 1989 the SA department of foreign affairs channelled through the Presidential Guard around R40 million in this country. Besides the Guard, Denard established his own company SOGECOM, which was in both the security and building business. He seemed to have made a lot of money. In 1985 Denard tried to raise the quality of the "European officers" (also the year Rouget had been recruited) but without much success. During the period 1985-87 the relationship of the PG with the majority of Comorians became worse. At the end of the 1980s the SAns didn't want to continue to prop up a mercenary regime and France also wanted to get rid of the mercenaries. Finally, also President Abdallah wanted the mercenaries to leave. Their response was a coup and the death of President Abdallah in which Bob Denard and his men were involved. SA suspended further assistance to the PG and all other forms of co-operation. The SA and the French government forced Denard and his mercenaries to leave the islands in 1989.

Taking into account the close relationships between the Comorian Presidential Guard and the South African intelligence services (MI), one can imagine that former mercenary officers as Rouget, Cabanac and Chabassol started working for South Africa, although officially being linked to French companies (or were these perhaps also SA front companies?) as Essor Engineering and E.A. Export.

This fits in with the information that Rouget allegedly directed a group doing reconnaissance missions on the ANC in Europe. [Non-Lieu:5]. The head of his group in Europe was Victor Paul Tramond. [Non-Lieu:7]. The liaison agent would have been Antonia Lucienne Soton, once Rouget's lover, and a former militant of the right wing movements "Ocident" and "Jeune Europe". [Non-Lieu:6]. Paul Tramond (or "Victor") is an alias for Tran-Thuy Tuong born in Saigon (Vietnam) and a former militant of GUD, where he met Rouget in 1976 at the faculty of Assas in Paris. During the period 1985-87 he lived under the name Paul Tramond in Brussels, where he worked until December as a receptionist in Hotel Sheraton. The 22/12/87 he established himself in France with his girlfriend, a Belgian woman named Anne Lejeune who had found a job in France (address: 7 allée de Longchamp, Suresnes (92), tel. 40.99.05.98) [Non-Lieu:7]. According to information of the Belgian authorities Rouget staid two times at Sheraton in Brussels: the night of 6-7/12/87 and of

15-16/2/88 . This first "fiche d'hôtel" had been signed by Tramond, the only proof that Rouget and Tramond have met at least once [Non-Lieu:8].

At the time of the attempted attack on Motsepe (4/2/88) and the murder of DS (29/3/88), Rouget declared to have staid in South Africa. This could never been verified. However, Mrs. Soton told the police that she was with Rouget in the Comoros until the 29/2/88, the date of DS's murder...

*7. Other murders in the 80's who could have been linked with weapon deals were the one of the Norwegian diplomat Ole Dørum (Geneva, September 1987) and the murders of Anton Lubowski (Windhoek, September 1989) and David Webster (South Africa) [see EG].

*8. **A good friend of Jean Yves Ollivier** is another Frenchman Allain Guenon [EG; Smith]. He is a businessman, a former lecturer in philosophy at the University Sorbonne (Paris), who lived since 1984 in South Africa where he established himself as a TV producer. He befriended the Namibian lawyer Anton Lobowski and Winnie Mandela. Later, as a representative of several big French companies in SA, as for example Sagem (specialized in military and professional electronics), ELF-Aquitaine (petrol/chemistry) and Spie-Batignolle (linked to the construction of the infrastructure of Koeberg) he got to know Tokyo Sexwale well and Sivule Xhayiya also, for whom he arranged a visit to France (April 1991), paid by Sagem. More and more he became an important middleman between certain French business circles (especially the weapon industry) and the South African Government. Guenon became a good friend as well of the old regime (he knew Magnus Malan well) as of the new one. Guenon seems to have had a good relationship with the Mitterrand-family. Guenon is suspected to be a French spy and/or a spy for the apartheid-regime. The Weekly Mail linked Guenon to the murder of Anton Lubowski.

*9. **Solly Smith (real name Samuel Khunyeli)**, who succeeded D.S. was according to French informants not very effective: often drunk and not dedicated at all. According to the French lawyer who dealt with the DS case, Solly Smith was rather hampering the investigation than helping to resolve the murder case [Int. Dreyfus]. Smith whose loyalties were questioned since 1988 and who confessed in 1991 to spying for the SA security services [Stober] was perhaps not the best person to stimulate further investigations in the DS case.

Amsterdam July 97

Sources:

Persons interviewed:

- PA Albertini (see above)
- A. Bouillon (AAM)
- M. Cukierman (AFASPA)
- JB Curiel (PS)
- M. Délaever (PCF)
- A. Glaser (ION)
- M. Omet (CGT)
- J. Tillerson (former secretary of DS)
- N. Dreyfus (lawyer)

Articles, letters and documents:

a) official documents:

- Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris - Cabinet de Mme Forkel (Juge d'Instruction): Ordonnance

de Non-Lieu; Réf. générale No. P 88 102 2006/3; Réf. du cabinet no. 629. Paris 17/7/1992. (Official declaration concerning the murder of Dulcie September with a summary of the results of the investigation, concluding that no sufficient evidence was found to take suspects into custody) [Non-Lieu]

b) other documents

- AC 29-07-88 Pointers. Angola: UNITA in France.[AC]

- Boon, Rudi:'Ik kan best de volgende zijn. Frikties binnen het ANC, heet het dan', De Groene Amsterdammer 13-04-1988 [Boon]

- Black, Ian: "Britain exposes South African spy chief. Kicked Out", Daily Express 16/12/82

(about J. Klue) [Black]

- Breytenbach, Breyten:'Hoekom Dulcie?' in: Die Suid-Afrikaan, aug.1988 p.49 [Breyten]

- Le Canard Enchaîné, 6/4/88 [CE]

- The Citizen: "Police killed ANC's Dulcie - Coetzee" 1/10/96:1-2 [Cit]

- Couret, Bernard: 'Les tueurs de Botha', Africa International no. 206 -juin 1988. pp.31-32 [Couret]

- Daniel, John: Notes on the CCB and Vlakplaas based on a Discussion with Stephen Ellis, Amsterdam, June 13,1996 with corrections/additions from Stephen Ellis [Int.Ellis]

- Document 'Godfrey & Dulcie'[G&D-doc]

- EG (investigative journalist): confidential letter of 21/10/96 about the murders of Dulcie September, Anton Lubowski and David Webster [EG]

- Le Figaro 30/3/88; 31/3/88; 5/4/88 [Fig]

- Gevisser, Mark & Brümmer, Stefaans: "Spying row at SABC", The Weekly Mail & Guardian, 20-26/1/95 (about Stoffberg) [Gevisser]

- L'Humanité 30/3/88; 9/4/88 [Huma]

- The Indian Ocean Newsletter, no. 193 August 3, 1985 [ION-193]

- The Indian Ocean Newsletter: "Spotlight, South Africa: Pretoria's handiwork", no. 326 April 2 1988 pp.1-2 [ION-326]

- Intel/PP: 88-05 (12-14); 88-07; 88-08 (104)[Intel].

- Kent, Peter & Black, Ian: "Secret army of spy who lured British troops", Daily Express, 17/12/82

(about J. Klue) [Kent]

- Krop, Pascal: "Qui protège les tueurs < Z > ? L'Afrique du Sud bénéficie d'étranges complicités à Paris. Jusqu'au cabinet de Charles Pasqua." L'Evenement du Jeudi, 7-13/4/88:56 [Krop]

- Libération: 30/3/88; 31/3/88; 1/4/88; 5/4/88; 6/4/88; 7/4/88; 8/4/88; 9-10/4/88; 11/4/88 [Lib]

- Le Monde: 30/3/88; 31/3/88; 1/4/88; 2/4/88; 3-4/4/88; 5/4/88; 6/4/88; 7/4/88; 8/4/88; 9/4/88; 10-11/4/88; 12/4/88; 13/4/88; 10/6/88; 20/7/88 [Monde] - Näslund, Lars: "Han förhöordes två gånger", Expressen (Extra), 29/9/96:12-13

(about H.Hüman) [Naslund]

- Resister 58: "SA-France: Intelligence chiefs meet", oct/nov 1988:10 [Res]

- Smith, Stephen & François, Didier: Guénon, un <parrain> Français chez les Mandela, in Paris, Libération 4/7/91 pp.28-29 [Smith]

- South African Report: 'Italian link in September assassination probed', (SA), 22-04-1988 and TB-letter 29-03-93 [TB-29/3/93]

- Southscan: 'Paris assassination. Doubts cast on Chirac government integrity', 13-04-1988 [SS]

- Sowetan: 30/9/96; 1/10/96 [Sow]

- Stober, Paul: "ANC inquiry into death of self-confessed spy", in Weekly Mail, 28/5/93:15 (about Solly Smith) [Stober]

- S.Tribune: "New death squad allegations rock SAP, Hit squad dossier", 14/1/90

(about H Human) [ST]

- Thornycroft, Peta: "Security police asked Stoffberg to kill September", S.Tribune. 24/7/94 [Thorny]

- Vrije Weekblad: "Ek het Dulcie help vermoor sê Sweed", 12/1/90:5 (about H. Hüman) [VW]

- West Africa: 'South Africa. The long arm of terrorist apartheid', Dateline, 1/8/1988 [WA]

- WoZ, die Wochenzeitung, Zürich 7 Jhg 1988, no. 13 & 15 [WoZ 15/4/88; 31/3/89 & 24/4/92]

Books:

- Bach, Daniel C. (ed): La France et l'Afrique du Sud. Histoire, mythes et enjeux contemporains; Paris: Karthala, 1990. [Bach]

- Dossiers Noirs de la Politique Africaine de la France No.6: Jacques Chirac et la Françafrique. Retour à la case Foccart?; Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995.[Dossiers]

- Gaillard, Philippe: Foccart Parle. Entretiens avec Philippe Gaillard II; Paris: Fayard/Jeune Afrique, 1997

- Glaser, Antoine & Smith, Stephen: Ces Messieurs Afrique (1). Le Paris-Village du continent noir; Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1992. [Glaser]

- Pauw, Jacques: In the heart of the whore. The story of apartheid's death squads, Halfway House: Southern Book Publishers, 1991 pp. 207-208,281 [Pauw];

- Rigault J. & Sandor E.: Démantèlement de l'apartheid; Paris: l'Harmattan, 1992 [Rigault]

- Roth, Jürgen: Die Mitternachtsregierung. Reportage über die Macht der Geheimdienste; ?: Rasch und Röhring Verlag, 1990:22-27 & 38-68 [Roth]
- Smith, Stephen & Glaser, Antoine: Ces Messieurs Afrique (2). Des réseaux aux lobbies; Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1997 [Smith]
- Soule, Allan; Dixon, Gary & Richards, René: The Wynand Du Toit Story; Johannesburg: Hans Strydom Publishers, 1987.[Soule]
- Weinberg, Samantha: Last of the Pirates. The Search for Bob Denard; London: Jonathan Cape, 1994 [Weinberg]

The (secret) Truth Commission Files